A Qualitative Investigation into Pacific Families, Communities and Organisations Social and Economic Contribution to Pacific Migrant Settlement Outcomes in New Zealand

Taimalieutu Kiwi Tamasese,
Tafaoimalo Loudeen Parsons,
Peter King and Charles Waldegrave

Family Centre Pacific Section and the
Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit

This report was commissioned by the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs and funded from the Department of Labour Migrant Levy Fund. The views, opinions and conclusions expressed in the report do not represent the views of the government or any government agency.

Contents

Acknowledgements

The authors respectfully acknowledge our Pacific Peoples who first migrated from the Pacific and settled in Aotearoa New Zealand. We acknowledge the many people and organisations that enabled Pacific People to settle well, specifically our Pacific leaders who established our Churches, organisations, communities and families in Aotearoa New Zealand. Faamalo le sailimalo.

The researchers extend our deep gratitude to all of the participants in this research project; specifically the Pacific Elders and young people in the Faafaletui Focus Groups who generously presented their stories, knowledge and experiences of migration, settlement and hosting. Our heartfelt thanks go to all of the participants from Tokelau, Fiji, Niue, Tonga, the Cook Islands and Samoa as well as the participants in the Pan Pacific Faalafetui focus groups for all of your generous contributions.

We acknowledge with warm appreciation all of the families of the case studies: the Micronesian Kaiga / Te utu of Tuvalu and Kiribati, the Melanesian Matavuvale and the Polynesian Aiga. Your willingness to present your stories, knowledge and experiences of migration, and settlement and hosting enabled the research team to explore in detail the range of costs associated with the positive settlement of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand.

We further respectfully acknowledge the Churches and community organisations in the case studies which were the Pacific Church, the Pacific Social Services community organisation and the Immigration legal services organisation. Your stories, experiences, knowledge and deep commitment ensure that the loneliness of migration, settlement and hosting of Pacific People who migrate are made bearable.

The research team gratefully acknowledges the foresight and initiative of the Ministry of Pacific Affairs for instigating the documenting of Pacific Peoples migration experiences and contributions. Through your support we can make visible Pacific Peoples positive settlement and contributions in Aotearoa New Zealand. Specifically we wish to acknowledge the overall leadership of Dr Colin Tukuitonga over this project. We have really appreciated the commitment, and the drive of Kukuana Tupu and Dr David Schaaf, the supportive approach of Dr Debbie McLeod and the sensitive and encouraging collaboration of Dr Lana Perese within the Faafaletui of the Reference Group.

We thank Sankar Ramasamy, of the Department of Labour, for his collegial and supportive participation in the Faafaletui of the Research Reference group.

The research team wish to particularly acknowledge the funders of this research the Department of Labour for making it possible to support this project through the Migrant levy[1] funds.

Finally we want to thank those of the Family Centre team involved in this project for your contributions in the production of the report, especially Lynn Barlow. Our thanks also to the transcription team for your contributions to this research.

[1] The Migrant Levy is payable by applicants granted residence, except for citizens of Samoa, refugees, family members of refugees and people approved through the Victims of Domestic Violence Policy.

This research documents the stories, knowledge and experiences of Resilience, Sacrifice, Drive and Commitment to ensure that Pacific People are settled positively in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Whakawhetai lahi lele
Vinaka vaka levu
Fakaua lahi mahaki
Malo aupito
Metaki maata
Fakafetai lahi
Kam bati n raba
Faafetai tele.

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

This research into the contributions of New Zealand based Pacific migrant host families, communities and organisations has been carried out for and with the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, and developed in response to a Request for Proposal (RFP) from the Ministry, "for qualitative research to inform the development of a report on Pacific settlement experiences and the formal and informal channels that are used by Pacific migrants in attempts to achieve settlement outcomes."

The research aims are to:

1. *Identify the social and economic contribution of Pacific host communities/organisations towards providing positive settlement outcomes for Pacific migrants.*
2. *Examine the types and appropriateness of settlement support services provided by Pacific host communities/organisations.*
3. *Explore the barriers and impacts on Pacific host communities/organisations associated with the provision of settlement support for Pacific migrants.*
4. *Identify specific approaches undertaken by Pacific host communities/organisations to provide settlement support for Pacific migrants with a particular focus on unpaid work.*

This report presents findings from a qualitative study that involved six case studies and eight Faafaletui focus groups in which the contributions of Pacific people resident in New Zealand to the settlement of Pacific migrants from their home countries were identified and investigated.

The six case studies consist of three with migrant host families: one Polynesian; one Micronesian; and one Melanesian; and three with Pacific focused organisations who contribute to, but do not specialise in, the settlement of Pacific migrants. One of these was a Pacific church, one a community based service provider, and one a legal services trust.

The host family case studies investigate the direct financial contributions made by these families while hosting their migrants as well as other kinds of support advice and assistance. The host organisation case studies investigate the kinds of support they provide to Pacific migrants and the financial demands this mostly unpaid work has on their organisations.

The eight Faafaletui focus groups were conducted with six ethnically specific Focus Groups of Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Fijian, Niuean, and Tokelauan people and two Pan-Pacific Faafaletui Focus groups of long term migrants who settled into New Zealand in the last five years.

Overall, this research has demonstrated the considerable social and economic contributions that so many New Zealand based Pacific families and organisations make to support the successful settlement in New Zealand of migrants from the countries of the Pacific.

Contributions of Pacific Peoples: Historical Context

Traversing Oceania: Le Atuvasa Pasefika

> *"The world of our ancestors was a large sea full of places to explore, to make their homes in, to breed generations of seafarers like themselves. …*
>
> *…From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks for greater flow of wealth."*
>
> *Epeli Hau'ofa: A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*

The Pacific Ocean, our home region, is the largest and deepest of the world's five oceans. Also known as Oceania, the Pacific or Le Atuvasa Pasefika it is an environment of abundance which Pacific ancestors have journeyed countless times. It is a region that is home to many ancient cultures and technologies of sophisticated agricultural, marine and navigational skills. The Pacific is larger than the total land area of the world.[2]

The late Tongan author, Epeli Hau'ofa, in his writing encouraged the enlargement of our perspectives on Pacific matters to reflect the scale of our Pacific context. Hau'ofa reminds us of the Oceanic histories of multiple journeying across the Atuvasa and of successful repeat navigations, between motu or lands, in order to increase our "*flow of wealth*"[3]. All of these elements according to Hau'ofa are consistent with Pacific Peoples whose histories are lived as people at home within the Atuvasa.

Mobility and changes in location or 'migration' for Pacific Peoples is not new. For Pacific Peoples these movements and relocations have been a social, environmental, cultural and economic reality for centuries. The reasons for these journeys are told in the genealogies of Aiga/kin and included as part of their histories. It is these journeys to trade, to work, to extend our Aiga and kin that remind us these journeys need to be understood within the *"totality of their relationships".*[4] Journeys and migrations across the Pacific Ocean have always drawn on Pacific Peoples own cultures, resilience and ability to *"strike roots in new resource areas".*[5]

The historical and legal relationships between New Zealand and Pacific nations.

The large-scale movement of Pacific Peoples to New Zealand in the latter half of the twentieth century took place within the context of colonial, political, legal and economic relationships between New Zealand and the Pacific nations. These relationships extend back to the middle of the nineteenth century and are catalysts to the movements of Pacific People's, their Aiga/Kaiga and kin to come and settle in New Zealand since that time.

---

[2] www.worldfactsandfigures.com/bodiesofwater/pacific_ocean.php
[3] Hau'ofa, Epeli; *We are the Ocean: selected works, "Our Sea of Islands"* pp27-40.
[4] ibid
[5] ibid

This section aims then to provide a brief historical overview of some of the cultural, legal and socio-economic nature of the historical relationships between Aotearoa New Zealand and Pacific nations. The movement of Pacific People's and their settlement outcomes in New Zealand cannot be fully appreciated without the inclusion of an historical context. It is the historical context to the New Zealand relationships with neighbouring Pacific nations which has impacted on the movement of Pacific populations to New Zealand who now live in New Zealand, who host other Pacific People's and kin during their settlement and who now raise many children as Pacific New Zealander's.

New Zealand's ambitions for a 'Polynesian Empire'

Pacific nations have been the persistent subject of New Zealands dreams of their own 'Polynesian empire' (Krishnan, 1994) that would rival the British Empire. In 1848, for example, just eight years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand had begun to seek approval from the Home Office in London to take over Samoa.[6]

New Zealands persistent colonial 'annexationist aspirations' (Tamasese Efi, 1995) towards Samoa and other Pacific nations continued until the matter was settled by the partition of Samoa. New Zealand's pathway to realising political aspirations for a Polynesian empire began in 1901 when New Zealand assumed responsibility for the Cook Islands and Niue, later followed by Tokelau in 1926.

The beginning of formal relationships

On 15 August 1914, eleven days after the declaration of war against the German Empire, New Zealand sent a small group of New Zealand armed forces to Samoa[7]. They declared Samoa as the first conquest of German territory for the Allies in World War I. At the end of the war the Western Samoa Order in Council (1920) set out an agreement between the Allied Powers that Samoa would be administered by the Dominion of New Zealand for his Majesty the King of England. Thus began the formal legal attachment of New Zealand and Samoa.

In April 1922 the Council of the League of Nations granted, at New Zealands insistence, the full power of administration and legislation for Samoa. New Zealand was required to promote (to the utmost) the material and moral wellbeing, and social progress of Samoans.[8]

Legal arrangements and relationships underpinning Pacific migration, Hosting and Settlement in New Zealand

The historical and legal relationships between the Pacific nations and New Zealand have been enacted through Constitutional and/or socio-economic arrangements in the case of the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau.

---

[6] Tamasese.K, Waldegrave.C, King.P; A *Review of Lottery Responsiveness to Pacific community groups: A Pacific Cultural Audit of the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board*, 2000.Chapter 1, page26

[7] Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs,2000, *Pacific Peoples Constitution Report*

[8] Van der Beek, Nicola, *Annotated Bibliography of Legal Instruments and other Documents relevant to the Relationship between New Zealand and Six pacific Nations,* Ministry of Justice, 1998.

Between the 1960's and 2000, there have been at least nine schemes for short term workers negotiated between the New Zealand Government and the Governments of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa[9]. More commonly known as the South Pacific Work Schemes they have resulted in a significant number of Pacific people, and their descendents, becoming New Zealand citizens.

The Protocol to the Treaty of Friendship between the Government of New Zealand and Samoa came into force on 13 September 1982. The Protocol dealt with the citizenship rights of Samoan's in New Zealand and imposed an explicit obligation upon the New Zealand Government to grant New Zealand citizenship to certain categories of citizens of Western Samoa.

The Protocol touches upon citizenship in specific terms:

> *Recognising further the ties of history, friendship and law between New Zealand and Western Samoa are such as to give the citizens of Western Samoa a claim to special treatment under the New Zealand Law governing citizenship*."[10]

While the Protocol recognised the ties of history and socio-economic ties, it identified some Samoans for special treatment in relationship to citizenship. The Protocol therefore included some and excluded many by disallowing New Zealand citizenship for thousands of Samoans who had previously been categorised as British citizens by their British Nationality.

For the Cook Islands their shared history, friendship and laws did not justify the need for the changes they had made for the Samoans. For Cook Island peoples their right to New Zealand citizenship remained unchanged as expressed in section 6 of the Cook Islands Constitution Act 1964 which states:

> *Nothing in this Act or in the Constitution shall affect the status of any person as a British subject or a New Zealand citizen by virtue of the British nationality and the New Zealand Citizenship Act 1948.*

Likewise the Niue Constitution Act 1974 states that nothing in the Act or in the Niue Constitution will affect Niueans' New Zealand citizenship.

The advice from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade is that Tokelau remains a non self governing territory of New Zealand and therefore Tokelau residents are New Zealand citizens.

Pacific People and their mobility over the decades

By the early 1900's some Pacific nations had had decades of experience with European traders. Some German, American, British and New Zealand traders and settlers had chosen to make their homes in the Pacific acquiring residence, setting up businesses or securing the use of lands. Some had for example established cocoa, copra or cotton plantations. Other enterprises had developed trading between the different islands for example between Samoa and Fiji or Tonga who all had active shipping ports during and following WWI.

---

[9] ibid

[10] *A Review of Lottery Responsiveness to Pacific community groups: A Pacific Cultural Audit of the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, 2000.Chapter Two*,

Following WWI there was a flow of Pacific people to New Zealand from Samoa and the Cook Islands which increased during World War II. Following WWII the flow towards New Zealand had grown to include Tongan and Fijian people, as well as Cook Island and Samoan people with established relationships with the New Zealand Government and family members in New Zealand.

New Zealand was in recovery from the 1931 to 1933 Depression years. Recovery was not straight forward owing to New Zealands major economic activity being medium sized pastoral holdings and Britain being the major export market (Wright, 2009). In the 1940's Pacific Peoples travelled to New Zealand in growing numbers. However, it appears to have been a time when those who worked hard to contribute to a strengthening and diversifying New Zealand economy found appreciation and employment.

In the 1950's New Zealand was expanding its industrialisation and the manufacturing industries were emerging as the new economic strength. A demand for an expanded workforce in the manufacturing and service industries was increasing. Initially, this demand was met by the rural to urban migration and urbanisation of New Zealand and Maori pastoral sectors. As the demand increased during the 1960's and early 1970's New Zealand looked increasingly to others including the Pacific nations to fulfil employment requirements. A policy solution at the time was to institute the 'temporary guest-worker schemes and the 'South Pacific Work Schemes'[11] where Pacific workers were granted access to New Zealand for up to six months and then required to return to their Pacific homes.

The Pacific work schemes were specifically implemented for the recruitment of Pacific people from Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu and Kiribati. A special scheme was implemented for Tongans in 1975, for the Samoans and Fijians in January 1976. Similar work permit schemes were set up for people of Tuvalu and Kiribati by the end of the 1970's. The schemes provided easier temporary entry to, and employment in, New Zealand[12].

Pacific people have since the 1940's journeyed to New Zealand, in search of the reciprocal benefits of employment. While contributing to the economy Pacific People's earnings enabled access to the economic means to increase their collective and familial wealth.

> *The new economic reality made nonsense of artificial boundaries, enabling people to shake off their confinement and they have since moved in their tens of thousands, doing what their ancestors had done before them; enlarging their world as they go, but on a scale not possible before. Every where they go , to Australia, New Zealand , Hawai'i, mainland USA, Canada and even Europe ,they strike roots in new resource areas, securing employment and overseas family property, expanding kinship networks through which they circulate themselves, their relatives, their material goods, and their stories all*

[11] Krishnan, Vasantha Penelope Schoeffel, and Julie Warren (1994) *The Challenge of Change-Pacific Island Communities in New Zealand, 1986-1993.* New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development (ISRD)

[12] Tamasese, Kiwi; Waldegrave, Charles and King, Peter (2000) *A Review of Lotter Responsiveness to Pacific Community Groups: A Pacific Cultural Audit of the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board.* The Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit.

across their ocean and the ocean is theirs because it has always been their home. (Epeli Hau'ofa, Our Sea of Islands)

From a Pacific perspective Pacific People's have consistently sought employment in New Zealand as a way to achieve their socio-economic goals. Following the Independence of the Cook Islands and Niue their populations had "unrestricted rights of entry and settlement in New Zealand"[13] as citizens. They maintained their self-government in free association with New Zealand as well as their annual allocations of New Zealand aid.

Tokelau citizens became New Zealand citizens in 1926 and remain the only Pacific nation of the six in this study that is yet to become constitutionally self-determining.[14] Tokelau continues to be an integral part of New Zealand. For Tokelau for example New Zealand government advisors promoted the need to ease population pressures on their motu (atolls) so the Tokelau resettlement scheme was developed. Many Tokelauan people came to New Zealand either through this or independently to join their own Kaiga/kin.

A desire to access New Zealand's educational institutions and expand their own economic opportunities prompted many Pacific families to move to New Zealand or other neighbouring countries with larger economies.

The New Zealand economic crises of the 1980's seriously undermined the economic and social well-being of Pacific people in New Zealand with the impacts being felt by Aiga/kin at home in the Pacific. Due to their concentration in the manufacturing and service industries, Pacific people were disproportionately affected by the job losses in these industries. This failing economic context caused a decline in living conditions for Pacific people in New Zealand and for many affected their ability, though not their determination, to maintain their contributions through remittances to their Aiga/kin and families in the Pacific.

More recently New Zealand's Labour market conditions for Pacific Peoples have remained challenging owing to the weakness in the domestic economy and slow growth in the export sector. Pacific Peoples rates of unemployment in 2009 were 12.8% and in March 2010 had reached 14.4%[15]. The networked nature and resilience of Pacific households continues to be a key support resource for many families given the current lowering rates of employment available. Auckland city, where two thirds of Pacific Peoples and their families live, is experiencing falling incomes across Aiga/kin located in the same region.

[13] Statistics New Zealand Demographics of New Zealand's Pacific Population accessed on www.stats.govt.nz 21/9/10

[14] Van der Beek, Nicola, Annotated Bibliography of Legal Instruments and other Documents relevant to the Relationship between New Zealand and Six pacific Nations, Ministry of Justice, 1998.

[15] Department of Labour: Household Labour Force Survey March 2010.

New Zealand's Pacific Populations

In 2006 the six largest populations of Pacific Peoples groups numbered:

Tokelauan	6,900
Fiji	9,900
Niue	22,500
Tongan	50,500
Cook Island	58,000
Samoan	131,000

Over the decades the Auckland Regional area has been the main point of entry for Pacific migrants. Auckland is still where the majority of Samoan, Tongan and Niuean communities continue to thrive in southern and central Auckland. The groups with the highest proportions born in New Zealand are Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelauan peoples who have had unrestricted rights of settlement in New Zealand. The greatest increases in the proportion of New Zealand-born Pacific People's have been amongst these three groups.

Fijians are the only group in which the majority were born overseas, reflecting a historical pattern of specific labour migration with less permanent settlement although this is changing as a result of the recent coups and changes to Fijian governance arrangements.

By 2006 the total New Zealand Pacific population had reached 301,600 (Statistics New Zealand 2010). Table 1 shows that the projected growth of the total New Zealand population of Pacific Peoples seems likely to reach 346,000 by 2011. These recent projections, based on the 2006 census, are considerably higher than earlier estimates (Krishnan et al 1994) showing a nearly 50% increases in 2011 and 2021 as set out in table 1.

