

TEMPORARY MIGRATION and URBAN INCORPORATION in AUCKLAND

LIVING, WORKING, FINANCE AND ASPIRATIONS

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TEMPORARY MIGRANTS USUALLY RENT RATHER THAN OWN PROPERTY.

- 88.1% RENT; 2.3% OWN
- 36.1% LIVE IN THE CBD

THERE ARE OCCUPATIONAL AND INDUSTRY NICHES WHERE MANY TEMPORARY MIGRANTS ARE EMPLOYED

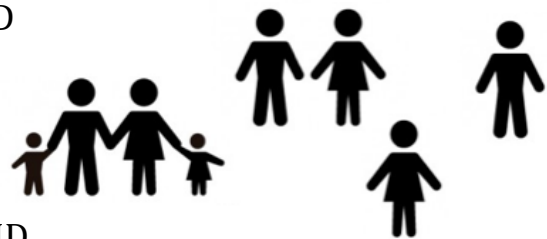
- 42% EMPLOYED IN ACCOMMODATION & FOOD SERVICE OR RETAIL TRADE
- 20% TEMPORARY MIGRANTS REPORT BEING PAID BELOW MINIMUM WAGE



CURRENT MIGRATION POLICY IS SHAPING MIGRANT LIVES THROUGH RULES AROUND TIME LIMITS, WORK RIGHTS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF GAINING PERMANENT RESIDENCE. THIS CREATES SITUATIONS WHERE SOME TEMPORARY MIGRANTS EXPERIENCE INCREASED VULNERABILITY.

MOST TEMPORARY MIGRANTS ARE SINGLE AND INDEPENDENT.

- 47% OF WORK VISA HOLDERS HAVE A PARTNER, USUALLY IN NEW ZEALAND
- 18% OF WORK VISA HOLDERS HAVE CHILDREN, ABOUT HALF IN NEW ZEALAND



MOST PEOPLE ON TEMPORARY VISAS FINANCE THEIR MIGRATION THROUGH SAVINGS. HOWEVER, DEBT IS A CONSIDERABLE ISSUE:

- 40% OF PEOPLE FROM INDIA AND THE PHILIPPINES ARE IN DEBT
- 28% OF PEOPLE INTENDING TO APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE ARE IN DEBT

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<https://www.facebook.com/NationandMigration>.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Over the last two decades there has been a significant growth in people holding temporary work and study visas in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland. This growth has occurred because subsequent New Zealand governments have created new visa categories for temporary workers and promoted the growth of international education as an economic sector and a pathway to immigration for some. There are now more than 250,000 work and study visas approved annually in New Zealand. By contrast, permanent residence approvals have remained between 40,000 and 50,000 annually over the last fifteen years.
- This research involved a survey of 891 people holding temporary visas in Auckland including 457 international students, 170 working holidaymakers and 158 work visa holders. The survey was supplemented with biographical interviews with 60 individuals within three categories: international students in the workforce; people on job search visas or in employment after completing New Zealand qualifications; and work visa holders who had not studied in New Zealand.

Housing and Family

- Of the 891 respondents involved in the survey over 70% live within the boundaries of the former Auckland City and over one third (36.2%) live within the CBD itself. This pattern was common across all visa categories. Asian nationalities were less concentrated in particular areas whereas over 50% of European and North American nationalities were living in the CBD alone.
- Temporary migrants in this research were overwhelmingly in rental or unpaid accommodation and most rented shared accommodation in apartments and other forms of multi-dwelling housing. These housing patterns were influenced by costs and by the perceptions some real estate agents and landlords have of the temporary nature of work, study and working holiday visa holders.
- Around 70% of all temporary migrants in the study are independent and single, without either spouse/partner or children. However, almost half of work visa holders and around one quarter of student and working holiday visa holders have a spouse/partner generally living with them but with a smaller number overseas.
- Only a very small number of respondents had children (8.8%). Amongst work visa holders 18% had children, although only half these had migrated together to Auckland. Interviewees with children spoke about wanting to be settled before bringing children and sometimes spouses to Auckland.
- **Contrary to negative stereotypes promoted recently by media commentators and political parties – temporary migrants in Auckland are not directly involved in house price appreciation. Only 17 out of 891 respondents were owner-occupiers. When asked about their intentions and aspirations, most respondents envisaged buying a house after ten years or in the ‘long term’ after they had gained residency and become more settled.**

Work and Employment

- Most respondents were in some kind of employment. Work visa holders unsurprisingly had the highest rate of employment at over 80%, working holidaymakers were 55% and international students just over 50%.
- There is evidence of a number of industry and occupational niches in the Auckland labour market associated with temporary migrants. Temporary migrants are disproportionately concentrated in the accommodation and food services industry; amongst respondents from the Philippines there was some concentration in healthcare. Occupational niches existed in community and personal service, sales and labourers – although employment in each of these occupations varied by visa type and nationality.
- Reflecting these employment patterns, slightly less than one third of employed respondents were earning above the New Zealand median wage. Most respondents were earning between the minimum wage and the New Zealand median wage. However, around 20% of respondents reported earning below the minimum wage. This result may reflect either actual low wages or instances where individuals work more hours than they are paid for – the survey does not provide the scope to answer this question.
- Low wages amongst temporary migrants were correlated with the length of time migrants had been with an employer and the mode of job seeking, with informal means of recruitment like friends and family generating the lowest wages. The longer migrants had been with an employer the more they earned; respondents who used recruitment agencies and English language job advertisements to find jobs received substantially higher wages than others.
- **Occupational and industry niches and wage differences between migrants interrelate and seem to be influenced by three factors: social networks amongst migrants (including with permanent residents and citizens); reluctance by some employers to hire people on temporary visas, including because of time limits and visa rules; pressure exerted on migrants by personal financial situations.**

Financing and Debt

- Personal and family savings was the main means that migrants financed their migration to Auckland – 71.6% of migration finance was from savings. However, for work and student visa holders over one-fifth of financing had come from loans from family, friends or banks.
- Consequently, around one quarter of all respondents are in debt as a result of migration to Auckland, with higher levels of debt amongst student visa holders and work visa holders. Debt and debt-levels were particularly pronounced for respondents from India and the Philippines, amongst whom over 40% were in debt as a result of migration; most indebted respondents had between \$10,000 and \$40,000 of debt.
- **These patterns suggest that a minority of temporary migrants in Auckland have undertaken ‘debt-financed migration’. This situation influences the study and employment patterns of migrants and in many cases places them in a highly vulnerable situation.**

Intentions and Aspirations

- Overall, 44% of respondents indicated that they viewed their current temporary migration as part of an intention or plan to apply for permanent residence; another 25% of respondents remained uncertain about their plans. Work visa holders were most likely to intend to apply for residence (70%) followed by student visa holders (46%), with very few working holidaymakers intending to apply for residence (15.5%).
- There were substantial nationality differences in future intentions. Respondents from the Philippines and India were most likely to be intending to apply for residence; very few European or North and South American respondents intended to apply for residence.
- Amongst respondents who did not intend to remain in Auckland and New Zealand, most had not yet formulated plans about where they would go next; around one third planned to return to their home country and many identified Australia as the next destination when their visa expired.
- Migration fits into long-term aspirations of migrants in different ways, depending on age and visa status. Respondents who did not intend to remain in New Zealand saw migration as a stepping-stone to further travel or study. Migrants who intended to remain were focused on achieving secure employment and residence status as part of life-course projects of family and settlement.
- The rates of intention to apply for permanent residence in the survey far exceed the actual rates of transition to permanent residence recorded by Immigration New Zealand over a five-year time horizon. This suggests that substantial numbers of temporary migrants either fail to achieve residence and depart from New Zealand, or remain in New Zealand longer than five years in order to achieve PR.
- **The mismatch between intentions to apply for residence and actual rates of transition add to the debt and employment situation of some migrants to generate social and economic vulnerability. Current policy makes these situations possible by creating the perception of long-term opportunities that for many migrants will not materialise despite the investment they make in this process.**

TEMPORARY MIGRATION and URBAN INCORPORATION in AUCKLAND

LIVING, WORKING, FINANCE AND ASPIRATIONS

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the last two decades New Zealand's immigration policy regime has progressively shifted from an emphasis on permanent settlement towards an increasing focus on temporary migration. This shift marks a considerable departure from earlier periods in New Zealand's immigration history where most migrants who entered New Zealand were expected to eventually become permanent residents and citizens (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Today, that pattern of settlement is much less apparent. Instead, New Zealand hosts significant numbers of migrants on student visas, work visas and working holiday visas. In the year ending June 30 2015, Immigration New Zealand approved over 250,000 temporary visas (see Figure 1). While some of these temporary migrants will eventually be approved for permanent residence, many do not desire this pathway or will not be able to achieve it. Permanent residence approvals have been relatively stable in New Zealand, hovering between 40,000 and 50,000 over the last fifteen years.

The shift in immigration policy over the last two decades reflects changing ideas about the role of migration and mobility in society more generally. Rather than being viewed principally as settlers who contribute to population building, migrants are now increasingly viewed as occupying a wide range of roles. They may be conceived as: contributors to gaps in labour markets, consumers of educational services, tourists who are also seasonal workers, entrepreneurs and, in some instances, potential members of a national society.

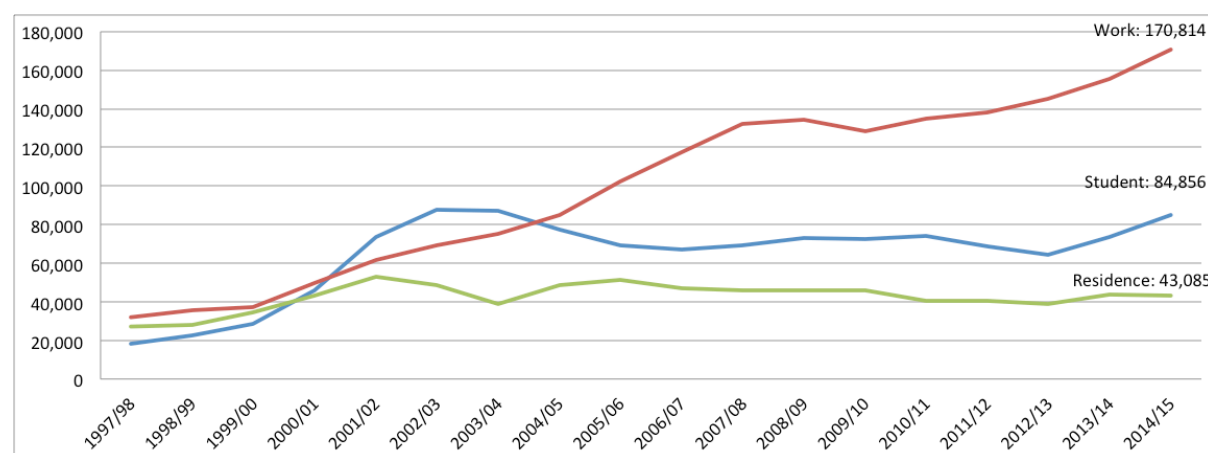


Figure 1: Work, Student and Residence Visa Approvals 1997-2015. Source: Immigration New Zealand.

There are several important drivers of these processes. These shifts respond to the increasing emphasis on flexibility in labour markets in New Zealand and internationally, and the reliance on new kinds of educated labour for knowledge and service economies (Fry and Glass 2016). At the same time, there are important connections between the growth in migration and the changing character of rural landscapes in New Zealand, as farmers and growers rely on seasonally variable labour to meet global market demands (Callister and Tipples 2010). The internationalisation and commodification of education is another component of these changes in orientation to migration (Collins 2012a). New Zealand competes for international students globally and in addition to offering a wide range of programmes here, progressive governments have started to view students as potential long-term migrants and short-term contributors to the labour market through the provision of working rights. Lastly, since the late 1990s there has been a growth in the number of working holiday schemes and quotas, as a means of encouraging forms of tourism that are also connected to labour markets but also as part of a wider engagement in building connections with other countries (Spoonley and Bedford 2008).

