Voluntary Associations and Immigrants: A Survey of Host Society Associations in Auckland and Wellington

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of a survey of host society voluntary associations in the urban areas of Auckland and Wellington to identify their role, perceptions and activities with regard to immigrant settlement and social integration. For the purposes of this study, voluntary associations are defined as those organisations that people join on a voluntary basis, are non-profit making, and which provide a forum for recreational, spiritual, social and/or community activities and pursuits. In this survey these organisations included churches, sports clubs, service clubs, arts clubs (for music, etc.), recreational clubs (for gardening, horticulture, conservation) and community associations. Conducted during 2000-2001 the study involved: (a) a postal survey of voluntary associations in Auckland and Wellington to document policies, rules and practices in relation to association membership, immigrant participation rates and policy and practices in relation to immigrants; and (b) follow-up interviews with 17 associations to further explore aspects of interest to the researchers. For the postal survey, completed questionnaires were returned by 161 associations, yielding a response rate of 41.4 percent – though the response rate was higher for associations in Wellington (49.2 percent) than in Auckland (38 percent). The follow-up interviews were conducted with officers of 17 associations selected (from the 64 that volunteered) on the basis of criteria indicating that they were representative of associations participating in the survey.

Survey Results

- For analytical purposes the 161 participating associations have been classified as: Sports Associations (44.7 percent); Religious Associations (19.3 percent); Community Associations (13.7 percent); Recreational Associations (10.6 percent), Service Associations (6.8 percent); and Arts Associations (4.9 percent).
- Membership size varied widely but there appeared to be two main clusters, with about 52 percent of the participating associations in the range 25-199 members and about 37 percent with 200 plus members. While some types of associations were well represented in both clusters (e.g. Sports, Religious and Recreational Associations), smaller membership numbers predominated in the Community, Service and Arts Association categories.
- 22.4 percent of the participating associations reported having members in all age groups. However, aside from organisations in the Community, Religious and Sports categories with members of all ages (32.0, 32.2 and 19.4 percent, respectively) the membership for most of the remainder in these categories tended to be relatively ‘youthful’ (<20-39 years), especially in the case of sports clubs. An ‘older’ membership (40-60 years plus) was characteristic of associations in the Arts and Recreational categories, and the composition of service clubs was decidedly ‘middle aged’ (30-59 years).
• Membership for 92.6 percent of the associations was open to both men and women (4.3 percent were restricted to women and 3.1 percent to men). A bias toward men was nevertheless evident in the membership composition of sports clubs and toward women for associations in the Religious, Community and Recreational categories. Overall, only 31.7 percent of the associations estimated a 50:50 balance of men and women, while (including cases of restricted membership) 33.5 and 27.9 percent reported at least two-thirds of their members were males and females, respectively.

• 85.1 percent of the associations had immigrants amongst their membership, 8.7 percent did not and 6.2 percent reported they did not know. The percentage with immigrant members varied between the six association types, ranging from 100 percent down to 72.7 percent for the Service and Community Association types, respectively. Taken at face value this could be interpreted as a positive result in terms of social integration. However, for reasons that include the ‘token’ presence of immigrants, their traditional vs non-traditional origins, duration of residence and participation in positions of responsibility, it is a finding that must be treated with caution.

• With few exceptions, relations between immigrant and non-immigrant members were reported to be either “excellent” or “very good”.

• 72.3 percent of the associations with immigrant members (99 out of 137) reported no special issues arising between immigrant and non-immigrant members. Of those that did report special issues arising, all noted language barriers and cultural misunderstandings that impeded social interactions.

• Only 19.9 percent of the associations had a policy on encouraging immigrant membership, 47.2 percent did not and 28.6 percent indicated the question was “not applicable”. In the latter case, it was noted that the association generally encouraged all people to join, did not “target specific groups” and/or had “an open policy” where all were welcome.

• 69.6 percent of the respondents thought there were reasons why immigrants might like to join their association, the percentage being somewhat higher among associations in the Religious and Service categories (87.1 and 81.8 percent, respectively). The most common reason was that immigrants might seek to maintain an activity with which they were familiar. However, other respondents thought that membership was perceived to be desirable either because it was welcoming (in a new environment) or because it provided an opportunity to meet people as well as to learn a new activity. In either case, respondents were signalling a belief that immigrants saw membership as a means to facilitate social interaction and/or social integration.

• On the other hand, 36 percent of the respondents thought there were reasons why immigrants might not like to join their association, the percentage being somewhat higher among those from associations in the Religious and Arts categories (58.1 and 50 percent, respectively). In the main they considered it a matter of personal preference (e.g. not interested in the association’s religious activity) but other reasons included the numerous
post-arrival settlement arrangements confronting immigrants, language and cultural barriers, perceived racism etc.

- 61.5 percent of the associations had no interest in immigrant resettlement, 22.4 percent did have an interest, and 13 percent felt that the matter wasn’t applicable to their association. An interest in immigrant settlement was highest among associations in the Religious and Community categories (51.6 and 40.9 percent, respectively).
- Of the 36 associations with an interest in immigrant settlement, 29 provided special services to immigrants. These associations were predominantly (22 out of 29) in the Religious and Community categories, and in most cases (20 out of 29) the services were not directed to specific immigrant groups.
- Funding issues that had to be addressed in order to provide services, were acknowledged by 14 (48.3 percent) of the associations providing services to immigrants – typically by those in the Community Association category.
- Training needs were reported for 13 (44.8 percent) of the associations providing services to immigrants. The needs fell broadly into language training and some instruction that would lead to greater cultural sensitivity when working with people from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Follow-up Interviews

Particular attention was given to associations in the Religious, Community and Service categories which have traditionally had a closer and more interactive relationship with government (local and national), particularly with respect to welfare provision and/or the provision of services and amenities for specific communities. The overall objectives and goals of these associations emphasise activities that contribute to the ‘public good’ and they engage in social practices that contribute to ‘social capital’.

Religious Associations

- The basic needs of immigrants and the assistance given to them by churches have tended to remain constant over time. The assistance provided – housing, household goods, emergency services (meals, night shelter) etc. – conforms to fundamental notions of ‘pastoral care’ that is available on the basis of need to all members of the community, not immigrants alone. Organisation and delivery of this assistance usually falls on volunteers and funding is usually derived from the congregation and sometimes businesses and local government bodies.
- Although the basic needs of immigrants have remained fairly constant, the economic and social context within which assistance is provided, as well as the composition of the client population, has changed dramatically. Officers interviewed stressed changes in the labour market and immigration. These changes, not matched by changes in public attitudes and behaviour, resulted in problems of discrimination and racism with consequent increases in calls
for assistance. ‘Racial tension’ was another aspect of the changing context, especially in Auckland where the ethnic composition of some suburbs had changed quickly.

- Churches are global institutions with trans-national connections which may allow immigrants with pre-migration affiliations to have a connection with or an entrée to a like church in New Zealand. Domestically, churches also have formal links with other associations of the same denomination and informal links with both government and non-government organisations via members of their congregations. Such links may and do serve as channels for the expression of concerns and advocacy in the interests of immigrants.

- Contact and interaction with immigrants in the community was part of the philosophy of ‘outreach’ or ‘pastoral care’ that involved various positive initiatives. However, such initiatives could have negative consequences for the principle and practice of open membership if cliques were formed that gave the impression a church was welcoming to some but not all prospective immigrant members.

- Support for assistance initiatives was not always unanimous. It took time to convince those in a congregation whose initial responses were ‘un-civic’ or ‘weak civic’ in the sense that they did not consider the need for assistance to be their responsibility alone but somebody else’s business. These responses have been shaped by at least two factors: a belief that the state has some responsibility for the welfare of citizens/residents, especially when it implements significant policy changes; and a change in the experience of providing settlement assistance. With regard to the second factor, early experiences were motivated by a desire to help immigrants to become permanent residents and citizens who would demonstrate loyalty and reciprocity by contributing to New Zealand society. However, in recent years a significant number of immigrants who had received assistance moved overseas once they gained citizenship. This shift from permanent to semi-permanent or temporary settlement challenged normative definitions of community and reciprocity, and undermined trust and civility.

- The participants stressed that their churches had moved from ‘charitable’ relationships (that may perpetuate dependency and disadvantage) toward the establishment of community partnerships (that empower people). This shift involves a dialogue with those in need and working with them to address and instigate social change. The key determinant of success in this process is that permanent settlement is sought and achieved.

- Auckland, as compared with Wellington, was considered to have become a ‘fragmented’ city that lacked a coordination of services for new immigrants and a coordinated approach to their settlement.

- Some church officers argued that increasing needs were a consequence of government policy, and government’s lack of commitment to the provision of settlement services was taken as an indication of ineffective follow-up to policy decisions and changes. All stressed the need for a settlement policy and funded initiatives that addressed the implications and outcomes of
changes in immigration policy. \textit{Note:} it was in the context of such arguments and views that government responded by developing the New Zealand Settlement Strategy that was eventually implemented in 2004.

- \textbf{Best practice features} identified for churches included the need to: (a) be aware of and maintain a focus upon basic needs in the provision of assistance; (b) maintain trans-national links to provide immigrants with an entrée to a like church in New Zealand; (c) utilise the domestic institutional links of church members as a channel for advocacy and/or the expression of concerns to other organisations; (d) maintain open membership as the basis for pastoral care; and (e) engage in community building initiatives based on partnerships, not charity.

\textbf{Community Associations}

- There was a marked difference between associations affiliated or not affiliated with a church. Those \textit{not affiliated} were based in community halls, purpose built or leased facilities; typically worked within their own locality or suburb; and their involvement with immigrants tended to be transitory or (in low-income suburbs) immigrant needs were not differentiated from those of the community in general. In comparison, where associations \textit{were affiliated} with a church: their premises were part of or added onto existing church buildings; their relationships with immigrants seemed to be long-term, continuous and personalised; and they tended not to work rigidly within their own locality or suburb.
- Associations providing more continuous services were located in neighbourhoods with a history of settlement by various immigrant groups where the provision of services in response to needs appeared to have become self-perpetuating.
- All associations were using local council grants to employ a person to oversee the provision of services and activities, while other funding was sought to ensure the continuity of provision. Heavy reliance was placed on volunteer workers to deliver services and/or manage activities.
- Participants reiterated the issue of ‘fragmentation’ with respect to service provision for immigrants and the low or non-existent service coordination level in Auckland as compared with Wellington (coordination in the latter benefited from local council funding links and networks established with others working in this field).
- The initiation and extent of service provision for immigrants was often directly connected to the motivation and enthusiasm of specific personnel. However, if these people left it was by no means certain that the degree of involvement could or would be maintained. Without any formal objective regarding service provision for immigrants or a mechanism to appoint personnel with an interest in this area, the outcome in terms of service continuity has been more one of accident than of design. Because of service
‘fragmentation’ the potential for discontinuity appeared to be greater in Auckland than in Wellington.

- **Best practice features** for associations in the Community category included: (a) the benefits (in terms of resources, relationships with clients etc.) to be gained from affiliation with churches; (b) the need to engage in networking to facilitate service coordination; and (c) recognising the value of specific interested personnel for the development, introduction and continuity of services for immigrants.

**Service Associations**

- Unlike other associations, service club membership is not open but gained by invitation and/or nomination on the basis of certain criteria. For example, prospective members are expected to be well established in their field of employment and to have a ‘sound’ reputation in the local community. Given that immigrant members in most of the service clubs had typically been in New Zealand for over twenty years, such criteria obviously discriminate against recent arrivals.

- Given the nature of the membership process and criteria, new settlers are more likely to be *service recipients* rather than association *members and service providers*. In this sense, their interaction with these associations is essentially unidirectional, which deprives service clubs of their skills and insights and contrasts sharply with that of new settlers involved with both churches and community centres.

- Although networks had been established throughout the cities in which these service clubs were based (typically involving links with other branches of the parent association, the local council and branches of non-affiliated service organisations), interactions in these networks were characteristically limited to annual meetings or special events.

- All of the service clubs had overseas links with their parent body and ‘sister’ clubs that were reinforced by regular international meetings where officers could meet their counterparts from abroad. Yet while these links undoubtedly fostered international awareness and understanding, they did not (unlike the global links of churches) facilitate immediate membership or contacts for new arrivals to New Zealand.

- In part a consequence of their membership criteria, all of the participating service clubs reported an ageing and declining membership that could force some to close. As a consequence of this study, however, one of these clubs saw new immigrants in a different light, and decided to pursue them as potential members. If successful, this decision was likely to have positive spin-offs for its membership size and composition, community relations and interactions, service provision and network expansion.

- **Best practice features** of service clubs included: (a) the need to change attitudes with respect to the criteria and functions of membership in order to capitalise on international links and facilitate immigrant membership; and
(b) recognition of the value of immigrants as prospective members to arrest the ageing and decline of club membership and to change the unidirectional nature of interaction with immigrants.

Conclusions

Key conclusions arising from this study may be summarised as follows.

Immigrant Settlement and Integration

Are the host society’s voluntary associations contributing to immigrant settlement and engaged in integrative practices?

- For organisations in the Religious and Community Association categories the answer to the question is in the affirmative. In part this is a direct consequence of their objectives which entail focusing on the community as a whole and then actively identifying needs within that community. They are therefore more likely to provide explicit services for immigrants when their needs are evident in the community. Adhering to the principle of open membership they also demonstrated a commitment to providing a place for social interaction and a willingness to facilitate connections with wider social networks. However, the willingness of church members to assist may be eroded by transmigration which has the potential to undermine common understandings of community, loyalty, reciprocity and social trust.

- Associations in the Sports, Recreational and Arts categories are also committed to the principal of open membership, but are activity rather than needs focused and therefore do not target particular groups such as immigrants for attention or assistance.

- Clubs in the Service Association category presented an interesting anomaly. Although their formal objectives are about the promotion of civility and contributing to civil society, unlike other associations they have traditionally not had open membership and their membership criteria disadvantage new immigrants. Being ‘well established’ (i.e. of good reputation etc.) is fundamental to membership and a long duration of residence is central to becoming established. Inevitably, service clubs had few members who were new immigrants. Nor did they typically provide services for immigrants as settlement issues were usually not considered relevant to the club or at best were issues to which not much thought had been given.

Perceptions of Difference and Integration

Although almost all of the participants reported excellent or good relationships between immigrant and non-immigrant members in their associations, the study nevertheless revealed issues concerning the perception of differences.

- Immigration has become ethnicised or racialised. In some cases people from traditional source countries (notably the United Kingdom) were not really
considered to be immigrants or their identification and status as immigrants was open to question, whereas people from non-traditional source countries (especially if English was a second language) were more likely to be identified as immigrants. It was the perception of ‘sameness’ that diluted ‘immigrant’ status.