Table 1 Actual and projected Pacific populations 1945 to 2031[16]

Year	Pacific Population: Krishnan et. al.1994	Census projections from 2006 base: Stats NZ
1945	2,159	
1956	8,103	
1966	26,271	
1976	65,694	
1986	130,293	
1991	167,073	
2001	197,000	
2006		301,600
2011	238,000	346,000
2021	281,000	435,000
2026		482,000
2031	327,000	

For the years 1945 to 1976, in Table 1, only people who specified themselves as being of solely Pacific Polynesian origin or mixed Pacific Polynesian origin were included. The

[16] Source: Based on Krishnan, Schoeffel & Warren (1994) and Statistics New Zealand (2010).

remaining years include people who stated a Pacific ethnic group as either their sole ethnic group, or as one of several ethnic groups.

There has been steady growth of the New Zealand resident Pacific population since 1945 to the point that Pacific Peoples made up 6.9% of the New Zealand population in 2006. (Census 2006) Within the Pacific populations specific groups have grown very rapidly for example the Samoan population numbers increased by 98% between 1986 and 2006 compared to the growth of New Zealand in total being 23.4%[17] for the same period.

The Journey Continues: The on-going benefits and contributions made by Pacific migration, hosting and settlement in New Zealand.

All of the gains made over the years by Pacific Peoples in New Zealand have been shared and distributed in three directions. Firstly the gains have been shared amongst Aiga/kin and communities in New Zealand. Secondly, the gains have been distributed across the oceans with Pacific Aiga/kin at home in the Pacific. Finally, the benefits of all of the contributions in social, economic and cultural terms that have been made by Pacific Peoples are enjoyed here in New Zealand through the overall economic progress of New Zealand businesses, service industries and the overall economy.

Since the earliest arrivals of Pacific People's in New Zealand, Pacific men, women, young people and children arrived in New Zealand determined, motivated and willing to do their best often because others depended on them. Pacific People's built their own communities and infrastructural supports aiming for self sufficiency and independence from government assistance. Pacific People's gathered and organised building projects within Church and cultural communities to sustain the foundations of their on-going social supports such as the Pacific Churches and community places of gathering and belonging. The Pacific Churches' continue to be where Pacific People's worship, where Pacific languages are spoken and nurtured and where Pacific cultural practices and values are freely expressed and taught to new generations within a supportive environment.

Pacific People's have contributed positively to New Zealand and their communities and kin. They continue to do this as 'migrants' to New Zealand, as the kin or family like hosts to newer 'migrants' and settlers. They continue to be hosts as descendants of the three generations of Pacific children that have grown up as Pacific New Zealander's or as newer arrivals who have been resident (even if their immigration status is yet to be legalised) in New Zealand for less than two years. While the decades of living within the socio-economic and cultural context of New Zealand has sometimes undermined Pacific People's wellbeing in social, economic or cultural terms, these set backs may have slowed Pacific People's progress over some years. On the other hand, when these set backs have loomed Pacific People's have a history of drawing on their own cultural strengths and values which have almost never prevented Pacific People's from being themselves.

[17] Statistics New Zealand Demographics of New Zealand's Pacific Population accessed on www.stats.govt.nz 21/9/10

PART TWO: METHODOLOGY

An Appropriate Research Method

This qualitative investigation was designed to meet the aims specified in the RFP from the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. The development of a research process and approach should be based on both a clear understanding of research aims and a familiarity with the cultural requirements of those taking part. This is especially important in projects such as this where we seek to examine the perceptions and experiences of people from a particular group of cultures (Pacific Peoples) and to develop processes and procedures appropriate to that group.

The development and use of a culturally appropriate methodology was essential to obtain meaningful and useful participation of Pacific Peoples in this research project, and the Faafaletui research approach was used.

Faafaletui Research Approach

The Faafaletui Research Approach was chosen for this study as it provides both a research framework and processes that respect the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Pacific Peoples and their cultures, while at the same time enabling the development of relationships and the ability to draw a consensus. It is underpinned by values of respect, humility and the honouring of peoples, ensuring that each of the Pacific Nations and cultures represented in this research is acknowledged and their knowledge valued.
Firstly, matters of great importance and depth in Pacific are discussed and deliberated in collectives or Fono (Tamasese, Peteru and Waldegrave, 1997). The key points around collectives being the natural forum of discussion on matters of importance are that collectives include many people who occupy different roles and status in a community. These roles and status provide their incumbents with certain perspectives, knowledge's and learning's that would deepen and extend any discussion on critical matters. The collective discussion of key matters is "particularly significant in light of the Pacific practice of consensus formation and ideas of solidarity" (Goldsmith 1993).

The Faafaletui methodology also makes possible the resolution of complex methodological issues, and pays serious attention to cultural perspectives, etiquette and protocols as well as upholding the primacy and expression of the various Pacific languages that will be used in this research.

This approach provides a system of relating between the Faafaletui of the reference group, the focus group facilitators, the researchers and the participants. Further, it provides a process of 'tui', or the weaving together of the findings from the two phases of this research – the Faafaletui of case studies and the Faafaletui of focus groups.

Issues of power in the research process are increasingly being addressed across a range of social science research fields within New Zealand (Te Awe Kotuku, 1991; Teariki, Spoonley & Tomoana, 1992; Tamasese, 1994). A number of Pacific researchers have raised the need for culturally appropriate methods when research is carried out within Pacific communities (Tupuola 1993; Tamasese, Peteru and Waldegrave, 1997). If research is authentically to acknowledge the concepts and experiences of Pacific peoples, then research methods need to be based on the cultural world views of the participants. Using a methodology that grows from the indigenous knowledge of the

Pacific will ensure that the participants will be able to express their own experiences, opinions and understandings in their own languages.

The two phases of this study

This qualitative investigation was carried out in two phases.

Phase One: Faafaletui of Case Studies

This involved:

- Six group interviews with hosts of Pacific migrants
- Of this six, three (3) were with host Aiga (family or extended family) to Pacific migrants and three were group interviews with host community /organisations

Phase Two: Faafaletui of Focus Group Interviews

This involved:

- Six ethnically specific focus groups of Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Fijian, Niuean, and Tokelauan people
- Two Pan-Pacific Faafaletui focus groups of long term migrants who settled into New Zealand in the last five years.

Phase One: Faafaletui of Case Studies

Recruitment and Selection: Host Kaiga/Aiga Case Studies

The Faafaletui of the Research Reference group made the decision to include host Kaiga / Aiga representative of the three major geopolitical regions of the Pacific;

- One Host Kaiga/ Te utu from Micronesia,
- One Host Matavuvale from Melanesia
- One Host Aiga from Polynesia.

This decision was based on ensuring that this research would have an extensive spread of knowledge and experiences of Pacific migration and positive settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand. Further, the uniqueness and/or similarities of knowledge and experiences from these geopolitical regions about migration and settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand could be identified, analysed and documented.

The cases being studied are three specific cases of migration to New Zealand and the hosting of these migrants by three specific families already resident in New Zealand. In each case the unit of analysis is the host family. The focus of the case study interviews was on actual experiences and contributions / costs associated with a specific case of migration to New Zealand. The group interviews covered the areas of assistance and support provided by them as hosts to Pacific People as migrants.

Host group interviews brought out both the elements of social and economic contributions associated with their hosting roles from which estimates of the holistic costs and contributions could be developed.

Evaluating Economic Contributions
Estimates of financial cost contributions by host Kaiga/ Aiga (families) were generated within the framework developed by the New Zealand Poverty Measurement Project and successfully applied in poverty measurement focus groups, carried out by the Family Centre, since 1992 (Waldegrave, 1999).

Selection Characteristics of Families Interviewed for the Host Kaiga/Aiga Case Studies

- That there was representation of both long term and more recent settlement experience in Aotearoa New Zealand;
- That they have had long term and recent experiences as hosts;
- Case study host families were selected through networks within their cultural communities in the Wellington Region.

Recruitment and Selection: Host Community / Organisations Case Studies

The Faafaletui of the Research Reference group decided to select and recruit case study host community / organisations that were representative of the community organisations that have had long term and current engagement in providing settlement support to Pacific People. The research team in consultation with the Faafaletui of the Research Reference group identified and selected three different Host community/organisations as cases to be studied. They were:

- A Pacific Church;
- A Pacific community organisation;
- An immigration legal support service.

The Host community / organisation case studies were carried out through interviews that focused on obtaining information about the actual experiences, contributions and costs associated with supporting Pacific People's positive settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand. The group interviews covered the range of areas of assistance, settlement support and services that they provided to Pacific People. In each case the unit of analysis was the case study organisation.

Phase Two: Faafaletui of Focus Group Interviews

Recruitment and Selection of Participants in the Faafaletui Focus groups
The series of Focus groups of Pacific Peoples were based on the six highest Pacific Peoples populations now resident in New Zealand.[18] These are:

Tokelauan	6,822
Fijian	9,864
Niuean	22,476
Tongan	50,478
Cook Islands (Maori)	58,011
Samoan	131,103

Faafaletui focus group Participants included Pacific People who had

[18] All Pacific Peoples population figures are drawn from www.stats.govt.nz/census2006-census-data/quickstats-about-pacific -peoples.

- Been migrants themselves over five years ago and who had acted as Hosts in the past as well as more recently;
- Acted as Hosts for families; and
- Hosted as individuals or members of families.

In each Faafaletui focus group the research team aimed for a gendered representation.

A total of eight Faafaletui focus group interviews were carried out at agreed locations as below:

• One with people from Tokelau	Wellington
• One with people from Fiji	Wellington
• One with people from Niue	Auckland
• One with people from Tonga	Auckland
• One with people from the Cook Islands	Wellington
• One with people from Samoa	Auckland
• One Pan Pacific Faafaletui Focus group	Levin
• One Pan Pacific Faafaletui Focus group	Dunedin

Exploratory Questions

The questions in each of the Phases were developed by the research team and then shared with the Faafaletui of the Reference Group. Once the questions were agreed the research team carried out a pilot interview for each of the Phases.

Analysis and Reporting of the Faafaletui Focus Groups Data

The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim in the language that was used in the interview. The transcripts were then analysed in the language that was used taking a thematic approach "paying special attention to themes within individual issues or between them or running through the entire set of interviews".

The aim of the analysis was to pull together common or unique issues, themes and experiences within the areas being studied which are Pacific Host and Migrant experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand with an approach that would enumerate such contributions.

PART THREE: HOST FAMILIES CASE STUDIES

Introduction

Three case studies were conducted with New Zealand resident Pacific families who had hosted Pacific migrants when they arrived in New Zealand, and assisted them to become settled and established in the country. The case studies focused on obtaining information about the monetary costs associated with hosting and assisting migrants. Each case study involved a group interview with host family members. Each group interview involved two parts: a semi-structured interview that obtained background and contextual information about the host family and their host role; and a more structured process that obtained family members' estimates of their typical weekly expenditure on a range of common household expenditure items. Expenditure estimates were in two parts covering the typical weekly expenditure when the family was not hosting their migrants and when they were hosting them. The purpose of this section is to describe, analyze and discuss the expenditure estimates, with reference to the background contextual information.

It must be emphasised that the three case study host families can not be claimed to be representative of all such Pacific host families, and the numerical results obtained do not provide a sound basis for drawing inferences about the population of such families. On the other hand, when compared with the experiences revealed in the faafaletui focus group components of this research, the case study families do not seem atypical, and cover a range of Pacific cultural backgrounds, incomes, and migrant types themselves. While they display variation in their estimates of hosting costs, none of the results suggest that the costs represent anything other than considerable financial sacrifice on the part of New Zealand resident Pacific families who host new migrants from the Pacific.

The expenditure information was obtained using the method of enquiry developed by the New Zealand Poverty Measurement Project (NZPMP) (see Waldegrave, 1999) to develop consensual, focus group-based estimates of minimum adequate household expenditure. In the NZPMP focus groups a skilled facilitator leads a consultative discussion focused on a pre-set list of common household expenditure items for a family or household of a specified size and composition (usually two adults and three children). The task of the NZPMP focus group members is to arrive at an agreed consensus about the minimum amount of money the family or household would need to spend on each item in order to achieve a minimum adequate level of housing, nutrition, education and health. The estimates are for hypothetical expenditure by a hypothetical family; the focus group members develop them by using their own experience of living on a low income. For some focus group members, the estimates arrived at might be greater than the amounts they actually spend themselves; for other members the estimates might be for smaller amounts than they spend themselves. The point is that the groups engage in robust, frank, discussions in which the members challenge and question each others' estimates until a considered consensus has been reached. The facilitator encourages participants to consider contextual factors, such as alternative sources of which sell items at different prices. As an example, focus group members would compare the relative costs of vegetable from the supermarket and from a farmers' market.

In this study, the types of estimates obtained are different from those obtained in the NZPMP focus groups because they are estimates of their own actual expenditure rather than the minimum adequate expenditure of a hypothetical family. Despite this

difference, the skills and procedures used to facilitate consensual NZPMP estimates in the poverty measurement research are directly applicable in this study because they have facilitated a disciplined, considered, discussion among the family members of their typical household expenditures during periods when they were not hosting migrants and periods when they were. The facilitation process ensures that expenditure is carefully discussed and minimises the chances of items being missed from the estimates.

In terms of accuracy, the hypothetical NZPMP estimates have shown a considerable degree of consistency across groups. For example, published results of weekly expenditures from five quite diverse focus groups fell within $49 of each other (Waldegrave, et al. 1996). In view of the consistency achieved across diverse and independent NZPMP focus groups using this methodology, the accuracy of the estimates reached by family groups deliberating on their own actual household expenditures under the same form of facilitation should be at least as good.

In contrast to the NZPMP focus group estimates, however, consistency across the migration hosting cost estimates is not a goal because actual circumstances and associated costs would be expected to vary. The important consideration for these case study hosting estimates is that they are produced using a methodology that demonstrably works and has a track record in research.

The reason for obtaining the estimates was to provide a quantitative counterpart to the qualitative information obtained from the in-depth case study interviews and the more wide ranging qualitative focus groups that comprise the bulk of this study, and begin to place a dollar value on the financial contributions that New Zealand based Pacific host families make towards the settlement of new Pacific migrants in this country. Consequently, the emphasis in obtaining estimates was upon the difference between household outgoings when the host family was not hosting, and when it was. It was not the aim of this part of the study to investigate household economics in detail, but, rather, to identify the household budget areas in which expenditure changed – usually by increasing – as a result of hosting migrants. The budget items are listed in Table 2 and are all items covered in the NZPMP except for the following five: finding employment; lost employment opportunity; cultural connections and belonging; relationship and role costs; and immigration processing costs. These additional budget items are defined as follows. 'Finding employment' covers any costs that the host families considered to be associated with helping their migrants to find jobs, such as obtaining suitable clothing for them and transport costs for getting to job interviews. The category 'lost employment' opportunity was used to identify any opportunity cost arising from the need for a host family member to forego an employment opportunity because they needed to devote the time to their hosting responsibilities. Costs associated with the categories 'cultural connections and belonging', and 'relationship and role costs' were those for hosting and participation in the meetings, celebrations, and rites of passage that maintain cultural connection and belonging and in which relationships and cultural roles (such as oratory and eldership, and transmission of knowledge) are practiced. The category 'Immigration processing costs' was used to identify any costs for legal advice or representation, visa costs and application fees associated with helping their migrants to become resident in New Zealand. These five budget items were added to the list covered in the NZPMP because of their particular relevance to migrant entry and settlement in this country.

The host families

The three case study families covered the three broad Pacific geo-cultural areas of Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia through the inclusion of an I-Kiribati/Tuvalu family that combined Micronesian and Polynesian members, a Samoan family, and a Fijian family. The compositions of the host families on their own, and in combination with their migrants are set out in Table 1, along with their gross household incomes. Household incomes remained the same before and during hosting. Table 1 shows that the compositions of the migrant sets were very similar; two were the same with the Micronesian and Melanesian both consisting of two adults, while the Polynesian set consisted of two adults plus one child. In order to make the costs and incomes of the three host families directly comparable, the analysis is carried out with equivalised results in which the Polynesian figures have been adjusted to be equivalent to results for two adults and no children, as will be further discussed below, Equivalisation[19] has been carried out using the Revised Jensen Equivalence Scale (Jensen, 1988 and 2007) that is used by the NZPMP and by the Ministry of Social Development in its Social Report and other reports (e.g., see Perry, 2008).

Table 1. Composition of host family households and their migrants, by gross household income.

Case study family	Host family		Migrants		Gross household income
	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	
Polynesian	3	0	2	1	$62,000
Micronesian	5	3	2	0	$74,500
Melanesian	3	4	2	0	$151,000

The Polynesian case study involved a Samoan host family who were assisting a related migrant Samoan family who had actually arrived in New Zealand before them, but encountered difficulties with their immigration status. The hosts felt a responsibility to provide a home for them while they attempted to regularize their status and avoid them being removed from the country. Interestingly – and this will be discussed again in the conclusions section – the migrants in this case moved through the hands of a number of New Zealand resident kin before being taken in by this host family. The hosts shared their two bedroom flat with the migrants, having one bedroom for themselves and one for the migrants. The hosts were able to link the migrants with the migration centre and in addition to the hosts paying their migration related costs, the migrant family's wife provided voluntary assistance at the centre. The hosts assisted the migrants financially and helped them adapt to the new environment, gain employment and establish themselves in their own home. Although the migrants gained employment while living with the hosts and offered to contribute financially, the hosts did not accept any financial contributions from them; although they did accept some contributions in kind, such as food.

The Micronesian case study involved a mixed I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan family in which the husband was I-Kiribati. Their migrants were the wife's parents from Tuvalu. Apart from this particular case of hosting, the host's family had been very active with others, having assisted 20 migrants from Tuvalu and six or seven from Kiribati. As

[19] Equivalence scales are developed to reflect the economies of scale associated with different household compositions, and the different costs associated with children and adults. Application of the appropriate scale index allows the income, or expenditure of a household of particular composition, for example two adults and three children, to be converted to a comparable income or expenditure for a household of two adults, or one adult and four children, for example. The use of equivalence scales is not dependent on sample size because they are always applied to individual cases.

with the Polynesian case, their migrants have contributed in kind, rather than financially, while being hosted. These contributions have included bringing fishing equipment such as nets from their home countries, and providing general assistance around the home. For a comparatively small migrant community such as theirs, new migrants were welcome additions who enhanced the life of the community by increasing opportunities for maintaining cultural activities such as traditional dancing and maintaining their languages. The growing population had also made it possible for a Tuvaluan pre-school to be established in their area of Wellington. The husband in this host family worked as a seaman and was able to open up work opportunities for other migrants in his place of work. The migrants assisted into work in this way were not confined to those from Kiribati and Tuvalu, but included also migrants from Samoa.