While there is a considerable body of academic and policy research on the processes and outcomes of permanent settler migration in New Zealand, there remains very little on emerging patterns of temporary migration. The only exception to this is the study of international students, which has been a significant focus of research but often without a focus on the connections between international education and wider immigration settings (Collins 2012a; Lewis 2011; Martens and Starke 2008). This study seeks to contribute to this gap in knowledge on temporary migration through a focus on temporary migrants in Auckland, the largest receiving area in New Zealand. Accordingly, this report presents and discusses findings from a survey of 891 temporary migrants in Auckland as well as additional insights from 60 biographical interviews. The findings suggest that greater attention is needed on the policy settings and outcomes of temporary migration regimes for migrants themselves but also for the city of Auckland. Following a discussion of Auckland's role in temporary migration, an introduction to the key thematic and methodology of the study, the report focuses on four key areas of temporary migrant lives: Living in Auckland; Employment and Work; Financing and Debt; and Intentions and Aspirations.

Auckland

As New Zealand's major metropolitan area, Auckland is an important location in many of these shifts in immigration policy (Friesen 2015). Following on from trends established in the early 1990s, Auckland continues to be the main destination for migrants in New Zealand, particularly those of non-European descent. In the 2013 census the overseas born population of Auckland represented 39.1% of all usual residents, considerably higher than the national average of 25.2%. Amongst migrants holding temporary permits, such as international students and work visa holders, there is a similar level of concentration in Auckland. Some 55.0% of the 84,856 international students approved to study in New Zealand were in Auckland in 2014/15, a proportion that has increased gradually even as national international student numbers have been in flux. Working holiday makers are a much

more mobile population than other groups but for many, Auckland is likely to be an important entry point into New Zealand and accordingly the industry infrastructure has grown considerably over the last decade.

The presence of growing numbers of temporary migrants in Auckland and the specific effects of current policy settings have had increased presence in years running up to this research. In particular, there has been growing attention on the working conditions of temporary migrants, especially international students. Several media reports have drawn attention to examples of exploitation where migrants have been paid well below minimum wage, been expected to work extra hours without pay, been promised clear pathways to permanent residency by employers, or had passports confiscated by employers in order to control their behaviour. The most high profile of these cases to date occurred at the Masala chain of Indian restaurants. Over the course of six years between 2009 and 2014 the employers significantly underpaid employees on the promise that they would be assisted in getting visas to remain in New Zealand and creating fraudulent letters to support visa applications. Several other cases have emerged recently with similar situations (see Table 1).

Table 1: Selected Headlines on Temporary Migration Issues in Auckland

Headline	Issues	Date	Media
'Masala restaurant workers paid as little as \$2 an hour'	Labour exploitation, promises of support for immigration	08/09/2015	<i>New Zealand Herald</i>
'NZ reputation at risk from student exploitation'	Education agents: misrepresentation and fraud. Labour exploitation.	20/11/2015	<i>New Zealand Herald</i>
'New Zealand's most vulnerable workers'	Labour exploitation; passport confiscation	23/11/2015	<i>3D: TV3</i>
'False promises lure students'	Unlicensed education agents: misrepresentation and fraud.	02/12/2015	<i>New Zealand Herald</i>
'Auckland renters get desperate - four to a room and even <i>hot bedding</i> '	Housing overcrowding – especially amongst international students	18/01/2016	<i>New Zealand Herald</i>
'Left without a choice: How international students are exploited in New Zealand'	International students and labour exploitation; false promises of immigration support.	27/01/2016	<i>The Wireless: Radio NZ</i>

In addition to the increased attention the specific issues of labour market and student exploitation, there has ~~also~~ been a wider growth in focus on migration based issues in Auckland. This is evident most notably in the establishment of the SuperDiversity Centre by Mai Chen, which aims to develop responses for business, policy and law “to maximise the benefits of the ‘diversity dividend’ arising from New Zealand’s transition to a superdiverse society” (see: <http://www.superdiversity.org/>). While the activities of this centre are not specifically focused on temporary migration or only on Auckland, the growing number of temporary migrants in Auckland and New Zealand are likely to be significant in any concerted focus on the role of diverse populations in New Zealand’s futures. Another initiative, CADDANZ (Capturing the Diversity Dividend in Aotearoa New Zealand) has a similar focus, although

its focus is broader than the more economic dimensions of the SuperDiversity Centre. CADDANZ is run by researchers at Massey University, University of Waikato and MOTU Economic and Public Policy Research. Several NGO groups have also started to play a more prominent role in migration related issues in Auckland, including those specifically related to temporary migrants. This includes groups like the Migrant Action Trust, who “run services by migrants for migrants” (see: <http://www.migrantactiontrust.org.nz/>), particularly focused around employment outcomes; Migrante, which is an offshoot of FirstUnion focused specifically on migrant worker issues (see: <http://www.migrante.org.nz/>); or the more emergent Migrant Worker Union, which is addressing these issues on a case by case basis. Overall, then, it is clear that there is significant interest in current issues around migration and their role in the future of Auckland and New Zealand more generally.

The Study: Temporary Migration and Urban Incorporation in Auckland

The broad aim of this study was to better understand the background, current situation and future aspirations of people on temporary visas in Auckland. More widely, the research presented here forms part of an agenda to understand the impacts of the growing emphasis on temporary migration in Auckland and New Zealand. The research had three key objectives:

1. To examine the role of current migration policy settings in the lives of people on temporary permits in Auckland.
2. To examine the ways in which temporary migrants are incorporated into urban life in Auckland.
3. To examine the aspirations that drive migration to Auckland/New Zealand and the manner in which these aspirations are reconfigured through experiences of migration.

These objectives relate to three important issues in current migration literature. Firstly, research on the effects of temporary migration regimes has demonstrated the ways in which the rules and regulations of temporary permits qualitatively shape migrant lives and opportunities. In the case of work and migration, Anderson (2010: 301) captures this dynamic evocatively when she notes that “through the creation of categories of entrant, the imposition of employment relations and the construction of institutionalised uncertainty, immigration controls work to form types of labour with particular relations to employers and to labour markets”. Put another way, immigration controls and their wider regimes are *not neutral* but rather set the conditions under which individuals enter society and their access to normal rights in workplace and other social settings. The rules and regulations of different temporary visas can also be seen to have connections into the aspirations for migration that individuals have, their sense of what they can achieve through moving from one place to another (Carling 2002). In New Zealand, this manifests most apparently in the potential but not guarantee of transition to permanent status – an opportunity that creates aspirations that will not be fulfilled in most cases. More widely, it is important to recognise that immigration controls will alter the possibilities for incorporation that migrants have – the kinds of workplace conditions they will face,

the possibility to remain with family, and their capacity to contribute to community formation (Collins 2012b).

Secondly, this research focuses on questions of urban incorporation specifically and the ways in which migration regimes influence migrants' role in the city. Focusing on 'urban incorporation' is a technique for moving beyond ideas such as 'assimilation', 'integration' and 'adaptation' that assume that migrants have a singular pathway towards becoming normal in social, cultural, political or economic status – that is, becoming 'New Zealanders'. Temporary migration clearly disrupts this process of becoming part of a place because many migrants, regardless of what they aspire to, will not be able to remain long-term, and many more will reconfigure their aspirations during migration (Robertson 2013). The foci of the study of urban incorporation are "individual migrants, the networks they form, and the social fields created by their networks [where] social fields are understood not as spatial metaphors but as systems of social relations composed of networks of networks that may be locally situated, or may extend nationally or transnationally" (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009: 179-180). In this respect, studying urban incorporation under conditions of temporary migration means paying attention to differences in employment, education, access to public space, community formation and other related issues while recognizing how this varies across groups of migrants and is connected into their transnational relationships. It is about recognizing that migration takes place within power asymmetries, most notably between settled populations and temporary migrants, and that this influences what opportunities are available to become part of society.

Lastly, this research is also focused on questions of aspiration in migration. Orthodox migration research tends to treat the 'reasons', 'decisions' or 'choices' involved in migration as a result of migrants calculating what is best for them and how particular places might allow them to achieve different goals (De Haas 2010). While this notion remains common in policy and scholarship, or through wider perceptions of 'push' and 'pull' factors in migration, recent scholarship has suggested the need to pay more attention to how aspirations are generated, how they relate to imaginative and seemingly irrational drivers, and how they alter during migration (Carling 2014). Aspiration for migration needs to be understood as connected to imaginations or ideas of different places (Collins et al. 2014) – the idea of what New Zealand is and what it offers to a potential migrant. These imaginations are created not only amongst migrants' social networks, but also by government promotion, migration agents, educational institutions and others who have a direct interest in promoting migration. At the same time, as Carling (2002) suggests, it is important to pay attention not only to aspiration as an idea for migrating but also to 'ability' in terms of what capacity migrants or non-migrants have to be mobile and achieve the things they set out to do. Not all migrants can achieve the same things through migration and the conditions of their migration – from visa rules and regulations, to workplace experiences and their own personal attributes – will play an important role in how aspirations are reached, limited or altered through migration.

Methods

In order to achieve the specific goals of this study, this project included a questionnaire survey and a semi-structured biographical interview schedule. The goal of taking this multi-method approach was to firstly capture the wide ranging dimensions of temporary migrant life in Auckland and secondly, to explore in further detail the particular driving forces that bring migrants to Auckland and shape their lives here and into the future.

The questionnaire survey was carried out online through the Qualtrics platform and was supplemented by face-to-face surveys between September and November 2015. The online survey was advertised through email lists, educational institution websites, Facebook groups and other social media. Face-to-face surveys were collected by research assistants at a range of locations and times in Auckland including in ethnic precincts, shopping areas, during cultural festivals, following religious services and in central city public spaces. There were a total of 891 responses to the survey, including 466 carried out online and 425 completed face-to-face with a research assistant. The targeted sample at the onset of the survey was to collect 1000 responses; the final slightly lower figure of 891 nonetheless represents a significant database of knowledge about temporary migrants in Auckland. The profile of the sample population is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Profile of Survey Sample

Gender		Age		Visa Type		Nationality	
Female	448 (50.3%)	18-19	71 (8.0%)	Student	457 (51.3%)	India	186 (20.9%)
Male	423 (47.5%)	20-24	333 (37.4%)	Working Holiday	170 (19.1%)	China	124 (13.9%)
Unaccounted	20 (2.2%)	25-29	284 (31.9%)	Work	158 (17.7%)	Philippines	78 (8.8%)
		30-34	117 (13.1%)	Visitor	6 (0.7%)	South Korea	67 (7.5%)
		35-39	39 (4.4%)	Unaccounted	100 (11.2%)	France	64 (7.1%)
		40+	17 (1.9%)			Germany	43 (4.8%)
		Unaccounted	30 (3.4%)			United Kingdom	30 (3.4%)
						Other countries	247 (27.7%)
						Unaccounted	52 (5.8%)

As Table 2 indicates the sample of respondents was almost equally divided between women (50.3%) and men (47.5%) with a small proportion choosing not to answer the gender question. In terms of age respondents were relatively young with most between 20 and 29 years old (accounting for 69.3%). The

relatively young makeup of the respondent profile was common across student, working holiday and work visa categories. However, there were variations within these groups: international students were more likely to be between 20-24 (46%) than both working holidays (32.1%) and work visa holders (27.0%); amongst work visa holders 46.7% were between 25-29. These age ranges differ slightly from those recorded in Immigration New Zealand data where 57.0% of all work and working holiday visa holders are between 20 and 29. International students in this project cannot be compared with national statistics because national data includes students who attend primary and secondary schools, who were excluded from this study. This variation in age range from national statistics likely reflects the methods of data collection, the use of social media and survey collection in public places. In terms of nationality, the survey included all of the major groups of temporary migrants, although there was a notably low response rate from UK participants. In the survey UK respondents represented 11% of working holiday visa holders (in comparison to 19.7% in Immigration New Zealand data) and only 3% of work visa holders (compared to 7.9% nationally). This reflects the difficulty of identifying UK respondents on both social media and in public spaces – not least given similarities in language to non-migrant populations. Generally speaking, respondents were very well educated with 72.9% possessing bachelor degrees or higher. Amongst work visa holders 83.2% had a post-secondary qualification of some kind; qualification unsurprisingly varied much more for student and working holiday visa holders.