- Where difficulties had arisen between immigrant and non-immigrant members, they were typically referred to as “cultural and language barriers.” The resolution of these difficulties, some argued, relied on the tolerance and patience of the non-immigrant majority (not always possible as some members were not particularly interested in engaging with new immigrants), while others observed that the immigrants needed to adjust. In general, therefore, some associations were attempting integration and some were relying on assimilation.

- There was also confusion regarding the dominant cultural discourse on difference in New Zealand society. Many participants appeared to be torn between the legislative requirement that they treat everybody the same and the expectation that they simultaneously celebrate and value cultural difference. For many of the associations that participated in this study (notably those in the Sports, Recreational and Arts Association categories) negotiating a pathway between the requirement and the expectation has in practice led to assimilation. Importantly, however, there appeared to be less confusion and a commitment to integration among the churches and community organisations which are actively engaged in providing services to meet the basic needs of all members of their communities in the true spirit of a civil society.

Policies and the Relevance of Immigrant Settlement

Although none of the associations had formal policies on immigrant settlement, the perceived relevance of immigrant settlement to associations was usually indicated by the presence or absence of informal policies.

- Where informal policies were present they typically involved encouraging immigrants to join, usually via word of mouth by existing members and local advertising. Many associations in this group stressed that they made everybody feel welcome.

- Most associations lacking informal policies felt that immigrant settlement issues were “not relevant” or “not applicable” to them. In conjunction with other comments, this response might be interpreted or explained: (a) as evidence of a degree of intolerance that in a few cases was indicative of racist attitudes; (b) as evidence of weak civic engagement, where immigrant settlement was considered to be somebody else’s business; and/or (c) as a straightforward response in relation to the association’s specific objectives, its focus on a particular activity and protection of the principle of open membership rather than focus on the needs or position of any specific group. Should immigrant settlement and integration be relevant to these
associations? Not necessarily. It is entirely possible that if they did target specific groups they would put their open membership at risk. Furthermore, to prescribe a focus of activity for associations with no direct interest in an issue could undermine the social capital they generate which already involves (e.g. in sports clubs) the participation of immigrant members.

**The Provision of Services**

The provision of services for immigrant settlement and integration requires the informed, coordinated participation of both voluntary associations and the state in order to maximise the benefits and to avoid negative outcomes.

- Associations in the Religious and Community categories dominated the provision of services for immigrants. However, participants indicated that these associations were doing all they could with the resources available to tackle increased needs and that the needs were not being adequately addressed. They did not see the task to be the responsibility of voluntary associations alone but as something to be done in conjunction with the state which needs to be better informed and to bear some responsibility for service coordination.

- In terms of immigrant social integration, it may be important for the state to support the more open and generic work being done by voluntary associations, not just those providing welfare-related services but also those focused on other activities (e.g. artistic, sporting) which foster the social relationships and social cohesion that are vital for a civil society.

- If immigrant needs are too heavily targeted with state funding, there is a risk that association members will ‘ethnicise’ need. This could negatively affect integration for at least two reasons. First, it could obscure the fact that many of the problems and difficulties immigrants encounter are of long standing and shared with other groups in New Zealand society (note: commonality may engender empathy whereas difference that commands a special need can engender prejudice etc.). Second, it could reinforce the new settler’s identity as an ‘immigrant’ as opposed to being just another person seeking to satisfy a need or to pursue an interest by becoming an ordinary member of a voluntary association.

In essence, it is argued that the voluntary sector has an important role to perform in: (a) the development of a balanced, well integrated institutional structure of immigration; (b) the achievement of a reduction in the settlement difficulties experienced by immigrants; and (c) the attainment of an increase in the benefits accruing to New Zealand from its immigration policy.
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INTRODUCTION

In the late 1980s and early 1990s a number of significant changes occurred in New Zealand’s immigration policy – notably the removal of a traditional source country preference, the establishment of an entrepreneur/business migrant programme and the introduction of a points system for skilled immigrants. These changes, together with adjustments to policy provisions for family reunification and temporary entry, contributed to a major increase in immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds throughout the last decade of the old millennium (see Trlin, 1992, 1997; Lidgard et al., 1998a). As part of a shift in economic direction, immigration policy changes and images of cultural diversity were increasingly linked with a programme of economic deregulation and restructuring informed by a neo-liberal philosophy of economic management and efficiency (Pearson, 1996: 259). Therefore, with the state quickly withdrawing as a significant owner of enterprises and as an employer, reassessing its role in relation to welfare and state assistance, and with high levels of unemployment arising from the processes of economic deregulation and restructuring, New Zealanders experienced a period of rapid social change.

During this period many researchers asked if New Zealanders were ready for the consequences of changes in immigration policy; that is, increases in the numbers of immigrants, cultural diversity and the need for settlement services. In the main it was argued that they were not (see Spoonley et al., 1996; Greif, 1996). A large body of research during the 1990s demonstrated that New Zealand as a host society was ill-prepared, and that there was no real coordination between the Immigration Service, volunteer groups, educational institutions and employers (see Trlin and Barnard, 1997; Trlin, 2005). Indeed, even at the beginning of the new millennium, New Zealand did not have an official policy on the provision of settlement services (Ho et al., 2000; Trlin and Watts, 2004) nor a policy position with respect to how it was going to respond to increasing diversity. In addition to these deficiencies, little was done to prepare and educate the wider community so that they might receive new settlers from diverse backgrounds in an understanding and tolerant manner.

The process of immigration involves not only preparing the immigrant for life in the host society but also preparation on the part of the host society. Generally, despite popular rhetoric, the incorporation of new settlers is less dependent on the backgrounds and characteristics of the immigrants than it is on the host society’s history (including its experience of immigration), its interests, identities, norms and localised conceptions of how social cohesion can be explained, realised and maintained (Baubock, 1996a: 19, 21). These features of the host society permeate and inform its internal structure and ultimately shape the nature of immigrant incorporation. The host society, in other words, is not simply a passive recipient of new settlers but a dominant actor.
Assimilation and integration are the two principal concepts that have influenced immigration programmes in New Zealand, and as prescriptive concepts have been central to explanations of how new settlers can be incorporated into New Zealand society while maintaining social cohesion. Assimilation – the process whereby the immigrant adapts, changes, abandons cultural practices and is ultimately absorbed into the dominant culture – was the dominant prescriptive concept until the 1980s (Fletcher, 1999). To facilitate assimilation, immigrants were selected on the basis of shared likeness with the host population and restrictions were placed on those that could not claim likeness and might challenge cultural homogeneity. Assimilation also informed domestic ethnic relations but by the late 1970s cultural homogeneity (as both goal and claimed reality) had been challenged, most significantly by Maori, and increasingly cultural diversity was acknowledged and then embraced in the interests of social harmony (Barber, 1989: 9).\(^1\) With respect to immigrant settlement, the prescriptive concept of integration replaced assimilation. Settlement and incorporation was now seen as an interactive process wherein immigrants understand and respect the values of the host society which in turn understands and respects the cultural practices and traditions of immigrants. This process of interactive mutual respect and adjustment is held to contribute to social unity, economic growth and prosperity.

However, while New Zealand has now acknowledged it is a pluralistic society it would be an exaggeration to claim that it has embraced the notion of a pluralistic culture. Ethnic debate since the 1970s has increasingly revolved around a bicultural axis; that of Maori and Pakeha. An exclusive binarism, underpinned by essentialist notions of culture and the objectification of difference, it encourages a view of social worlds as separate and bounded with membership assigned at birth (Pearson, 1996: 265). The implications of this exclusive binary have been explored by a number of researchers who found that many new settlers could not be placed in either ‘world’ (i.e. Maori or Pakeha), and that marginality characterised their settlement experience (see Greif, 1996; Mohanram, 1998; Wittman, 1998). Therefore, while a shift from assimilation to integration can be identified, it has to be remembered that the shift has occurred largely as a consequence of domestic ethnic relations and it is the nature of these relations that ultimately shapes the experience of new settlers.

Since the immigration policy changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s, researchers in the field have documented the settlement experiences, problems and difficulties

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\(^1\) By the 1970s numerous policies had failed to effectively integrate Maori into the New Zealand economy and assimilationist practices had undermined their cultural identity. In addition to the domestic realities, and Maori resistance, international debates over human rights and self-determination recommended that societies such as New Zealand should foster an understanding that minority cultures contribute to and enrich societies (Barber, 1989: 6; Pearson, 1996: 259). Legislative changes mark this transition, including the Race Relations Act 1972 and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 (Pearson, 1996: 262).
of immigrants under most if not all entry or residence categories. Generally, they explored the relationship between new settlers and the state, new settlers and the labour market and to a lesser extent the on-arrival and post-arrival experiences and practices adopted by immigrant households or families. Interestingly, there is an absence of research that considers the role of voluntary associations that operate more or less independently of the state, labour market, household or family. While the latter are clearly important in terms of integration, so too (in a modern liberal democracy) is the role of the host society’s voluntary associations, the ability of immigrants to gain membership of and to participate in their activities, and to form their own associations when required (Baubock, 1996b).

The term ‘voluntary association’ refers to: (a) an individual’s ability to voluntarily enter into an association with others to share a pursuit, participate in a service, pursue a social issue and to experience communion; and (b) an organisation or institution within which these activities may occur. In the institutional sense of the term, the association’s basic features are: that membership is acquired voluntarily and exiting is also usually voluntary; it has a certain degree of internal democracy (collective decision making); and the more distant it is from the core institutions (state, labour market and family) the less constrained it is by these institutions. Thus, a trade union is an example of a voluntary association that has a functional imperative established by the labour market and is therefore in action much more constrained by this relationship than say a religious congregation (Baubock, 1996b: 87-88). Another feature is that it does not have a monopoly over its field of activity; there is association pluralism, and thus a range of choice which ensures the individual’s ability to voluntarily engage or disengage as well as the possibility of multiple memberships. Voluntary associations also generally lack an ability to dominate the life prospects of members or the powers of coercion, a feature which differentiates them from core institutions.3

Given the above characteristics, it is generally acknowledged that voluntary associations are an important site of interaction, provide a context within which cultural discourse can take place, perform important functions with respect to the maintenance of civil society, and offer a potential ‘training’ ground for those new to a society and/or culture. Lacking the powers of coercion, voluntary associations can provide a milieu in which members may learn the virtues of civility – i.e. the willingness to use arguments, to listen to them in the pursuit of one’s interests and

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2 For example, see: Boyer (1996); Friesen and Ip (1997); Henderson et al. (2001); Ho et al. (1997); Lidgard (1996); Lidgard et al. (1998b); Watts and Trlín (1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d, 2000); Beal and Sos (1999).

3 Voluntary associations can become coercive (e.g. religious sects, some social movements), a transformation that often involves co-opting practices (e.g. the censoring of free speech and thought) that reflect one or more of the core institutions of modern society. In an open and well balanced civil society, however, such practices are seldom left unchallenged (Baubock, 1996b: 89).
to refrain from coercion. More generally it is argued that a plurality of associations
and the pluralistic nature of membership may offer a means by which members can
bridge the social cleavages of class, region, religion, ethnicity or political ideology
(Baubock, 1996b: 76, 88). Clearly voluntary associations are capable of offering
immigrants the opportunity to engage in a range of activities, to pursue social
issues, to experience and participate in a shared public culture, and in doing so to
connect with networks that may assist in bridging social cleavages which are
potential obstacles to integration and social cohesion in a modern society.

The history of voluntary associations in New Zealand dates back to the time of
colonial settlement, yet the research record is uneven and understanding of this
social ‘field’ – often referred to as the ‘third sector’ – has long been limited with
respect to both welfare and leisure (see Pitt, 1973). Despite signs of increasing
interest since the early 1990s (e.g. Hawke and Robinson, 1993; Hillary Commission,
1993, Frater, et al., 1998; Tennant, 2001; New Zealand Association of Citizens
Advice Bureau, 1993), however, at the time of the present survey there were no
New Zealand studies known to the authors that looked at immigrant involvement
in the host society’s voluntary associations, nor relations between the members of
voluntary associations and new settlers. Accordingly, the aim of this study is to
redress the paucity of such research and to contribute to our understanding of:

- immigrant involvement in voluntary associations in Auckland and Wellington;
- the relationship between voluntary associations and immigrant settlement;
- the policies and practices of voluntary associations in relation to immigrants;
- and voluntary associations engaged in providing services to immigrants, with
  particular reference to the nature of the services and constraints experienced in
  their provision.

This project is part of the New Settlers Programme. As such it seeks to contribute to
the attainment of three broad, inter-related outcomes – namely:

- the development of what has been described as a balanced, well integrated
  institutional structure of immigration (for a definition and discussion, see Trlin,
  1993);
- a reduction in the difficulties experienced by immigrants in the process of
  settlement; and
- an increase in the benefits accruing to New Zealand from its immigration
  programme.

For further information on the New Settlers Programme, see Trlin et al. (1998) and
the list of selected New Settlers Programme publications provided at the end of this
report.
METHODOLOGY

This project involved: (a) a postal survey of voluntary associations in Auckland and Wellington; and (b) follow-up interviews with 17 officers representing selected associations that participated in the postal survey.

Postal Survey of Voluntary Associations

A 35-item questionnaire (see Appendix 1) devised by the authors with input from Associate Professor Noel Watts, was sent by post to 389 voluntary associations (churches, sports clubs, service clubs, special interest clubs etc.) in Auckland and Wellington during the period February to March 2000. Auckland and Wellington were chosen because of their status as New Zealand’s two main immigrant destinations and areas of immigrant settlement. Voluntary associations within these two locations were targeted on the basis of their listing with city councils, public libraries and citizen’s advice bureaux, a combination of sources that provided a comprehensive, up-to-date mailing list for each urban area. Where possible, associations included as potential participants in the survey were limited to those of the host society (i.e. any readily identifiable as immigrant/non-Maori ethnic voluntary associations were set aside for a possible future study).

Voluntary associations accepting the invitation to participate in the survey were asked to fill in the questionnaire, to indicate if they would be agreeable to a possible follow-up interview, and to return the document in the Freepost envelope provided. A total of 161 questionnaires were returned completed. A further 10 questionnaires were returned uncompleted with explanatory notes attached. The overall response rate (excluding the 10 uncompleted returns) was 41.4 percent, the response rate for Wellington (49.2 percent) being higher than that of Auckland (38 percent). The characteristics of the participating associations are presented as part of the survey results in the next section of this report.