The Melanesian case study involved a host family from Fiji. In common with the Micronesian case study family, this family had hosted multiple migrants from Fiji, some of whom were not directly related to them, although most were. They regarded their hosting role as an obligation, feeling that they had been brought to New Zealand for that purpose. As with the Polynesian and Micronesian hosts, the Melanesian host family assisted the migrants financially and helped them adapt to the new environment, gain employment. Migrants generally stayed with them for about three months. The migrants they hosted tended to be focused on tertiary study and buying a home here. After becoming established migrants focus on bringing more family members to New Zealand.

Results

Table 2 shows the estimates of before-hosting and during-hosting costs for each budget item in dollars per week that were provided by the case study host families. As the totals row shows, the costs they attributed to their hosting represented significant increases in their household expenditure from the same income. The percentage increases (not shown in the table) over before-hosting expenditure are 79.3 percent for the Polynesian hosts, 28.1 percent for the Micronesian hosts, and 44.0 percent for the Melanesian hosts.

Table 2. Before-hosting and during-hosting expenditure estimates in dollars per week for before-hosting and during-hosting, by migrant group.

Budget Item	Polynesian		Micronesian		Melanesian	
	Before hosting $	During hosting $	Before hosting $	During hosting $	Before hosting $	During hosting $
Food	100	200	120	160	200	300
Housing	250	250	750	750	310	310
Power / Heating	20	40	50	80	40	80
Phone	15	30	150	250	12	12
Transport	40	80	160	200	95	95
Medical	12	20	70	150	12	12
Dental	10	10	20	20	0	0
Clothing / Shoes	12	12	50	50	10	20
Education	10	10	50	50	50	60
Recreation	0	0	50	50	10	20
Finding employment	0	30	50	50	0	0
Lost employment opportunity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliances	0	0	50	50	10	10
Furnishings	15	40	50	100	10	10
Household operations	8	20	40	80	20	40
Cultural connections and belonging	50	150	60	100	175	175
Relationship and Role costs	0	0	60	60	0	0
Immigration processing costs	0	80	0	80	0	230
Totals	542	972	1780	2280	954	1374

Table 3 shows the weekly dollar increases in expenditure attributed to migrant hosting. These are shown in two forms. In the first form, headed “Dollar increases”, the figures represent the subtraction of before-hosting costs estimates from during-hosting costs estimates listed in Table 2. In the second form, headed “Dollar increases equivalised to 2 adults”, the first, or raw, dollar increases for the Polynesian set have been equivalised from a two adult and one child amount to a two adult amount in common with the Micronesian and Melanesian sets, as indicated earlier.

Table 3 also shows the average increase in expenditure for each item across the three groups, associated with hosting two adult migrants. Raw weekly expenditure increases are $430, $500, and $420 respectively, for the Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian host families, an average of 423.33 per week. With the two adult and one child Polynesian migrant set costs equivalised for a two adult set, the equivalised expenditure increase for the Polynesian host family falls from $430 to $354, and the average across the three host families becomes $425. Table 3 also shows that there are no cost increases for certain items, while costs for others increase considerably. Costs changes are further discussed below with reference to Table 5.

Table 3. Dollar increases in item expenditure during hosting, by migrant group.

Budget Item	Polynesian	Micronesian	Melanesian	Polynesian	Micronesian	Melanesian	Average equivalised $ increase
	Dollar increases			Dollar increases equivalised to 2 adults			
Food	100	40	100	82	40	100	74
Housing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Power / Heating	20	30	40	16	30	40	29
Phone	15	100	0	12	100	0	37
Transport	40	40	0	33	40	0	24
Medical	8	80	0	7	80	0	29
Dental	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing / Shoes	0	0	10	0	0	10	3
Education	0	0	10	0	0	10	3
Recreation	0	0	10	0	0	10	3
Finding employment	30	0	0	25	0	0	8
Lost employment opportunity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliances	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furnishings	25	50	0	21	50	0	24
Household operations	12	40	20	10	40	20	23
Cultural connections and belonging	100	40	0	82	40	0	41
Relationship and Role costs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Immigration processing costs	80	80	230	66	80	230	125
Totals	430	500	420	354	500	420	425

Table 4 shows the average equivalised before and during hosting expenditures on each budget item for the three case study families combined, and the associated dollar and percentage increases. Overall, it is clear that the hosts' financial contributions to the settlement of their migrants are significant and represent large increases in their weekly expenditure. On average, including the additional items specific to helping migrant families adjust to New Zealand conditions, the host families paid $425 per week extra for two adults which represented a 40 percent increase in their weekly expenditure.

Table 5 builds on Table 4 to show the dollar increases in expenditure on each item expressed as percentages[20] of the total dollar increase for each case study family and the total average for all.

[20] All calculated percentages are expressed without decimal places in order not to suggest a level of accuracy that is not warranted by the method.

Table 4. Average equivalised before and during hosting expenditures and associated dollar and percentage increases by case study family.

Budget Item	Average across cases equivalised		Average equivalised $ increase	Average equivalised % increase
	Before hosting $	During hosting $		
Food	134	208	74	55%
Housing	422	422	0	0%
Power / Heating	35	64	29	81%
Phone	58	96	37	64%
Transport	96	120	24	25%
Medical	31	59	29	94%
Dental	9	9	0	0%
Clothing / Shoes	23	27	3	14%
Education	36	39	3	9%
Recreation	20	23	3	17%
Finding employment	17	25	8	49%
Lost employment opportunity	0	0	0	0%
Appliances	20	20	0	0%
Furnishings	24	48	24	98%
Household operations	22	45	23	105%
Cultural connections and belonging	92	133	41	44%
Relationship and Role costs	20	20	0	0%
Immigration processing costs	0	125	125	n/a
Totals	1060	1485	425	40%

Table 5 shows that food and immigration costs form nearly half of the increased expenditure across the three cases, with nearly 30 percent of the $425 average increase being linked to immigration processing costs, including legal costs and nearly 18 percent to food. As the Melanesian estimate for immigration costs is much higher than those of the other two groups, it is possible that the resulting average is higher than might be found in other cases. However, even if the Melanesian estimate was only, say, $100 per week, the resulting average for immigration related costs would still represent at least 20 percent of the total and be of a similar magnitude to the increase in food costs.

Particularly noticeable in Table 5 are the comparatively high percentages of the total increase that are attributed by the Polynesian case study family to food and cultural connection and belonging, both of which contribute 10.3 percent. These are much higher percentage increases for those items than was the case for either Micronesian or Melanesian cases. The Polynesian host family had a lower income than the Melanesian and Micronesian cases so could be expected to spend a higher proportion of its income on food; but this common characteristic of household expenditure need not apply to expenditure on maintaining cultural connection and belonging.

It is possible that the high proportional allocation for cultural connection and belonging in the Polynesian case is related to the fact that it was a Samoan family. The Samoan population is the largest Pacific population in New Zealand, with more established and extensive cultural infrastructure and networks in this country than exist for the I-Kiribati / Tuvaluan and Fijian communities here. In view of the

extensive Samoan networks and associated opportunities and avenues for creating, affirming and maintaining cultural connections, it could be expected that the costs and efforts associated with this might be higher for Samoan migrants and their hosts. The comparatively higher transport costs for the Polynesian case might also be attributable, at least in part, to establishing and maintaining cultural connections and belonging.

Table 5. Increase in expenditure due to hosting by budget item as a percentage of total increase, by case study family.

Budget Item	Equivalised $ increase as % of total			
	Polynesian	Micronesian	Melanesian	Total
Food	10%	2%	7%	17%
Housing	0%	0%	0%	0%
Power / Heating	2%	1%	3%	7%
Phone	2%	4%	0%	9%
Transport	4%	2%	0%	6%
Medical	1%	4%	0%	7%
Dental	0%	0%	0%	0%
Clothing / Shoes	0%	0%	1%	1%
Education	0%	0%	1%	1%
Recreation	0%	0%	1%	1%
Finding employment	3%	0%	0%	2%
Lost employment opportunity	0%	0%	0%	0%
Appliances	0%	0%	0%	0%
Furnishings	3%	2%	0%	6%
Household operations	1%	2%	1%	5%
Cultural connections and belonging	10%	2%	0%	10%
Relationship and Role costs	0%	0%	0%	0%
Immigration processing costs	8%	4%	17%	29%
Totals	44%	22%	31%	100%

While there were significant increases in some costs, there were other costs that did not increase at all during the hosting period, and these are now discussed.

Housing costs did not change because the migrant families lived with their hosts in their existing homes. However housing related costs such as power and heating, phone, furnishings and household operations did increase.

Appliance costs did not increase for any of the cases, but this is not surprising because the standard New Zealand household appliances could be expected to meet the needs of an additional two or three people in the household.

Dental costs did not change, but it is not known whether this led to less treatment per person, or whether the demand for it did not increase during the hosting period.

Costs for clothing and shoes, education and recreation only increased for the Melanesian hosts, and by ten dollars per week in each case.

Education cost increases would not have been expected for the Micronesian hosts because their migrants were older people. However, an increase might have been

expected for the Polynesian hosts because their migrants included one child, but during the hosting period the child was not attending school.

The category "Lost employment opportunities" was included as a potential area of expense in the form of opportunity cost resulting from time demands associated with hosting; but no examples of this were found in these case studies.

Finally, the comparatively higher medical costs for the Micronesian case study could be due to their migrants being older people.

Table 6 shows the reduction in effective level of household income resulting from increased household size while hosting migrants.[21] The reductions are considerable and their impact is in inverse proportion to income level. For example, the impact on the family earning $62,000 is double that of the family earning $151,000, with the family earning $74,500 in between. These reductions are unrelated to expenditure, and only represent the impact of additional people on the same base income. They show though, the more magnified effect on families with lower incomes.

Table 6. Reduction in effective level of income resulting from increased household size while hosting migrants.

Host family	Salary	Salary adjusted	% reduction
Polynesian	$62,000	$41,468	33%
Micronesian	$74,500	$63,962	14%
Melanesian	$151,000	$126,019	17%

Findings

Overall, the host families are shown to make significant financial contributions to the reception and settlement of their migrants, with hosting related equivalised expenditure increases of 79 percent, 28 percent, and 44 percent for the Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian hosts, respectively. As household incomes for all the case study families remained the same over the time they were hosting, their effective weekly incomes reduced due to the extra people being supported. The effective reduction in weekly incomes was 33 percent, 14 percent and 16 percent respectively.

In each case, the host families had indicated that they did not accept financial contributions from their migrants, even when they were earning money. Instead, they accepted contributions in kind, and encouraged the migrants to accumulate the funds they needed to become established in their own homes.

Overall, across the three cases, the additional expenditure due to hosting was distributed as follows among the budget items. Fixed costs such as housing, rental and appliance costs did not change during the hosting period as the migrant families lived with their hosts in their existing homes. However, housing related costs such as power and heating, phone, furnishings and household operations did increase.

Some cost changes reflected the age and stage of life of the migrant families. For example the comparatively higher medical costs for the Micronesian case study

[21] The adjustment was made as follows: Adjusted income = (Recorded household income) x (Jensen value for before hosting household composition / Jensen value for during hosting household composition).

could be due to their migrants being older people. Costs for clothing and shoes, education and recreation only increased for the Melanesian hosts, and by ten dollars per week in each case and reflected the presence or absence of children in the migrant families. Some costs which did not change such as dental costs may be a result of less treatment per person, or no increased demand for dental care during the hosting period.

The category “lost employment opportunities” was included as a potential area of expense in the form of opportunity cost resulting from time demands associated with hosting; but no examples of this were found in these case studies.

Both the Micronesian and Melanesian host families had a record of migrant hosting and it seemed to have become integral to their lives. The Polynesian host family was newer to the practice, but seemed likely to continue hosting in the future. In both the Polynesian and Melanesian cases, the migrants hosted were not necessarily members of their own nuclear kin, but were members of either extended kin groups or newly formed kin groups. This is interesting in the light of findings from the Faafaletui groups that emphasise the importance of maintaining strong kin connections for successful migration outcomes. It seems that while the quality of post-settlement life is very likely to be enhanced by the re-establishment and maintenance of customary kin networks and relationships, the closer members of these networks will not necessarily always be of the greatest assistance during the initial settlement process, as was the case in the Polynesian case study. In such cases, sympathetic newly formed kin relationships provide a vital service to the settlement of migrants.

PART FOUR: CASE STUDIES OF NEW ZEALAND BASED COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

Introduction

The Faafaletui of the Research Reference group selected and recruited three (3) case study host community / organisations that were representative of community organisations that have had long term and current engagement in providing settlement support to Pacific People's. The three case studies were conducted with community based and focused host organisations in the greater Wellington area. All of the host community/organisations have been established by Pacific People and have been active in providing support, assistance and services to Pacific migrants.

The focus of the host community / organisation case study interviews was on actual experiences, contributions and costs associated with supporting Pacific People's positive settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand. The interviews covered the range of assistance, settlement supports and services provided to Pacific People during their settlement.

The three Case study Host organisations are:

- A Pacific Church
- A Pacific community service delivery organisation
- An immigration legal support service.

Host organisation one: Ekalesia - A Pacific Church

For many cultures in the Pacific, exploring issues of service and caring for people will involve both material and spiritual elements. When speaking about the role of the Pacific Church organisations in relationship with Pacific People it is therefore essential to include considerations of religion and spirituality and their roles in sustaining Pacific People's settling in this new environment. Religion and spirituality are cornerstones of Pacific People's communities and the spiritual side of the Pacific 'self' is a key element of Pacific being.[22]

> *I think the benefit of the Church is that it plays a vital role to remind the Pacific Peoples that we came from a place where we have been taught not only about life, but about consistency of values, religious practices and that spirituality is really important in a new place, in a new world.*

Our first case study host organisation was a Pacific Church and so the approach to their roles as Hosts is centred within this set of relationships involving material and spiritual aspects, the basis for their 'holistic' approach to meeting the needs of Pacific Peoples. In the earliest days of Pacific migration to New Zealand Pacific People told of their gravitation to find church based communities where they found welcome, connection into spiritual sustenance and a 'family like' community that shared their cultural and Christian values.

For Pacific People, leaving or arriving after a journey involves expressions of spirituality seeking protections, blessing and/or thanksgiving on safely reaching our

[22] Tamasese.K, Peteru.C,Waldegrave.C (1997) "O le Taeao Afua The New Morning Qualitative Investigation into Samoan perspectives on Mental Health and Culturally Appropriate Services". The Family Centre.

destinations. In the earliest days of Pacific settlement in New Zealand, in the 1940's for example, Pacific People have told stories about how Church Ministers came to meet them at the wharf or the railway station or at the airports, giving thanks for their safe arrival and then taking Pacific People to their next stage of the journey.

> *In Auckland Rev…..was the one who would go to the airport or to the wharf and await the arrivals of the Matua or the Tofua, or the airport to meet the aeroplane and meet these people who came to New Zealand …travelling to Wellington and other parts of the country and from there I think our early fathers decided that the Church has to be an agent here …*
>
> *It was not just our Church but we all did the same to lend a hand …that's the history of the early days …there was someone for the Samoans, and the Cook Islands and the Niueans we all had to do the same…the Minister's house was a refuge for the new people coming and finding jobs and accommodation and that was something that happened during the early times of migration to New Zealand.*

The Pacific Church Ministers often provided refuge for the Pacific People within their homes until they were able to secure work and accommodation of their own. The Churches in the Pacific and the Pacific Church Ministers in New Zealand have been an integral and intimate part of the settlement of Pacific People in New Zealand. This role and support function for Pacific People's settlement in Aotearoa has now been taken over by the Aiga or families.

> *I am sure that not a single person who has left their homes in the earliest days left without their parents good advice or advice and blessing from their local pastor to remind them that you are going to a bigger place, a strange place that will have so many attractions that you will forget us and forget the Lord.*

During the 1950's it was due to the support of the Pacific Church Ministers that Wellington became a more hospitable location to settle. Pacific Church Ministers drew in and gathered Pacific People to their congregations. Pacific People then included and recruited other new Pacific People into these places of gathering and so the Pacific Churches grew. The initiative of early Pacific Ministers and Pacific People led to specific Pacific congregations and Ekalesia being constituted.

Auckland in the 1950's saw Pacific People who were settling into Auckland receiving help and support from Rev. Leauatea Sio. In Wellington Rev. Tariu Teaia was ordained as the first Pacific parish Minister for the Pacific Islander's Congregational Church (PICC), which was the first of its kind to be established in Wellington.[23] He was joined by Rev. Pepe Nokise and together they served the growing numbers of Pacific Peoples and their families settling in Wellington. Rev. Ta Upu Pere was then called to work with Rev. Nokise. These Ministers and the founding members of their churches contributed directly to establishing the Pacific Churches as places of belonging for communities of Cook Island, Samoan and Niue people where their spiritual, pastoral, social, cultural and physical needs could be met. By the 1970's the growing Niuean community of Wellington called for Rev. Lagi Sipeli, and in 1977 he and the Niue parishioners joined the St James Presbyterian parish in Newtown. The Pacific Churches and communities have played a major historical role embracing and supporting Pacific Peoples who have migrated to New Zealand.

[23] Historical information on Pacific Island Presbyterian Church (formerly known as PICC) found on http://pipcnewtown.wellington.net.nz/history.html

Mainstream Churches identified sites and supported Pacific congregations being established and developed for and by Pacific Ministers and migrants. Having established Pacific congregations and ordained Pacific Ministers meant that there were now Churches and congregations where Pacific leadership, Pacific cultures, values and languages all became central to Pacific expressions of spirituality and Christianity.

> *You know for us the spiritual side is always first but at the same time there is also a need to cater for the physical, social side of each person and the whole congregation.*
>
> *Right from the very early settlement of Pacific Islanders here in Wellington…over 50 years ago…the Church was the Immigration Department and a law firm…in those days.*

The Church's Pacific populations grew with the increased movement of Pacific People into Wellington and New Zealand born Pacific children grew up here. The present Church Ministers have continued the earlier pattern of providing pastoral care and physical supports to Pacific People, within their congregations.

> *The church purpose or object is for the spiritual life but at the same time we take into account the need to make sure that the physical stomach is filled, and the hunger is satisfied … no matter how hard or well I deliver my spiritual message, if my congregation are poor – what's the use? So I must do both – attend to the physical so that the spiritual message can thrive…*

The Minister and the Church became a place where Pacific People connected into networks of other migrants, work opportunities and housing contacts. In the 1960's Pacific People joined together as communities of Cook Island, Samoan and Niue people where their spiritual, pastoral, social, cultural and physical needs could be met. When specific communities expanded they would move to establish their own gathering places and again with the social and economic and physical support of both the Pacific and mainstream churches.