In order to explore people's experiences in more detail, and especially the role of visa status, nationality and aspirations in shaping experiences of temporary migration, in depth interviews were carried out with 60 individuals holding temporary visas. These interviews were conducted between October 2015 and April 2016. The interview sample was stratified in order to focus specifically on the role of visa status at different points in the lives of temporary migrants. Out of the total of 60 interviews, 20 were conducted with individuals from each of the following groups:

- 'Student-workers': individuals holding student visas who are regularly in workforce
- 'Graduate job seekers': individuals who had completed qualifications in New Zealand and were currently seeking or in their first few years of employment
- 'Work permit holders': individuals who had not studied in New Zealand and currently held a work visa

Individuals interested in participating in these interviews self-identified through a question at the end of the survey, where there was an option to provide contact details for further research. A total of 295 survey respondents indicated they were interested in taking part in further research. Potential interviewees were contacted within this group of volunteers after sampling for gender, nationality, work status and occupation, institution type for students and graduates, and work visa type for work permit holders. In order to secure diversity across these variables some participants were recruited for interviews through snowballing existing participants and advertisements on social media pages. As a token of appreciation for the time involved in interviews, all selected participants were offered a

shopping voucher at the conclusion of the interview. The interviews were generally carried out in English although a small number were done in Mandarin Chinese by Bingyu Wang and Yu Shi and then translated into English before analysis. Interviews with ‘student-workers’ and ‘work permit holders’ were carried out by Francis Collins, Roger Baars, Bingyu Wang and Yu Shi; interviews with ‘graduate job seekers’ were carried out by Madeleine Morey as part of her Masters thesis project.

Analysis of findings from the survey was undertaken on SPSS. Key themes were identified using descriptive statistics. The interview material has been analysed according to the following procedures: inductive analysis of individual interviews was undertaken to identify emerging themes; these themes were combined with key research questions to form the basis for deductive analysis; and lastly the themes that emerged were explored for differences according to nationality, visa status, gender, age and other variables. In the discussion of findings that follows most of the material is drawn from the survey findings in order to capture the generalizable issues. Qualitative data will be used to inform later discussions of findings in academic publications. The remainder of this report is structured around four sections that address major issues that emerged in the research: 1) Living in Auckland; 2) Employment and Work; 3) Financing and Debt; and 4) Intentions and Aspirations.

SECTION 2: LIVING IN AUCKLAND

Housing and Accommodation

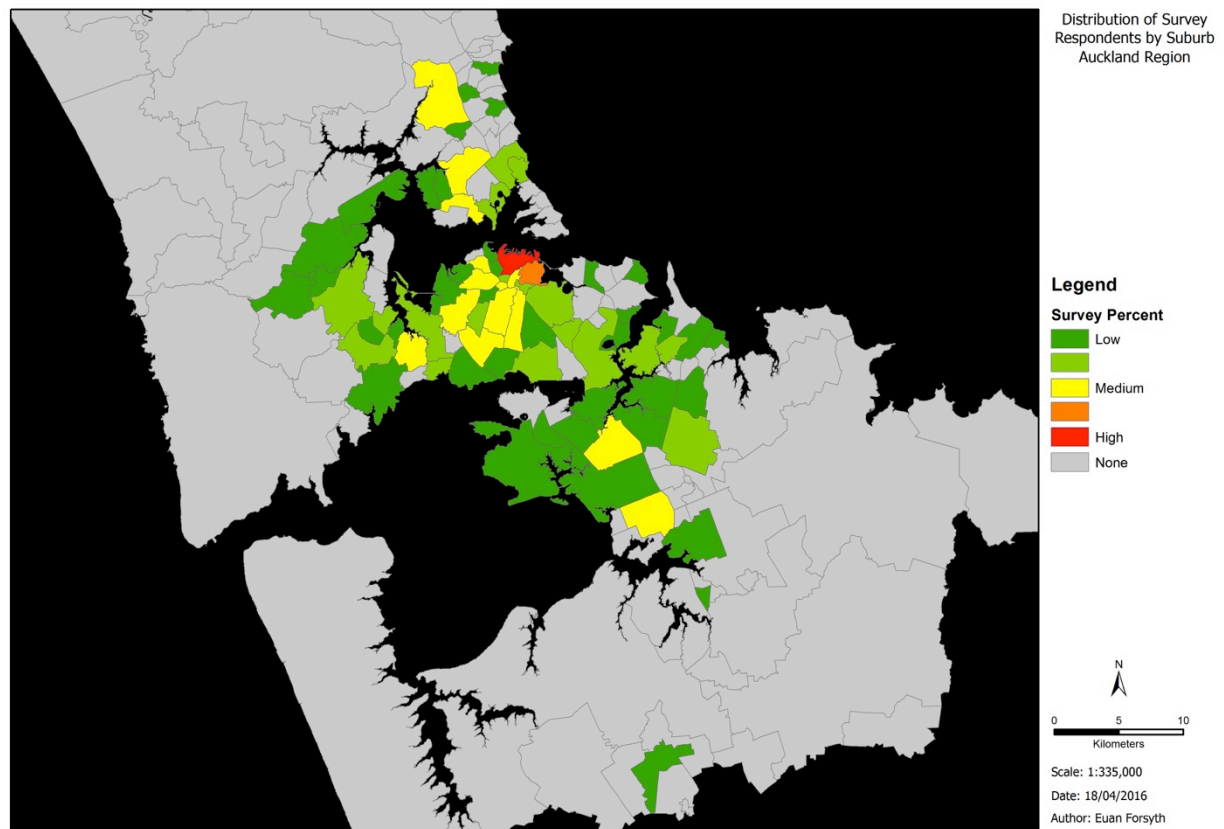
Table 3 shows the geographical distribution of temporary migrants across Auckland by area of residence.¹ Out of the total sample 690 respondents provided an answer to the question about ‘district’ of residence and 657 provided an answer to ‘suburb’ of residence. The largest number of respondents live in the old boundaries of Auckland City (71.4%), with small numbers of respondents indicating they lived in North Shore (9.1%), Manukau City (9.1%) and Waitakere City (6.4%); 3.3% of respondents ($n=23$) indicated they lived ‘outside Auckland’, $n=2$ respondents lived in Papakura and $n=2$ respondents lived in Franklin. In short, the residential geography of temporary migrants in Auckland is highly concentrated in the old areas of Auckland City. This pattern of concentration was further reflected in terms of suburb, with Auckland CBD accounting for 36.2% of respondents followed by Parnell (6.2%), Mt Eden (2.9%), Mt Roskill (2.6%), Grafton (2.4%) and Papatoetoe (2.3%); all other areas had less than 2% of all respondents. Parnell, Mt Eden and Grafton all border the CBD area whereas Mt Roskill and Papatoetoe are approximately 8km and 20km away from the CBD respectively.

Table 3: Area of Residence and Visa Type

	Total	Student	Working Holiday	Work
Auckland City	71.4%	72.1%	75.7%	67.8%
(Auckland CBD)	(36.2%)	(35.7%)	(45.4%)	(30.7%)
North Shore	9.1%	9.4%	4.4%	13.1%
Manukau City	9.1%	11.4%	7.4%	2.9%
Waitakere City	6.4%	5.4%	3.7%	12.5%

There were some variations between visa types in terms of area of residence. Working holiday visas were most concentrated in both Auckland City (75.7%) and the Auckland CBD (45.4%), reflecting the predominance of dormitory and backpacker accommodation amongst this group. International students were similar to the overall averages at 72.1% in Auckland City and 35.7% in Auckland CBD; work visa holders were least concentrated at 67.8% in Auckland City and 30.7% in Auckland CBD (see also Figure 2).

¹ The areas of residence listed here include a) ‘districts’, which are the former jurisdictional areas of the Auckland region until 2010 – Auckland City, Manukau City, North Shore City, Waitakere City, Papakura, Franklin and Rodney; and 2) commonly known suburbs used for advertising rental and sale of residential property within these areas. This terminology was chosen instead of technical census areas, which although far more accurate and comparable to other data, are not widely known even by the individuals who live in them.

Figure 2: Distribution of Survey Respondents by Suburb Auckland Region

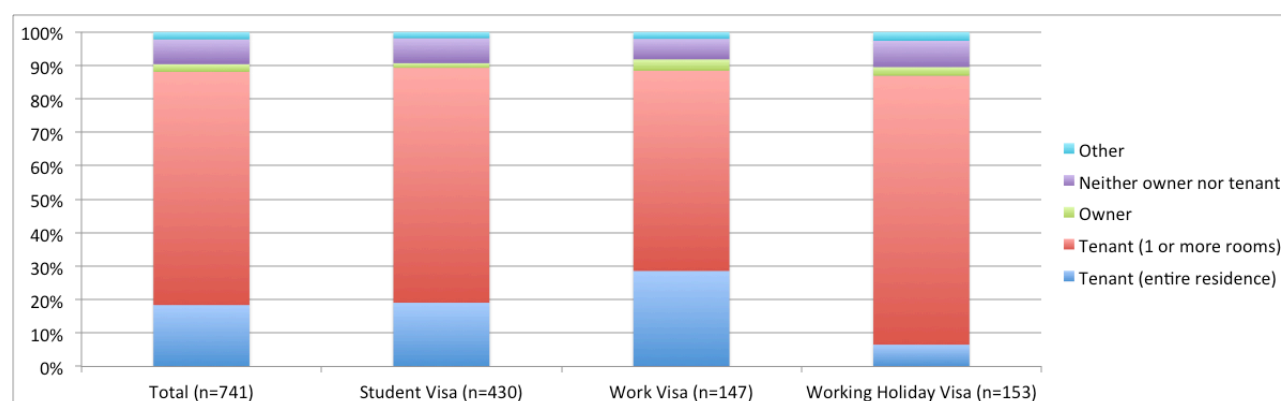
As Table 4 shows, there were marked differences between nationalities in terms of areas of residence in Auckland. Generally, respondents from Asian countries were much less concentrated in both Auckland City and the Auckland CBD; the exception was respondents from South Korea who were nearly all located in Auckland City and over half in the CBD itself. Respondents from European countries had much higher rates of concentration, as did those from the USA, Canada and South America; the small number of respondents from Middle East and Africa were slightly above the overall averages in both cases. Some of these patterns may reflect the fact that many respondents of European nationalities were working holiday visa holders in contrast to Asian nationalities who were more likely to be students or workers.

Table 4: Residence and Nationality

	India	China	Philippines	South Korea	Other Asia	France
Auckland City	58.3%	64.4%	57.6%	85.3%	68.6%	89.1%
Auckland CBD	29.3%	29.4%	26.2%	52.5%	30.4%	37.0%
	Germany	UK	Other Europe	USA and Canada	South America	Middle East and Africa
Auckland City	83.3%	100.0%	86.4%	90.9%	84.6%	73.3%
Auckland CBD	50.0%	45.8%	61.0%	84.6%	69.2%	46.2%

In terms of housing type, the largest number of respondents were living in apartments (38.4%) followed by detached housing (34.2%), dormitory or hostel (16.2%) and terraced housing or units (7.4%). This appears to reflect the general pattern of geographical concentration in the Auckland CBD. The proportions differ significantly from the overall population distribution in Auckland where 75.9% live in separate detached housing, compared to 17.6% in terraced housing, units and apartments combined. This difference is not surprising given that many temporary migrants are students or working holidaymakers but it is notable enough to highlight the fact that temporary visa holders live in quite different types and geographies of housing in Auckland.

Figure 3: Accommodation Ownership



Respondents were also asked about housing tenure. As Figure 2 suggests respondents were overwhelmingly in rental arrangements (88.1%) with 18.4% renting an entire residence and 69.8% renting one or more rooms. Renting the entire residence was more common amongst work visa holders (28.6%) and much less common amongst working holiday respondents (6.5%). Another 7.4% of the sample was ‘neither owner nor tenant’, which generally covered situations where individuals were living rent free with family or friends. Only 2.3% or a total of 17 respondents indicated that they were owner-occupiers, including 6 student visa holders, 5 work visa holders and, curiously, 4 working holiday visa holders. The low level of home ownership is not surprising in itself. However, it does challenge stereotypes circulated by some media commentators and political parties that recent migrants, which must include temporary residents especially those on work visas, are significant players in the housing market.² The findings of this survey suggest otherwise – temporary migrants are overwhelmingly tenants, most do not even live in detached housing or in the suburban areas where property price increases have been most apparent.