A mail survey response rate of 60 per cent is considered by Babbie (1998: 262) to be “good” and one of 70 percent to be “very good”. Obviously the overall response rate for this survey (41.4 percent) falls below the desired levels. There are a number of possible reasons for this relatively low response rate, two of which were given by those who returned the 10 uncompleted questionnaires. Here the recipients noted that they considered the survey “not relevant” to their association and/or that time constraints prevented them from responding. It is possible, indeed very likely, that other non-respondents were also too busy and/or considered the survey “not relevant”. At issue here (aside from the difficulty of devising a list of potential participants to whom the relevance of the survey would be immediately evident) is the influence of at least three factors. First, the demands made on the time and energy of typically unpaid officers in voluntary associations. Second, the apparent inability or unwillingness of some potential respondents to grasp and acknowledge
the contribution made by voluntary associations to integration and social cohesion in a society experiencing rapid changes in international migration. And third, a somewhat negative media and public perception of immigration, immigrants and the provision of services to immigrants (especially in Auckland) around the beginning of the new millennium (see Spoonley and Trlin, 2004; Liu, 2005; Butcher et al., 2006).

Follow-up Interviews

The second stage of this study involved follow-up interviews with 17 officers of participating associations. Purposively selected from among 64 that volunteered for this part of the project, the 17 associations were chosen on the basis of criteria (type of association, size, geographic location, services for immigrants offered or not, and immigrant membership) indicating that they were representative of host society voluntary associations operating within both urban areas. Personal, tape recorded interviews with the officers were conducted by the principal researcher (Lovelock) over the period August 2000 to January 2001. A copy of the interview schedule is presented in Appendix 2.
SURVEY RESULTS

In accord with the basic structure of the survey questionnaire (Appendix 1), the results are presented here in three sections that provide: (a) a general profile of the participating associations; (b) a review of aspects of the immigrant membership of the participating associations; and (c) details concerning the provision of services for immigrants.

Profile of Participating Associations

The six types of voluntary associations participating in this survey (N=161) were as follows:

- **Sports Associations** (72, or 44.7 percent), that included those devoted to soccer, hockey, rugby, martial arts, tennis, badminton, netball, basketball, running, gymnastics, table tennis and chess (the latter defined by participants as a sport);
- **Religious Associations** (31, or 19.3 percent), consisting of churches of all of the main Christian denominations (predominantly Protestant) and one only non-Christian congregation;
- **Community Associations** (22, or 13.7 percent), all of which were partially funded by their respective city councils;
- **Recreational Associations** (17, or 10.6 percent), which included horticultural groups, conservation groups and various social clubs;
- **Service Associations** (11, or 6.8 percent), that provided services to the community and were engaged in fund raising and volunteer work; and
- **Arts Associations** (8, or 4.9 percent), which included those engaged in the visual arts, art appreciation and music.

All of these voluntary associations were subject to the then current legislative provisions and regulations (e.g. Incorporated Societies Act 1908, Friendly Societies and Credit Unions Act 1962, Privacy Act 1993, Community Trusts Act 1999 etc.).

Among the 142 participating associations for which the establishment date was known and reported, 73 (51.4 percent) had been formed after 1951, another 46 (32.4 percent) had been set up during the period 1901-1950, and the rest traced their origins back to the second half of the 1800s. There were, of course, some notable differences between the six types of associations with respect to their establishment periods; for example, whereas most of those in the Sports Association category were established pre-1951 (with some dating from the mid 1800s like a number in the Religious Association category), the majority in the Community, Recreational and especially Service Association categories were founded between 1951 and 2000. Such differences can probably be attributed to urban development, increasing prosperity and wider social changes in New Zealand society. In these terms, the ‘recent’ formation of bodies in the Community Association category may reflect a response to service needs in developing suburbs and signal the formalisation of
increasing community responsibility for welfare. In contrast, the formation of clubs in the Service Association category (all of which have international origins) is possibly indicative of increasing prosperity, coupled with the desire (evidenced by their constitutional objectives) to assist in developing modern amenities and services and to contribute to social unity by building stronger communities.

Only 126 (78.3 percent) of the participating associations were reported to have a constitution, and of these the majority provided either an outline or a copy of the document concerned. In each case the constitution sets out the formal parameters of the organisation, in essence presenting its public face. Having examined these documents, a number of observations can be made about them and differences between the types of associations involved.

- The constitutions provided by participants in the Sports, Arts and Recreational Association categories generally have a similar format and address much the same issues and concerns. For example, the administrative structure and executive positions are outlined along with the objectives of the club which typically indicate an intention to promote, foster, establish, maintain, organise and regulate a particular activity. For sports clubs the laws/rules of the game are sometimes outlined but usually reference is made to national standards or guidelines. Membership is typically open to all, though it is sometimes limited by residence in a particular suburb/district or subject to a vacancy in the case of restricted membership numbers.

- With respect to religious voluntary associations, the constitutions provided outline privileges rather than objectives, using words such as teaching, nurturing, cultivating fellowship, knowing and observing the faith. Details on the roles and functions of officers are provided, including the Finance Committee, as well as information on property and maintenance responsibilities. Some provide a summary of major beliefs and most offer information on their ministries, variously referred to as “outreach” initiatives and/or “pastoral care”, such as involvement in the provision of a food-bank or hostel. One church appended a “new missions” field with suggestions on how the congregation could reach out to people from other nations. Membership requirements are outlined (including baptism, membership by transfer, and acceptance by the congregation) and it is usually noted that attempts are made to encourage active membership by those not attending services.

- Service Association constitutions place emphasis on: the promotion of good government and citizenship; civic, cultural and social and moral welfare of the community; good fellowship; and the provision of a forum for discussion (but partisan politics and sectarian religion are not to be debated). Service without financial reward is encouraged. Unless restricted by gender, membership is open to potential members of both sexes but it must be stressed that these associations differ from all others participating in the study in that obtaining entry or membership is by nomination or invitation only.
All of these constitutions are written in English and would require a reasonable English language reading proficiency in order to be understood. Assuming this proficiency and that they are made available to all members, the constitutions in each case offer a transparent and explicit outline of the: goals and aims of the association; the rules of interaction; the procedures to follow; meeting schedules etc. In general, unlike other aspects of social life, the constitutions offer an immigrant from a different socio-cultural background a guide and immediate introduction to the parameters and internal processes of a specific sphere of social life in New Zealand society. In this respect, these documents can serve to facilitate integration.

**Membership: rules, size, location and composition (age and sex)**

As noted above, the association constitutions included details of membership criteria. They usually also provided information on membership categories or classes as well as covering disciplinary measures to admonish, suspend or expel members for reasons such as: (a) non-observance of the rules of conduct and non-observance or abuse of the association's objects in the case of sports, arts and recreational clubs; and (b) religious practices or holding doctrines inconsistent with those of the church. It was somewhat surprising, therefore, that only 102 (63.3 percent) of all the participating associations indicated that they had rules for their members, while slightly more than one-fifth reported that they didn't and about 14 percent stated that such rules were not applicable in their case. Predictably there were marked differences between the six types of associations. More than three-quarters of the service and sports clubs (81.8 and 77.8 percent, respectively) had rules for members, compared with about two-thirds to half of the associations in the Arts, Community and Recreational categories (62.5, 59.1 and 52.9 percent, respectively) and little more than one-third of those in the Religious Associations category, where about another third reported they were not applicable. On balance, it seems that this variation may be attributed (as appropriate) to one or more factors of membership size, salience of conduct or association activity or objectives (e.g. unsportsmanlike behaviour) and credo specification.

Membership size varied widely but there appeared to be two main clusters, with about 52 percent of the participating associations in the range 25-199 members and about 37 percent with 200 plus members. While some types of associations were well represented among those in both membership clusters (e.g. Sports, Religious and Recreational Associations), it is clear that in the Community, Service and Arts Association categories the participating organisations were predominantly among those with smaller membership numbers (Table 1). There is, however, a need for caution with respect to both the Community and Service types. In the case of Community Associations, membership refers to the approximate number of people accessing services on a regular basis, a number that is subject to fluctuation. This reflects the aim and function of these associations so that the boundary between the institution and the community, and the nature of interaction between them, is
constantly changing and thus ‘membership’ is more fluid than that of other types of associations. For Service Clubs, on the other hand, it should be noted that three associations reported more than 1,000 members but in each case this referred to membership in the wider urban area rather than their particular suburban ‘branch’.

**Table 1: Types of participating voluntary associations by membership size**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of members</th>
<th>Association types</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-99</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-199</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-499</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-999</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;1000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NS*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* DK/NS = Don’t know/Not specified

In the majority of cases (86 out of 161, or 53.4 percent) an association’s members were reported to live relatively close to each other. This feature, in part an obvious outcome of an organisation’s function and/or membership criteria, was most pronounced for the members of associations in the Community and Service categories (both 63.6 percent), and closely followed by sports clubs (61.1 percent). Contrary to the ‘localised’ conception of a parish congregation, however, only 45.2 percent of the churches reported that their members lived relatively close to each other – perhaps reflecting factors such as the residential dispersal of members at different life-cycle stages and/or the ability of people to seek out and maintain access to a specific church or other religious institution attuned to their particular spiritual needs (as well as the linguistic and/or other cultural requirements for immigrant ethnic groups). Finally, as expected for voluntary associations catering for people with more ‘specialised’ interests, those in the Arts and Recreational Association categories required a larger catchment area and were therefore less likely to have members living in relatively close proximity to each other (12.5 and 35.3 percent, respectively). Residential proximity would possibly have important implications for immigrants, particularly if they had yet to gain employment or were under-employed; clearly, meeting people from the local host community would be more likely via interactions with the members of voluntary associations in the Community, Service and Sports categories.
Although 36 (22.4 percent) of the 161 participating associations reported that they catered for and had members in all age groups from under 20 to 60 years and over, there was as expected some evidence of age composition variation between the different association types. For example, aside from the substantial proportion of associations in the Community, Religious and Sports categories with members of all ages (32.0, 32.2 and 19.4 percent, respectively) the membership for most of the remaining associations in these categories tended to be relatively ‘youthful’ (<20-39 years), especially (and predictably) in the case of sports clubs. By comparison, an ‘older’ membership (40-60 years and over) was characteristic of associations in the Arts and Recreational categories. Finally, the composition of clubs in the Service category, a number of which reported a declining and aging membership, was decidedly ‘middle aged’ (30-59 years) with none of them reporting membership either under 30 years or 60 years and over – perhaps reflecting a link in some cases between membership and an occupation, and also membership costs for those living on a pension or superannuation.

In terms of gender composition, it must be noted first that for 149 (92.6 percent) of the participating associations membership was open to both men and women. Of the remainder, 7 (4.3 percent) were restricted to women and 5 (3.1 percent) to men. The gender restrictions applied to: 4 sports clubs (3 restricted to men); 4 in the Community Association category (all for women only); 1 each for the Religious and Arts categories (both for women only); and 1 each for the Service and Recreational categories (both for men only). When the then current gender composition of association membership was considered, a bias toward men was evident among sports clubs and toward women for associations in the Religious, Community and Recreational categories. Overall, 51 associations (31.7 percent) estimated a 50:50 balance of men and women, while (including cases where membership was restricted) 54 (33.5 percent) reported at least two-thirds of their members were males, and 45 (27.9 percent) reported that females accounted for at least two-thirds of their members. Eleven associations (6.8 percent) offered no response or indicated that their gender composition was unknown.

**Meetings: frequency, language and location**

Apart from 8 (5 percent) that were reported to meet irregularly, meetings were held by the other associations at least once a month with almost half (47.2 percent) of them meeting about once a week. English was the main language used for meetings and other purposes (e.g. meeting minutes) by 95.6 percent of these associations, the exceptions being cases (e.g. in the Religious Association category) where the first language for many members was a Chinese or Pacific Island language.

The majority of the participating associations commonly held meetings in either their own premises (43.5 percent) or a local community hall (19.9 percent), while the bulk of the remainder (30.4 percent) met in a variety of other venues (including open air locations and a public bar) that often changed from week to week. In 10
cases (6.2 percent) meetings took place in people’s homes. There were marked variations between the different types of associations: almost two-thirds of the sports clubs met in their own premises (compared with about one-third of the associations in the Religious and Community categories); while clubs in the Service and Arts categories (and most of the Religious and Community Association types) commonly met in either local community halls or people’s homes.

**Immigrant Members**

For the purposes of this survey, a critical question concerned the presence or otherwise of immigrants among an association’s members. In response to the question presented, 137 (85.1 percent) of the participating associations replied “Yes” to having immigrant members, 14 (8.7 percent) answered “No” and 10 (6.2 percent) replied “Don’t know”. As shown in Table 2, the percentage answering “Yes” varied between the six types of association, ranging from 100 percent down to 72.7 percent for the Service and Community Association types, respectively. Taken at face value this finding could be interpreted as a very positive result in terms of social integration. However, for reasons indicated below it is a result that needs to be treated with considerable caution.

**Table 2: Immigrants in participating voluntary associations: presence and estimated percentage of membership by type of association**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% “Yes”</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Does association have immigrants among its members?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1-2%</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-10%</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-25%</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-50%</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+%</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first reason for caution concerns whether or not the presence of immigrants was anything more than a ‘token’ presence. Bearing in mind that the foreign-born accounted for almost 19 percent of New Zealand’s total population in 2001, the need for caution is borne out in Table 2. Overall, of the 137 associations that reported having immigrant members, 75 (54.8 percent) indicated that immigrants
accounted for no more than 10 percent of their membership, and a further 22 (16 percent) estimated that immigrants accounted for 11-25 percent of the membership. In broad terms, it seems that the under-representation of immigrants was most acute (i.e. ‘token’ in nature) among those in the Sports and Community Association categories. Conversely, the under-representation seemed to be least evident among organisations in both the Arts and Religious Association categories (Table 2). The somewhat tentative (seems/seemed) identification of this pattern stems from the number of cases (16, or 11.7 percent) where respondents replied “Don’t know”.

A second reason for caution concerns the origins of the foreign-born. The issue here is whether or not immigrants from both ‘traditional’ and ‘non-traditional’ origins are well represented among the members of associations. In some cases there may also be an issue regarding the recognition of long-term residents from certain overseas origins as even being immigrants at all. For example, an interesting feature of the initial question on the immigrant presence was that it elicited a number of written comments asking if people from “England” or “Britain” were immigrants, even after they have been in New Zealand for 20 years.

Table 3: Origins of immigrant members of participating voluntary associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant origins</th>
<th>Q.18 “Where do your immigrant members come from?” (N=137)</th>
<th>Q.19 “Please specify the largest immigrant group.” among members (N=137)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other West Europe</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islands</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other *</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even spread**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other: includes immigrants from Eastern Europe, Iraq, Korea, Sri Lanka, Syria, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, USA.
** Even spread: no one source stands out among the various origins of members.