From the late 1970's this Church host organisation (this case study), like many other Pacific Churches across New Zealand, has acted both as a host community and as a host organisation for Pacific migrants. The Churches have hosted Pacific migrants, their children and descendents, and extended families of Pacific People who have made Wellington one of their 'home' locations.

> *The establishment of our Pacific churches as places where people can meet, gather, speak our language, practice our spirituality – all of these have a benefit.*

The historic position of the Pacific Church Minister and the Churches, as community based access points for Pacific Peoples for social and cultural supports, has continued into the present day. While the Minister explained that being the Minister makes him a primary reference person he now shares this support role with younger people in the congregation. The children and descendents of the earlier Pacific migrants were now in a position to provide more specialised information for newer members of the congregation to facilitate their positive settlement.

> *There are a lot of young men and young women who have been well trained over here in New Zealand. They have the knowledge and the skills and they are the ones who provide the services.*

In this case study we asked the Church organisation about their perspectives on the historic and current contributions of the Church towards positive settlement outcomes for Pacific migrants, and about the approaches they have taken over the years. They provided examples of their contributions from their own perspective on what social and economic contributions are to them. These are summarised below.

Summary of current contributions

The Church organisation defined their social and economic contributions as;

- lending support to the most vulnerable
- catering for the physical, social side of each person and the whole congregation..."the spiritual side is always first"
- providing advice on immigration and legal matters
- supporting community projects such as the projects to construct buildings for use by many in the community
- supporting the right for Pacific Peoples to create what they see fitting as Pacific Islanders to contribute towards the welfare of the country
- advocating for the need for better housing for new migrants– "a family of three couples with three children each in a two bedroom house or three bedroom house is too overcrowded"
- being good citizens who contribute through hard work and their taxes to the general purse
- contributing a base of language and spirituality that has economic benefit.

Host organisation two: A Pacific community organisation

This community host organisation is a community based provider of a variety of social services and health programmes for Pacific Peoples in Wellington. As with the example of the Pacific Churches, the development of host organisations begins many years before a building is erected.

This host organisation evolved through more than thirty years of experience that began with the settling in New Zealand of a young Pacific woman. This female Pacific Elder became the primary motivating worker behind this Pacific host community organisation as she began to engage with community issues as a young mother.

> *When you see someone who needs help, you find out what they need and then you go and ask questions …and find out where this person can get help from so I think its natural…I think most of us grew up in families that when you see another Samoan at that time you saw that Samoan as part of your responsibility …*

Looking for part time employment she "*went cleaning"*, and worked with many other Pacific women cleaners at Victoria University. Upon seeing Pacific women being poorly treated she began to ask questions and within her first week she was made union delegate for her group of cleaners. In that same week she learned that government cleaners were not being paid night rates while Post Office cleaners had received night rates eight years before them.

No one was even at that level to fight for you…I think that the thing for us is the loneliness…that was 1974 …

She took up the challenge as a justice issue and despite the loneliness of her position she continued with the challenge. Within four or five months cleaners were being paid out night allowances that were back dated.

I then got involved in the Newtown flats …they had like pigeon homes that didn't fit Pacific Peoples …

The Newtown housing project was reborn as the renovated, redesigned and renamed Te Aro Hau project. From there she became involved more directly in immigration issues.

I didn't look at immigration on purpose …it was because a lot of our people were being marched down to court for committing the offence of overstaying and Rosenberg was a young lawyer inundated with cases … and [I asked] how could my people be made criminals for this?

Pacific Peoples became relegated to being 'offenders' when half of them have been here longer [than I had]…that's how I stumbled into this…

While working on immigration issues she was involved with a small Pacific host community organisation in central Wellington. As part of her role with the host community organisation she helped Pacific Peoples during their court appearances as a Samoan language interpreter. She recalls meeting Pacific Peoples at the time that had been put before the courts but who were confused as to why. She and others felt there was no organisation to help Pacific Peoples to access legal supports and yet these were Pacific workers who deserved to be helped because they had worked tirelessly to support their Aiga/kin since they had arrived in New Zealand. It was at this time that she became aware of the 'Dawn Raids' and their impacts on Pacific communities.

Through the Dawn Raids our communities were made ashamed and guilty and we were made fearful of the consequences …the tensions were high and increasing…all we knew was that there was need to build a more just process and it meant that we must challenge government policy or actions…

It was these experiences and her knowledge of the historical connections between New Zealand and the Pacific that increased her sensitivity to the broader legal issues relating to Pacific and Samoan migrant settlement in New Zealand. These issues were also being enacted within the microcosm of Wellington high schools at the time. Pacific secondary students had been seeking support from the host community group because they were experiencing increased racial harassment at local high chools.

It was a volunteer kind of thing sometimes you got paid and sometimes you don't. There was a lot of work you do for nothing. It was a more general thing but migrants issues were always part of it… New Zealand's Christian values fell short of understanding the evolving Pacific community.

The community work on immigration issues then took her and other Samoans at the time into a direct legal challenge in relation to the Samoan citizenship issue – the Lesa vs. Crown case. The case was taken to the Privy Council at the same time that she was seeking a more stable income as a public servant. It was a difficult time for her as her days were spent in the government service of the Crown, while her life

after hours was spent fundraising to support the legal costs of mounting the legal challenge against the Crown.

From these community involvements she was nominated to be a member of the Special Committee on the Overstayers Issue which made life within the public service even more difficult. She was eventually able to move away from the central agencies of the public service. On the domestic front she became engaged in parenting troubled young women. Out of these experiences she became interested in social services provision.

> *Intermittently, I came across migrants and being in the right place at the right time I could help them…but I knew I was not public service material because I say what I think …that's why I came out to work on [the Pacific community organisation]*

From its inception the motivation for setting up a Pacific host community organisation was to develop social services approaches based on Pacific cultures and being responsive to Pacific People, by delivering services and programmes through a Pacific community organisation. The objective was for these services to benefit Pacific families and in particular strengthen positive outcomes for Pacific children and young people.

> *There has never been a good settlement process – for us it's always relied on our people and families …we are kind of left to find our way*

Over time this Pacific host community organisation has become engaged with and supported many Pacific Peoples and their families to settle positively in Wellington. When describing their contextualised approach to Pacific People, she said that their approach worked because;

> *We came from the same context and value base which means that we were able to connect with Pacific Peoples because they found us 'familiar' and family like in the way our staff and our organisation operates.*

Over three decades later this Pacific host community organisation has consistently included Pacific People within their programmes and services regardless of whether they were funded for this. Their role as a host community organisation is in fact increasing as they are seeing more recently settled Pacific migrants, as well as more Pacific People who were in urgent need of specialised legal supports to secure lawful status. This work was defined as;

> *"…guiding people and their judgements out of the context and the burden of desperation".*

This host community organisation currently carries out unique programmes having developed and grown their services into the largest Pacific community organisation in Wellington. All family community workers (15) within the organisation contribute support services to Pacific Peoples, children and their families. One in six families that used their services were in fact Pacific migrant families settling into New Zealand with their young children.

Summary of current contributions

The Pacific community organisation defined their social and economic contributions as:

- providing services for the whole family
- addressing residency, accommodation and housing for new migrants "we teach people that in this country its… about a roof over their heads, and its about what they are able to draw from people around them for the protection [and wellbeing] of the children…"
- guiding people into forming relationships that are safer for them
- building an organisation that has the culture that people can really relate to, "people walk in here and they feel…they are part of the place…some of the people here have experienced what it's like to try and settle here
- teaching the skills of living in the New Zealand environment, domestic support roles and health teaching.

.

Host organisation three: An immigration legal support service

This host community organisation, is a community based charitable trust which provides immigration legal support services. Its formative origins reach back 20 years.

Since the 1980's key founding members had worked to support Pacific individuals and families with their immigration issues with non-government community organisations as an adjunct to their fulltime employment roles, as public servants or as lawyers or law students. While working in this way may not have been ideal, the achievement of a number of high profile successes for Pacific People encouraged further and on-going work in this area.

The collective and historic experiences of the immigration legal service had taught the members that one critical solution to the legal needs of Pacific People was to develop an independent and specialised legal service specifically for them. The service initially operated as a fixed fee service staffed by a solicitor and a barrister. Once this was underway, a community organisation was registered which worked in partnership with the organisation's Barrister. All of the staff and volunteers are required to understand the history of New Zealand in the Pacific, and are trained to be robust advocates with Immigration New Zealand and the relevant immigration review authorities.

The vision of the immigration legal support service was to establish a specialised community based legal service that was affordable and accountable to a Trust Board of community representatives. At present this organisation is building its capacity and is conscious of the possibility of being overwhelmed by a rush of demand, especially from Auckland.

> *We are building up a bit and are more accessible now, and over 70% of our cases could come from Auckland alone…50% or 60% of the people we see would have been eligible for residency which is a tragedy and its just a matter of going back to that point in time and trying to recapture it, because they are constantly looking over their shoulders, its very stressful for families.*

In their view the highest priority needs for Pacific People is to have access to a service that can meet their legal support needs. Again in their view one cannot discuss issues relating to Pacific People in isolation from immigration status and assisting migrants to secure lawful status. This host organisation stressed that there is a vast level of unmet legal need that exists because there is no specific government policy or funding to reduce this need. Their view is that Pacific migrant

families, individuals and children who are left without any accessible legal remedies are therefore forced into being unlawful.

The community immigration legal service talked about the unique position of Pacific migrant children within families who were not legal residents. They talked about their experiences and difficulties these children sometimes have in attending schools. While the authors acknowledge that the Limited Purposes Permit (LPP)[24] is in place to enable these children to attend publicly funded schools while their immigration status is being determined, a theme emerging from participant narratives was that many Pacific migrant families remain unaware of the LPP option. It may also be that the application costs for LPP's are prohibitive for Pacific families in this position. However there is again a little known provision for Immigration officers to waive the requirement of an application or a fee. While it may be that Pacific Peoples may not be well informed or aware of this option, it is equally important for the staff of the Department of Labour to be well informed and well trained in the implementation of this policy. It is noted that the provisions for the LPP policy are likely to change owing to the implementation of the new Immigration Act, 2009, which will become effective on 29 November, 2010.

Once Pacific People had achieved legal status the immigration legal service saw many positive, valuable social outcomes which balanced out the usual emphasis on economic outcomes.

> *Fantastic! This is the message that the wider community needs to hear – the [elder] parents add cultural identity and family stability and their presence and support releases their children to work*

Having a specialised community based immigration legal service in Wellington has meant that Pacific People and other community agencies have been able to access a service which offers the chance to legally bring partners together, bring children and their parents together, bring independent children back to parents, deal with some immigration fraud, address what they see to be unfair practices and deal with the climate of fear.

> *So that many of these cases can safely come out of the woodwork and be resolved fairly …*

Host organisation contributions by this case study immigration legal support service

When asked what they thought their contributions were to positive settlement outcomes from their perspective they immediately responded with;

> *Obviously getting lawful status is a huge one*
>
> *If you accept that being reunited with family and being secure here in New Zealand are integral parts of immigration law and the policy of settlement processes then about 60% of our time goes into that.*

[24] In August 2007 joint Ministers agreed that any child who is unlawfully in New Zealand may be provided a Limited Purposes Permit (LPP) to enable them to access primary and secondary school education. This was done to address concerns that unlawful children were growing up in New Zealand without access to the basic human right of education. Further in September 2007 the Ministry of Education gazetted a change to the definition of a domestic student to include students who are the holders of a LPP.

From their perspective all of the positive outcomes stemmed from this single contribution and achievement.

> *Work permits are obviously important too, because it affects the ability to earn an income and so is reunification with grandparents and parents…and for Pacific Peoples reunification with their adult siblings is a special case as well because of the age cap at 55 years…*

Other social and economic contributions reported by the immigration legal service were:

- dealing with children's immigration issues
- getting school visa's for school aged children and young people
- helping Pacific Peoples to get out of exploitative situations within relationships, employment situations, or fraudulent immigration advisors
- less visible services such as providing law reform work

The host organisation noted that they provided "a huge number of unrecorded unpaid additional hours."

The types and appropriateness of settlement support services provided by Pacific host communities/organisations.

Social and economic contributions: Services for Pacific Peoples

Pacific host community organisations acted as a connection link to, and as a source of services and supports for Pacific migrants and their families. Pacific migrant families were included within the recipients group even if their immigration status had not been resolved as the Pacific host community organisations felt there would be benefits whatever their immigration status was. When this was the case these support services or training was most effectively delivered by this Pacific host through their positive 'family' like relationships within their organisation, workers or volunteers.

The host Pacific community organisation carried out family focused programmes e.g. Family Start and Parents as First teachers for Pacific families considered to be at risk or in need of additional supports. Even though the host community organisation is not funded to provide these services to Pacific migrant families they continue to include Pacific migrant families because they gained positive benefits from participating in these programmes.

The host community organisation considered that there would be clear benefits if there was specific funding available to support Pacific workers that can work with Pacific migrant families during their first two years of settlement in New Zealand.

Each of the host community organisations were asked to define their Social and economic support contributions that are provided for Pacific People. They identified the following contributions:

1. General social services, support and advocacy
    a. providing a home away from home - a place of guidance and advice and a cultural, spiritual, and theological reference point
    b. providing a liaison point with government departments
    c. providing a base for delivery of government programmes such as Parents as First teachers service, Men for Non-violence programme, SKIP

programme for parents and children, Family Start Pacific services , home based community services, Social workers in Schools service, Alcohol and Drug counselling and Gambling addictions work
    d. advocating for issues impacting on Pacific People
2. Enablement
    a. teaching the living skills you need to have in New Zealand
    b. facilitating children's, youth, women's and men's programmes
    c. increasing migrants connectedness in New Zealand
    d. increasing Pacific People's connectedness with their home country
3. Health services
    a. carrying out health training in people's homes and through specific physical health programmes
    b. access to young people in the congregation who can help with this specialised area
    c. providing specific therapeutic or mental health services including infant mental health
4. Legal services
    a. Legal advice / legal liaison and referral
    b. Immigration legal services and support
5. Pacific Church based pastoral support
    a. through the Ministers role and relationships
    b. including the network of supports available within a congregation and externally within the networks of congregation members
6. Housing support and advocacy
    a. Advocacy with local councils and government to take full consideration of the needs of Pacific families so that housing designs and sizes allow for two or more families to live together
    b. Assisting Pacific People to get appropriate and affordable housing and furnishings
7. Education support and referrals
    a. Student permits
    b. The Church and the community organisation carried out more extensive education programmes for children and adults
8. Income support and advocacy
    a. Ministers and community organisations who accompany or advocate with WINZ in relation to income entitlements
9. Maintenance and increase of their social capital (culture, language and values) as a support for their wellbeing in New Zealand
10. Positively supporting Pacific People's social participation and contribution
11. Growing institutions of belonging
12. Positively supporting Pacific People to manage and make their own economic contributions
13. Extending Pacific People's support to their extended family members.

Pacific Peoples positive settlement outcomes

The host organisations all shared the belief and the experience that supporting the vulnerable into a position of social, cultural, spiritual and economic strength would flow on into other relationships and lead to good outcomes for the Pacific migrant. All of the hosts also knew from experience that doing good in one relationship would flow into another and so on. They all shared the belief that a well supported Pacific migrant would go on to share the benefits with other migrants and their success would benefit their families, extended families, communities and the nation.

> *One day they will be in a more positive position and so to make their contribution they must be supported – for their whole families' sake.* CS1

For the legal support service they saw the provision of their services as directly linked to beneficial outcomes at the familial, community and national levels:

> *If we can help this Pacific Migrant and their family we will be contributing to positive outcomes for that family, our community and our country.* CS3

From the Church, Pacific community organisation and immigration legal service perspectives, the social and economic contributions that they have made to Pacific Peoples settling in Aotearoa have produced positive settlement outcomes through enabling Pacific People to go on to make their own positive contributions.

The Church organisation named the unique spiritual and theological contributions made by the Church to Pacific People, communities, families and congregations' which have over time produced outcomes that include the men and women of Wellington who have gone on to train as Church Ministers within the Pacific Churches. These new generations of Ministers will go onto to make their own spiritual, theological and community support (including migrants) contributions within new communities of Pacific Peoples.

The following are a list of participants' own definitions of positive outcomes achieved by Pacific Peoples. These are positive outcomes which they felt had not been counted.

- *growing new generations of social and economic contributors*
- *developing businesses*
- *building our own enterprises serving our needs*
- *our people are good and decent workers*
- *successful sports people representing New Zealand to the world*
- *doctors and their own practices*
- *TV personalities and newspaper and radio journalists*
- *film industry workers*
- *music and performing arts personalities*
- *parents who participate on Boards of Governance in local State and Catholic schools*
- *Judges and lawyers*
- *Early Childhood workers*
- *Reuniting families in New Zealand*
- *Supporting families in home islands*
- *Doing work that others don't – the cleaning stuff*
- *The Hospitality and service industries*
- *Working in the aged care industry*
- *Public transport industry*
- *Building churches …communities*

Barriers and impacts on Pacific host communities/organisations associated with the provision of settlement support for Pacific migrants.

Pacific host community/organisations identified the following barriers which impacted on their ability to support Pacific migrant and host families.

Lack of specific resourcing for Pacific Peoples settlement in New Zealand

All three Host organisations shared the view that the main supports for Pacific People's were being provided by Pacific People as host families or by Pacific host community/organisations. They felt that the absence of government provided settlement support services, specifically for Pacific migrants, was a major barrier. On the other hand this gap in services or absence was being met by Pacific Peoples most appropriately. Pacific People's have organised their own independent Aiga/kin and community based organisations to provide settlement support services. The host organisations interviewed reported that it has been our Pacific families that have carried the high levels of economic and social costs for providing settlement services to Pacific migrants. They considered that there needed to be specific resourcing to support Pacific host community organisations as they have made and continue to make critical contributions to the positive settlement of Pacific People's in New Zealand.

> *There are a lot of families who are bubbling away making positive progress and contributions with or without the governments help …and that hasn't really been appreciated as a policy issue till now...*CS3

> *Our progress has been achieved through our own drive* CS1

The Host community/organisations considered that a review of current resourcing and supports provided for host community organisations which provide services for Pacific migrant families and individuals needs to be prioritised.