Rather than a parallel with the wider residential housing boom, then, the geographies of concentration in the CBD and housing type amongst respondents draws attention to other patterns of development that have occurred in Auckland in the last two decades. Over the course of the first decade of the 21st century in particular, significant apartment development took place in Auckland, largely concentrated in Auckland CBD and often targeted directly at rapidly growing numbers of international students (Collins 2010). The growth

² See for example: Bernard Hickey ‘Let’s talk migration’, *New Zealand Herald*, 2nd August 2015: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=11490587

in apartment buildings at this time occurred in a context of a significantly deregulated housing construction market where quality, size and position were not subject to much local government scrutiny. The result was a significant growth in very large apartment complexes along key arterials, most notably Hobson Street and Nelson Street but also in the vicinity of Auckland University of Technology and the University of Auckland; many were low quality and very small. The figures presented here suggest that for many workers and students CBD apartments have become a common housing type – related to proximity to study and work places but also to price relative to the suburbs surrounding the CBD which tend to be much more expensive.

These patterns were also reflected in interviews where participants on student, job search and work visas all spoke about costs of rent in particular and the pressure this created and sometimes the need to keep moving between residences:

It's also expensive. I didn't think I have to spend so much. So then I moved to another place, to Point Chevalier. It's also very nice but other friend said it's still too far from here. Actually you can find a cheaper accommodation in the city. I lived there for maybe two months and then I moved to the city. Yeah living in an apartment for maybe three or four months, half a year then moved to another apartment. I lived there for one year because we signed a one-year contract. Then last year in February I think I moved out to Hobson Street and lived in Hobson Street for several months, maybe two or three months. Moved to the new place. I moved quite a lot.

Chinese Male, Student Visa (University Postgraduate), Administrator

Other interviewees spoke about the difficulty in getting rental agreements outside of the CBD because of their temporary visa status. This was even the case for cases like the individual below who was in a well-paid and secure IT job with a major bank:

So if you go to a rental thing in Auckland you give your visa copy and all that sort of stuff. They look at the value of if they see your work visa they think you might go back, I don't want to let to them. [...] I struggled for the first four weeks. I applied but didn't get anything. They give a questionnaire. Here in Auckland they give a questionnaire and you need to fill it out. They ask what is your salary. [...] Actually I wanted to live in the suburbs, have a car, but I just came back to reality that I have to stay in the city. Now I just want to work and spend some time here.

Indian Male, Work Visa, Information Technology

These patterns of price differences, distance from the city and institutional barriers shape the geography of temporary migrants in Auckland. Migrants are more concentrated in central areas than other urban residents in Auckland, more likely to live in rented accommodation and appear to have fewer choices than the wider population when it comes to housing. In addition to shaping the lives of migrants these patterns also influence the ways that temporary migrants are contributing to changes in the lived experience of Auckland. The concentration in the CBD of significant numbers of people of temporary visas is particularly notable in terms of generating areas where long term of attachments to place are likely to be less apparent.

Household Configuration

The configuration of households was another important feature of the survey that revealed clear differences between visa categories. Overall 16.4% of respondents were living alone, including 19.2% of students, 9.5% of working holidaymakers and 16.9% of work visa holders. For all respondents the median household size was 3 persons and the modal household size was 4 persons. In the different visa groups household sizes were as follows: student median=3 and mode=4; working holidaymakers median=4 and mode=5; work median=3 and mode=2. Put another way, work visa holders tend to live in smaller household units, followed by students and then working holidaymakers. This pattern is not surprising given the number of working holidaymakers living in dormitory and other travel accommodation arrangements, and that for work visa holders many may be older and seeking out longer term arrangements with family.

Respondents who lived with other people were also asked about who they shared their accommodation with. The figures are presented in Table 5. Overall, only 34.1% of respondents were living with family (parents, spouse, children or others). Amongst work visa holders, however, over half (52.7%) of all respondents were living with family, with 38.5% living with spouse/partner. Even for students and working holidaymakers it is interesting to note that 30.4% and 20% respectively were living with family members. This suggests that neither group can be understood simply as ‘independent’ travellers or sojourners. Friendship networks also appeared to be common in household arrangements for all groups, but particularly for students (32.6%) and working holidaymakers (25.2%). For students and working holidaymakers the ‘others’ category represented the largest component of households, including flatmates who were not considered friends, homestay students or boarders.

Table 5: Shared Accommodation

	Total		Student		Working Holiday		Work	
Parents	10	1.5%	5	1.4%	2	1.3%	2	1.4%
Spouse / Partner	135	20.0%	50	14.2%	22	14.2%	57	38.5%
Children	32	4.7%	14	4.0%	2	1.3%	11	7.4%
Other Family / Relative	53	7.9%	38	10.8%	5	3.2%	8	5.4%
Friends	184	27.3%	115	32.6%	39	25.2%	30	20.3%
Co-workers	17	2.5%	5	1.4%	5	3.2%	6	4.1%
Others (Flatmate, Homestay)	243	36.1%	126	35.7%	80	51.6%	34	23.0%
Total³	674	100.0%	353	100.0%	155	100.0%	148	100.0%

Respondents were also asked about family situation (see Table 6). Overall, 70.4% of the sample did not have a spouse/partner and 91.2% did not have children; put another way, more than two-thirds of respondents were single independent migrants without their own nuclear family. Amongst those who did have family, it was interesting to note that up to one quarter of both student and working holiday respondents reported having a spouse/partner, most of whom appeared to have migrated together to New Zealand. Work visa

³ A total of 591 respondents answered this question and some chose more than one answer (in addition to the 124 who indicated they lived alone). The results shown here reflect multiple choices.

holders had a much higher rate of spousal relationships overall at 47% with the vast majority living in Auckland. In terms of children, most respondents did not have children (91.2%) and amongst working holiday respondents only one person had a single child. Children were again more common with work visa holders (18.2%), amongst whom about half were located in New Zealand and half were overseas. There was a small number of student visa holders with children (7.4%) and like work visa holders this included those with children living in Auckland as well as those who were overseas.

Table 6: Family Situation

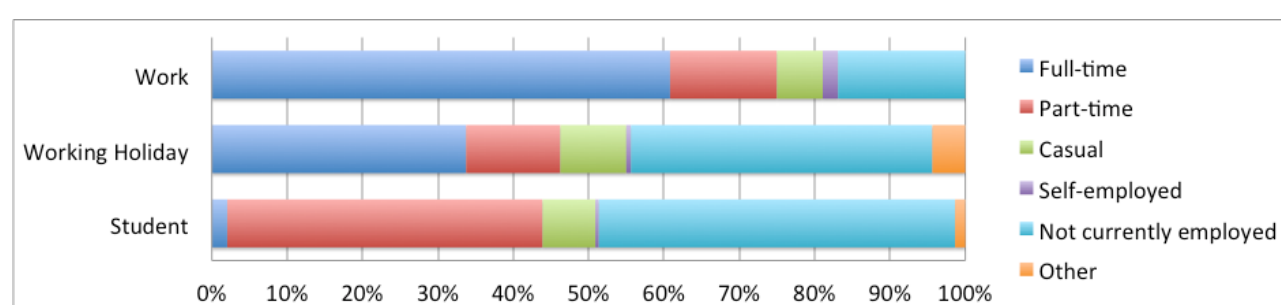
Spouse			Total	Student	Working Holiday	Work
	No		70.4%	75.0%	75.8%	53.0%
	Yes	Auckland	21.7%	16.4%	17.2%	40.3%
		Elsewhere in NZ	1.3%	1.0%	1.9%	1.3%
		Overseas	6.5%	7.6%	5.1%	5.4%
Children			Total	Student	Working Holiday	Work
	No		91.2%	92.6%	98.7%	81.9%
	Yes	Auckland	4.8%	3.7%	0.6%	10.1%
		Elsewhere in NZ	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
		Overseas	3.7%	3.5%	0.6%	8.1%
		Median	1	1	1	1

Overall, then, while spousal relationships were relatively common for many respondents, not many of the temporary migrants in this research had children. Given the age profile introduced earlier this is perhaps not surprising. Amongst those who did have children it is interesting to note that around half in both work and student groups were in a transnational family relationship where children had not migrated to Auckland. In interviews with participants who had children this narrative did emerge. Several interviewees spoke about migration as either a student or worker as a first step to bringing family to New Zealand at a later stage. In these cases the choice to travel independently first related to a desire to get established in terms of visa status – to be able to guarantee stability to family members – as well as secure employment and housing before other family members migrated. As the later sections suggest, these family matters also link into issues of work, financing and long-term aspirations through migration.

SECTION 3: EMPLOYMENT AND WORK

Employment and work form a critical component of temporary migration patterns and experiences. Indeed, even for international students there is evidence that for many the ability to work while studying is an important factor influencing where students enrol and what they seek to achieve through education (Robertson 2013). Amongst the respondent sample, employment status varied considerably according to different visa categories (see Figure 3). Amongst respondents holding work visas over 80% were in some kind of employment, with over 60% employed full time. For working holiday and students the figure employed was 55% and 51% respectively, with working holidaymakers more likely to be employed full time (34%) and students more likely to be working part time (42%). International student visa regulations stipulate a maximum of 20 hours work per week.

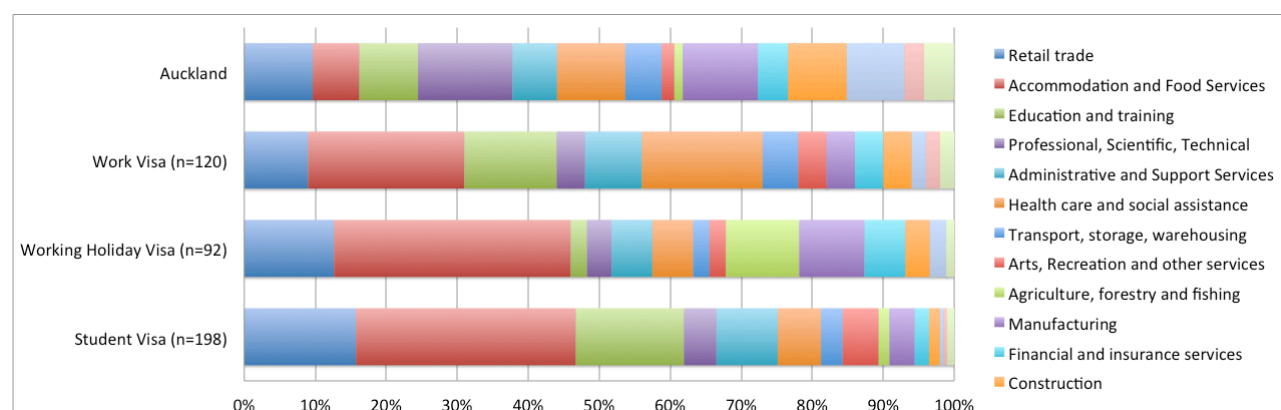
Figure 4: Employment Status and Visa Category of Respondents



Industry and Occupation

In addition to employment status, respondents were also asked about their current occupation and industry using the same formula of questions used by Statistics New Zealand for the national census. The responses to these questions revealed the ways in which working patterns amongst temporary migrants vary considerably from the Auckland working population as a whole. The coded results are presented in Figure 4 below.

Figure 5: Industry and Visa Category, total Auckland data. Source for Auckland data: Auckland Economic Profile 2015. Infometrics.



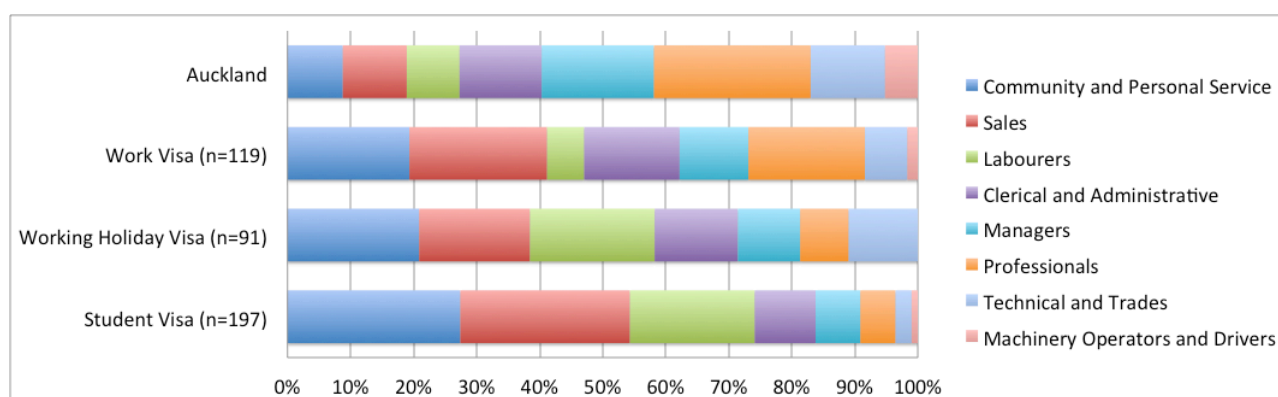
The occupations of temporary migrants presented in Figure 4 show considerable variations from the Auckland labour market. Most notably, respondents across all three visa groups had much higher rates of

employment in accommodation and food services and for work visa holders, in health care and social assistance. By contrast respondents were less likely to be employed in a range of other industries, most notably professional, scientific and technical industries, manufacturing and wholesale trade amongst others.