As shown in Table 3 the need for caution is, to some degree, again borne out. Given New Zealand’s historic ties with the United Kingdom and the preference exercised...
for more than a century in favour of migrants from this source (see Borrie, 1991; Hutching, 1999), it is hardly surprising that the UK was identified: (a) as a place of origin of foreign-born members by over two-thirds of the participating associations; and (b) as the origin of the largest group among the immigrant members of more than a third of all the associations (including as many as two-thirds in the Arts and almost half in the Service Association categories). Australia and Western Europe (excluding the UK), two other ‘traditional’ sources, were also widely identified as immigrant origins, though not as strongly as could be expected when compared with members from the Pacific Islands who were (surprisingly) identified as the largest group in 16 percent of the associations (notably in the Community, Sports and Religious Association categories). Other features of interest in Table 3 include: the relatively ‘weak’ showing of South Africa as a place of origin, especially in comparison with India and China; and the weak presence of members from Taiwan and Malaysia. Immigrants from all five of these origins were represented among the new inflows of skilled, entrepreneur and business migrants during the period 1986-2000. Although there is no obvious explanation for the weak presence of the South Africans, it is likely that difficulties with employment (e.g. recognition of foreign qualifications, English language proficiency, prejudice and discrimination) indirectly impeded host society association membership for the Chinese, Taiwanese and to some extent the Indians (see Boyer, 1996; Henderson et al., 2001; North et al., 1999; Trillin et al., 1999). Finally, the relatively weak position of Taiwan and Malaysia as member origins may also reflect the fact that an initial strong inflow of Taiwanese was severely reduced by immigration policy changes in 1995, while the flow from Malaysia was generally at a lower level in comparison with the other four groups.

A third reason for caution concerns the duration of residence of immigrants. In comparison with long established immigrants, new arrivals often have needs and face difficulties of adjustment that may pose greater challenges for the existing host society members of a voluntary association. With this point in mind it was found that only 112 (out of 137) respondents had any knowledge of the duration of residence of immigrant members, and of these: (a) 89 (79.5 percent) reported that their association’s membership included people who had resided in New Zealand for less than five years; (b) the percentage reporting such members was higher among respondents for associations in the Religious and Community Association categories (92.3 and 81.2 percent, respectively); and (c) while relatively few identified either the ‘traditional’ or the more recent major ‘non-traditional’ origins for their immigrant members with less than five years residency, 56 (62.9 percent) cited a diverse array of other countries of origin (including Croatia, Iraq, Korea, Sri Lanka, Syria, Thailand, the United Arab Emirates and the USA) – a pattern quite different to that for the origins for all immigrant members (see Table 3 above). Overall, these findings lead us to suspect that although most of the associations welcomed new arrivals as members, the numbers involved were probably small and that other post-arrival settlement requirements (e.g. suitable employment) have a higher priority for new settlers than membership of host society voluntary
associations, except where churches and local community organisations provide the means to satisfy ongoing spiritual or other immediate needs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question response</th>
<th>Association types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA*</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total(N=)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NA (Not applicable); the respondent reported “there are no officers in this association.”

Finally, a fourth reason for caution with regard to the reported presence of immigrant members concerns their participation or role(s) in the associations. Are they simply passive members or do they actively engage in the organisation and management of associations? Responses to a question on this topic established that one or more positions of responsibility were currently held by immigrants in just over half of the participating associations. This is undoubtedly a positive indicator of social integration. However, the presence of immigrants in such positions varied widely between the six types of associations, ranging from about 76 to 31 percent for the Religious and Recreational Association categories, respectively (Table 4). Given responses to another question, which indicated that the current pattern regarding positions of responsibility was comparable to that in the past, it does seem (for reasons yet to be determined) that the opportunity for immigrants to take on positions of responsibility is better in some types of associations than in others.

**Intergroup relationships, issues and immigrant contributions**

Using a five point scale (see Appendix 1, Question 17), respondents were asked how they would characterise relationships between immigrant and non-immigrant members of their association. With few exceptions their answers were either “Excellent” or “Very good”. Only one respondent (in a service club) reported that relationships were “Poor”. This result, however, did not mean that interactions between the two groups were almost free of any problems or issues. In response to the question “Are there any special issues that arise between immigrant and non-immigrant members?” it was found that: 99 out of 137 (72.3 percent) answered “No”; 16 (11.7 percent) claimed they didn’t know; 1 (a sports club) basically asserted that the question wasn’t applicable; and 20 (14.6 percent) replied “Yes”.

15
Aside from a single respondent in the Recreational Association category, the acknowledgement of special issues was accounted for by 9 (31 percent) in the Religious, 5 (31.2 percent) in the Community and 5 (8.1 percent) in the Sports Association categories. In all of these cases the respondents referred to language and cultural barriers: some immigrants were reported to experience difficulties with English as a second language; some non-immigrant members were unable to understand immigrants; and cultural misunderstandings arose that were often compounded by language difficulties. These issues or difficulties were reiterated later in the questionnaire (Question 25) together with attention to the attitudes of locals, some of whom felt “less inclined to make friends”. Where all of these factors came together, the language and cultural issues tended to reinforce and legitimate the insular and non-interactive stance by host society members. All too often the outcomes, as one respondent put it, were that immigrants “don’t join, join and adapt, or leave.”

On a more positive note, 33 of the 65 respondents (50.8 percent) to whom Question 26 applied, agreed that immigrant members – because they were immigrants – made special contributions to their associations. As described by the respondents (Question 27) these contributions may be thematically classified as follows:

*colourful* – e.g. “They make life more colourful”;

*diversity* – e.g. “Keep our eyes open to diversity”; “They add a different dimension to the club, a different perspective perhaps”; “When chatting with them you get an insight into their culture and background”;

*travel hints* – e.g. “They pass on information from their homelands and make others aware of what’s to be seen and done”;

*sameness* – e.g. “...no different from any other member; every member brings different experiences to our club”;

*utility* – e.g. “...provide us with an insight into different cultures and perceptions of our society and business”;

*international* – e.g. “Bring overseas experience and different perspectives”, “Remind us that the Church is a global organisation as well as a local one”.

In general, in their descriptions and comments on the special contributions made by immigrants, the respondents emphasised both difference and sameness with a slightly greater emphasis placed on difference. A central tension that emerges here is that they clearly thought that diversity and difference should be celebrated, yet simultaneously revealed that a stance of indifference to difference was the most appropriate (i.e. non-discriminatory) response in practice. Clearly they were aware of the provisions of race relations and human rights legislation but they had also embraced both the shift in rhetoric that came with the changes in immigration policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s (linking cultural diversity to the neo-liberal focus on economic management and efficiency) and the message that embracing cultural diversity would ensure greater prosperity. Furthermore, it seems that the celebration of difference that the respondents allude to is primarily a celebration of
difference that must somehow not alter relationships between members in a structural sense. As Baubock (1996b: 81) observes:

*Democratic and liberal theory has been haunted by the problem of how to reconcile an internal differentiation of society, which increases opportunities and autonomy exercised in individual choices, with the idea of moral equality of all persons and of the equal status of all citizens in a political community.*

It should be noted that how people attempt to achieve this reconciliation has important and far-reaching implications for the integration of new immigrants.

**Encouragement of immigrant membership**

Given the widespread media attention to immigration during the 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium – including the politics of New Zealand First, the “Asian invasion”, crime, economic benefits, and post-arrival settlement difficulties (see Spoonley and Trlin, 2004) – the question arises as to whether or not the host society’s voluntary associations consciously took an active role in immigrant social integration. It appears not. In response to the question “Does your association have a policy on encouraging immigrants to become members?” 47.2 percent of the respondents answered “No” and 28.6 percent “Not applicable” (Table 5). Those answering “Not applicable” noted that their association generally encouraged all people to join, did not “target specific groups” and/or had “an open policy, where all were welcome”.

**Table 5: Encouragement of immigrant membership by types of participating voluntary associations (percentages)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy to get migrants to join</th>
<th>Association types</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NS*</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total(N=)</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*DK/NS: includes only 1 NS (Not specified) case in the Sports Association category

There are two points to note in relation to cases where a policy to encourage membership was reported. First, there were marked differences between the six types of associations (Table 5). Overall, only 19.9 percent of the respondents (32 out of 161) reported a policy, but the percentage was much higher for the Service (45.4
percent) and Religious Association categories (32.2 percent). It seems likely that pre-migration membership of the same or similar associations with trans-national connections may be an important factor in these cases. Second, it was evident from the policy descriptions provided by respondents that (except for the Religious Association category) the encouragement generally occurred by “word of mouth” from current members to immigrants through contacts in paid employment. This point, of course, highlights the value of voluntary association membership as an avenue for social integration given the limited opportunities for on-going social interaction to occur outside the contact facilitating propinquity of the workplace and immediate residential neighbours.

Reasons why immigrants might or might not like to join

When asked if they thought there were any reasons why immigrants might like to join their association, 69.6 percent (112 out of 161) of the respondents answered “Yes” – the percentage being somewhat higher among those replying on behalf of organisations in the Religious and Service Association categories (87.1 and 81.8 percent, respectively) than for those in each of the other four categories. Among the reasons identified, the most common was that immigrants might seek to maintain an activity with which they were already familiar. However, other respondents suggested alternative motivations. In particular, they thought that some immigrants perceived membership of their association to be desirable either because it was welcoming (in a new and relatively unknown social environment) or because it provided an opportunity to meet people as well as to learn a new activity. In either case, the respondents were signalling their belief that immigrants saw voluntary association membership as a means by which to facilitate social interaction and/or social integration.

As a partial counter to the above, it should be noted that 36 percent (58 out of 161) of the respondents thought there were reasons why immigrants might not like to join their association – the percentage this time being somewhat higher among those replying on behalf of organisations in the Religious and Arts Association categories (58.1 and 50 percent, respectively). In the main these respondents considered it a matter of personal preference (e.g. the immigrants might not be interested in the association’s religious activity) but other reasons included: the numerous post-arrival settlement arrangements confronting immigrants; perceived language and cultural barriers; perceived racism; and perhaps a perception that the association was engaged in a “white, middle class” pursuit/activity. For example, in the case of a particular community association it was argued that gender was a significant issue with respect to membership among immigrants from the Middle East; women were less likely to join, and this decision was determined by male kin (fathers, husbands etc.) and sometimes other non-kin members of the ethnic or national group. Direct contact with these women was difficult to establish and they were socially isolated. In contrast, respondents for a number of other associations observed that the reverse appeared to be the case among immigrants from Eastern
Europe, with the women far more likely to seek involvement and interaction while
the men tended to avoid contact, and if unemployed they were less likely than the
women to seek assistance in language and retraining. Finally, a more specific
reason identified by the respondent for a church was that homesickness was more
likely to emerge in a spiritually sensitive environment and that some migrants
might therefore avoid religious participation in order to minimise such home-
sickness.

To round off their views and/or perceptions with regard to immigrant participation
and membership, the respondents were asked if they would like to make any additio nal comments. Only 99 out of 161 (61.5 percent) responded. The following
were the main points that emerged:

- perceived differences between Wellington and Auckland; specifically, that
  associations in Wellington would have fewer Asian members and those in
  Auckland would have more;
- some Auckland-based associations noted particular issues relating to Pacific
  Island peoples; specifically, their membership was often of shorter duration and
  (compared with other groups) they appeared to have “less commitment;” and
- a significant number of respondents stressed that “immigrant members were
  treated no differently from anybody else”. Typical comments were: “Immigrants
  are treated as ordinary people, not differently from anyone else”; “All members
  are welcome no matter [their] race, colour or creed”; and “Everyone is treated
equally and allowances are made for cultural differences/personal preferences”.
The issue of equality was obviously significant for a number of the respondents.

**Services Provided for Immigrants**

The final section of the survey was devoted to a series of questions concerned with
the provision of special services for immigrants, including associated matters of
funding and training. An initial filter question, which established the context for
service provision, asked “Does your association have an interest in immigrant
resettlement?” Only 22.4 percent of the respondents (36 out of 161) replied in the
affirmative while 61.5 percent answered “No”, 3.1 percent didn’t know and 13
percent felt that the question wasn’t applicable to their association. It was perhaps
predictable that an interest in immigrant resettlement would be highest among
respondents for associations in the Religious and Community categories (51.6 and
40.9 percent, respectively); together they accounted for 25 of the 36 affirmative
responses with the remaining 11 cases consisting of 5 sports clubs and 2 each for
associations in the Arts, Recreational and Service categories.

Of the 36 respondents indicating an explicit interest in resettlement, 29 declared
that their association provided special services for immigrants (Table 6). However,
it should be noted that where an association was not providing special services the
respondent (sometimes annoyed by the question) was often at pains to explain
why. In most cases reference was made to their open membership policy and
included comments such as “...we do not differentiate between the people of various races among our membership...” and “Anyone is welcome to come, no matter what age, race, gender and we therefore offer no different services”. Such comments imply that an open membership policy would be undermined by the provision of special services, and in some cases may also reflect dissatisfaction with the prevailing public discourse surrounding “difference” in New Zealand society.

Table 6: Provision of services for immigrants, service targeting and funding issues by types of participating voluntary associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question response</th>
<th>Religious Assocs.</th>
<th>Community Assocs.</th>
<th>Other Assocs.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>13 81.2</td>
<td>9 100.0</td>
<td>7 63.6</td>
<td>29 80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3 18.8</td>
<td>-- 100.0</td>
<td>4 36.4</td>
<td>7 19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16 100.0</td>
<td>9 100.0</td>
<td>11 100.0</td>
<td>36 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Are the special services offered...directed at any specific immigrant groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question response</th>
<th>Religious Assocs.</th>
<th>Community Assocs.</th>
<th>Other Assocs.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4 30.8</td>
<td>3 33.3</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
<td>9 31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9 69.2</td>
<td>6 66.7</td>
<td>5 71.4</td>
<td>20 69.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 100.0</td>
<td>9 100.0</td>
<td>7 100.0</td>
<td>29 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Are there any funding issues that your association has to address in order to provide services for immigrants?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question response</th>
<th>Religious Assocs.</th>
<th>Community Assocs.</th>
<th>Other Assocs.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4 30.8</td>
<td>6 66.7</td>
<td>4 57.1</td>
<td>14 48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9 69.2</td>
<td>3 33.3</td>
<td>3 42.9</td>
<td>15 51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 100.0</td>
<td>9 100.0</td>
<td>7 100.0</td>
<td>29 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Associations in the Religious and Community categories were clearly the most proactive in gauging immigrant needs and provided the most comprehensive range of services in their particular neighbourhoods. These services included: English language classes; helping immigrants to function in the new community by assisting them with banking, gaining a driver’s license, finding employment, establishing social groups and providing a place where they could meet other community members; school holiday programmes for children; medical clinics; help with food and budget advice; mothers support; and youth services. Among the other associations were 2 service clubs that at times offered services specifically for immigrants – notably scholarships and in one case assistance for the health-related care of children in low-income families. In the case of churches, the provision of these services (as part of the broader field of community work or ‘pastoral care’) relied heavily on the voluntary work of congregation members. For the Community Associations category, on the other hand, services were provided by both paid staff as well as volunteers.
Just 9 (31 percent) of the 29 associations offering special services directed these services toward specific immigrant groups (Table 6); namely, new settlers from China, Korea, the Pacific Islands and Somalia. These groups were targeted it seems because of one or more of three factors: international institutional links; a history of involvement with the countries of origin and/or migrants arising from these links; and the proximity of the association to the residential location or concentration of these immigrant groups in either Auckland or Wellington.