Unpaid work: Settlement support services built through unpaid work

All of the Host organisations within the case studies were built up through unpaid work of their contributing Church Ministers, congregations, communities, families and individual volunteers. These services were specifically built up to include and provide social, pastoral and advocacy services, and care and support for Pacific People settling in Aotearoa.

The Pacific Church host contributions had always been provided as part of the pastoral work by the Minister.

> *My service as a Minister …to a Pacific person settling in Wellington is freely given and available at anytime.*CS1

The Pacific community organisation estimated that all of their services were available to Pacific People and approximately 30% of their services were contributed to Pacific migrants as unpaid work and funded by the Pacific community organisation. For the immigration legal support service they identified that the basis of their support services was 'unpaid work'.

> *We have no specific funding to support Pacific Peoples as migrants – its all done on top of other services and as part of our other work* CS2

> *Currently 60% of our resources go onto the support of Pacific migrant's settlement which is carried out as unpaid work* CS3

The barrier of loneliness as community/organisations that Host Pacific Peoples and the impact of seeking other supports within the community networks.

One of the impacts of having few supports for Pacific migration is that it can be a lonely role for those community / organisations who take on the responsibility of hosting Pacific migrants. The Church organisation spoke of the early years of establishing Pacific Churches when there were fewer Pacific Ministers and so there were fewer helpers with host responsibilities towards Pacific migrants. The impact then was that they turned to their congregations and recruited other helpers and skills to carry out this additional pastoral work.

The Pacific community organisation also spoke of the loneliness that the host role sometimes brought because of the struggle to get adequate supports for Pacific migrants.

> *The other stressor for surviving every day is that it can be quite lonely…I mean look at the policy ministries they have lawyers, policy people and all we have are our friends that we bludge on* CS2

For the immigration legal support service they, too, were conscious of being the only host organisation of its kind in New Zealand that specialised in working on Pacific Peoples immigration legal issues. For them the impact has been that they often take an adversarial position with the Department of Labour which they felt can cause some negative impacts from 'over exposure'. However, they also felt there were benefits in gaining valuable experience in working on the more complex immigration cases that Pacific People's present.

The barrier of not having gathering places, places to build belonging and support led to Pacific Peoples building these places

When the earliest Pacific Peoples began arriving there were few gathering places for Pacific People, where they could speak Pacific languages and practice Pacific values. The Churches as host organisations then provided an 'incubator' within which Pacific People's organised themselves and built their own infrastructure, consisting of buildings and skilled resources, to respond to the need for *gathering places* for Pacific People and their families. This impact was also shared with the other host organisations that have had to develop their own infrastructure to support and respond to the Pacific community's needs. The Pacific community organisation was established independently, as shown by the case study.

The barrier of not having accessible legal services for Pacific Peoples to legalise their status and the impact of addressing that gap

The Immigration Advisors Licensing Act (2007) and the Act regulations (2008) set out qualifications required by those who can give immigration advice. (This law change came into effect on May 1st,2009 and still needs to be widely communicated within Pacific communities.) While the intent of the Immigration Advisors licensing is positive and protective for Pacific migrants that may need help with immigration issues, it may also mean that solicitors and barristers are more likely to be sought by Pacific People's as there are more Solicitors and Barristers than there are registered Pacific Immigration advisors at this time. According to the immigration legal support

service at the time of writing there are less than 5 Pacific People's that have been licensed as Immigration advisors and almost all of them located in Auckland.

All of the hosts identified the need for more specific funding to support immigration advice and legal services for Pacific Peoples.

Approaches by Pacific host communities/organisations to provide settlement support for Pacific Peoples.

Approaches of Inclusion: Holistic approaches to support the whole person

The Pacific Church has been a unique theological reference point for Pacific People's new to Wellington throughout its history. From the perspective of the case study host Pacific Church the migrant is a *whole being* with spiritual, theological, pastoral, social, cultural and physical needs that the Pacific Church Host community could help to meet. In the earliest days it was the Church Ministers who acted as hosts for new migrants and it was the Ministers who saw Pacific People's onto the next stage of their journeys.

From the case studies of the Pacific Church and the Pacific community organisation we learn that a major social contribution is their holistic approach towards providing positive settlement supports for Pacific migrants. The Pacific Churches became the incubating buffer institutions that helped to lessen the *culture shock* for many Pacific People while they settled into New Zealand.

Pacific People in Wellington came to view the Pacific Church as their spiritual 'Home away from home' as well as their access point and connection into other networks that could address their material needs like getting suitable housing, employment opportunities and banks to set up accounts, for example.

The Churches have also been the 'home' bases where Pacific languages, cultural practices and language nests have found a supportive community 'home'.

A family based approach

A family based approach, in which migrants were treated as 'Family', was deeply shared by both the Church Host and the host community organisation. The hosts included the Pacific migrant as part of their own family of relationships, within the congregation or the community workers teams. For them it was important that migrants did not feel that they were left alone as new settlers in a new context.

Conversely, all of the Hosts advised that not providing Pacific migrants with holistic supports, would increase preventable suffering and increase stress on already stressed communities of host families. The impacts of these pressures would flow to the most vulnerable in these families and communities ultimately affecting many sectors and communities in New Zealand.

Cultural and Ethical approaches

All three host organisations were guided and motivated in their support of Pacific People by their own cultural and justice based ethics and values. The Church hosts were guided in their approach by institutional Christian Ethics, a sense of duty and a commitment to care for the marginalised Pacific People as *a brother* in need. The host community organisation contributed to building safer Pacific communities and increasing the positive setltlement of Pacific People's and their families through supporting parents struggling to settle in New Zealand and providing them with essential family based supports.

The immigration legal support service had developed an ethical and empathic approach to Pacific People after working with Pacific families and children who had experienced the trauma of the deportation of their mothers, and the mothers that were forced to leave behind babies and pre-school children because they simply did not have access to competent immigration legal support at the time they needed it. Other experiences cited included the voluntary return of numbers of single Pacific women after their applications for residence were declined although they were positively employed, gaining skills and caring for Elders at the time. This gendered aspect was raised by the immigration legal support service as concerning as other young men who had made residence applications while being supported by their partners, were granted residence.

Not judging Pacific migrants

It is striking to note that all of the host organisations spoke of the need to be non-judgemental when working with Pacific People whose immigration status was unlawful. They particularly raised the fact that in their experience Pacific People's do not set out to reside unlawfully but more often have not been able to get competent help to achieve lawful status earlier.

> *...we are non-judgemental with clients and we are not horrified by them being overstayers, too many services are. If you walk around thinking people are dreadful overstayers you shouldn't be in the settlement business.* CS3

None of the host organisations were in any way judgemental of Pacific People or their support host families. The host organisations all saw the need to be inclusive and to help where they could to strengthen the relationships and connections between Pacific People and themselves;

> *To help people feel they are part of us.*CS2

Inclusion of the whole family of the Pacific Peoples and the need to continue to care for those at 'home'

Uniquely the Pacific Church acknowledged the issues of remittances and they understood the need for remittances. As they noted, remittances being sent by Pacific People's to their home countries enabled migrants to settle well here while giving them peace of mind, by being able to send monies when they could not be there in person and knowing that their families were cared for.

The Pacific Church and the legal support service raised the other remittance reality, which was the fact that a high proportion of remittance dollars actually purchased New Zealand exports to the Pacific nations, for example building materials.

The child as a Pacific migrant

Both of the Pacific community organisations and the immigration legal services organisation raised the issue of children as Pacific People's and the need to bring this issue into the public arena. In this study the term 'Pacific migrants' has been generally seen to be applying to adults but as the Church host organisation emphasised there is the need to take a holistic view and to increase the visibility of Pacific migrant children.

It was also consistently clear through all of the Faafaletui focus groups and the host family interviews that education and the desire to raise children in the more

advantaged context of New Zealand are primary motivations for migration from the Pacific. Positive settlement then impacts on all of the children who accompany their families or who are born in New Zealand to Pacific parents settling in New Zealand..

> *Once you deal with the children's issues you are connected to the adults and you have to resolve both to have any real long term positive impact.* CS3

New Zealand's Children and Young Persons Act (1989) has the governing principle that the welfare and interests of the child or young person are paramount. The welfare and interests of the migrant child or young persons need to realistically include their connection and bonds with their New Zealand based family which the host immigration legal service recommended as vital in the consideration of the child's overall welfare when determining their situation. In the experience of the host immigration legal service it seems that the relationship of the migrant child with its New Zealand based extended family (CYP Act 1989; Section 5(b) or consideration of how decisions to remove children or their parents/guardians will affect the child (CYP Act 1989;Section 5 (c) can and should be included in the consideration of welfare issues where Pacific migrant children are concerned.

"New Zealand is a party to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC). The UNCROC sets out agreed rights to protections, entitlements and freedoms for children and young people under the age of 18 years. On 15 August 2007, Cabinet agreed that, where the Department of Labour becomes aware of a child who is unlawfully in New Zealand (whether or not their parents are present), the child may be provided with a Limited Purposes Permit (LPP) to enable them to access primary and secondary school education, while their immigration status is being determined." [25] This was done to address concerns that 'unlawful' children were growing up in New Zealand without access to the basic human right of education. Further in September 2007 the Ministry of Education gazetted a change to the definition of a domestic student to include students who are the holders of a LPP. The provisions of the new Immigration Act 2009 will however remove the need for LPP's as from 29 November 2010, "as it will not be an offence to allow a person who is not entitled to study in New Zealand to undertake compulsory education." Under the new provisions then, the Ministry of Education will become responsible to determine the criteria for enrolment in schools.

While the current LPP policy opens the possibility of Pacific children attending publicly funded schools while their immigration status is being determined, the new Immigration Act 2009 appears to support children's rights but the determining authority will now rest with schools across New Zealand. The host immigration legal service remained concerned about the preparation needed for schools and for Pacific Peoples and their communities across New Zealand as there has been no public education about the changes.

The new Immigration Act 2009 goes further towards meeting New Zealand's UNCROC obligations but can only provide a limited response to the fundamental issue of the longer term public policy issue of access to New Zealand citizenship. Access to New Zealand citizenship, as and while Pacific People's arrive to settle and

[25] Excerpt from the Immigration New Zealand Internal Administration Circular (IAC) No: 10/11, dated 6 October, 2010 provided by the Department. The intention of the IAC is to "clarify the previous instructions on the process of granting a LPP for the purpose of study to a child unlawfully in New Zealand." This IAC will however be superseded by the Immigration Act, 2009 which is effective from 29 November, 2010.

increase their 'home'locations to include New Zealand, must be considered in any discussion of positive settlement outcomes.

In the consideration of the Pacific child as a 'migrant' access to New Zealand citizenship for Pacific children raised, adopted from the Pacific or born in New Zealand to Pacific People's who settle here must be more fully explored. After all, as the Host immigration legal service organisation summarised;

> *We didn't just wake up one day and say to ourselves lets go to New Zealand…we came because of the history, the colonial relationship…they either asked us to come, recruited us to work for them, or because we wanted to join our family members in New Zealand and earn money to support our families at home and educate our children…and then we learn our children are excluded from New Zealand citizenship even when they are born here …why is that?* CS3

The host Community immigration legal service and the host Pacific Community organisation identified a significant number of cases where the children of Pacific People's have not had adequate access to competent or licensed immigration legal advisors or settlement supports. Both Host organisations stressed the need for more detailed, contextualised research and analysis in this area.

A responsibility to support Pacific migrants

As is shown by the host families, becoming a host is not like a consumer spending choice that can be delayed until the money or the resources are available.

> *When a family member or a family is arriving into New Zealand and you witness need then there is the imperative to act to resolve that need.* CS1

These case study host communities/organisations were moved to provide support regardless of their ability to afford it, socially, financially, or physically. Each organisation decided to build the infrastructure simultaneously as they provided support to Pacific migrants. While this approach was not considered ideal by any of the host communities and organisations in this study, they considered there was no other ethical or cultural choice.

All of the community led initiatives have identified needs or gaps in services and moved skills and resources to provide an ethical solution in the absence of adequate State responsibility in this area.

This pattern is repeated across all of the case study host organisations, even though each of these organisations has developed independently of the other. The community that has acted as a catalyst for each of these organisations continues to be Pacific People who have achieved lawful status as well as those who seek to resolve their legal status so that they are not excluded from making their own positive contributions.

PART FIVE: FINDINGS FROM THE FAAFALETUI FOCUS GROUPS

Introduction

This section of the report is based on the analysis of transcript data from eight Faafaletui focus groups held with New Zealand resident Pacific Peoples who had been host to new Pacific migrant kin from their original homelands. Six of the Faafaletui focus groups were culturally specific to the following Pacific nations:

- Samoa;
- Cook Islands;
- Tonga;
- Niue;
- Fiji and;
- Tokelau.

The other two Faafaletui focus groups were 'Pan Pacific'. Pan Pacific Faafaletui Focus groups included participants from a number of Pacific nations resident in the two chosen locations of Levin and Dunedin..

The analysis that follows is structured to identify key themes that emerged around the following question areas about the host families' own migration experience and background:

- Definitions of Positive Settlement Outcomes
- Dreams and Motivations of hosts
- Age and Marital Status on Arrival in New Zealand
- Journeys and Entry into New Zealand
- Arrival and Movement: The First Settlement Experience

Definition of Positive Settlement Outcomes

When host families were asked about their definition of positive settlement outcomes for Pacific migrant kin, the key responses were around themes of

- earning sufficient income in order to return home;
- being able to support both families/kin in Pacific nations and in New Zealand;
- being able to realise their parental generation's dreams of a secure future;
- being able to maintain and increase cultural assets and social capital such as, language, values and spirituality in the new context of New Zealand in their own generation and with the new generations born and raised in New Zealand;
- being able to secure well paying employment;
- being able to increase family wealth both in country of origin and in New Zealand;
- being able to be 'home' for others to arrive to
- being able to build/purchase or improve family housing in the Pacific and here in New Zealand;

- being able to increase the family's educational opportunities and achievement by securing training/education for themselves and supporting others;
- being able to 'grow' or develop family or kin networks in the new context;
- being able to support village and/or motu development in the countries of origin.

Central to the groups' definition of positive settlement outcomes is the notion that migration and settlement are not static, separate or linear concepts, starting with a point of departure, migration, and then settlement. Rather, one journeys from one's home in order to create another home where one sources 'blessings' of secure employment, increased earning power, increased educational achievement etc., in order to share these with one's kin at home in the Pacific and elsewhere in the world. This was reflected in a clear focus on the group members' Pacific homes, their kin creating homes in other parts of the world, and on their lives in New Zealand.

One does not separate oneself away from land and kin of origin to settle in the new context, rather one brings one's kin in order to grow 'family' in the new context.

> *That's the other dream here, to bring the others that we left behind…to come here for a better life.* (FC, Auckland)

Further, one keeps in close contact with land and family through many journeys to 'home'.

As migrant kin grow older and generations are born into the new context, 'home' becomes inclusive of the new context. 'Home' in New Zealand is inclusive of the home in the Pacific. Put another way, the 'home' in the Pacific has now been enlarged to include 'home' in New Zealand.

The lines of demarcation between these homes disappear when both have become the 'familiar', accessible through airplane flights, emails and costly telephone calls.

In their senior years Pacific migrant kin and Pacific hosts sometimes yearn to be in touch with both homes.

> *Most of the matua's still have the dream to go back and can collect their pensions there. It's now the grandchildren that hold us back now.* (FN, Auckland)

Further, the Pacific migrant kin's and Pacific hosts' personhood, or sense of self, is relational with physical and spiritual elements. It draws its deep sense of belonging to its land of birth and its genealogy. Therefore, Pacific migrant kin and hosts while now located in New Zealand continue to relate to their Pacific countries of origin. With the new generations being born in New Zealand the maintenance and building of strong connections with the Pacific home will need to be supported

> *In the long run our kids who were born here to better themselves, we started off from nothing, the kids should go further, good income and jobs and homes.* (FT, Auckland)

> *It's important to make sure that the connections are strong … the bond has to be maintained …* (FN, Auckland)

Dreams and Motivations of Hosts

Pacific people who host were migrants themselves. They therefore are sensitive to the settlement needs of their kin whom they host. They also appreciate the complexities of cultural, linguistic, climatic and familial domains that their migrant kin now face.

> *The dream is still there but to fulfil it has become a nightmare.* (FN, Auckland)

Further, the role of hosting, with the receiving and caring for the new migrant kin, brings added economic, social and familial responsibilities.

Pacific hosting is purposeful and premised on the notions of kinship, hospitality or providing space for the existence of the other. It's method of imparting knowledge and skills about the new 'home' is instructional, experiential and of astute counsel.

> *I trained them to pay board and ensured that they had savings to bring their families to New Zealand*. (FS, Auckland)

The family rituals of mealtimes, prayers or lotu, and toanai or collective meals, provide space where Pacific hosts and the newly arrived kin share information and skills about the new 'home'. These are also the places where the newly arrived are introduced and connected to extended family members and friends. Pacific hosts bring to their role their cultural knowledge and practices of hospitality and care.

> *We used to have toanai (shared Sunday meal) and through those, we kept families connected and together. We also cut our costs by eating together for these special meals.* (FS, Auckland)

> *Every Sunday, our extended family would come together for our family meal.* (FC, Porirua)

A number of Pacific hosts in the Faafaletui groups identified that they started hosting migrant kin two years after their own arrival. In fact, they had taken up one of the host responsibilities of saving the next migrant kin's fare as soon as they were employed.

> *The first person to arrive in New Zealand - that person will bring John and John will bring Mary and Mary will bring David and carry on and on. We pay for their fare.* (FT, Auckland)

> *Two years later I paid for my uncles to come in.* (FC, Porirua)

Pacific people who hosted during the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were in the main young single people or couples, who were success and future-orientated and they initiated economic and social connections. They were also curious and adaptable. These early Pacific hosts were motivated to create extended family networks and some developed businesses.

> *So that chain of migration is carried on from one person to another and we are wealthy amongst ourselves.* (FT, Auckland)

> *For my husband and I, we ran a boarding house in Nelson St. The house had 16 rooms in it – a 2 storey building* (FS, Auckland)

> *He had a building business and as a builder he used to give people jobs.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *His father helped him have a business and even though his father has passed away, the business is still going.* (FC, Porirua)

These Pacific hosts were well networked in the socioeconomic context of full employment and relatively affordable and accessible housing.