In terms of gender, there were differences in employment in healthcare and social assistance with women more than twice as likely to be employed in this area (11.5%) than men (5.2%); men were more likely to work in industries such as agriculture, fishing and forestry (5.2% compared to 0.5%) and manufacturing (7.2% compared to 1.9%), although in both cases overall rates were relatively low.

There were also notable differences between nationalities of temporary migrants. Respondents from the Philippines had the highest rate of employment in healthcare and social assistance (37.5%), an area that can be attributed to health care related jobs being on the skills shortage lists. Respondents who were South Korean, South American and 'other European'⁴ had the highest rates of employment in accommodation and food services (47.3%, 47.3% and 50% respectively); and respondents from India (23%) and China (25.5%) had higher levels of employment in retail trade than other groups.

Figure 6: Occupation of Main Job, Visa Category and Auckland Totals. Source for Auckland data: Auckland Economic Profile 2015, Infometrics.



The occupations of respondents also reveal differences both with the general population in Auckland and between migrant groups (see Figure 5 above). In comparison to the rest of the Auckland labour force, there were considerably higher numbers of community and personal service workers and sales workers across all three visa categories; amongst working holiday (19.8%) and student visa (19.8%) categories there was also a much higher number of labourers by comparison to work visa holders (5.9%) and the Auckland labour force (8.4%). In contrast there were much fewer managers amongst temporary migrants (8.8%) than there are in the total Auckland labour force (17.8%). There was a lower number of professionals amongst work visa holders (18.5%) compared to the total for Auckland (24.9%) and very few amongst working holidays (7.7%) or students (5.6%).

In terms of nationality, sales work was common across all nationalities; community and personal service work was more common amongst respondents from the Philippines (35.4%), France (35.0%) and 'Other Asia'⁵ (31.9%); labourer work was common amongst respondents from India (27.8%) but much less amongst

⁴ This category included all individuals with citizenship from a European nation other than the UK, Germany or France.

⁵ This category included individuals with from an Asian nation other than China, Philippines, India or South Korea.

other nationalities; the only nationality with a notable proportion of managers was the UK (26.1%). There were also important differences between genders in terms of occupation: women were more than twice as likely to be community and personal service workers and clerical and administrative workers; women also had slightly higher rates of employment as sales workers. By contrast men were about twice as likely as women to be employed as labourers, managers and technicians and trade workers.

Overall, these differences in terms of employment status, industry and occupation suggest that there is evidence of several ‘occupational niches’ for temporary migrants in Auckland. An occupational niche is a sociological term that refers to instances where migrants are disproportionately employed in particular occupations in comparison to other groups residing in the same area (Waldinger 1994). Ordinarily, occupational niches are identified where specific groups are two or more times likely to be employed in a particular occupation than comparison groups (Bean and Bell-Rose 1999). The occupational niche is an important dimension of urban incorporation that often revolves around the influence of social networks – contacts of new migrants introduce them to opportunities in similar occupational areas, and ethnic entrepreneurs of the same ethno-national backgrounds also often work in entrepreneurial niches where they are more likely to hire migrants of similar backgrounds (Liu-Farrer 2011). In a context of increasing regulation of temporary migration, as is the case in New Zealand, these niches are also likely to relate to the opportunities that migrants have for employment and livelihood (Anderson 2010; Robertson 2013). Table 7 presents information on occupational and industry niches using the index of representation calculation.⁶

Table 7: Index of Representation for Select Occupations and Industries

Occupation Niche	Index of Representation	Index of Representation Specific Visa Groups	Index of Representation Specific Nationalities
Community and Personal Service	2.68	Student = 3.11	Philippines = 4.02 Other Asia = 3.63
Sales	2.33	Student = 2.18 Work = 2.48	China = 3.82 India = 3.06
Labourers	1.87	Student = 2.36 Working Holiday = 2.36	India = 3.31
Industry Niche			
Accommodation and Food Service	4.47	Student = 5.05 Working Holiday = 5.16	South Korea = 8.2 China = 4.56 India = 4.10
Health Care	0.93	Work = 1.60	Philippines = 4.30

The survey data suggests that there are five occupational and industry niches emerging around temporary migration that relate to different visa categories and nationalities. The occupational and industry categories used here are too broad to draw significant conclusions about these niches but the table suggests that a) there are areas where temporary migrants are generally overrepresented in the labour force; b) participation in these areas vary by visa type, with students and working holidaymakers, for example, being particularly predominant in accommodation and food service; and lastly, c) there are particular nationalities that have a

⁶ The index of representation was calculated based on a simplified variation of the method outlined by Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996. The index is calculated as follows: $(n_1/t_2)/(n_3/t_4)$. The numerator represents the percentage of persons employed in a particular occupation from a particular group; the denominator represents the percentage of all persons in the labour force in that same occupation. A figure index of representation above 1 indicates a group is more heavily presented in that area; for this table only occupations with an index of more than 2 are included.

strong tendency towards particular industries – notably respondents from the Philippines in health care and respondents from South Korea, China and India in accommodation and food service. In the case of respondents from the Philippines this pattern is likely to reflect migrant visa pathways, particularly in relation to study and work in nursing and care work. In the case of respondents from South Korea, China and India the pattern is likely to be connected to entrepreneurial niches held by permanent residents and citizens of same ethno-national backgrounds.

Wages and Hours Worked

In the survey respondents were asked questions about wages and hours worked. Respondents reported how many hours they worked in the week prior to the survey and what their ‘take home pay’ after tax and ACC deductions was. Although the latter question has limitations in terms of comparing respondents’ wages directly to the general population in Auckland, it was decided upon because this information was more likely to be available across the variations in employment status in the sample: salaried employees, those earning hourly wages in full-time, part-time and casual work and those with multiple jobs. Hourly rates of pay were calculated by dividing ‘take home pay’ by the number of hours worked. Another limitation for calculating wages related to the reduced response rate. While a total of 411 respondents provided information on the number of hours worked (out of a total of 446 employed respondents), only 333 provided information on their take home pay. This lower response for this question likely relates to respondent caution about providing information about personal finances. Table 8 presents information on hourly rates of pay and hours worked.

Table 8: Hours Worked and Hourly Rates for all Respondents

Hourly Rate	No.	%	Hours Worked	No.	%
<\$10.00	22	6.6	0	17	4.1
\$10.00-12.49	49	14.7	1-9	26	6.3
\$12.50-14.99	93	27.9	10-14	28	6.8
\$15.00-17.49	49	14.7	15-19	42	10.2
\$17.50-19.99	30	9.0	20	102	24.8
\$20.00-22.49	34	10.2	21-29	16	3.9
\$22.50-24.99	11	3.3	30-39	40	9.7
\$25.00 and over	45	13.5	40	91	22.1
			41-49	34	8.3
			50-80	15	3.6
Total	333	100%	Total	411	100%

As table 8 demonstrates, there is substantial variation in both the number of hours worked and the hourly rate of respondents. In terms of hours worked there were clear differences between visa types. Respondents on student visas generally reported working 20 hours or less (91%), with the modal response being 20 hours per week (44% of respondents), the legal maximum stipulated in student visa conditions. This also suggests, however, that a notably minority of student visa holders work in excess of visa regulations (9%). Working holiday visa holders, were more likely to work longer hours with 85% working more than 20 hours, the

modal response was 40 hours per week (36%). For work visa holders, 85% also worked more than 20 hours per week and the modal response was also 40 hours per week (42%).

The hourly rates of pay presented in Table 8 clearly vary considerably across the sample of respondents. Of most concern in this table is the fact that 21.3% of respondents reported earning less than \$12.49 per hour in the week prior to the survey with 22 respondents (6.6%) earning less than \$10.00 per hour. Even considering that this question measured ‘take home pay’ after tax deductions these figures suggest that one fifth of respondents in this survey are earning below the pre-deduction minimum wage of \$14.75 at the time of the research. It is possible that the low hourly wage reflects unpaid work but this is nonetheless still problematic. When visa status was accounted for the group earning less than the minimum wage included 29 student visa holders (17.6%), 30 working holiday visa holders (43.4%) and 12 work visa holders (12.7%). In terms of occupation, those earning below minimum wage were primarily sales workers (22.4% earning in this category), community and personal service workers (24.2%), and labourers (29.8%). When the focus was placed on industry, as many as 43.8% of respondents in accommodation and hospitality were earning below minimum wage; no other industry areas had notable numbers in this category.

Wages also varied in terms of a range of other respondent variables: visa type, nationality, occupation and industry (see Table 9 below). Most of the differences presented here were expected: wages varied by visa type with work visa holders having the highest median wage (\$16.49); there were also expected differences in occupation and industry, which largely aligned with skill levels and wider wage differences across industries. Of more note, was the differences in nationality and median wages, which ranged from \$18.67 for Chinese respondents through to \$12.50 for South Korean respondents. Some of these nationality differences relate to the specific places where migrants work, with Indians and South Koreans having high proportions of workers in lower paying industries such as the retail trade and accommodation and food services. However, it should be noted that Chinese respondents (53.7%) had similar proportions employed in both retail trade and accommodation as Indian respondents (49.0%). This seems to suggest that nationality and its connections to variations in ethnic economies may play an important role in wage differences between migrant groups.

Visa		Nationality		Occupation		Industry	
Work	\$16.46	China	\$18.67	Clerical and Admin.	\$22.36	Information Media / Telecommunications	\$29.91
Student	\$14.00	UK	\$17.62	Community and Personal Service	\$18.13	Public Admin and Safety	\$22.50
Working Holiday	\$12.86	Other Europe	\$16.87	Labourers	\$16.62	Education and Training	\$20.00
		Philippines	\$15.00	Machinery Operators	\$16.24	Wholesale Trade	\$19.93
		France	\$15.00	Managers	\$14.83	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	\$19.50
		Other Asia	\$13.89	Professionals	\$14.58	Financial and Insurance Services	\$19.38
		South America	\$13.57	Sales	\$14.00	Construction	\$18.66
		India	\$13.50	Technical / Trades	\$13.00	Transport, Postal and Warehousing	\$17.50
		South Korea	\$12.50			Health Care and Social Assistance	\$17.08
						Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services	\$16.00
						Manufacturing	\$14.58
						Retail Trade	\$14.29
						Other Services	\$13.30
						Accommodation and Hospitality	\$13.10
						Administrative and Support Services	\$13.05
						Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	\$12.50

Table 9: Median Wage and Visa, Nationality, Occupation and Industry

Lastly, there were connections between wages and two other variables: the time that respondents had worked for their current employer and the mode of job seeking. Table 10 shows these results. Two issues are worth noting here. Firstly, wages tend to increase over time. Respondents who had worked for employers for longer periods had a higher median wage than those who had worked shorter periods. In part this is related to the conditions of working holiday visas; in most cases working holiday visa holders can only work for employers for particular periods of time (3 or 6 months) or are limited in their overall length of stay in New Zealand. Amongst working holiday respondents 79.8% had worked less than six months for their current employer. A much lower proportion but still a majority of international students had also worked for their employer for less than six months (57.2%); this is likely to reflect the short-term nature of the jobs they were taking and the likelihood of switching jobs as study situations change. In contrast, nearly two thirds of work visa holders had worked for their current employer for more than six months (65.6%) and 40% had been working for more than one year with their current employer. Despite these visa differences, the pattern suggests that

there is a wage gain that occurs as individuals work longer for employers. Visa restrictions in the form of time limits for working holiday visas and the cyclical character of student employment may be important factors in shaping wage differences between groups.