Funding issues, that had to be addressed in order to provide services, were acknowledged by 14 (48.3 percent) of the 29 respondents for associations catering to immigrant needs – typically in the Community and ‘Other’ categories, rather than the Religious Associations category (see Table 6). Because none of these associations relied on their own ‘in-house’ fund raising, they sought funds (not always successfully) via competitive applications to various organisations. For example, a number of respondents noted that their association applied to the Lottery Board, though the churches declined to do so for moral reasons.

Training needs were reported for 13 (44.8 percent) of the 29 associations in relation to the services they provided. All of these needs hinged on a perceived requirement for greater cultural understanding and sensitivity given that immigrants were increasingly coming from more diverse origins and traditions. They also identified language training needs with respect to both teaching English as a second language and some knowledge of the languages of migrants they encountered in service provision. Significantly, all 13 respondents indicated that such training needs were not always met and that it was therefore a matter of “learning on the job”. Some also noted that without any sanctions it was difficult at times to address erroneous and preconceived notions held by volunteer workers about various cultural traditions. Here, specific mention was made of a “charitable” and “patronising” attitude toward the provision of services.

Additional comments

The opportunity to make any additional concluding comments was taken up by 88 (54.7 percent) of the 161 respondents. Generally they reiterated the issue of equality and the need to avoid discrimination on the basis of race, gender or country of origin. Many also stressed a desire to be inclusive or that a lack of specific attention to immigrants reflected a focus on the association’s particular activity or broader objectives that encompassed all members.

Where comments were made specifically about an association’s actual or potential immigrant members, the views expressed may be summarised as follows:

- Some sports clubs noted that while their immigrant members were often the children, this membership did facilitate links for their parents in the wider community.
• A number of respondents were concerned about reports of skilled immigrants unable to find employment in their professions, and among these some noted that immigrants who had become members and voluntary workers in the association had often successfully gained employment as a result of this work experience.

• Some respondents noted that they had not previously thought about new immigrants, but the survey had prompted them to think about promoting their association to these immigrants as a way of addressing a declining and ageing membership.

• Finally, a number of associations providing services in their community (including those for new immigrants) stressed that they operated on “shoe-string” budgets and were not meeting the demand in their locality.
FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS

Interviews were conducted with the representatives of 17 associations from a total of 64 that participated in the postal survey and declared they would be agreeable to a possible follow-up interview. The selected associations were representative of those participating in the survey in terms of activity, location, membership and the provision of services.

The main purpose of the interviews was to examine in more detail the role and activities of voluntary associations, and the perceptions of their representatives, in relation to immigrant settlement and the provision of services (see Appendix 2). In the process, some attention would be given to identifying best practice features.

This section of the report is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on associations in the Religious, Community and Service categories; and the second part focuses on associations in the Sports, Recreational and Arts categories. This grouping of associations has been informed by an understanding that whilst all of them contribute to civil society and potentially the integration of new immigrants, they differ with respect to their contemporary and historical proximity and relation to the state, market and household. Specifically, associations in the Religious, Community and Service categories have had and continue to have a closer, more interactive relationship with government (both local and national), particularly with respect to welfare provision and/or the provision of services and amenities for specific communities (Tennant, 2001). This relationship and proximity ensures to a certain extent that they experience conflicting pressures, and that their role can be challenged and shaped by shifts or changes in boundaries implemented by the state (Baubock, 1996b: 85). It should be noted, however, that shifts in immigration policy (in conjunction with other significant policy shifts) have impacted rather more on the core activities of the Religious and Community types of associations than on those of service clubs. In addition, these associations have in common overall objectives and goals that emphasise activities that will contribute to what we might call the ‘public good’, and they actively pursue social practices that will contribute to ‘social capital’.

Associations in the Sports, Recreational and Arts categories – like the other three types – do not stand independently of the core institutions of the state, market and household. For example, they are subject to various pieces of legislation, often rely on the market for sponsorship and draw on households for their membership. However, they differ from the other three types primarily because: they are less, if

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4 Where ‘social capital’ consists of ties, norms and trust that are transferable to different social settings and which may be either a product of social activities that aim to strengthen the social fabric of society, or an unintended by-product of social activity (Putnam, 2000). Social capital increases through use and (unlike physical capital) is depleted if not used.
at all, involved in providing *explicit* welfare services or other practices/services that entail direct interaction with the core institutions; and their activities typically do not mirror nor do they attempt to provide services that are (or at least have been) the preserve of the core institutions. The goals and objectives of these associations do not explicitly address the ‘public good’ nor do they explicitly seek the generation of ‘social capital’; indeed, for them ‘social capital’ is an unintended by-product of their activity. Thus they enjoy a greater degree of distance and autonomy from the core institutions, and rely more fully on self-definition which is manifest in their ability to define their goals, internal rules and practices with less heed to the state, market and household (Baubock, 1996b: 85).\(^5\)

**Religious, Community and Service Associations**

For practical reasons we have elected to deal with each of these three types of associations in turn. This approach allows us to focus our attention upon in-group features and possible variations without the distraction of qualifying comments with regard to inter-group differences.

**Religious Associations**

Churches, more than any other type of association in this study, have had the longest and most concentrated involvement with post-arrival settlement issues for all classes of immigrants. It is not possible to do justice to the scope and depth of this involvement in this report but it is possible to observe some general patterns of their involvement and interaction with immigrants.

**Addressing basic needs remains constant**

While churches have grappled with different issues with different migrant groups, neither the basic needs nor the assistance given have greatly altered over time and assistance has been provided to all immigrants, irrespective of their country of origin or language. From the beginning, the participating churches have offered assistance with respect to:

- Housing (i.e. locating, procuring, establishing tenancy, advocacy when racism prevents them from securing rental accommodation);
- Provision of household goods;
- Social support where members of the congregation do home visits and where various church functions are organised to facilitate interaction between new settlers and New Zealanders;
- Provision of emergency services (i.e. meals, night shelter);
- Language tuition (in English, and other languages for children so that they can learn the language of their immigrant parents);

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\(^5\) We acknowledge that distinguishing between these two sub groups relies on a degree of exaggeration with respect to their distance from the state. All of these associations are, of course, subject to various statutes and are in a sense regulated.
• The provision of religious services in other languages (primarily Mandarin or Cantonese for Chinese migrants; and Pacific Island Maori for Cook Islanders);
• Sponsorship of relatives seeking to join family members in New Zealand;
• Assistance in forming their own congregations where this is the ultimate aim of certain immigrant groups;
• Advocacy in wider forums in terms of the needs of new immigrants;
• Support for immigrants facing problems of health, employment, poverty etc.;
• Congregational support when immigrants do not have kith or kin residing in New Zealand or are without supportive social networks;
• Resettlement of refugees.

Three key points emerged with respect to the administrative coordination, funding, delivery and targeting of this wide range of assistance. First, while the task of service organisation and delivery often falls upon volunteers (be they officers or individuals) in the congregation of a particular church, some services are overseen by larger administrative bodies which in turn employ people to administer, coordinate and deliver services with the help of volunteers. Second, funding for congregation initiated services is usually derived locally, from the congregation and sometimes businesses and local government bodies. If the church has established an administrative body to oversee services, funding is generally provided by charitable trusts and in some instances via contracts with the state for specific community services. Finally, while the forms of assistance listed above have been specifically provided to immigrants, it is important to note that they all conform to fundamental notions of ‘pastoral care’. That is, these forms of assistance (e.g. food banks and meals) are available on the basis of need for all members of the community rather than any particular social group.

Services in a changing context

Although the basic needs had remained constant the broad economic and social context within which these needs were being addressed, as well as the nature of the client population, had changed considerably. For example, all church participants noted that economic restructuring over the previous 15 years has impacted on their communities. Their associations were increasingly providing assistance to a much broader constituency and unable to meet the demand. As one participant noted:

...our meal service has increased, the workload has gone up, we are providing about 40,000 meals a year and we have a budget blow out. [Furthermore]...it is not just meals, we provide emergency services here, we administer a night shelter... [and among those who access this shelter] there are a significant number of migrants that come in...[people] who have fallen through the cracks of any government support...

Many of the “migrants” accessing the emergency services provided by churches in central Auckland were asylum seekers, but these services were increasingly being
accessed by a broader group from many countries of origin. These included: those being exploited in the labour market; those attempting to escape prostitution (often their employers were members of the same immigrant group); skilled immigrants unable to gain employment; and a significant number of international students learning English at tertiary educational institutions in Auckland. The latter were typically female students living in hostels, who made contact because they were lonely, needed assistance or guidance and because they knew that the churches were “a safe place that they…[could] come to”.

Changes in the labour market, commensurate with economic restructuring and globalisation, were stressed by the participants but they also indicated that these changes were not matched by comparable changes in the attitudes and behaviour of New Zealanders. While the state was seeking and encouraging the settlement of skilled immigrants, therefore, many new settlers were failing to achieve quick and/or satisfactory economic integration. All of the participants cited racism as an issue with respect to employment. For example, the requirement stipulated by many employers that immigrants have New Zealand workplace experience was considered to be the primary form of labour force discrimination. The participants also argued that far more emphasis was being placed on English competency and that this was not simply a response to increasing numbers of immigrants for whom English was a second language. There had always been immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds but in the past they were generally recruited for or ended up in unskilled work. Two issues were therefore raised: first, that there was less demand for unskilled migrants, who faced greater discrimination; and second, that skilled immigrants who failed to gain employment that matched their skills and took on unskilled jobs to survive were then judged to be ‘unskilled’ compared with local job applicants with the same qualifications. Finally, some participants referred to what they perceived as a “greater degree of sophistication” in the labour market. Here they pointed to shifts in expectations regarding service, economic management and efficiency – the dominant symbols of economic policy. But contrary to the state’s explicit attempt to legitimate changes in immigration policy that ensured greater cultural diversity by linking them to these dominant symbols (Pearson, 1996: 259), the participants made it clear that this had not occurred in practice. Indeed, they noted that the goals of improved service, efficiency, enterprise and growth were being addressed in the labour market not by embracing diversity but by seeking uniformity. The outcome of this situation, coupled with the high costs of housing etc. in Auckland, was that the religious associations were providing services and assistance to those in need who were excluded from or exploited in the labour market.

“Racial tension,” underpinned by increasing “gaps between the rich and the poor” and the rapidity of change associated with shifts in immigration policy, was another aspect of the changing context, especially for churches in Auckland. The ethnic composition of some suburbs had changed very quickly from being (relatively speaking) culturally homogeneous to culturally diverse. This change, said the
participants, was perceived by some sections of the public as an ‘invasion’ – a perception reinforced by politicians, notably Winston Peters, and the news media (see Spoonley and Trlin, 2004: 23-28). At the neighbourhood level the response for participating churches was to provide social and congregational support as well as advocacy in wider forums. However, one participant also noted that there was “considerable tension between Maori and the question of migrants...” It had become necessary to address this tension and with limited resources the church responded by making a “commitment to biculturalism and to strengthen and consolidate the partnership with Maori”. In relation to new settlers the importance of educating them with respect to the Treaty of Waitangi and the status of Maori as Tangata Whenua was stressed.

Global and domestic institutional connections

Churches, like service clubs, differ from other voluntary associations in that they are global institutions with trans-national connections. This feature ensures to a large extent that immigrants with a church affiliation in their country of origin can have a connection with or an entrée to a like church in New Zealand either before departure or virtually upon arrival.

Domestically, the churches also had a range of formal connections with others of the same denomination and informal connections with both government and non-government organisations. With respect to their advocacy role, the congregation itself often provided opportunities to raise issues and concerns with individual members who, because of their role(s) outside the church, had responsibility for specific areas of concern and/or could serve as church ‘agents’ for the transmission of concerns to other organisations. That is, historically the relationship between these associations and other organisations, especially government (local and national), has characteristically involved individuals crossing sectoral boundaries (Tennant, 2000) or at least informal networks that span outward from the voluntary association and link with core institutions. The historic depth of these networks appears to be advantageous when compared with say the position of newly formed community organisations with no ‘reputation’ or history of activity in the field of service provision for new settlers.

Pastoral care and maintaining open membership

Contact and interaction with immigrants in the community, in response to changes in immigration policy and significant shifts in the composition of local populations, was part of the overall philosophy of ‘outreach’ or ‘pastoral care’ that involved a number of initiatives. For example, one church set up a “Welcome to Auckland” group which targeted both international and internal migrants. The idea was for newcomers to Auckland to share their views and cultural practices, and for the church to provide meetings where parishioners also shared their (New Zealand)
approaches to cooking, gardening, banking, starting a business, the medical system etc. With respect to immigrants, it was hoped that:

...they could get a feel for what it’s like being a Kiwi... that they could ask questions and then through this we could develop relationships with people and they in turn could develop relationships with each other. Other assistance sprang from this initiative, where people rallied around and found beds, sheets, and other household things, just to support them through the first three to six months.

Such initiatives were not without their negative consequences, notably with regard to the principle and practice of open membership. In particular, it was noted by some participants that from the outset specific groups of immigrants participated in the pastoral care initiatives and over time the churches had to work against the formation of cliques. According to these participants, their churches were alerted to the problem when immigrants from other ethnic or national origins attempted contact and commented that the church appeared to be open or welcoming to some immigrants but not to them. Obviously such a perception or situation was contrary to the principle of open membership, the maintenance of which at times required conscious action. Interestingly, some participants observed that it was not the role of their church to provide ethnic specific interaction, activities or assistance and if immigrants were seeking this then they should meet their needs via their own ethnic associations. But this also was considered problematic, for as one participant pointed out:

Part of the whole immigrant process is settling into being a Kiwi as well. You know, it is my impression that people really want to be Kiwis as fast as possible.

Trust and civility – permanency and onward migration

The issue of immigrant cliques and the maintenance of open membership has not been the only problem for churches engaged in the provision of assistance to facilitate the initial settlement and ongoing integration of new settlers. In all cases such assistance has only been provided after some kind of consensus was reached among those that would provide the assistance – namely, the congregation. There has not always been unanimous support and it has taken time to convince some members – a minority that objected outright and those with reservations – that assistance is appropriate and necessary. The initial responses of these members may be characterised as ‘un-civic’ or ‘weak civic’ in the sense that they considered the need for assistance to be somebody else’s business (i.e. that of politicians, the government, government agencies or of the immigrants themselves) and not their responsibility.