> *I.. paid for airfares for the young women who came with me and my family. At the time it was easy to get jobs and so all three got jobs at Summit in Glen Eden where we lived at the time, so when they got paid we used to save half and use the other half for board. So from their savings, they were able to pay for others to come to New Zealand.* (FS, Auckland)

Economic benefit, education and family wellbeing were three common themes across the Faafaletui groups. The expectation of economic benefit was based on the view that New Zealand offered greater employment opportunities and a stronger cash economy; there was reference to "the land of milk and honey" in the Niue group, for example. Economic benefit was not seen as confined to the individual migrant, but was discussed with reference to it being shared with wider family. It was also discussed with reference to enabling people to return from New Zealand to their Pacific homes and for many the "return home" was seen as a positive settlement outcome.

> *We came to earn money so we can go home.* (FF, Wellington)
>
> *The dream – to be able to go back and be a caretaker for Niue* (FN, Auckland)
>
> *Most Pacific Islanders came here so they could work and earn money to take back with them, back home to their families.* (FT, Auckland)

Family wellbeing was closely linked to the theme of economic benefit, and emphasised the ethic of sharing those benefits with the wider family. Similarly, education was closely linked to the theme of economic benefit, and seen as a means by which migrant kin, and their children in particular, could improve their chances for improving their economic lives.

> *..most of us came because of that search for a better life for our children. (FT, Hutt Valley)*

Ages and Marital Status on Arrival in New Zealand

Faafaletui group members had arrived in New Zealand over a number of years, the earliest being in 1948 and the most recent in 2006. Most arrived during the 1950's and 1960's. Some had arrived as children, while others were single or married adults when they arrived. Most adults were in their 20's when they migrated, with only one older than that, at 30.

Journeys and Entry into New Zealand

The way that participants arrived into New Zealand was in large part influenced by their Pacific nation of origin. For those from Tokelau for example, many had come to New Zealand from the three motu groups as a result of the New Zealand government 'Tokelau resettlement' policies of the 1960's. Some children or young people had earned scholarships and so were sent to boarding schools in New Zealand as children or teenagers.

> *Education …and there was the Resettlement Scheme… that's how people start to move into New Zealand.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

For Niuean participants many came as children too. Sometimes these children were accompanied by their parents and other children of relatives. Niuean adults came seeking employment in New Zealand. Some had completed their professional training but their qualifications were not recognised.

> *My dad and I came in 1954. I was 7. He wanted a better lifestyle for his family.* (FN, Auckland)

For the Cook Island participants, they were drawn to New Zealand from three motu groups of Mangaia, Aitutaki and Rarotonga. The most prevalent catalyst for their arrival in New Zealand was a kaiga/family member directly persuading them to travel to New Zealand in order to work and support others at home. One Cook Island participant for example said;

> *At the time our parents were alive and we used to send money back home to support our parents as well as saving for a deposit of our home here* (FPP, Dunedin)

The other reason for Cook Island people, particularly men was by direct recruitment by New Zealand based employers who had travelled to the Cook Islands looking for workers. Pacific workers were perceived to be reliable and responsible workers who were productive owing to their commitment to supporting family/Kaiga at home. The Cook Island and Niuean workers also had the benefit of being New Zealand citizens and so immigration access was simple to organise for both the employers and the workers themselves.

> *My brother was recruited directly from Rarotonga to work at Abbotsford at the brick making place – there were quite a few of them.* (FPP,Dunedin)

For the Tongan participants a small number came as British protected citizens or they had other relatives who were settled in New Zealand already so family reunification motivated and enabled their settlement at the time. For the dominant number of Tongan participants their migration to New Zealand stemmed from the time of the South Pacific Schemes which were specifically implemented for the recruitment of Pacific Peoples from Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu and Kiribati. A special scheme was implemented for Tongan people in 1975, for the Samoans and Fijians in 1976 and for the people of Tuvalu and Kiribati by the end of the 1970's. These schemes provided for easier entry to and employment in New Zealand in exchange for meeting the increased demands of the expanded workforce in the

manufacturing and service industries of the time which had initially been met by the rural to urban migration and urbanisation of Maori[26].

> *The only Tongans who were allowed to come here in the 1950s and early 60s were those that had family or may have relatives or related.* (FT, Auckland)

> *I came here as a British protected person.* (FT, Auckland)

Faafaletui Focus group participants expressed their dissatisfaction with the historic lack of reciprocity or recognition of their contributions to the economic development of New Zealand. The shift away from easier immigration access through South Pacific Work Schemes was sudden and has caused many to experience the sharp edge of being made to feel 'unwelcome' through successive immigration policy directions. Participant's responses show the residual impacts of the 1970's and 80's as they still rippled through Tongan communities and host Aiga/kin.

> *It was easier to get to heaven than jump on a plane to here.* (FT, Auckland)

> *Later on, through amnesty and court cases and whatever, we were given the right to stay here legally.* (FT, Auckland

There were also strong memories of observing the treatment of European migrants whose settlement is remembered as facilitated and supported with residency being fast tracked while the Tongan workers received no such supports.

> *They spend money bringing people here from Europe and they get permanent residence, but they never did that for Pacific Islanders, but they got heaps of workers from the Pacific Islanders. We settled them [the Pacific migrant kin] in, paid for everything, there was nothing given to them [the Pacific migrant kin]…*FT, Auckland.

For the Fijian participants their entry was mainly via specific immigration skills categories or student permits or through marriage to a New Zealander.

In the case of the smaller Pacific cultures (Kiribati, Tuvaluan) represented in the Faafaletui Focus groups they came as adults either through marriage or as professionally qualified workers moving from a visitor's visa to eventual permanent residence.

For the Samoan participants there was a range of means including family reunifications or as students to attend colleges or university. For the adults they came to join partners, or as single people to secure employment.

> *My sister-in-law worked at a big factory in Queens Street and I got a job straight away so each day we travelled by rail to town. My brother worked for New Zealand Rail and that's how they had a house.*(FPP, Dunedin)

Arrival and Movement: The First Settlement Experience

Faafaletui group members had arrived in New Zealand during the years 1948 to 2006. For most, Auckland had been their point of entry.

[26] Tamasese, K., Waldegrave, C. & King, P. (2000) *A Review of Lottery Responsiveness to Pacific Community Groups: A Cultural Audit of the Lottery Grants Board*. The Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit: p27.

> *I moved to Auckland. It was my sister who gave us accommodation.* (FPP, Levin)
>
> *When I first came, I stayed in Auckland.* (FPP, Levin)
>
> *In Auckland, we got off the plane and we stayed there until we came down to Dunedin.* (FPP, Dunedin)

The Tokelauan members were more likely to have been located elsewhere, in places such as Tokoroa, Rotorua, Taupo, Wellington, Porirua, and Lower Hutt. A common theme was that the new migrant kin lived with already resident family members when they arrived, before eventually finding their own housing and assuming the roles of migrant hosts themselves, in due course.

> *We had our families stay with us in our homes.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *We came to bring others to New Zealand too – even as children we helped to bring others and helped them.* (FN, Auckland)
>
> *…my mother, who came to New Zealand on the instruction of her mother, and she came and followed through her mothers wishes by bringing her brothers and sisters, other family members and their children…* (FS, Auckland)

Group members spoke of the kindness of neighbours who provided them with warm clothes after they had arrived.

> *He brought with him all these warm clothes that his boys did not need any more - so they were perfect for my boys.* (FS, Auckland)

Descriptions of the experience of settlement speak of crowded houses, cold weather, lack of government assistance, and dawn raids. Some Faafaletui focus group host participants alluded to 'bad' treatment by some sectors of New Zealand during the 'Dawn Raids' of 1976. Others specifically raised their traumatic experiences both as hosts and as newer settlers when their homes and workplaces were raided by Police searching for the 'Pacific Island overstayers'.

The historical legacy of the 'Dawn Raids' and consequential identification of Pacific Peoples as responsible for a declining economy, at that time, was widely reported in New Zealand media. These messages impacted within families/ Aiga /Kaiga, communities, neighborhoods, schools and workplaces. Sadly, these experiences continue to endure in the collective memory of Pacific Faafaletui focus group members more than 30 later

> *They do it at night time, in the early hours of the morning. They came and took people away.* (FT, Auckland)
>
> *So many people sleeping in one room, when they get here.* (FT, Auckland)
>
> *We brought them into the country out of our own expenses. As soon as they arrive, New Zealand uses them as their weapons. They spend money bringing people here from Europe and get a permanent residence, but they never did that for the Pacific Islanders, but they got heaps of workers from the Pacific Islanders.* (FT, Auckland)

> *When we came there was no assistance from the government.* (FN, Auckland)

Niuean members spoke of their homes a being like marae in the sense that they housed many people and multiple families, but crowded because they were small. An example of this was having one family per bedroom in a 3 bedroom house.

> *One family per bedroom in a three bedroom house.* (FN, Auckland)

> *Our home was like a half-way house.* (FN, Auckland)

> *We had quite a few families come to us. At our grandparents we were like the malae.* (FN, Auckland)

> *We came and lived with her brother in Otara. At the time it was three to four families at the same time.* (FN, Auckland)

Tongan members spoke of many people sleeping in one room and sleeping in shifts, with one room being slept in by night workers during the day and day workers during the night.

Tokelauan members, who had been located outside Auckland, as noted above, spoke of some of these places, such as Taupo and Tokoroa, being particularly cold for them.

> *Very bad, because when the Government brought them here, they made them work in a very cold, cold, cold, place - Taupo - planting pine trees, the forest.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

> *We got here and she wanted to return the next day saying it was too cold. .* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

Some spoke of missing home and homesickness and finding the initial period of settling into New Zealand difficult.

> *When I left home for the first time, it hit me very hard.* (FPP, Dunedin)

> *I missed home so much when I first arrived, I cried the whole week.* (FPP, Dunedin)

Host family contributions to migrant settlement

Host families contributed in many ways to the settlement of the migrant kin they hosted. In this section of the report, the analysis of the Faafaletui group discussions is presented to provide a picture of the nature of these contributions, who made them and how these contributions have built on existing cultural strengths and practices.

The Cultural Concepts and the Aiga or the Hosting Crucible that Enabled Pacific Peoples to Achieve Successful Transition and Settlement.

As already signalled in this report, the cultural values of mutuality, reciprocity and relationalism are key value components of the family/kaiga, networks and sources of support identified in this research.

> *In our community, we assist each other, we have reciprocal connections.* (FPP, Dunedin)
>
> *We reap what we sow, we assist our families and they in turn reciprocate our alofa.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *We make a home for each other.* (FPP, Dunedin)
>
> *Sole sole vaki is love, it is sharing in mutual and reciprocal relationships.* (FF, Wellington)
>
> *In kaiga, sacrifice is crucial. You give something up in order to help your family. Sometimes I want a new dress. I give that up so I can give money to my Mum and my Dad.* (FT, Auckland)

Central to these are those relating to the aiga as a fundamental element of social organisation or crucible that held Pacific people and enabled them to achieve successful transition and settlement.

It was in the host Aiga that migrant kin found a place of belonging, security, familiarity and nurturance, enabling them to step confidently into employment, education, housing and participation in the new environment. Further, it is the Aiga that they return to for affirmation, relationship and confirmation at times of vulnerability. The Aiga, being the crucible of relationships on which the migrant selves are located, provides wholeness and vitality. It reminds hosts and migrant kin of the purpose of their migration and settlement in the new environment. Their dreams and yearnings, not only for themselves but for those who await for them in the countries of origin, remain focussed and energised.

> *We brought so many of my family here, even though we were struggling. They have all done well. Their children have done well and their children's children have prospered too.* (FS, Auckland)

The existence of aiga in New Zealand provides a certain foothold for related migrant kin, a point made by the Niuean group. Aiga formations are dynamic and new forms develop as new members arrive in New Zealand. The changes that result in New Zealand have their effects in the home country as formerly co-resident kin become non-co-resident while at the same time becoming potential sources of economic support through the provision of remittances in due course, and future migrant hosts.

The maintenance of the key cultural values just discussed is enabled by other values such as those associated with good works; fai lelei, the belief in goodness and wanting to do good, and fai se sao, pride in contributing and participating referred to by the Samoan group, and the sense of achievement and satisfaction referred to by the Cook Islands group.

> *When you help your family you are reciprocated with a sense of achievement, fulfilment and peace. We call this "maru te ngakau".* (FC, Porirua)

Spiritual and religious contributions

One of the key contributions to the positive settlement of Pacific People in New Zealand is the spiritual / religious leadership that was provided by host Pacific Churches, host Pacific organisations and host families.

Host Pacific Churches and host Pacific families provide the spiritual and theological reference point for the Pacific migrant kin in the new environment of New Zealand as well as contributing towards their material wellbeing through pastoral care, advocacy and networks of support. Churches were the initial places of gathering for Pacific People, growing to be 'family' like in their ability to connect early Pacific settlers to other Pacific contemporaries who had come to live in Aotearoa New Zealand. The first Pacific Churches were funded and established by Pacific People who had migrated to New Zealand.

The second element of the community foundations in Aotearoa are the host Pacific community organisations. Host Pacific community organisations followed a similar pattern of establishment in that they evolved out of the need to have a gathering place for Pacific People where they could access supports, care and services. Host Pacific Churches and community organisations, as shown in the case studies, were established by Pacific communities through three equal levels of contribution - firstly, through their drive, sacrifice and perseverance, secondly through dedicating and giving their time and then, thirdly, through the commitment of finances and skills.

Employment and economic contributions

A key priority for migrant host families is to assist their migrant kin into economic participation through paid employment. However, the successful integration of the migrant kin into the market economy was not seen as an end for the migrant kin, alone. As the Fijian group expressed it "economic independence is not a goal on its own; it is a stage in a larger goal of having independent and interdependent aiga." In terms of economic participation, the hosts actively assisted their migrant kin to become engaged, and in the process increased their own engagement.

Host families were active in directly helping their migrant kin to find employment. They did this primarily through their own employment and community networks such as their own workplaces and local shops, and also in their own businesses, in some cases.

> *My husband was a general foreman for the (Auckland) harbour bridge… So we helped to get work papers for people to work on the bridge.* (FS, Auckland)

Hosts also supported their migrant kin' economic engagement through the provision of: advice about budgeting, banking and money management; access to employment through agencies, their own networks, and, in some cases, their own businesses. They contributed indirectly through the informal education and training they provided about life in New Zealand which was an important counterpart to becoming and remaining successfully employed here. In that regard, there was a view that the hosts' economic contributions to their migrant kin was also a contribution to the country because their migrant kin became productive workers themselves.

> *We all have different roles contributing back – school teachers that teach children to be good citizens and the whole country benefits…We coach people, as a union delegate, we mentor, we do a lot...Many of us do voluntary work, some of us help our families to navigate the social work systems so that children and families don't get prosecuted.. We Niueans bring a different flavour to the Pacific… We are friendly, by and large law abiding citizens… Our membership within the Pacific family is important.* (FN, Auckland)

> *We pay taxes, GST. We work for rest homes looking after palagi elders. We do the jobs others don't do.* (FN, Auckland)

Further, in regions such as Dunedin,

> *Pacific peoples helped build the New Zealand economy. The Rosswill Mill had 24-hour shifts. Primarily, the Samoans and Tongans worked those shifts.* (FPP, Dunedin)

> *At Midlands, seventy percent of the people were Pacific…. at Sealords ninety percent are Pacific. We have a lot of Pacific peoples at Cadbury's.* (FPP, Dunedin)

And in Levin, the Pacific workers are reputed to,

> *…be hard workers and work long hours, seven days a week.* (FPP, Levin)

Thus through their "hard work" they contribute to New Zealand. As the Tongan group said: “We bring people in, they become good workers.”

> *We want to achieve something in life and we are very industrious and want to be on our own, but in such an occasion as people coming from home, we collectively come to assist that particular person.* (FF, Wellington)

> *I can't think how many people he had helped with work over that time - so many. But we have done our share. People came and they didn’t have any money so we took care of them, fed them, gave them warm clothes.* (FS, Auckland)

Apart from helping their migrant kin to become self-sufficient through employment, host families provided considerable direct economic support to them in the forms of accommodation, food, clothing, childcare costs, education, fares to New Zealand, medical costs, immigration costs, and local transport.

> *I got together with my cousins and we started to bring our other brothers and sisters and cousins to New Zealand. We shared in paying for the airfares.* (FPP, Dunedin)

In addition, the non-monetary care and support they provided has a less direct, but real, economic value as well.

> *We provide transport. We provide clothing. We provide bedding.* (FF, Wellington)

> *To get that done with your little pay you must sacrifice. Sometimes I wanted a new dress, but the answer was no.* (FT, Auckland)

Accommodation assistance ranged from the hosts having their migrant kin in their own homes with them, to providing separate housing, including buying houses for the purpose, and helping migrant kin to purchase their own homes. Apart from accommodation, direct economic monetary assistance was provided to enable migrant kin to begin to save for themselves.

> *For 6 months, if they stay with us, we try and get some money in order to pay for their bond, before they move in they are already able to collect the money while staying with us, just save the money in order to move their family to a new home.* (FF, Wellington)

The direct support of migrant kin in New Zealand was also often combined with direct financial support for family members in the home country. This could be to support them as they remained there with family responsibilities as well as village development. Financial support was also sent to the home country to assist kin to make the move to New Zealand.

> *We'd settle one family, then we'd pay for another to come across.* (FPP, Dunedin)

> *They would come across and work to raise money to build up their church. Some women would come for 3 months then another lot would come for another 3 months they would come to our house. Their church was finished completely through doing this.* (FS, Auckland)

> *So when I was here and I would send him parcels – he would gather all those that teased him to show them the parcel sent by his afakasi afafine. He showed them his salmon, his cigarettes, his Yardley hair cream.* (FS, Auckland)

> *We help our people at home building their houses and help them educate them at home as well.* (FT, Auckland)

The costs for immigration and associated legal processes were particularly noted by the Samoan, Tongan and Fijian groups. In the case of the Tongan group there was a real sense of frustration about a circular, expensive process that had no guarantee of resulting in residence. In that context, overstaying seemed to be a rational response.

> *We do help them to pay their fees for extension and also to convert from a visitors permit to a work visa.* (FT, Auckland)

The discussion around this subject was underscored by motivations of love and goodwill, and a pride in the ability to be self-sufficient at the extended family level. In the Tokelau group, for example, there was a view that help should always be sought first from within the kin group and that seeking help from outside was shameful. In the Samoan group it was said: "We've done it with our own sweat." At the same time, a lack of support from the government was lamented, so the shame associated with seeking help outside the kin group seemed to be associated with informal non-kin sources of support rather than official, institutional ones.

Economic contributions and supports: - How they were made possible

The question of how host families managed to make the economic contributions that they did to the settlement of their migrant kin was discussed in the Faafaletui and two broad theme areas emerged. One of these concerned the direct means by which money was either raised or saved, and the other was concerned with the mechanisms and processes that facilitated the savings and contributions involved.