Table 10: Employment Duration and Job Seeking Mode

Time with Employer		Mode of Job Seeking	
0-6 months	\$13.48	Recruitment/Employment Agency	\$17.50
6-12 months	\$15.37	Advertisements in English language media	\$15.60
12-18 months	\$14.44	Asked Employer	\$15.00
18-24 months	\$16.25	Advertisements in non-English language media	\$13.41
2-3 years	\$16.52	Friends	\$13.36
Over 3 years	\$17.25	Family	\$13.30

There were also important connections between the mode of job seeking and the median wages that were reported. The gradient, from a \$17.50 median wage for recruitment agencies to median wages of \$13.36 and \$13.30 respectively for jobs found through friends and family, suggests that informal social networks may draw temporary migrants into lower paid jobs. In reverse it could be argued that the more formal the mode of job seeking, through agencies, English language advertisements or direct approaches, the higher the wage premium. Where respondents sought jobs through personal contacts or within language specific communities the wages were substantially lower.

Overall then, these differences in wages from respondents in the survey point to the presence of temporary migrants in different parts of the labour market. For some respondents, particularly work visa holders, those from Britain and China and those in more high skilled positions these median wages are approaching or surpassing the national pre-deduction median wage of \$22.83 (which would be approximately \$18.90 after deductions). For many other respondents, however, there is evidence here of very low rates of pay including a substantial number of respondents earning below minimum wage or working without pay for part of their employment. This low wage economy is associated with some of the occupational niches that were identified in the previous section – especially amongst labourers and sales workers and in the accommodation and food service industry. These low wages would also appear to be connected to the length of time that respondents spend with employers and the approach they take to job seeking.

Special Focus: International Students in the Labour Market

Your time in New Zealand on a student visa must be mainly for study. You may be allowed to work part-time but there are rules you need to know.

NZ Study and Work Website, <http://nzstudywork.immigration.govt.nz/>

One of the salient issues that emerged in this research is the extent to which international students are involved in the labour market. In 1999 the National-led government granted international students studying full-time at tertiary institutions the right to work; in 2005 under the Labour-led government these rights were expanded to a wider range of student visa holders and the hours of work were extended to 20 hours during semester time and full time in scheduled study breaks. This approach has been consistently framed as part of the government's focus on increasing the size of the export education sector in New Zealand.⁷ At the same time, the government has made it consistently clear that student visas are “mainly for study”, even as they seek to compete with Australian institutions. Over the last year the role of international students in the labour force has come under increasing media scrutiny, particularly as cases of students being exploited have come to light.⁸

Out of the 457 student respondents to this survey, 51.4% were in employment. This included 41.9% in part time employment, 7.0% in casual employment, 2.0% in full time employment and two respondents (0.5%) reported being self-employed. Rates of employment varied in two major ways. Firstly, there were clear differences between nationalities. Students from India and the Philippines had much higher rates of labour force participation than all other groups – 69.5% and 61.0% respectively. By contrast, other nationality groups tended to have employment rates lower than the overall average for student visa respondents (e.g. 38.7% of Chinese students were employed; 32.2% of South Korean students were employed). Secondly, there were differences in terms of level of qualification. Those students enrolled in diploma courses had a particularly high level of employment with 69.2% of all respondents undertaking these qualifications being employed. By contrast, respondents undertaking all other qualification types had employment rates of less than 45%.

Individual students who participated in the interviews also spoke about employment and its importance as part of daily survival. A particularly evocative example came from the individual below from the Philippines who was undertaking a health related diploma course. This woman who is a solo parent, has left her daughter in the Philippines while she tries to advance opportunities in New Zealand. She spoke about the multiple pressures she has in terms of employment: paying rent, sending money back to her family who are caring for her daughter, and preparing for the next visa application.

Right now I am working as a caregiver in health care as well, so that is where I get my income to sustain my needs here, my rent, my bills, my food. [...] When I was starting as a

⁷ See for example: <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/work-website-international-students-launched>

⁸ See for example: Mava Moayyed 'Left without a choice: How international students are exploited in New Zealand', *The Wireless*, 27th January 2016: <http://thewireless.co.nz/articles/left-without-a-choice-how-international-students-are-exploited-in-new-zealand>

caregiver I was thinking oh my God, why am I here, why am I doing this job? It's really difficult, like it is different job from what I did [previously as a nurse]. But I have no choice. If I don't do caregiving where will I get my income, how can I survive, so I have to work and there is no other [option]. [Recently] I was anxious like oh my God, maybe I won't have a job for three weeks, what will happen, how can I survive? So it is a bit of anxious but of course if you really have the courage and I have the courage, so I want to stay, I want to work hard so I can send money, I can live here, so I really worked hard for it.

Philippines Woman, Student Visa (Diploma Private Training Establishment), Care Worker

This account was indicative for a smaller proportion of survey respondents and interview participants for whom work was a necessity rather than an avenue to gaining experience. In these circumstances there are fewer choices about the type of work and its relevance to either skill or experience – students who need to work tend to take whatever jobs are available. In the case of students like the individual above, employment has involved deskilling but by her own account it was adequately paid, although she noted the anxiety generated by her flexible work contract and the possibility of not having work for several weeks at a time. In contrast, some other participants spoke of taking jobs that no others would take.

Most of the jobs look at our visa expiration date and they just say oh your visa will expire. I say yeah and then we can renew it, there is an option called renew. But they don't understand that way. They just reject us.

Indian Woman, Student (Postgraduate University), Waitress

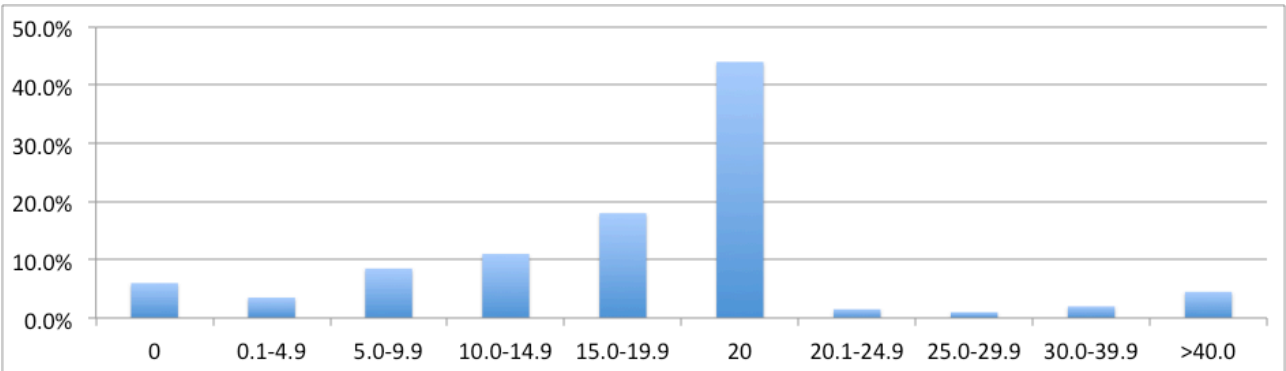
Well the restaurant is relatively small. In the kitchen there is the business owner and his wife and they want one person at the front doing all the serving and doing services. And there is... why would anyone who has PR want to work in that environment? [...] If you have PR you have permanent residence, you are not in an unstable state where you have to worry about other things like if I had PR like I would go look for a job [...] that has some sort of future or growth potential. You just serve food in a restaurant. What does that lead to anything?

Korean Man, Student (Undergraduate University), Waiter

As these accounts suggest, jobs are taken because they are the only options for students. Many, including these individuals spoke about employers with more rewarding or better paid jobs not being willing to offer them to people on student visas. Often this related to the stipulation that student visa holders only work 20 hours a week, for other employers it was just the complexity of the visa situation that made them cautious. The employers that do regularly hire students, then, are willing to deal with this inconvenience but there was evidence that pay rates in these positions were minimum wage at best, or included expectations of unpaid trial periods, extended working hours or other obligations.

Data on working hours amongst student visa holders seemed to bear this out. As Figure 6 suggests a very large number (44%) of student visa holders reported working exactly 20 hours per week. This suggests that either respondents provided information that aligned with the legal requirements of their visa or that a large number of employers have adapted to these visa conditions and offered working hours that match accordingly. In either case the policy around student visas is clearly shaping the labour market relations that students encounter. In addition it is worth noting that a smaller number of respondents reported working more than this (9%), including in some instances in excess of 40 hours per week.

Figure 7: Student Working Hours



International students have clearly become an important part of the labour force in Auckland, with some student nationalities and types presenting very high overall employment rates. As the previous section has indicated the results of this survey also suggest that students have a particularly significant presence in accommodation and food service, an industry that is well known to have a high turnover and to operate through significant flexibilisation of the workforce. International students would seem to suit these conditions and for some employers may well provide workers who have few other options in terms of jobs and yet need income in order to support themselves presently in Auckland as well as keep options for future settlement open.

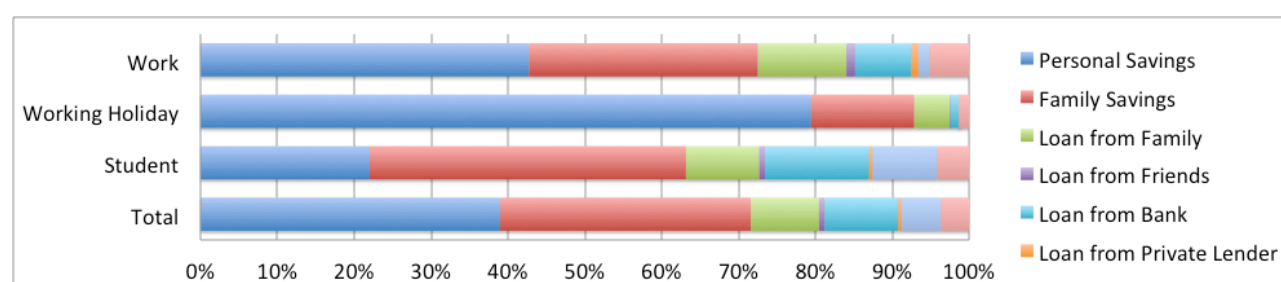
SECTION 4: FINANCING AND DEBT

An important issue in examining the processes of migration and the situation of migrants in Auckland and New Zealand is the role of financing and debt in moving from one place to another. In New Zealand most research on recent patterns of migration has paid relatively little attention to these issues (although remittances have been recognised as an important dynamic of Pacific flows – see: Marsters et al. 2006), partly because the presumption has been that most recent migrants are relatively middle class (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). The opening up of migration pathways and the interconnections established between different work visas, student visas and potential permanent residence, however, has meant that in terms of socio-economic status there is a much wider range of migrants now present in Auckland. In order to address this, respondents to the survey were asked about how they financed their migration and whether and how much debt was generated in migration.

Migration Financing

The survey asked respondents to provide percentage figures for financing of migration. As Figure 7 below demonstrates there was considerable variation in financing of migration amongst respondents. Across the sample, the majority of respondents financed their migration through either personal or family savings (71.6%) with much smaller proportions of respondents loaning money from either family (8.9%) or financial institutions (10%) in order to migrate. Amongst students (8.4%) and some work visa holders (1.4%), scholarships also provided the basis for finance (in the latter case because they had initially migrated as students). The differences between visa types were largely expected. Working holiday visa holders were more likely to use personal savings (79.5%), whereas student visa holders relied more on family (41.2%) and to a lesser degree personal (22.0%) savings; the patterns for work visa holders largely matched the overall sample proportions. One notable feature that emerged was the differences in the use of loaned money to finance migration. Student visa holders were most likely to loan money from a bank or private lender (14.0%), almost twice the rate of work visa holders (8.2%); working holiday visa holders had a negligible rate of loaning from financial institutions (1.1%). Similarly a notable proportion of financing for both student (10.3%) and work visa holders (12.7%) was drawn loans provided by family and friends.