These un-civic or weak civic responses appear to have been shaped by at least two factors. First, the lived experience of the welfare state, a belief that the state has
some responsibility for the welfare of all citizens and residents (despite changes since the 1980s) and an understanding that the state is responsible for ensuring that it is equipped to meet emergent needs when it implements significant policy shifts such as those in immigration. Second, and just as important, has been experience with assistance in the settlement of immigrants and especially changes in this experience linked to shifts in the nature of contemporary international migration that are not specific to New Zealand.

Early experiences of settlement assistance were motivated by a desire to help immigrants in practical ways to become permanent New Zealand citizens. As indicated above this practical assistance (meeting basic needs) has not changed over time, but the context within which assistance has been provided has changed both domestically and internationally. Domestically, because of the lack of assistance provided by the state, the churches have been addressing the needs of new immigrants on the premise that these people would become permanent New Zealand citizens. In a number of instances, however, though their needs have been met a significant number of immigrants have moved on once they gained New Zealand citizenship. In the main, this onward migration has been to Australia (and to a lesser extent return migration to the country of origin) which led to resentment from those who assumed that they were facilitating the settlement and integration of people who would in turn demonstrate loyalty and reciprocity by contributing to New Zealand society. They felt they had been manipulated and used. That said, it was also more widely acknowledged that onward migration was a consequence of the difficulties experienced by skilled and business migrants with respect to their integration into the economy. But delayed or unsatisfactory economic integration, though significant, was not the sole determinant. For example, some immigrants had initially sought entry to Canada, the USA or Australia, and for them New Zealand was not a preferred destination but an intermediate step that offered a possible springboard for onward migration. The prospect of stepwise migration, by people who might move internationally at least twice during their lifetime, was neither communicated to nor understood by the assisting associations or most of their members.

A key outcome with respect to this study has been the erosion of a motivation to assist immigrants among association members who had previously participated with enthusiasm. The associations have therefore had to work harder to get a consensus in support of initiatives for new immigrants. Furthermore, the shift from a pattern of permanent settlement (sought by New Zealand and assumed to be desired by immigrants) to one of semi-permanent or temporary settlement has challenged normative definitions of community and reciprocity, and undermined trust and civility. Judged to be selfish, instrumentalist and uncivil, onward migration has been attributed to immigrants from specific countries of origin and was unfortunately regarded (according to some participants) as behaviour typical of certain “cultural and/or racial groups”.
Finally, it is important to note that this loss of trust and civility with regard to immigrants parallels a more general loss that has occurred in the relationship of voluntary associations with the state. To be more specific, the participants noted what they perceived as an abdication by the state from the provision of welfare, and arrogance in its responses to the voluntary sector. For example, it was claimed that the government was: ignoring or failing to acknowledge the voluntary sector’s contribution to New Zealand society; not acknowledging the problems associations face in addressing needs increasing as a consequence of various government policies; and was perceived to be unwilling to assist and/or to have a dialogue with voluntary associations dealing with social issues on a daily basis. These points by the participants mirrored those of a more representative sample of voluntary sector participants presented in a report by the Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party (2001).

Beyond charity to community partnerships

The participants also stressed that their associations had moved beyond ‘charity’ toward the establishment of community partnerships. This shift was prompted by their recognition that ‘charitable’ relationships ensure dependency, which may in turn further entrench people in disadvantaged positions. As one participant stated:

_We no longer want to just be a charity. We want to move into a much more dynamic thing of working with the community in partnerships and actually starting to empower people…new migrant services is a major issue. We have not even tapped that yet._

In practice such a shift involves establishing a dialogue with those in need and working with them to address and instigate social change. The key determinant of success in this process, and a distinguishing characteristic of existing partnerships, is that permanent settlement is sought and achieved. According to those involved in such partnerships, the importance of permanency stems from the fact:

_...that it takes more than one generation for integration to occur; it is not possible to speed this process up._

It was observed with regard to these partnerships, therefore, that: there has been ongoing immigration over a number of years from a specific country of origin; the immigrants seek permanent residence and citizenship and to establish their own congregation; and/or the members of a group are characteristically permanent because of their status as refugees who are unable to return to the country of origin.

Fragmented city, unified city and coordination

Participants in Auckland considered that there was no coordination of services, no coordinated approach to the settlement of new immigrants, and that Auckland – as
a rapidly growing and increasingly diverse urban conglomerate that covered a wide territory – had become a “fragmented city”. Its fragmented nature was reflected in its service provision. In contrast, the Auckland participants thought that Wellington was more unified, primarily because of its size. For their part, the Wellington participants seemed to think that services in the capital were reasonably well coordinated and conceded that while they were not always aware of what other congregations were doing, it would be possible to find out.

No government commitment or effective public policy

Some church participants drew attention to needs that were not being addressed, but the point was made that:

…it is not simply a matter of voluntary agencies not doing their job, because a great deal of voluntary agencies do a very good job. It is, in fact, a profound failure of government policy.

The blunt factor is that there is no government commitment to providing support structures for migrant services.

Increasing needs they argued were a consequence of government policy and the government’s lack of commitment to the provision of settlement services for new immigrants was taken as an indication of ineffective public policy. All of the church participants stressed the need for a settlement policy and funded initiatives that addressed the implications and outcomes of the shift in immigration policy since the late 1980s. While the voluntary sector could (and did) meet some of the needs arising, it could not be expected to cover all of the gaps that emerged as a result of government’s poor follow-up to a change in policy.

Nor was the problem at issue limited to immigrants alone. It was stressed that government seemed to have no understanding of what was going on, especially in Auckland, as a consequence of other key policy changes – notably in economic policy and a perceived retreat from the provision of adequate welfare services. Alongside the needs of new settlers and the daily reality of increasing cultural diversity, therefore, there was also greater hardship for many in the community that was exacerbated by both an increase in internal migration (with increased needs for all newcomers to the city) and a perceived increase in ‘racial’ tension (largely triggered by either economic hardship or a perceived threat with respect to economic security). And, to top it all off, service provision was believed to be suffering from increasing fragmentation – in the sense that the city consisted of a multitude of disconnected parts, wherein services were being provided but it was difficult to establish exactly what was being done by whom and where.

Bearing in mind that the follow-up interviews were carried out over several months during the second half of 2000 and the first half of 2001, some of the points
and arguments made by these church participants have been overtaken by more recent developments but are nonetheless important for two reasons. First, their calls and arguments fit perfectly with the concept of a balanced, well integrated institutional structure of immigration. Proposed in the early 1990s (Trlin, 1993: 8-10) and incorporated as an objective of the New Settlers Programme (see Trlin et al., 1998) of which this report is a part, an institutional structure of immigration consists of (a) an immigration policy (regulating entry) which is well integrated with (b) an effective post-arrival immigrant policy geared to the needs of migrants, assisting them to adjust and integrate, and (c) an ethnic relations policy, suited to a situation of emerging multiculturalism, which includes measures to foster positive intergroup relations, counter xenophobic attitudes and combat discriminatory practices. Second, the points and arguments, in tune with those of various non-government organisations providing social services to immigrants and refugees (see Nash and Trlin, 2006), demonstrate the context within which government responded to mounting calls for action by developing and implementing the New Zealand Settlement Strategy (Department of Labour, 2004). This strategy focuses on six goals for immigrants, refugees and their families concerning: employment; English language use and language support; access to information and responsive services available to the wider community; the formation of supportive social networks and a sustainable community identity; multiculturalism and social integration; and participation in civic, community and social activities.

**Best practice features**

Overall, the follow-up interviews with church participants pointed to a number of best practice features. These features include the need for churches to:
- be aware of and maintain a focus upon basic needs in the provision of assistance;
- maintain trans-national links to provide immigrants with an entrée to a like church in New Zealand;
- utilise the domestic institutional links of church members as a channel for advocacy and/or the expression of concerns to other organisations;
- maintain open membership as the basis for pastoral care; and
- engage in community building initiatives based on partnerships, not charity.

**Community Associations**

An interesting feature that emerged from interviews with participants representing organisations in this category concerned differences between associations either affiliated or not affiliated with a church. Associations *not affiliated* with a church were: based in community halls, purpose built or leased facilities; typically worked within the boundary of their own locality or suburb; and their involvement with immigrants tended to be transitory. In some instances there was no involvement at all and in these cases the associations were located in suburbs at opposite ends of the socio-economic continuum (i.e. either high or low income areas) that appeared
to ‘invite’ less participation of or service provision for new immigrants. Participants from non-affiliated associations in high-income suburbs noted that, while there were immigrants in their areas, typically skilled professionals who worked long hours, no contact had been initiated by either their associations or immigrants themselves. In low-income suburbs, on the other hand, the needs of immigrants were not specifically addressed or differentiated from those of the community in general.

In comparison, where the associations were affiliated with a church, their offices and meeting places were part of or added onto existing church premises. Their relationships with immigrants seemed to be long-term, continuous and personalised, perhaps because those who accessed the association’s services were simultaneously becoming members of the affiliated congregation. Once settled, these immigrants in turn often became volunteers and helped to provide services for other new settlers and/or generally contributed to pastoral care as members of the congregation. Finally, the associations affiliated with a church tended not to work rigidly within their own locality or suburb. Indeed, in a number of instances, notably when located in a high income area and not offering services to immigrants in their own suburb, they were providing services to immigrants in neighbouring low income suburbs.

Another interesting feature was that the associations providing more continuous services were located in neighbourhoods where the local population composition had over many years included various immigrant groups. These associations had an established history of addressing immigrant needs and the provision of services appeared to have become self-perpetuating, irrespective of changes in the immigrant composition of the neighbourhoods.

**Funding, service coordination and fragmentation**

All of the participating organisations in the Community Association category (whether or not affiliated with a church) were receiving grants from local councils that were used to employ a person to oversee the provision of services/activities for the community. Other funding was sought to ensure continuity in the provision of services/activities and the associations relied heavily on volunteer workers to deliver services and/or manage activities.

Reiterating the issue of ‘fragmentation’ raised by church participants, a clear difference emerged between Auckland and Wellington with respect to perceptions of the coordination of services for immigrants. In Auckland, all community organisation participants interviewed considered that there was either a low or non-existent degree of coordination. In contrast, in Wellington, most participants considered that there was coordination, both formally via their funding links with the local council (and the person responsible for overseeing this) and informally via networks established with others working in this field. Inner-city associations in
Wellington appeared to have strong networks and a sense of coordination, whereas those in the suburbs had weaker informal networks and tended to see the local council connection as the main mechanism for service coordination.

Finally, it should be noted here that suburbs in Auckland with significant numbers of new immigrants were identified with needs that community organisations were not attempting to address. In these cases, neighbouring associations attempted to provide the services required as well as responding to the needs of new settlers in their own localities. All observed that because of the uneven provision of services new immigrants were often travelling significant distances to access services, and they thought that there must be many more who could not afford to do this.

**Personnel**

Service initiatives for immigrants invariably commenced because of the motivation of one or more individuals in these community organisations. Once they had started a service, other initiatives followed so that the extent of the organisation’s involvement (or non-involvement) was often directly connected to the enthusiasm of specific personnel. The problem, however, was that if these enthusiastic people left, it was by no means certain that the degree of involvement could or would be maintained. In this sense, involvement in the provision of services for immigrants is not a formal objective of these associations and there is no formal mechanism to ensure that replacement personnel would continue to work in this field. That said, in a number of instances those that replaced the ‘founders’ did want to continue the work, recognising that there was an ongoing need in their community for the service(s) concerned. But without any formal objective or mechanism to appoint such personnel, the outcome was more one of accident than of design. Taking this argument one step further, it might also be said that there is a greater potential for discontinuity rather than continuity of services for immigrants in these voluntary associations, especially in Auckland as compared with Wellington given the observed contrast in service coordination and networks. In Wellington, because there were good networks in the central city area, it was thought that suitable replacement personnel were more likely to be known or drawn in and there was therefore a greater chance of service continuation.

**Best practice features**

Best practice features identified in the course of interviews with the representatives of organisations in the Community Association category included:

- the benefits (in terms of resources, infrastructure, relationships with clients, and personnel) to be gained from affiliation with churches;
- the need to engage in both formal and informal networking to facilitate service coordination;
• recognising the importance of (and finding) motivated and enthusiastic personnel to develop and introduce service initiatives, and to ensure the continuation of service provision.

Service Associations

Service clubs differ from other voluntary associations in that membership is not open but gained by invitation and/or nomination on the basis of certain criteria. For example, some (not all) seek to establish a membership made up of a wide range of occupational groups (historically to facilitate business networking), with invitations and nominations invariably resulting from the workplace and other employment interactions of members. Those invited/nominated to be members are expected to be established in their field and to have a ‘sound’ reputation (i.e. to be known as honest and trustworthy). Such criteria obviously affect new immigrants as it takes time to become established (especially if employment difficulties are experienced), to gain local recognition and a ‘sound’ reputation. Indeed, immigrant members in the majority of the service clubs participating in the survey had typically been in New Zealand for over twenty years. In addition, until the 1990s service clubs had gender specific membership criteria. Although no longer the case (apart from one association with separate branches for men and women), their membership was still dominated by men.

Participants from these associations noted that until recently their members (the majority of whom were at least third-generation New Zealanders) had been reluctant to extend invitations to new immigrants. Some members, it was said, “had the attitude that we are not going to form ethnic clubs”. That is, there was a fear that if new immigrants did join and then moved on to form their own clubs, they would want to use their own language with the result that interaction between clubs would be inhibited. Concerned about this attitude, the participants (all officers of the clubs) indicated that it had recently shifted largely as a consequence of their efforts to promote a change. They emphasised that their clubs existed to provide services to the community and that new immigrants, as part of this community, should be treated accordingly and recognised as potential club members.

Unidirectional interaction

Given the nature of the membership process criteria as outlined above, new immigrants are most unlikely to become service club members either upon arrival or shortly thereafter. They are therefore more likely to be service recipients rather than association members and service providers. In this sense, their interaction with these associations is essentially unidirectional. This situation contrasts sharply with that of new settlers involved with both churches and community centres, where: they may well be recipients of services initially; but they are immediately eligible for membership or automatically members; and they able to contribute to service provision with useful skills and insights often lacking in host society members.
The feature of unidirectional interaction is evident also with regard to the process governing the provision of services. It seems that services for the community are prompted either by association members responding to a need and/or by members of the community requesting assistance. In relation to the non-provision of services specifically for immigrants, the participants interviewed placed considerable emphasis on the lack of an approach made by immigrant community members (e.g. “they need to come to us” or “they have never approached us”). And in the absence of a significant number of new or relatively recent immigrants among the members of an association it is not surprising that the participants themselves had generally not been prompted about or independently perceived possible needs among new settlers. Consider, for example, the following quotes:

To be honest, I don’t think we have ever really thought about it.