> *The main point was that he was supposed to come and work so we could build a house.* (FC, Porirua)

The direct means involved economising, jobs, fundraising, and subsistence activities. Economising was the most frequently discussed area and involved a range of practices such as buying cheaper foods and cuts of meat, going without non-

essential items, careful budgeting, saving money through walking or using public transport.

> *I ran Raffles and a Bonus.* (FC, Porirua)
>
> *At the time, transport is bus, bus everywhere and walk a long distance.* (FT, Auckland)
>
> *I was here over 10 years before I bought a second hand car. The reason was if I get a car, I've got to pay petrol and forget home.* (FT, Auckland)
>
> *Fish heads were free. Many things were given away for free, like beef bones.* (FS, Auckland - FT, Auckland)

The next most frequently discussed was "jobs" which generally referred to the hosts doing multiple jobs to earn enough money.

> *I was the older one – I had to work – I didn't want to. I wanted to go to school but my father said I had to work.* (TC, Porirua)
>
> *This was all funded through my husband's work where he would work as a carpenter all day then laid floors at night and I would be responsible for the boarding house to feed people.* (FS, Auckland)

The Cook Islands group referred to "Killing ourselves working two jobs" and the Tongan group to "Working two to three jobs." Fundraising activities seemed more directed towards supporting community level activities rather than the migrant kin directly. In terms of subsistence activities, those mentioned were food gardens and fishing.

> *All sorts of ways of finding money: killing ourselves working two jobs.* (FC, Porirua)
>
> *Everyone had gardens then and we grew lots of veges and luau.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *My father used to go down to the beach and go fishing and all these ways to survive in those days. Our freezer was full due to his efforts. So when family used to come, they would eat and then take bags of food home with them.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *We made a lot of clothes and they were much cheaper.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *Auctions were also very useful. I furnished my first home through the auctions.* (FS, Auckland)

The mechanisms and processes that facilitated the savings and contributions involved were associated with kin relationships, mutuality, networks and organisation. Kin relationships were discussed in terms of family or aiga responsibilities and sibling relationships relating to support and financial assistance.

> *We had people who worked at Crown Lynn so that's how we got really good discounts on all of our dishes.* (FS, Auckland & FT, Auckland)

> *The other girl worked at Cloud 9 where they make bedding and so that was how I got plenty of bedding.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *You don't think about money and that it is ever wasted on these people. You sow what you reap.* (FS, Auckland)

Mutuality involved principles of collective responsibility and family caring for family (also a kin relationship issue). The reference to networks reinforces the relational character of the issues of kin relationships and mutuality. The issue of organisation referred principally to tight management of the household activities, something that was particularly important in crowded households in which people took turns to sleep in beds and held multiple jobs.

Social contributions

The social contributions of host families were associated with those activities that were aimed at helping their migrant kin to become established and integrated in their New Zealand based communities, as distinct from direct economic support. Not surprisingly, a key theme that emerged from the discussion of this area was to do with relational matters and arrangements. Key to facilitating the successful integration of migrant kin were the intra-community networks of the various Pacific migrant groups, and the inter-community networks created by the various Pacific migrant groups and the wider New Zealand community, institutions and economy.

> *We show them the banks… how to withdraw money*
>
> *We advise them not to go to finance companies - to buy things with cash and not hire purchase.*

Important components of intra-community networks were established aiga (family), village, and motu (island) networks that provide spaces of safety and security located within the wider New Zealand social context.

> *In 1944, the Samoan Society was set up in Auckland. It became incorporated. They welcomed our people and the soldiers when they arrived.* (FS, Auckland)
>
> *Each motu started their own gatherings and groups.* (FC, Porirua)
>
> *We started establishing our own groups and now we have our own community facilities.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)
>
> *We set up our Pacific Advisory Group who assist our people in settling and connecting them with employment.* (FPP, Levin)
>
> *Now that there is the Pacific Trust, our people are assisted with employment, retraining, education and social services support.* (FPP, Dunedin)

From within these spaces, host families were able to connect their migrant kin with opportunities in the areas of education, training, employment, and relationships with the wider New Zealand community.

The abilities of host families to facilitate these connections are dependent upon (and testimony to) the knowledge, experience and confidence they have themselves

acquired during previous iterations of the ongoing migrant hosting process that is the focus of this report.

> *We have helped settle so many people.. .and they in turn have hosted others.* (FS, Auckland)

> *With each person or family we settle, we have enlarged our aiga support. They in turn host their own relatives and the cycle goes on.* (FS, Auckland)

Keys to this success are the established networks, upon which new networks are built, and the churches.

> *When we came there was the Catholic Church with all their services in English. Now, there are Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan and other Pacific aulotu (parishes) and their services are in our own languages. Now there are Pacific parishes from the north to the south.* (FS, Auckland)

> *We were the Foundation members of PIC. Since the, other churches and church networks have been established.* (FS, Auckland)

Maintenance and increase of social capital

Social Capital as represented by language, culture, skills and capacities, knowledge, maintenance of rituals and practices was maintained and increased through the maintenance and development of relational networks.

> *We have set up our early childhood education networks and there are our preschools that teach our language.* (FT, Auckland)

> *We have our tournaments which usually attract the young ones. They learn the language through singing and speaking. These tournaments are held every two years. (FTk, Hutt Valley)*

> *We also have a lot of cultural activities that expose our people to our language and culture.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

> *Here in Auckland, we have the Secondary Schools Polynesian Festival in which our young meet each other and are taught our songs, dances and some of our material culture.* (FS, Auckland)

Geographically, these networks encompass New Zealand and the home Pacific countries concerned through the maintenance of ties and relationships among New Zealand resident kin and between them and their wider Pacific communities in New Zealand and the village and kin networks of their homelands and other countries.

> *We travel to Tonga, to other parts of New Zealand and to the United States for funerals, marriages, faulufalega (church openings) and for other faalavelave (cultural events).* (FT, Auckland)

Pacific kin-based networks are further enhanced and enriched by extension into those of other cultures, islands and countries through intermarriage.

> *There are many Maori-Pacific relationships and marriages. I am married to a Samoan…*
> *… and I am married to a Palagi.* (FC, Porirua)

> *One of my children has married a Palagi and our grandchildren are Samoan Palagi and they speak Samoan.* (FS, Auckland)

Building social capital that is specific to the New Zealand context is achieved through the extension of Pacific based networks into significant areas of New Zealand life and society through participation in employment, education, business, sports, art, media and film.

> *A number of our people are now employers, union advocates, in tertiary education…… some are in sports, arts, media, medicine and film.* (FS, Auckland)

Engagement with social services and the establishment of Pacific focused service organisations is another avenue.

> *Some of us have set up our own services.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

Underlying the building and maintenance of relationships and networks outlined above are indigenous practices and institutions such as the practice of hospitality and the roles of churches and other community places where ties are maintained and practices affirmed and reproduced.

> *Our churches help us to maintain our language and our culture.* (FF, Wellington)

It was noted that the maintenance of collective endeavour in a wider society that privileged individualism was difficult and, as the Niuean group observed, "It's expensive to keep fa'a Niue so you have got to love it to keep it up."

Maintenance of culture, language and cultural knowledge

As indicated in the discussion of social capital, the maintenance of culture, language and cultural knowledge was acknowledged to be challenging as some of the younger generations of Pacific people in New Zealand respond to and adopt cultural values, such as individualism, from the wider society. For example, the Cook Islands group noted that "some of the second generation of New Zealand born may not know our values of reciprocity" and the Tongan group said "some of our youth do not choose our culture or way of life... [and] do not appreciate collective ownership of materials".

In the face of acculturation pressures, the maintenance of culture, language and cultural knowledge was regarded as dependent on maintaining and nurturing the contexts and venues in which they are practiced. At the heart of this is "family practice and language usage" as the Niuean group observed. Pacific cultural activities, sports activities, and cultural training through church activities were all important means of cultural maintenance in the New Zealand context.

> *Basically we get our culture training through our church gatherings*

Language loss was a concern and the role of older people in language maintenance was emphasised in conjunction with the desirability of Pacific languages being taught in schools – as well as being spoken at home.

Community connections

Familiarising migrant kin with their local community environment and facilities, such as bus routes, dairies and shops, churches, schools, social services, parks, fishing spots, and places of employment, are part of the migrant hosting role. Familiarisation is part of the process of connecting the migrant kin with these facilities and resources.

> *We assisted our people when they arrived, we connect them with employment, schools, helping agencies, housing.* (FC, Porirua)

> *We would drive them everywhere and show them the area and the surrounding facilities.* (FF, Wellington)

Of particular importance is helping them establish relationships with their churches and home island-based groups.

> *We were the generation that arrived, settled our ourselves, bought our houses, helped with our families back home and build the aulotu - Pacific parishes and churches. When the new migrants came, we connected them with these networks and the churches.* (FC, Porirua)

In the absence of village structure, the church was considered to be an important source of focus.

> *It was instilled in me the importance of the church as point of connection and a place that would ground me. It is also a place where my beliefs are nurtured.* (FC, Porirua)

It can be seen, then, that the process of connecting migrant kin with these resources, institutions and networks was aimed at both New Zealand based ones and ones based on their particular home country and culture.

> *We connected them with jobs, accommodation and education so they in turn can assist their families back home. We always remember where we come from and our families. We not only settle ourselves here, we are also providing for them a home base.* (FC, Porirua)

Both are important and complementary in that the New Zealand based ones are necessary for successful settlement and life in this country, while the home country and culture based ones provide and maintain the strength, resilience, and meaning that is also necessary.

> *You never forget where you come from. You never forget the value of respect and the responsibility towards your parents. My life is my kaiga's life.* (FC, Porirua)

Positive and negative settlement outcomes

Faafaletui groups identified a number of positive and negative outcomes associated with settlement in New Zealand. In many cases a particular factor or area had both positive and negative aspects, in others the outcome tended to be either positive or negative. Examples of factors or areas of mixed positive and negative outcome were culture, education, income, relationships, skills, and support. Those which were

entirely negative were climate, food, legal and migration issues, living conditions, and the position of youth.

Climate

In the Resettlement Programme, they did not consider the climatic conditions of the areas that our people would be resettled in - I felt sorry for my relatives I visited in Rotorua and Taupo they were so cold. It became so cold that some families moved to areas like Porirua. (FTk, Hutt Valley)

Food

My children hated potatoes. (FS, Auckland)

On arrival I found the food horrible. (FPP, Dunedin)

Legal and Migration Issues

There was no legal immigration pathway for Tongans then… people overstayed… and then there were the Dawn Raids. (FT, Auckland)

The illegalisation of the Pacific migrants from Samoa, Tonga and other parts of the Pacific is intentional. Look at what happened with the Western Samoa Act 1982 where New Zealand citizenship was removed leaving people to again be vulnerable to overstaying. (FS, Auckland)

The immigration services costs sometimes prohibit people from legalising their stay. (FF, Wellington)

Living Conditions

Sometimes we were all crammed into inadequate accommodation. (FN, Auckland)

Position of Youth

Some of our youth succumb to the dominant culture of individualism and therefore do not participate in community or relational activities and yet they are supported through these networks. (FT, Auckland)

I think of our youth and I worry. There have been some tragic events that occurred recently. I wonder if it's all been worth it. (FTk, Hutt Valley)

Some of our young rebel and resist and they end up in deep trouble. (FF, Wellington)

There is a lot of peer pressure here. (FF, Wellington)

Those which were entirely positive were gender roles, healthcare, and opportunity.

In New Zealand we see things from a wider perspective. We see things more clearly and we have open communication. (FF, Wellington)

There is better western healthcare here. (FS, Auckland)

There are so many opportunities in education and employment here. (FN, Auckland)

Reasons for the mixed outcomes in the areas of culture, education, income, relationships, skills, and support are outlined in the following discussion.

> *Our cultures change here in New Zealand. There is the influences of the western culture especially in the beliefs around children and childrearing. Our children are given freedoms and entitlements and those undermine families and leads to rebelliousness.* (FF, Wellington)

Negative outcomes in relation to culture were associated with the subjugation of Pacific migrant cultures to the dominant culture, while positive evaluations of migrant cultures were based on the establishment of unique cultural groups in the face of the dominant culture.

> *We set up our own churches and groups.* (FS, Auckland)

> *We fundraised and set up our groups to collectively respond to our living in NZ.* (FC, Porirua)

Education was regarded in a positive light because it was available.

> *The availability of increased educational opportunities brought us here.* (FN, Auckland)

> *We came to educate our children.* (FS, Auckland)

> *Education was one of the main reasons for our journey here.* (FF, Wellington)

But also in a negative light because the way it is provided was not considered to acknowledge the educational needs of migrant children and the unique stages of development they undergo.

Views on income were mixed with negative views associated with incomes being considered to be low and inadequate, particularly in the context of an entirely cash economy where everything has to be purchased.

> *We had to work two or three jobs in order to have adequate income to pay for housing and food.* (FT, Auckland)

Positive evaluations of income came from Fijian group members who tended to be in the skilled migrant category.

Despite the already identified importance of Pacific relational characteristics and values for the successful support and integration of Pacific migrant kin, negative aspects of relationships were identified in this discussion. Negative evaluations were associated with the weakening of indigenous relationships resulting in reduced reciprocity and a related difficulty in maintaining such relationships due to the other pressures of life in this society. On the other hand, strong relationships, when they existed, were viewed as positive when they facilitated both internal cohesion and good links with the wider community.

Climate, food, legal and migration issues, living conditions, and the position of youth were viewed in an entirely negative light. Not surprisingly, climate scored badly on the grounds of it being too cold, with the Tokelauan group noting “Cold climatic conditions were not thought about in resettlement.” Legal and migration issues were entirely negative for Samoans and Tongans because of the difficulties they have in establishing residency and the already noted costs and procedural issues they undergo in the course of achieving legal residency. Negative evaluations of living

conditions were associated with migrant kin needing to live in crowded conditions. Finally, the position of Pacific migrant youth was viewed negatively on the grounds that they become detached from indigenous values and practices as a result of their exposure to the wider society and become involved with drugs or face problems at school.

> *We have taught our children about aiga and reciprocal relationships. We notice that this has not been passed on to our children's children.* (FS, Auckland)

> *My sibling lives a very individualistic life.* (FT, Auckland)

By comparison, gender roles, healthcare, and opportunity were viewed positively. For Fijians, gender roles and responsibilities were regarded as being clearer in the New Zealand context. Healthcare was regarded positively by both Samoan and Tongan groups. Finally, the opportunities available in New Zealand that were not available in home countries were regarded positively. These opportunities included more leadership opportunities, greater employment choices and wider perspectives for women, and greater opportunities in jobs and education.

Successful transition or positive outcomes appear to revolve around maintaining a safe and secure sense of belonging; maintaining customary cultural and social arrangements and a collective culture; motivation on the parts of hosts and migrant kin for migrant kin to achieve successful outcomes and use transitional challenges as opportunities for learning and growth, rather than as sources of shame; maintaining strong networks with home and building social capital; and, finally, the availability of support from aiga.

Gendered and generational supports

A number of broad areas of support were identified and discussed in terms of whether they were provided mainly by men or by women or by both. They were also discussed in terms of whether they were provided more by adults or by children and younger people.

The area in which women were identified as the sole contributor was accommodation and household support.

> *Our women ensured that the house was comfortable and comforting for the visitors.* (FC, Porirua)

> *We as women, attend to our kin's base needs.* (FF, Wellington)

Areas in which women and men were both significantly involved were: community building; providing finance, meeting migrant kin's costs, and helping them save; getting migrant kin into work; paying migrant kin' fares to New Zealand; spiritual participation; and providing more general care and support.

> *Our aunties and uncles or our kin who came before us helped us to settle.* (FC, Porirua)

> *…both our male and female hosts share in the responsibility of connecting our kin to church and to employment.* (FF, Wellington)

> *I think children help bridge the language barriers. Children carry messages across, for example a child takes his or her Mama to the dairy, her Mama would point to what she wanted and the child would tell the dairy owner.* (FC, Porirua)

Men were identified as more prominent in roles associated with church leadership and the provision of food, the latter along with children. For their part, children were associated with the areas of general care and support, along with men and women.

> *Our children help our families settle into the new situation by making them fell welcome and comfortable - welcoming them is the most important thing. They also help settle our migrant children.* (FF, Wellington)

But children were very strongly associated with the area of language and communication with the rest of society. Children were referred to as translators and interpreters who helped bridge the language barrier.

> *Our children help settle our kin from home by being interpreters.* (FF, Wellington)

Household, domestic capacities and clothing

For many migrant kin, shopping for food and clothing in the New Zealand environment was unfamiliar. Different types of food were available and the foods they were most familiar with, such as taro and fish, were more expensive than other, less familiar – and often less healthy – foods.

> *We do not get taro and bananas here. We have to go to Porirua.* (FPP, Levin)

> *Taro and fish are so expensive. We can only afford to have them once a week.* (FS, Auckland)

> …*so my kids survived on bread.* (FS, Auckland)

> *Fish and taro are the most expensive food in the shops.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

The New Zealand climate requires the purchase of different types and quantities of clothing, and hosts provide guidance on this.

> *My Aunt helped me buy warm clothing on my arrival.* (FC, Porirua)

> *My sister helped me with winter clothing.* (FTk, Hutt Valley)

> *My neighbour brought us knitted warm clothing when we first arrived. She saw that I had many children.* (FS, Auckland)

Cooking facilities are also different from those in the migrant kin's home countries, so hosts have a role in providing guidance and advice on the preparation of food as well as its purchase.

Movement into separate housing

Learning about New Zealand housing and domestic operations while being hosted was important preparation for migrant kin moving into their own, separate, housing.

As well as that preparation, host families were active in assisting migrant kin to make the move by helping them save money for the purpose while accommodating them.

> *It was easier then, housing was cheaper. I helped them save money in order to move into their own housing.* (FS, Auckland)

> *There was full employment so families had access to income with which to pay rent or purchase homes. We'd help them save.* (FS, Auckland)

They were also active in helping them find a house or flat, sharing bedding and other household items with them, and helping them acquire furniture.

> *Before they move, we'd ensure that they have bedding and furnishings.* (FC, Porirua)

> *We would share with them our furniture, bedding and other household wares so that they have the necessities.* (FS, Auckland)

The pattern of movement from arrival and being hosted to moving into separate housing was succinctly expressed by the Tongan group: “Share accommodation, legalise stay, save money, [and] move into own accommodation.”