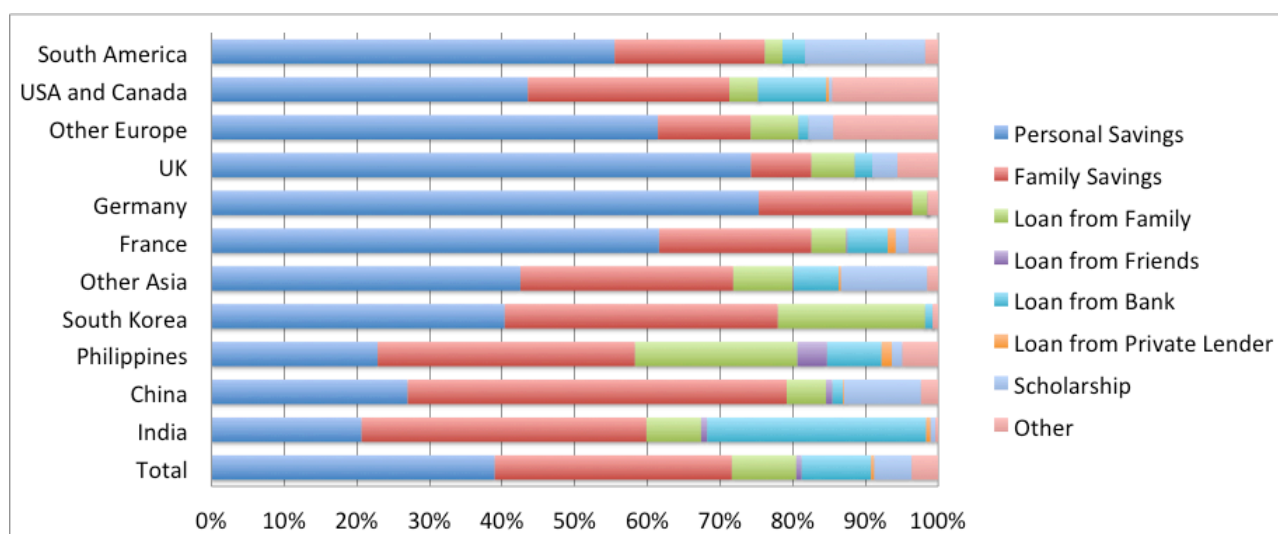
Figure 8: Migration Financing and Visa Type



Gender was also explored in terms of financing but there were no apparent differences; loans were more common amongst male respondents (11.8% compared to 7.5% for women) but this is likely to be accounted for by a larger 'other' response by female respondents (5.5% compared to 1.7% for men) that may include other forms of borrowing.

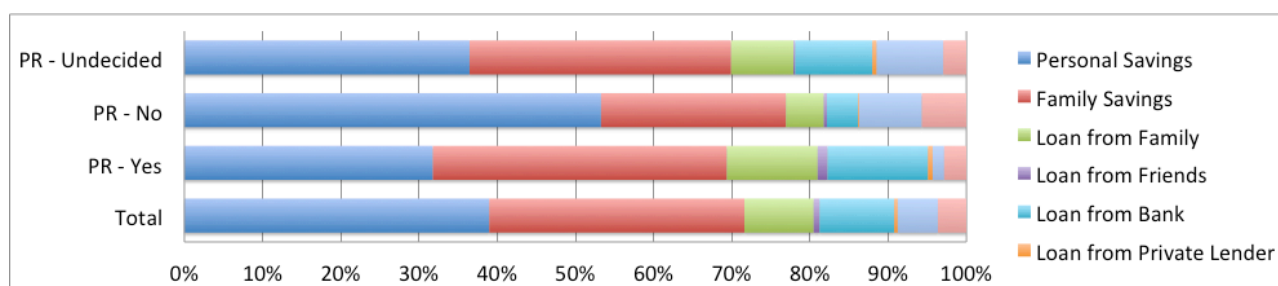
There are two other variables where these differences in financing were apparent. Firstly, when nationality was explored considerable differences in modes and proportions of financing emerged with a particularly unique situation around respondents from the Philippines, South Korea and India. As Figure 8 demonstrates there are broad alignments between visa type and nationality in terms of financing: for individuals from nationalities where many migrants are working holiday makers (especially European and American groups), personal savings were by far the predominant form of financing, followed by much smaller amounts of family savings. In the case of USA and Canada there was a notable proportion of loans from banks (9.4%), although this remains below the average for all respondents, and for South American respondents, scholarships were more common (16.6%). In contrast, in respondent groups where student and work visas predominate, especially Asian nationalities, family savings were more common than personal savings.

Figure 9: Migration Financing and Nationality



In addition, as Figure 8 highlights, respondents from the Philippines, South Korea and India were much more likely than other nationalities to have loaned money in order to migrate. For respondents from the Philippines this came first in the form of loans from family (22.4%), friends (4.1%) and then banks or private lenders (8.9%); for South Korean respondents there was also a high proportion of loans from family (20.3%) but very little loaning from financial institutions (1.0%). Respondents from India stood out from all others as having both the highest level of loaning as part of finance, with 39.1% of migration financed through loans, and a proportion of loans from financial institutions of 30.8% that was three times the average for all respondents and more than three times the next highest nationality (Philippines at 8.9%).

Figure 10: Migration Financing and Residency Intentions

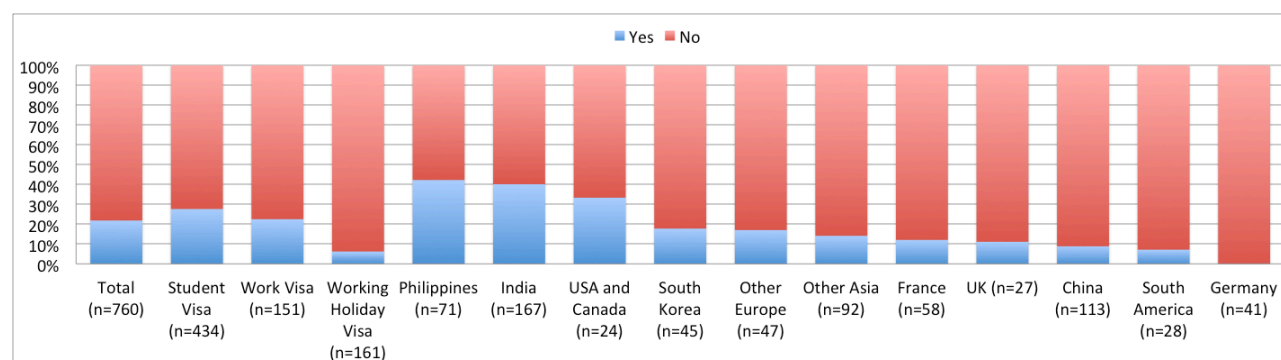


A third way to look at these variations in financing relates to the intentions of respondents. As Figure 9 above shows those respondents who have intentions to apply for New Zealand permanent residence (PR) have nearly three times the proportion of loans as part of financing than individuals who do not intend to apply for PR (26.3% compared to 9.3%). Individuals who remain undecided about applying for PR sit somewhere in the middle of these two groups with loans as part of financing just below the proportion of the total sample (18.6% compared to 19.6%).

Debt

Unsurprisingly, these patterns around financing also emerged in terms of debt and debt level differences between groups of respondents. Respondents were asked two questions in relation to debt – whether they were in debt as a result of migration and for those that responded positively, what level of debt they were in. Figure 10 below shows the results for debt as a result of migration in terms of visa type and nationality. As this chart demonstrates, student visa holders (27.6%) and work visa holders (22.5%) are at least three times more likely to be in debt than working holiday visa holders (6.6%). In terms of nationality respondents from the Philippines (42.3%) and India (40.1%) were around twice as likely to have debt than other respondents. When these nationality groups were broken down into visa groups two different patterns emerged. Amongst Indian respondents both students (41.1%) and work visa holders (38.1%) had similar rates of debt. For respondents from the Philippines there was a different distribution – work visa holders (56.0%) had much higher rates of debt than student visa holders (31.7%). USA and Canada respondents also had a higher than usual rate of debt (33.3%) although the sample size in this instance is too small to make any inferences ($n=24$).

Figure 11: Debt as a Result of Migration

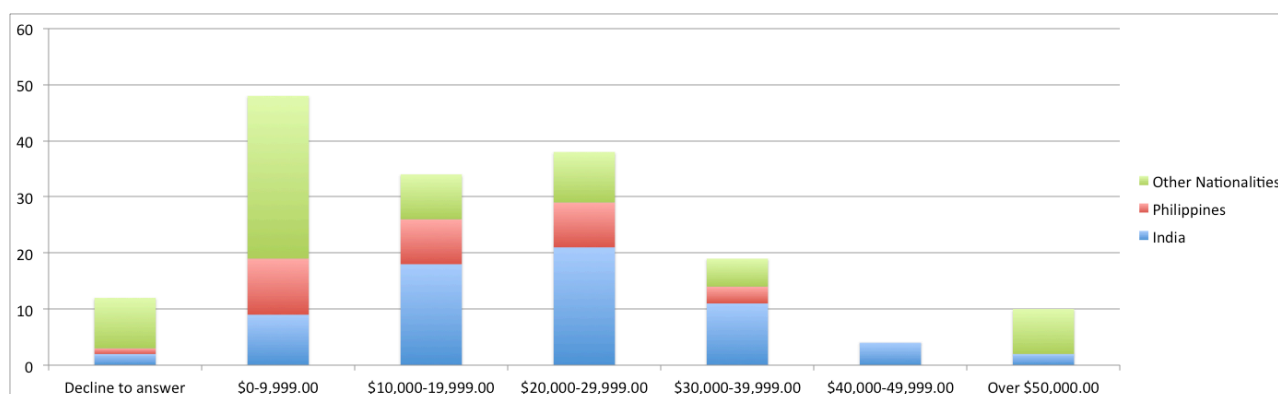


The patterns for debt in relation to PR intentions were similar to those identified around financing: 39.3% of those intending to apply for PR are in debt compared to 12.1% of those not intending to apply for PR; 21.3% of those who remain undecided about their intentions were in debt. As will be noted in later sections, the two nationality groups with above average levels of debt as a result of migration (India and Philippines) were also much more likely than other nationalities to be intending to apply for PR.

Together, then, respondents from India and the Philippines represented 97 of the 167 respondents who identified as being in debt as a result of migration. Figure 11 below shows levels of debt in terms of these two

nationalities and all other nationalities combined. What is notable here is that at the moderate to higher debt levels the proportion of these two nationalities is greater: \$0-9,999 Indian and Filipino respondents represented 39.6%; \$10-19,999 it is 76.5%; \$20-29,999 it is 76.3%; \$30-39,999 it is 73.7%. Amongst the small number of respondents who indicated a debt of \$50,000 or more ($n=10$) there were seven different nationalities represented. These findings suggest that the bulk of debt associated with migration exists amongst these two nationalities – generally amongst Indian temporary migrants and particularly amongst work visa holders for those from the Philippines.

Figure 12: Debt and Nationality



Debt plays an important role in shaping migration. Interviewees spoke about how the need to take on debt influenced both the process of coming to Auckland and New Zealand as well as how they lived their lives here. Perhaps most notable was the idea that debts induced through migration needed to be paid back through migration as well – debt was conceived as an investment in a particular future. The respondent below, who is from India and on a student visa, described how debt shaped her ‘choices’ in migration:

I did get three offers from the universities in the UK but [...] they don't allow you to stay back once you've done with your course. [...] New Zealand was one of the options which was cheaper in a sense that the MBA here is quite cheap as compared to US or in Australia. They allow you stay back for a year once you've done with your studies and they allow you to go for the open work visa and if you happen to grab a nice job they can further extend it as well. So I thought if I'm going to spend all my savings in my studies at least I have to earn back the money so that's why I picked up New Zealand. [...] I didn't want to take a loan, I will be under this loan and I have to probably spend next 10 years paying back that loan.

Indian Woman, Student Visa (Diploma at Private Training Establishment), Administrator

The capacity to pay back a loan following migration through the job search visa and the work that might be gained after study are important determinates of the ‘choices’ that migrants make. In this case, the choice was made between universities in the UK and the eventual decision to study in a private training establishment in Auckland. As this interviewee went on to describe studying at this particular college also related to the ability to work and pay back debt while studying; here she was able to enrol in a course where classes were only held on weekends so that she could work during the week.

[Private College A]⁹ was a college which was offering weekend classes, Saturday/Sunday classes which means you have the entire week to yourself [to work] so that's why I thought okay it's probably good idea to pick [Private College A] rather than looking for any other option.