It would be fair to say that I do not have a perception, because I quite literally do not know any recent immigrants myself...In our [club] we haven’t had a single letter or request from any immigrant group, as far as I know, for anything whatsoever. Nor [letters] from the government, nor the council. Nobody has ever discussed with us anything to do with current immigration. So we’re divorced from it frankly...

City networks and international connections

Networks had been established throughout the cities in which these associations were based. They typically involved links with other branches of the parent association, the local council (if services were being provided to the community) and in some cases with the branches of other non-affiliated service organisations. Characteristically, interactions in these network links took place at annual meetings that involved some collaborative work. For example, in Auckland, one service club had links with two ethnic voluntary associations and was primarily involved in assisting them with events such as festivals and/or cultural celebration days.

All of the service clubs also had international connections with their parent body in the USA, and links with the branches of ‘sister’ clubs formed in other countries. In this sense, they are part of a global network with links reinforced via regular international meetings where officers can meet their counterparts from all over the world. Yet while these links and/or meetings undoubtedly foster a measure of international awareness and understanding, unlike the global connections of churches they did not facilitate immediate membership or contacts for new arrivals to New Zealand. Whether this was just the case for those that participated in this study is hard to say, but it does appear that for service clubs being known locally is more important than being known elsewhere.
Ageing and declining membership

All of the participating service clubs reported an ageing and declining membership. In part a consequence of their membership criteria, it was also noted that when people became eligible for membership (typically in middle age) they were also less interested in joining. The precise reasons behind this reluctance weren’t known, but the participants suggested that potential members were either too busy or that their reluctance was indicative of a loss of community spirit and the service ethos.

It was anticipated that some of the service clubs would close as a result of their ageing and declining membership, just as others had done. However, as a result of this study one of these clubs saw new immigrants in a different light. After discussion with the club’s membership it was decided to pursue such immigrants as potential members. The participant concerned noted that declining membership for service clubs was in part a result of “their inability to keep abreast of change and their failure to adapt to changing community relations”. Be that as it may, the decision – if successful – was likely to have positive spin-offs not only for membership size and composition but also for community relationships and interactions, service provision and the expansion of networks.

Best practice features

Best practice features noted during interviews with service club officers included:

- the need to change attitudes with respect to the criteria and functions of membership in order to capitalise on international connections and to facilitate the entry of immigrants as part of the process of social integration;
- recognition of the value of new immigrants as prospective members to offset the ageing and decline of club membership, a strategy that may also change the prevailing unidirectional interaction with immigrants.

Sports, Recreational and Arts Associations

For purely practical reasons we have elected to deal separately and in more detail with sports clubs (the most significant type in this category) before turning rather briefly to associations in the Recreational and Arts categories.

Sports Associations

In general, the sports clubs did not offer services to immigrants specifically. Where ‘services’ were offered – in three instances only – they were provided to particular individuals (sports players) from the Pacific area, typically involved assisting them to come to the club for a ‘season’ and accommodating them during this period of residence. This type of sponsorship, for players and coaching staff for one or more
‘seasons’, appears to have become more common in various sports since the late 1990s and is probably associated with the trend toward professionalism.

Connections and focus

All of the clubs had national affiliations and connections with similar local sports clubs, but in most cases no connections with other types of voluntary associations. All were formed to pursue a sport, saw this as their focus for activity and any social capital that resulted from this activity was (in most instances) an unintended by-product. Although the provision of a club where people could pursue a sport was a community service, most considered it inappropriate to become engaged in either general community or immigrant-specific services. Each of the participants stressed that their association was “just a sports club”.

Membership

All had open membership but gender restrictions applied with respect to the teams that men or women could join. Open membership, it was argued, provided the opportunity for involvement and immigrant membership was considered to demonstrate how those interested in sport availed themselves of the opportunity. More often than not it was the children of immigrants who became members, and their parents consequently took part in club activities.

In some instances the clubs were experiencing a problem with the ageing and decline of a membership that was already small (less than 60), a problem that had taken its toll on other clubs which had consequently closed. Marketing their particular activity, sports not linked to New Zealand’s national identity (e.g. table tennis, bowls, croquet), had proved difficult and despite advertising in the local community they had failed to recruit new members.

A case study

One representative stated that his club had never really thought about immigrants, and he passed the comment that:

> Everyone arrived here at some stage. Even those that claim to have been here since the start, they all arrived at some time.

This club, unlike others in the Sports, Recreational and Arts Association grouping, had numerous formal institutional links, and while primarily offering facilities for sports of various kinds it also had institutional and associated service links with a church body. Largely because of its geographic proximity (rather than a formal objective) it had some interaction with refugees for whom it provided a number of services. When the club’s representative was asked what he thought the overall
objective should be with regard to immigrant settlement, he responded with clearly
evident frustration:

*Don’t get me started ....well, I think there should be some sort of requirement
particularly in language. It’s just a personal thing, but for example...I got into
a taxi on Saturday night and the guy didn’t speak English very well and as an
employee in the service industry...communication is a huge thing.*

In this club’s case it seems there was the potential for a number of initiatives. It was
located in a suburb with a significant immigrant/refugee population, it had formal
institutional links with associations that were providing services for immigrants
and (unlike other sports clubs) it was a club which had developed via church and
community links where sport was not the sole focus of activity. However, just as it
was apparent that the presence or absence of motivated and enthusiastic personnel
in some community organisations was the main factor behind the provision or non-
provision of services for immigrants, here it appeared that the club’s executive
personnel and/or members were reluctant to address this section of the local
population either on their own initiative or to activate and exploit the club’s links
with other associations already active in this domain.

*Recreational and Arts Associations*

These associations were also small (with a membership of 70 or less) and they
usually had no affiliations with other voluntary associations in the city. While the
conservation groups did have national links, they typically focused on local issues
and concerns.

Aside from participating in ‘festivals’ – in both cases in Auckland – these voluntary
associations (like sports clubs) directed their attention to a particular activity and
civility was clearly an unintended by-product. The participants emphasised their
open membership; everybody, including immigrants, was welcome. That said, they
had no particular opinion on new immigrants or what they thought the overall
objective should be with respect to immigrant settlement – they simply weren’t
matters to which they or their associations had given a lot of thought.
CONCLUSIONS

A host society’s voluntary associations can and do perform an important role in immigrant settlement and the process of social integration, especially in a situation of increasing multiculturalism. They provide a point of connection for immigrants from diverse backgrounds and members of the host society to engage in cultural discourse, a place where immigrants can voluntarily take part in a range of social activities, participate in service, pursue a social issue and where they have the opportunity to experience and participate in a common and shared public culture (Baubock, 1996b). In effect, membership of voluntary associations can serve to bridge the cleavage of ethnicity or national origin as well as the cleavages of class, religion or political ideology that can obstruct full integration into a modern society such as New Zealand.

Voluntary Associations, Immigrant Settlement and Integration

Historically, New Zealand society has attempted to accommodate new immigrants from different national and/or cultural backgrounds via the prescriptive concept of assimilation. Since the 1970s and particularly the late 1980s, however, this approach has been critiqued, not just by academics but also by policy makers and most importantly via domestic ethnic relations and resistance on the part of New Zealand Maori. But while we can point to a shift in rhetoric – where assimilation is seen to be wanting and it is more common for people to speak of integration as the preferred approach – a key question cannot be avoided. Has the shift in rhetoric been embraced in practice? More specifically, in relation to the present study, are the host society’s voluntary associations engaged in integrative practices? Although it might be argued that in the absence of a coherent public policy it is too much to expect a coherent response in the ‘third sector’, the question not only remains but assumes a greater importance for organisations in the Religious, Community and Service Association categories that have a closer relationship with the state than other voluntary associations.

What have we learned from the present study with respect to the specific question posed above? For organisations in the Religious and Community Association categories the answer to the question is generally in the affirmative. Both the postal survey and follow-up interviews revealed that associations in these two categories have a more mutual or dynamic relationship with new immigrants. In part this is a direct consequence of their objectives which entail focusing on the community as a whole, and actively identifying needs within that community. They are therefore more likely to provide explicit services for immigrants when their needs are evident in the community. Via their initiatives these associations demonstrated integrative practices whereby immigrant and non-immigrant members learned from those in the other group, and change was typically an inter-group process of mutual adjustment or accommodation. They also demonstrated a commitment to
providing a place for social interaction, the opportunity for immigrants to participate in a common and shared public culture, and a willingness to facilitate connections with wider social networks.

Clubs in the Service Association category presented an interesting anomaly here. They have formally constituted objectives which include the promotion of: good government and citizenship; civic, cultural, social and moral welfare; good fellowship; and service without financial reward. These objectives are overtly about the promotion of civility and contributing to civil society but unlike other voluntary associations service clubs do not have open membership, and their criteria for membership appear to disadvantage most new immigrants. Being well established – in the sense of being known, of good reputation and respected in one’s community and profession/occupation – is fundamental to membership and ‘permanency’ in residence is central to becoming established. Inevitably the service clubs in this study had few immigrant members and those immigrants who were members had usually been resident in New Zealand for 20 years or more. Nor did these clubs typically provide services for immigrants. Immigrant settlement issues were generally not considered relevant to the club, or at best they were issues to which the membership had not really given much thought.

‘Permanency’ was also an issue for churches and their provision of services for new immigrants. Traditionally desired by both the immigrant and the host community, ‘permanency’ underpins mutuality and ultimately social trust. Accordingly, transmigration (which usually involves long-term but still ‘temporary’ rather than ‘permanent’ settlement) has the potential to undermine mutuality and social trust and hence a willingness to assist in the future. Given that the transmigration of skilled, professional and business migrants is becoming more prevalent around the world, a very important question arises. If these voluntary associations experience an increase in transmigration in their contacts with immigrants and perceive a lack of mutuality as a result, will this impact on their provision of services and current integrative approach to new immigrants? If so, there is a danger that the ultimate loss of social trust will be linked to specific groups, and people may be more likely to resort to culturalist and/or racist arguments about how and why this occurred.

The Perception of Difference and Integration

Almost all of the participating associations reported that they had excellent or good relationships between their immigrant and non-immigrant members. However, this is not to say that there were no issues concerning the perception of differences and the identification or definition of an immigrant. Who are immigrants? How long do you have to have lived in New Zealand before you cease to be an immigrant? Are people from the United Kingdom immigrants? The survey raised these questions for a number of the participants who by and large revealed that people from traditional source countries (notably the United Kingdom) were not really considered to be immigrants or that their identification and status as
immigrants was open to question. It was the notion or perception of 'sameness' (not just duration of residence) that diluted their 'immigrant' status and in some way removed the issue of immigration and settlement need from them. Conversely, immigrants from non-traditional source countries, especially those for whom English was a second language, were much more likely to be identified as immigrants. Immigration, in other words, has become ethnicised or racialised.

Some participants reported that difficulties had arisen in their associations between immigrant and non-immigrant members. These difficulties were typically referred to as "cultural and language barriers" and it was argued that the cultural barrier was exacerbated by the limited English language ability of immigrant members. The resolution of these difficulties, some argued, relied on the tolerance and patience of the non-immigrant majority, but realising this tolerance and patience was not always possible as members of the majority were not particularly interested in engaging with new immigrants and generally had an insular and/or parochial outlook. Other participants, however, observed that in order to overcome the difficulties the immigrants needed to adjust, and if they did not adjust then they left. In general, therefore, some associations were attempting integration, at times in the face of a disinterested majority, and some associations were relying on assimilation with all change lying in the hands of immigrants.

In addition to the split between integration and assimilation there was considerable confusion with respect to the dominant cultural discourse surrounding difference in New Zealand society. Many participants appeared to be torn between the legislative requirement that they treat everybody the same (e.g. the Human Rights Act) and the expectation (evident in immigration policy changes) that they simultaneously celebrate and value cultural difference. Negotiating a pathway between the requirement and the expectation has been shaped by the dominant representations of 'race' and ethnic relations in New Zealand society. For many of the associations that participated in this study, in particular those in the Sports, Recreational and Arts Association categories, the pathway has in practice led to assimilation. Importantly, however, there appeared to be less confusion and a commitment to integration among the churches and community organisations. Actively engaged in the provision of services for all members of their communities, services that addressed basic material needs and involved ongoing interaction with clients, these associations did not ethnicise or racialise immigration. Recognising immigrant needs, they responded accordingly in the true spirit of a civil society.

**Policies and the Relevance of Immigrant Settlement**

Although none of the participating associations had formal policies on immigrant settlement issues, many of them did have informal policies. Typically these policies involved encouraging immigrants to become members, predominantly via word of mouth and local advertising. When word of mouth was dominant it was left to existing members to encourage colleagues to become members, an approach that
obviously disadvantaged immigrants who were unemployed and denied the social interaction opportunities of workplace contacts. Many of the associations in this group stressed that they made everybody feel welcome.

Among the participating associations lacking any informal policies relating to immigrants, most did not consider immigrant settlement to be a relevant issue. Indeed, the “not relevant” or “not applicable” response was a common response at various points throughout the questionnaire. This might be explained in a number of ways. First, some of these responses, when read in conjunction with other comments, demonstrated a degree of intolerance toward immigrants which in a few instances were simply indicative of racist attitudes. Second, the “not relevant” or “not applicable” responses, coupled with other responses, might be interpreted as evidence of weak civic engagement where the issue of immigrant settlement was considered to be somebody else’s business. This interpretation simply highlights the compartmentalisation of social life, a feature of social organisation where responsibility for different spheres of social life is assigned to specific institutions. Finally, the “not relevant” or “not applicable” responses may refer quite literally to the specific objectives of the association and are usually qualified with reference to a focus on a particular activity and the need to protect the principle of open membership rather than focus on the needs or position of any specific group.

All of the “not relevant” or “not applicable” responses were from organisations in the Sports, Recreational and Arts Association categories. Should immigrant settlement and integration be relevant to them? Not necessarily. It would be wrong to claim that the “not relevant”/“not applicable” responses were racist for any more than a minority of the associations concerned. It is entirely possible that if they did target specific groups they would run the risk of compromising their open membership. Furthermore, to prescribe a focus of activity for associations with no direct interest in an issue would not only be inappropriate but could undermine the social capital they already generate that involves the participation of existing immigrant members.

The Provision of Services

Organisations categorised as Religious and Community Associations dominated the provision of services for immigrants. Because they are engaged in the provision of welfare services, these associations have had and continue to have a closer, more interactive relationship with government (local and national). This relationship means that they can experience conflicting pressures and that their self-definition can also be challenged by shifts or changes in various government policies, including immigration. All of the participants from these associations indicated that they were tackling increased social and material needs in their communities and all felt that these needs, particularly those of immigrants, were not being adequately addressed in either Auckland or Wellington. They believed that their associations were doing as much as they could, but did not have the workers or
other resources to do more. They did not perceive the task of meeting the needs of immigrants in their local communities to be the responsibility of voluntary associations alone but as something to be done in conjunction with the state.