Climate change and recent Pacific migration

Pacific migration to New Zealand has often been affected by environmental factors such as cyclones, examples of which are Cyclone Ofa in 1990 and Cyclone Val in 1991 which together destroyed all of the housing and the church buildings in Falealupo village in Savaii, Samoa, and Cyclone Heta in 2004 which destroyed Alofi village in Niue. The increasing number and intensity of tropical cyclones is expected to severely impact on all of the Pacific nations represented in this study.

However, the oceanic environment of the Pacific region is being increasingly impacted upon negatively by Climate change. While Pacific countries in the region are being called upon to act to address the threatening climate change issues in relation to food security or development, the need for relocation, resettlement and migration should become central to current discussions and policy development. Recent climatic changes and rising sea levels are impacting upon the lower lying islands and atolls of Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu and Kiribati. This is generating climate change ‘refugees’ who must be positively planned for.

Climate change imposes costs on Pacific People who have migrated to New Zealand, and their Pacific Hosts. Pacific People are already carrying out cyclone resistant building programmes, rebuilding after cyclone damage and working to reclaim land while preventing further erosion. Cumulative cyclone damage has caused some Pacific families to lose up to an acre of land owing to erosion by the sea. Because of these environmental impacts of Climate change Pacific families, including Hosts, now have to pay for land reclamation and prevention of erosion. These climatic impacts have increased the financial costs of supporting family in the Pacific while the replanting of crops and repairing damaged housing is carried out.

> *They came after Cyclone Heta and families are expected to take care of their families – they forgot our people need to live somewhere, need to pay rent,*

get to hospital, pay to see doctors, there is no emergency benefit here to help us when we come even after Heta. (FN, Auckland)

Climate change is an increasing cost for Pacific People in New Zealand. Serious attention to the issues of resettlement, relocation and the costs of the negative impacts on Pacific Hosts and Pacific migrant kin should be seen as a priority.

PART SIX: DISCUSSION

The research provides a rich picture of the impact on and contribution of Pacific peoples to settlement support for newcomers who choose to migrate. This research has demonstrated the considerable social and economic contributions that so many New Zealand based Pacific families and organisations make to support the successful settlement in New Zealand of migrants from the countries of the Pacific.

Positive settlement outcomes

Case study families, host organisations and faafaletui participants were asked to describe positive settlement outcomes for Pacific peoples. Central to the groups' definitions of positive settlement outcomes was the notion that migration and settlement are not static, separate or linear concepts, starting with a point of departure, migration, and then settlement. Participants did not separate away from their land and kin of origin to settle in the new context. Rather their motivation was to grow 'family' in the new context; to create another home with secure employment, increased earning power and increased educational achievement in order to share these with kin at home in the Pacific and elsewhere in the world.

Families aspired to coming to New Zealand and being able to secure “well paying employment” and to “be able to build/purchase housing in the country of origin and in New Zealand”. Motivation of increased earnings was to support families and increase family wealth both in the country of origin and in the new country: “to share with others in the aiga, and to have an increased standard of living” and to “earn sufficient income in order to return home”. Parents aspired to increase their family's educational opportunities and achievement and to secure training/education for themselves and others.

Making an economic contribution to both New Zealand and the Pacific were considered important. Developing businesses and building Pacific enterprises were seen as ways to serve the needs of Pacific peoples.

The contributions of churches and community organisations

Pacific Churches and community organisations contribute substantially to the positive settlement of migrant Pacific families. These organisations were referred to often during the faafaletui groups as providers of essential services for good quality settlement that range through employment support, legal advice, language tutoring, cultural networks, family support and spiritual fellowship. They were also continuously referred to as being under-funded and stretched.

Religion and spirituality are cornerstones of Pacific People’s communities and the spiritual side of the Pacific ‘self’ is a key element of Pacific being. It is therefore essential to include considerations of religion and spirituality and the role of Churches in the settlement of new migrants.

The Churches in the Pacific and the Pacific Church Ministers in New Zealand have been an integral and intimate part of the settlement of Pacific People in New Zealand. In the absence of village structure, the Church was considered to be an important source of focus. Church based communities provided a connection into spiritual sustenance and a ‘family like’ community that shared their cultural and

Christian values. The Pacific Churches became the buffer institutions that helped to lessen the culture shock for many Pacific People while they settled into New Zealand.

The Church organisation profiled in this research described their contribution as including spiritual support, assistance with immigration, advocacy for housing and providing a base for the maintenance of languages and culture.

The community organisation included in this study was typical in its provision of social services based on Pacific cultures and its responsiveness to Pacific People.

Reciprocity and hosting for Pacific families

Pacific hosting is purposeful and premised on the notions of kinship, hospitality or providing space for the existence of the other.

Pacific people who host today were migrants themselves. They therefore are sensitive to the settlement needs of their kin whom they host. They also appreciate the complexities of cultural, linguistic, climatic and familial domains that the migrants now face. However, the socio-economic context has changed over time. Compared with the host families of the past the Pacific families hosting today are often not well established themselves and are not necessarily employed or economically well placed to provide support.

Types of support provided by host families

The discussion around this subject was underscored by motivations of love and goodwill, and a pride in the ability to be self-sufficient at the extended family level. In the Tokelau group, for example, there was a view that help should always be sought first from within the kin group and that seeking help from outside was shameful. In the Samoan group it was said: “we’ve done it with our own sweat.” At the same time, a lack of support from the government was lamented, so the shame associated with seeking help outside the kin group seemed to be associated with informal non-kin sources of support rather than official, institutional ones.

Social support

Social support was referred to in a holistic sense and encompassed:

- Assistance with settling in
- Inclusion in the family rituals of mealtimes, prayers or lotu, and collective meals or toanai, to provide space where Pacific hosts and the newly arrived kin share information and skills about the new 'home'.
- The maintenance of language and cultural knowledge, acknowledged to be important but challenging

Accommodation

Accommodation assistance ranged from the hosts having migrants in their own homes with them, to providing separate housing, including buying houses for the purpose, and helping migrants to purchase their own homes. Apart from accommodation, direct economic monetary assistance was provided to enable migrants to begin to save for themselves.

Clothing

The colder New Zealand climate was highlighted by many participants. Group members spoke of the kindness of neighbours who provided them with warm clothes after they had arrived.

Employment and economic contributions
A key priority for migrant host families was to assist their migrants into economic participation through paid employment. Hosts supported their migrants' economic engagement through the provision of advice about budgeting, banking and money management, access to employment through agencies, their own networks, and, in some cases, their own businesses.

Host families were active in directly helping their migrants to find employment. They did this primarily through their own employment and community networks such as their own workplaces and local shops, and also in some cases in their own businesses.

Indirect economic contributions were also made through the informal education and training host families provided about life in New Zealand which was important to becoming and remaining successfully employed.

Immigration costs
The costs for immigration and associated legal processes were particularly noted by the Samoan, Tongan and Fijian groups.

An unfortunate finding in this research was that fear tended to characterise the emotions of migrants, host families and to a lesser extent support organisations in their dealings throughout the immigration process. Participants referred to difficulties filling in the required documentation, making mistakes and then having to hire legal support simply to get their details properly processed and then having to apply and pay again.

The costs of hosting
In terms of economic contributions, the host families investigated in the case studies increased their weekly expenditures while hosting migrants. In the cases studied, the families' incomes did not increase while they were hosting, and they did not accept financial contributions from their migrants, even when they were earning money. Instead, they accepted contributions in kind, and encouraged the migrants to accumulate the funds they needed to become established in their own homes.

The extent of the support provided to Pacific migrants by Pacific focused organisations was also considerable. Although it was not possible to quantify their level of economic support in the same way that it was for the host families, it was clear that a considerable proportion of that support was funded from the resources of those organisations. This indicates that organisations such as these make significant economic contributions to the successful settlement of Pacific migrants in New Zealand.

The information about community organisations just discussed coupled with the hosting cost estimates obtained from migrant host family case studies provides clear evidence that New Zealand resident Pacific families and organisations make considerable economic contributions to the settlement of their compatriots in New Zealand.

Suggestions made by participants:

The Faafaletui groups also provided their views about the sorts of things the government could do to contribute to the success of Pacific migration. These recommendations can be grouped into two categories: material and attitudinal.

Suggested material contributions included the reduction of immigration compliance and processing costs, the provision of financial support to migrant hosts and host organisations, and financial support for physical infrastructure, such as meeting centres. The issue of immigration related costs was discussed elsewhere in this report, and clearly identified as a significant cost burden for both migrants themselves and their hosts. As far as financial support for migrant hosts is concerned, there is clearly a need, in view of the household expenditure increases associated with hosting migrants that have been identified. Also identified have been the financial burdens borne by community organisations, as they fund migrant support activities from other income sources.

Contributions of an attitudinal kind included a Pacific friendly approach to immigration matters and government support for measures to enhance Pacific culture and its harmonisation with other cultural practices present in New Zealand. It was hoped that public acknowledgement of the contributions that Pacific people make to New Zealand society and economy, which could create a more favourable migration environment for them.

Ongoing Challenges

1. The financial cost of hosting

The research carried out in this study shows the substantial generosity, cost and sacrifice host families contribute when they help migrant families settle positively in New Zealand. The family case studies identify those types of expenditures that increase for a host family and those that remain much the same. They also illustrate the dollar amounts and percentages of household income involved. While housing costs did not increase, food costs on average, for the equivalent of 2 adults, increased 55 percent, power/heating 81 percent, phone 64 percent and medical expenses 94 percent. Overall extra costs on average per week in the case studies came to $425, which was a budget increase of 40 percent.

Most Pacific migrant families face major adjustment issues when they arrive in New Zealand and require a broad range of support, information and connections in their new country. They have numerous costs in meeting work requirements, contributing in kind to their host family and setting themselves up independently in their own houses eventually. In most circumstances, they could not be expected to pay for all the host's extra costs as well, if they are to settle positively.

Similarly this research has identified the significant contribution that Pacific Churches and community organisations make to support positive settlement outcomes for new migrants. These organisations were referred to often during the faafaletui groups as providers of essential services for good quality settlement that range through employment support, legal advice, language tutoring, cultural networks, family support and spiritual fellowship. They were continuously referred to as being under-funded and stretched.

Because of the importance of positive settlement for settlers and the host country, further work is required to understand the best ways to support both the host families and the church and community organisations who work with them and the new migrants. As part of that work, it will be essential to investigate the most effective channels for financial support. The process should involve Pacific people who are well informed about migrant and hosting matters and focus on the costs to host families and the church and community organisations involved. With regard to the latter, the costs of servicing migrants directly and infrastructure costs including administration, meeting rooms, furnishing, etc should all be considered.

2. Interface with Immigration Policy

The research indicated that successful transitions for Pacific migrants revolve around: maintaining a safe and secure sense of belonging; maintaining customary cultural, religious and social arrangements alongside the new pluralistic New Zealand environment; good motivation on the parts of hosts and migrants for migrants to achieve successful outcomes and use transitional challenges as opportunities for learning and growth; good support in workplaces and pathways to improve labour market participation; developing strong networks by building social capital; and ensuring the availability and support of aiga.

The above elements that have emerged out of this research, provide an essential foundation for understanding the critical values for future policy that will support migrants, hosting families and community organisations. They underlie the importance of a 'responsive' immigration service.

An unfortunate finding in this research was that fear tended to characterise the emotions of some migrants, host families and to a lesser extent support organisations in their dealings throughout the immigration process. This is not to suggest that Immigration New Zealand wishes that to be the case, but that so much hangs on the outcomes of official decisions and migrants and their associates are sensitive to the way they are treated. Participants referred to difficulties filling in the required documentation, making mistakes and then having to hire legal support simply to get their details properly processed and then having to apply and pay again. This sort of experience is as demoralising for the hosts as it is for the families involved and creates an unintentional climate of fear.

Difficulties with compliance processes were also commented on in the research. Difficult processes or a lack of understanding of processes has the potential to be costly. The costs often fell on the host families as well as the migrants. The study has highlighted a need to continue to:

- develop ways to simplify the filling in of forms and other compliance processes
- develop 'Pacific friendly' approaches to all matters of immigration
- explore ways to ensure access to expert advice in the main Centres that provide a free and effective service helping people understand the processes, provide simple knowledge of the rules and requirements and help migrants and their hosts prepare their case.

Findings from this study have also identified a lack of knowledge about some aspects of immigration policy and recent changes in policy highlighting the need to increase awareness of immigration policy among Pacific families, Pacific churches and other organisations hosting new migrants or providing support to families who

host. Effective dissemination of information requires dissemination processes that ensure the information is accessible to Pacific families and organisations.

The overall goal for immigration services, as recommended out of this research, would be to develop a transparent, user friendly, unambiguous service that supported people through the immigration processes in a manner that led them, their hosts and the support organisations to feel they received a fair hearing and paid no more than the set application fees

3. The Needs of Children

This research revealed the substantial contribution children make in the hosting process. For example, they were often the primary translators for the migrant families, and they were often conduits between the migrants and institutions, shop keepers, doctors, etc. Furthermore they carried the responsibility of introducing migrant cousins to school and supporting them through the transition.

The education system plays a critical role harmonising the transition from previous schooling in the country of origin to the local New Zealand schooling system. A number of participants referred to transitions that did not work well because of inadequate assessments of migrating children which led to expectations that were too high or too low. When children become dispirited in school, enormous pressure is placed on the migrant and host families particularly, because educational attainment for migrants' children is often a key goal of the migration.

A particularly disadvantaged group of children are those whose parents do not have legal status as New Zealanders, including those born here. These children do not receive the entitlements of New Zealand children, like the services of Child Youth and Family if they are going to be removed from the country, legal representation or standard health assessments. Participating organisations in this study complained bitterly about the extra stresses this placed on them and host families.

There is a need to devise ways to more actively support hosting and migrant children as they work through the transition phase, ensuring that there is a robust assessment of migrant children and good follow up support for them and host children through the transition. Further work is needed to create a user friendly monitoring system, along the lines of processes used by the Education Review Office, to ensure children progress smoothly through the transition.

4. Public Recognition of Pacific People and their Contribution

Research participants referred to attitudinal contributions that would greatly assist Pacific migrants and hosts. These referred to New Zealanders developing more positive attitudes to Pacific people, their talents and the contributions they make to New Zealand society and the economy. This was seen to contribute to a more favourable migration and hosting environment.

It is important that Agencies of government further develop positive profiles of Pacific people and institutions that enable New Zealanders to see the achievements and contributions of they make in Aotearoa. These contributions are substantial and include, the economy, sport, the arts, social services and cultural life.. [d77]

5. Support for Economic Development:

Positive settlement outcomes include becoming self sufficient and sustainably active in the labour market. Pacific migrants and hosts often find themselves in the most vulnerable parts of the labour market in the low skilled jobs. This makes their capacity to sustain themselves independently very vulnerable, particularly during periods of economic downturn. Participants' employment stories illustrated how hard many of them have worked to make a decent life in New Zealand and the sort of breaks some people gave them and the learning events they took advantage of. These enabled them to buy homes and in some cases to start businesses and help others. Training courses, up-skilling and tertiary education contributed to host families' stability and access to better and higher paying jobs and enabled them to help others.

Supporting the ongoing economic development of Pacific peoples has the potential to improve outcomes not just for Pacific peoples but for New Zealand as a whole, as the number of Pacific peoples in New Zealand's labour market increases.

References

Efi, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese; (1994) *Englishing My Samoan: A collection of speeches and letters.* Suva, Fiji University of the South Pacific.

Goldsmith,M. (1993) "*Qualitative Research and Political Communication".*Paper presented at the Conference on the Politics of Persuasion", Victoria University, Wellington

Hau'ofa, E. (1993). *Our Sea of Islands: A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. In E. Waddell, V. Naidu & E. Hau'ofa, eds. Suva: USP. Pp. 2-16.

Hau'ofa, E. (2008). *We are the Ocean: selected works*. University of Hawaii Press.

Jensen, J. (1988) *Income Equivalences and the Estimation of Family Expenditures on Children*. Wellington: New Zealand Department of Social Welfare.

Jensen, J. (2007) *Specification of the Revised Jensen Income Equivalence Scale*. Personal communication.

Krishnan, V., Schoeffel, P. and Warren, J. (1994) *The Challenge of Change-Pacific Island Communities in New Zealand, 1986-1993.* New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development (ISRD)

Perry, B. (2008) *Household Incomes in New Zealand: Trends in indicators of inequality and hardship 1982 to 2007,* Wellington: Ministry of Social Development

Statistics New Zealand (2010) *National Ethnic Population Projections: 2006 (base) to 2026 tables*. Downloaded 22 December 2010 from www.stats.govt.nz

Tamasese.K., (1994), Housing Research Conference, *The Pacific Island Housing Network's Perspective On Research*, Ministry of Housing.

Tamasese, K., Waldegrave, C., and King, P. (2000) *A Review of Lottery Responsiveness to Pacific Community Groups: A Pacific Cultural Audit of the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board.* The Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit.

Tamasese K, Peteru C and Waldegrave C (1997) *Ole Taeao Afua, The New Morning: A Qualitative Investigation into Samoan Perspectives on Mental Health and Culturally Appropriate Services*. The Family Centre, Lower Hutt,

Te Awe kotuku, N (1991) *He Tikanaga Whakaaro Research ethics in the Maori Community.* A discussion paper. Manatu Maori, Wellington.

Teariki, C., and Spoonley, P, with Tomoana.N., Te Whakapakari Te Mana Tangata. (1992) *The Politics and process of research for Maori*. Department of Sociology, Massey University.

Tupuola, A. (1993). "Raising Research Consciousness the Fa'a Samoa Way." *New Zealand Annual Review of Education*. 3: 175-189.

Van der Beek, N. (1998) *Annotated Bibliography of Legal Instruments and other Documents relevant to the Relationship between New Zealand and Six pacific Nations,* Ministry of Justice.

Waldegrave, C. (1999) "Focus Groups: Participation in poverty research" in Davidson C and Tolich M eds. *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding*. Longman, Auckland

Waldegrave, C., Stuart, S. and Stephens, R. (1996) "Participation in Poverty Research: Drawing on the Knowledge of Low Income Householders to Establish an Appropriate Measure for Monitor Social Policy Impacts" *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* , 7, December.

Williams, J. V. and McLeod, F. R. (1998) "Legal Opinion – Treaty Policy". Legal opinion.

Wright, M. (2009)'Mordacious years': socio-economic aspects and outcomes of New Zealand's experience in the Great Depression, Reserve Bank of New Zealand: Bulletin, Vol.72, No.3, September, 2009.