In initiating service provision for immigrants the state needs to be better aware of what associations in the voluntary sector are doing and must bear at least some of the responsibility for service coordination. In terms of facilitating and achieving social integration for new immigrants, it might also be important to provide support for the more open and generic work being done by these associations (Putnam, 2000) – not just those providing welfare-related services, but also those focused on artistic, recreational, sporting and other activities which foster the social relationships and social cohesion that are vital for a civil society. Integration, as other researchers have observed, is a long and complex process that cannot be fully controlled by a government and which needs a significant measure of cooperation between immigrants and members of the host society. Voluntary associations have an important part to play in this process. Aside from the services that some offer in response to basic material needs, they provide New Zealanders with the personal contact opportunities in which to develop a better understanding of immigration and the backgrounds, experiences, needs, aspirations and values of new settlers.

There are ‘gaps’ in the provision of services in the voluntary sector, but these are by and large a consequence of the nature of this sector and (ironically) its strength. There is a risk that if immigrant need is too heavily targeted with state funding via voluntary associations, that their members will ‘ethnicise’ need. If so, this could have a negative impact upon the process of integration for at least two reasons. First, it could obscure the fact that many of the problems and difficulties new immigrants encounter in the settlement process are problems and difficulties of long standing that they share with other groups in New Zealand society. It is important to emphasise this point as commonality can engender empathy, whereas the identification of difference that commands a special need can engender prejudice, intolerance and fear. Second, it could reinforce the new settler’s identity as an ‘immigrant’ as opposed to being just another person seeking to become an ordinary member of a church congregation, a service club or some other voluntary association with an interest in art, conservation, horticulture, genealogy, military history or a particular sport.

In essence, it is argued that with carefully considered and coordinated support the voluntary sector has an important role to perform in conjunction with government agencies in: (a) the development of a balanced, well integrated institutional structure of immigration (Trlin, 1993); (b) the achievement of a reduction in the difficulties experienced by immigrants during the settlement process; and (c) the attainment of an increase in benefits accruing to New Zealand from its immigration policy.
REFERENCES


Beal, T. and Sos, F. 1999: *Astronauts from Taiwan: Taiwanese Immigration to Australia and New Zealand the Search for a New Life*, Asia Pacific Research Institute in association with Steele Roberts Ltd, Wellington.


APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Mail Survey Questionnaire

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule, Follow-up Interviews
Appendix 1: Mail Survey Questionnaire

NEW SETTLERS PROGRAMME

INFORMATION SHEET

IMMIGRANT MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN AUCKLAND AND WELLINGTON

This project is part of the New Settlers Programme, led by Associate Professor Andrew Trlin, which explores the experiences of immigrants in New Zealand. The project is funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology with a grant from the Public Good Science Fund. The aim of this survey is to document immigrant involvement in voluntary associations (churches, sports clubs, service clubs etc.) in Auckland and Wellington and to gain an understanding of the relationship between these organisations and immigrant resettlement. We anticipate that the results of this survey will provide us with a greater understanding of immigrant participation rates and the organisational policies and practices of voluntary associations in relation to immigrants.

You are invited to participate in this survey by completing the questionnaire on behalf of your association. Your response is confidential and will not be traced to you. The code number on the first page of the questionnaire is simply to assist us in any follow-up, if necessary. The raw data will be seen only by those closely involved in the research project. Findings from the postal survey will be reported in aggregated form only and published in professional journals. All other rights of participants are safeguarded. It is assumed that filling in the questionnaire implies consent. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question.

The principal researcher for this survey is Dr. Kirsten Lovelock and she can be contacted at: Department of Anthropology, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin.

PHONE: (03) 479 8744
FAX: (03) 479 9095
EMAIL: kirsten.lovelock@stonebow.otago.ac.nz

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you wish to obtain a summary of the overall findings please indicate this in the section at the end of the questionnaire.

Please return the questionnaire by 1 March 2000 in the Freepost envelope provided.
First we would like to ask you some general questions about your voluntary association. Please note: for the purposes of this survey voluntary associations include, organisations such as churches, sports clubs and service clubs where the membership is voluntary.

1. What is the main activity of your particular voluntary association?

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2. How many people currently belong to your association?

  Less than 10  □ 1
  10-24         □ 2
  25-49         □ 3
  50-99         □ 4
  100-199       □ 5
  200-499       □ 6
  500-999       □ 7
  1000 and above □ 8
  Don’t Know    □ 9
3. Which of the following age group categories do you think are the most common among members of your association? (Tick two boxes only)

   Under 20 years  ☐ 1
   20-29 years    ☐ 2
   30-39 years    ☐ 3
   40-49 years    ☐ 4
   50-59 years    ☐ 5
   60 and over    ☐ 6
   All age groups ☐ 7

4. In what year was your (local) association formed?

   ........................................

5. Is your association for:

   Women only    ☐ 1 (Please Go to Question 6)
   Men only      ☐ 2 (Please Go to Question 6)
   Women and Men ☐ 3 (Please Go to Question 5(a))

5(a) Please describe the current male/female composition of your membership (for example, three quarters men, one quarter women)

   ........................................................................................................

   ........................................................................................................
6. How often does your association meet?
   About once a week  □ 1
   About once a fortnight □ 2
   About once a month  □ 3
   Irregularly          □ 4

7. Does your association have a constitution?
   Yes                  □ 1 (Please Go to Question 7(a))
   No                   □ 2 (Please Go to Question 8)
   Not Applicable       □ 3
   Because:.........................
                        (Please Go to Question 8)

7(a) If you answered Yes to Question 7, could you please outline the constitution (or append a copy)

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8. Does your association have rules for its members?

Yes 1 (Please Go to Question 8(a))

No 2 (Please Go to Question 9)

Don’t Know 3 (Please Go to Question 9)

Not Applicable 4

Because: ..............................................................
(Please Go to Question 9)

8(a) If you answered Yes to Question 8, please outline or attach a copy of the association’s rules.

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9. Is English the main language used by your association (that is, for meetings, minutes etc.)?

Yes 1 (Please Go to Question 10)

No 2 (Please Go to Question 9(a))

9(a) If you answered No to Question 9, please specify the main language used by your association? (For example, Tongan, Samoan).

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10. Where does your association meet?

- People’s homes [ ] 1
- Community hall [ ] 2
- Own clubrooms/premises [ ] 3
- Other (Please describe) [ ] 4

11. Do your members generally live in relatively close proximity to each other in the same residential suburb?

- Yes [ ] 1
- No [ ] 2
- Don’t Know [ ] 3

12. What methods are used by your association to attract new members?

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13. Do you have any immigrants amongst your membership?

   Yes      □ 1(Please Go to Question 14)

   No       □ 2(Please Go to Question 21)

   Don’t Know □ 3(Please Go to Question 21)

   Not Applicable □ 4

   .......................................................... (Please explain)

   .......................................................... (Please Go to Question 21)

14. Are any of the current positions of responsibility (e.g. Officers) of your association, held by immigrants?

   Yes      □ 1

   No       □ 2

   Don’t Know □ 3

15. In the past, have any of the positions of responsibility, for your association, been held by immigrants?

   Yes      □ 1

   No       □ 2

   Don’t Know □ 3
16. Approximately what proportion of your association’s membership, do you think, would be immigrants?

1-2% □ 1
3-10% □ 2
11-25% □ 3
26-50% □ 4
51-100% □ 5
Don’t Know □ 6

17. How would you characterise relationships between immigrant and non-immigrant members of your association?

Excellent □ 1
Very Good □ 2
Good □ 3
Satisfactory □ 4
Poor □ 5

17(a). Are there any special issues that arise between immigrant and non-immigrant members?

Yes □ 1 (Please Go to Question 17(b))
No □ 2 (Please Go to Question 18)
Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Question 18)
17(b). If you answered Yes to Question 17(a), please identify these issues:

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18. Where do your immigrant members come from? (Please tick all that apply)

Australia 1
China 2
Europe 3
India 4
Pacific Islands 5
Malaysia 6
South Africa 7
Taiwan 8
United Kingdom 9
Other (please specify) 10

........................................................................................................
Don’t Know 11

19. Please specify the largest immigrant group amongst your membership (e.g. people from the United Kingdom):

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20. Do the immigrant members include those who have resided in New Zealand for less than five years?

Yes  □ 1 (Please Go to Question 20(a))
No   □ 2 (Please Go to Question 21)
Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Question 21)

20(a). If you answered Yes to Question 20, please specify the countries these immigrant members come from:

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21. Does your association have a policy on encouraging immigrants to become members?

Yes □ 1 (Please Go to Question 22)
No □ 2 (Please Go to Question 23)
Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Question 23)
Not Applicable □ 4

Because: ..............................................................

(Please Go to Question 23)

22. If you answered Yes to Question 21, please describe this policy.

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23. Do you think that there are any reasons why immigrants might like to join your association?

Yes    1(Please Go to Question 23(a))
No      2(Please Go to Question 24)
Don’t Know  3(Please Go to Question 24)
Not Applicable  4

Because: .................................................................
(Please Go to Question 24)

23(a). If you answered Yes to Question 23, could you please outline the reasons why immigrants might like to join your association.

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24. Can you think of any reasons why immigrants might not like to join your association?

Yes    1(Please Go to Question 24(a))
No      2(Please Go to Question 28)
Don’t Know  3(Please Go to Question 28)
Not Applicable  4

Because: .................................................................
(Please Go to Question 25)
24(a) If you answered Yes to Question 24, could you please outline the reasons why immigrants might not want to join your association.

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25. Do you think immigrant members’ experience any particular difficulties as members of your association?

Yes  □ 1 (Please Go to Question 25(a))
No □ 2 (Please Go to Question 26)
Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Question 26)
Not Applicable □ 4 (Please Go to Question 28)
no immigrant members

25(a) If you answered Yes to Question 25, please describe what these difficulties are:

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(Please Go to Question 25(b))
25(b) How do immigrant members overcome or attempt to overcome these difficulties?

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26. Do immigrant members of your association make any special contributions to the association because they are immigrants?

Yes  □ 1 (Please Go to Question 27)

No  □ 2 (Please Go to Question 28)

Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Question 28)

27. If you answered Yes to Question 26, please describe the special contributions made by immigrant members:

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28. Are there any other comments you would like to make about immigrant participation and membership in relation to your association?

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We would now like to ask some questions about services your association provides for immigrants.

29. Does your association have an interest in immigrant resettlement?
   - Yes    □ 1 (Please Go to Question 30)
   - No     □ 2 (Please Go to Page 17)
   - Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Question 30)
   - Not Applicable □ 4 (Please Go to Question 30)
   Because: .................................................................

30. Does your association offer any special services for immigrants?
   - Yes    □ 1 (Please Go to Question 30(a))
   - No     □ 2 (Please Go to Page 17)
   - Don’t Know □ 3 (Please Go to Page 17)
   - Not Applicable □ 4
   Because: .................................................................
   (Please Go to Page 17)

30(a). If you answered Yes to Question 30, could you please describe what special services your association offers to immigrants.

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31. Are the special services, offered by your association, directed at any specific immigrant groups?

Yes 1 (Please Go to Question 32)
No 2 (Please Go to Question 33)
Don’t Know 3 (Please Go to Question 33)

32. If you answered Yes to Question 31, could you please identify the specific immigrant group(s) you offer services to.

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33. Are there any funding issues that your association has to address in order to provide services for immigrants?

Yes 1 (Please Go to Question 33(a))
No 2 (Please Go to Question 34)

33(a). If you answered Yes to Question 33, how does your association address or seek to obtain the funding needed for services for immigrants?

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34. Does your association have any training needs that are associated with the services provided for immigrants?

Yes 1 (Please Go to Question 34(a))
No 2 (Please Go to Question 35)
34(a). If you answered *Yes* to Question 34, please explain what these training needs are:

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(Please Go to Question 34(b))

34(b). How does your association meet these training needs?

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35. Are there any additional comments you would like to make about the role your voluntary association has in providing services for immigrants?

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On the basis of this survey we are hoping to identify some of the best practice features of voluntary associations and their relationship with immigrants.

36. Would you be agreeable to a possible follow-up interview to discuss further the way your association caters for immigrants?

Yes □
No □

36(a) If Yes, please give contact details below:

Name: ...........................................
Address: ...........................................

..................................................

..................................................

Telephone: (work).........................

Fax:.............................. Email:.............................

37. Would you like a summary of findings arising from this questionnaire?

Yes □
No □

37(a) If Yes, please write your name and address below (if not already provided above)

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Thank you for taking the time to respond to this questionnaire.
Appendix 2: Interview Schedule, Follow-up Interviews

1. How long has your association (name) had an interest in providing services to immigrants?

2. How do immigrants become aware of your organisation and the services that you provide?

3. In terms of your day to day/month to month/commitments how much time is given to immigrant resettlement issues/services?
   Who provides these services (employees, volunteers)?
   Are your employees/volunteers trained? – If so, by whom?

4. Have immigrant needs/services changed over time?

5. What other associations provide services like those that you provide?

6. What do you think the overall objective should be with respect to immigrant settlement?

7. Is there consensus in your association that one of your roles is to provide services for immigrants?
Kirsten Lovelock

Kirsten is currently a part-time Research Fellow in the Department of Social and Preventive Medicine, Injury Prevention Unit, University of Otago. She has previously been a lecturer in social anthropology at Massey University, Palmerston North (1988-1998), and at the University of Otago (1999-2003). Kirsten is also an established visual artist who has exhibited in New Zealand and overseas and received a number of awards for her work. Her main research interests are in the areas of work and technology, gender, ethnicity and immigration, inter-country adoption and human reproduction. A graduate of the University of Otago, Kirsten was awarded a Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, and spent two years (1996-1997) at the Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, engaged in a study of inter-country adoptees from Hong Kong in New Zealand, Canada and the United States. Kirsten joined the New Settlers Programme in 1998 and served as the principal researcher for a study of the New Zealand immigration industry as well as the project presented in this report.

Andrew Trlin

The former Leader for the New Settlers Programme (1997-2006), Andrew is an Honorary Research Fellow in the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University, Palmerston North. His main interests are in the areas of social demography and social policy in contemporary New Zealand, but he is best known for his research on immigration policy and immigrant settlement. Andrew's publications on various aspects of international migration include: (as author) *Now Respected, Once Despised: Yugoslavs in New Zealand* (Dunmore Press, 1979); and (as co-editor) the continuing series *New Zealand and International Migration: A Digest and Bibliography* (Massey University, 1986, 1992, 1997 and 2005). His publications (as author or co-author) for the New Settlers Programme are included in the list at the end of this report. Andrew served on the Ministerial Committee that produced the report *Drawing on the Evidence: Social Science Research and Government Policy* (Ministry of Research, Science and Technology, 1996). A Life Member of the Population Association of New Zealand he also serves as a panel member on the Human Rights Review Tribunal.


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