Indian Woman, Student Visa (Diploma at Private Training Establishment), Administrator

For other interviewees, debt also shaped the kinds of jobs that were taken. Many interviewees with debt were seeking to make repayments while on a student or work visa in Auckland or at the very least were trying to reduce any further debts by supporting themselves through work. This meant that rather than taking a job related to their skills or experiences, or even a job that is paid appropriately, participants would accept employment to make money to address immediate financial pressures. The connection between these pressures for employment can also have implications for the long term plans of students. By not taking a job related to what they have studied it may become more difficult to apply to accumulate the 'New Zealand experience' that is often expected by employers, which then influences prospects permanent residency.

Overall, these findings around financing and debt point to the emergence of patterns of 'debt-financed migration' for a sizable minority of temporary migrants in Auckland. Debt-financed migration is where migrants who cannot self-finance take on debt to pay for travel costs, visa processing fees, agent or broker fees or other costs associated with migration (Datta 2009). The debts associated with such migration are ordinarily viewed as an investment in potential future gains (Davidson 2013). Because such gains can never be guaranteed, however, debt-financed migration generates significant vulnerability for migrants because of the potential costs associated with not succeeding in migration.

Ordinarily, debt-financed migration is associated with irregular migration patterns where stricter border controls induce migrants to shift from unauthorised movement to migration that is tied to labour or debt contracts (Davidson 2013). The situation in Auckland appears to have some important differences to this orthodox pattern. Most notably, there appears to be a close connection between future plans and debt financing. So, in contrast to orthodox debt-financed migration where debts are used to enable employment that will lead to immediate reductions in debt and then anticipated returns, in the Auckland context debt financing appears to be related to enabling migrants to complete studies that will lead to later work, or to reach an end point of permanent residence where longer term gains might be possible. Debt then intersects with migration controls and the intentions of migrants to shape migrant mobilities and lives in ways that are projected into the future but are also characterised by considerable vulnerability in the present.

⁹ The name of this relatively large and well-established private training establishment has been anonymised so that the confidentiality of participants can be maintained.

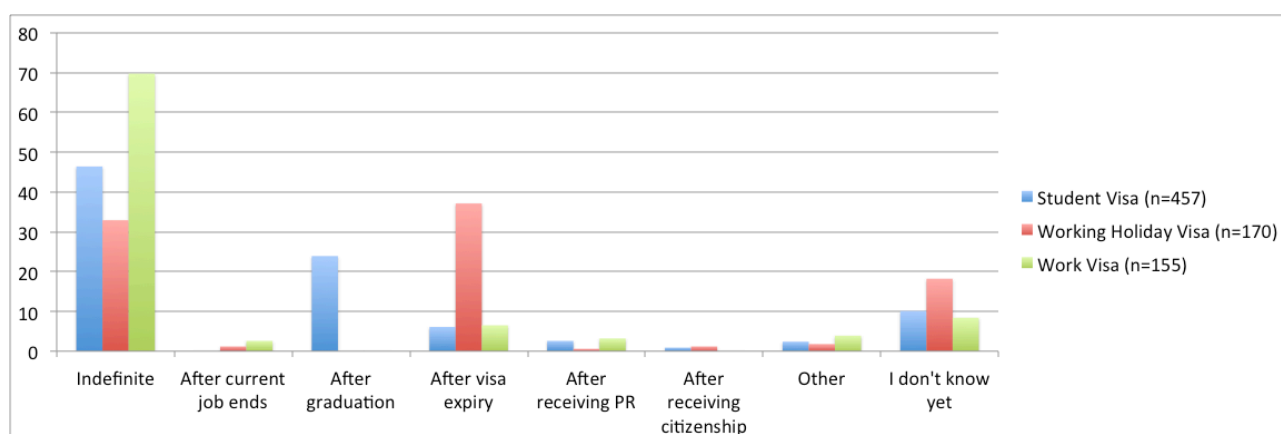
SECTION 5: INTENTIONS AND ASPIRATIONS

One of the key dimensions of current approaches to migration in New Zealand is the emphasis on pathways for migrants and transitions between visas (Bedford, Ho and Bedford 2010). This means that many individuals and families who are eventually granted permanent residence, and in the longer run New Zealand citizenship, first stay in New Zealand on a temporary visa. In 2014/15, for example, 86% of permanent residence approvals in the Skilled/Business category were approved onshore, meaning that these applicants had held a temporary visa of some kind before application (MBIE 2015). In some cases these temporary visas may be visitor or other short-term visas but in many cases they will also include former international students and work visa holders. This means that present temporary migrants are also potential future permanent residents. This section explores the intentions of respondents in terms of permanent residence and future migration as well as their wider aspirations for themselves.

Intentions for Permanent Residence

Survey respondents were asked several questions related to their intentions to remain in New Zealand or migrate elsewhere. Across the sample, just over half of all respondents indicated that they intended or desired to remain living in New Zealand in the long term. This figure varied considerably across visa categories with work visa holders most likely to want to remain indefinitely (74.0%), whereas student (49.4%) and working holiday (35.0%) visa holders were less likely to intend to remain in New Zealand. Discussions with interviewees after the survey was completed suggested that these proportions may be overestimations, particularly for working holiday visa holders – the term ‘indefinite’ may have been misinterpreted as indeterminate or unknown by some respondents. As Figure 12 suggests, for those who do not intend to remain long term, visa type has a large influence on the timing of respondents’ departure from New Zealand. Students were most likely to depart after graduation (51.9%) whereas for working holidays visa expiry marked the key point for departure (61.8%).

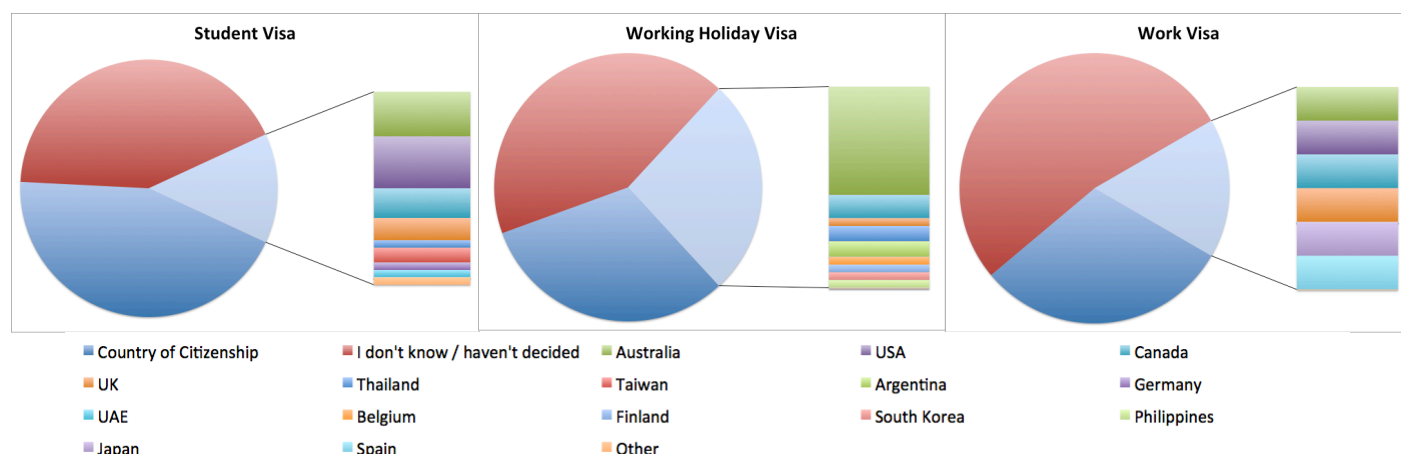
Figure 13: Intentions and Visa Type



Respondents who indicated they did not intend to remain long term in New Zealand were also asked how many years they intended to remain in New Zealand and what their plans were after migration. For student visa holders the mean number of years before departure was 3.38, for working holiday visa holders it was

1.29 and for work visa holders it was 3.66. These figures appear to align with general expectations about the length of time individuals spend on different visas. Amongst the respondents who indicated that they would leave New Zealand in the future their plans for migration were characterised by considerably indeterminacy. Figure 13 illustrates that around half of all respondents across each visa category indicated that they were uncertain about where they would go after they left New Zealand.

Figure 14: Migration Destination and Visa Type



Amongst students 43.2% indicated they would return to their home country with 15.1% indicating a range of possible destinations, most notably Australia ($n=6$), USA ($n=7$) and Canada ($n=4$). For working holiday visas the rate of return to country of origin was unsurprisingly much lower at 31.3% with Australia being a particularly strong destination choice ($n=14$) followed by Canada ($n=3$) and a selection of other countries. Amongst work visa holders return to country of origin was 30.6% with no other destination being identified by more than one respondent. The indeterminacy of these plans suggests that many migrants who are not remaining in New Zealand develop their migration trajectories in an on-going fashion, without a fully formulated perspective on where they are heading or what they will achieve through migration.

Respondents were also asked to indicate their intentions to apply for permanent residence. These figures probably provide a better indication of long-term plans in New Zealand than those presented earlier in Figure 11. Amongst all respondents, 44.2% indicated that they intended to apply for residence with another 25.9% indicating that they remained uncertain. This varied considerably across visa categories (see Figure 14) and nationalities (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Intentions and Visa Categories

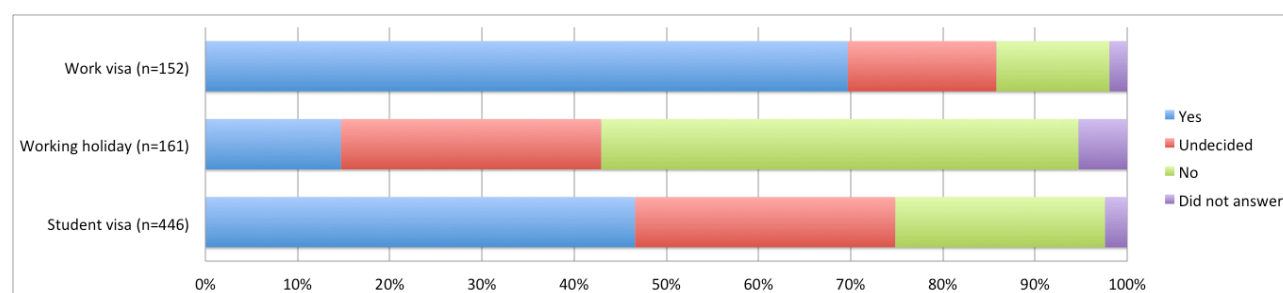
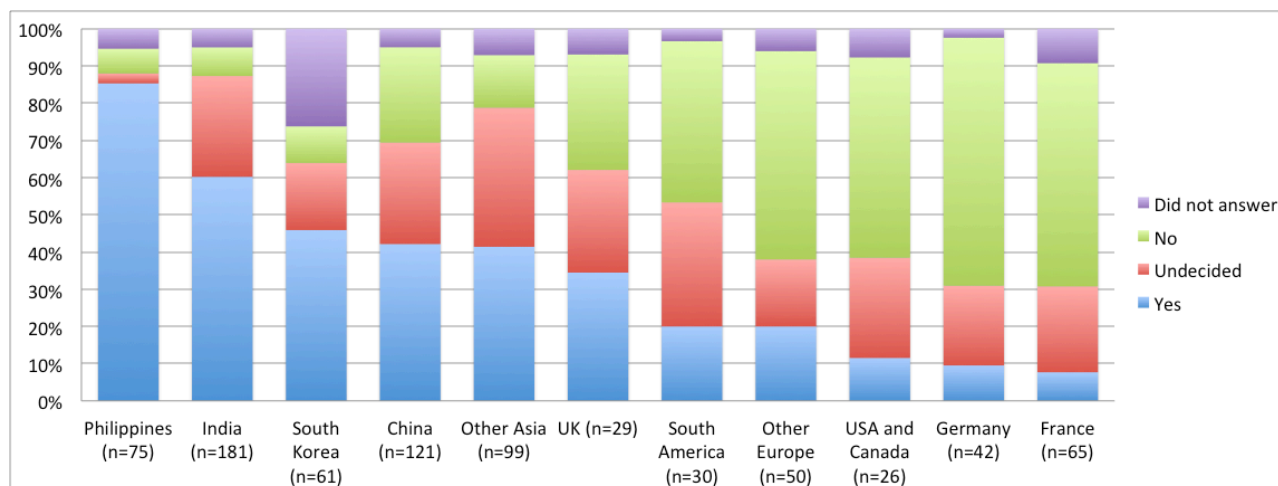


Figure 16: Intentions and Nationality

Respondents on work visas (69.7%) and to a lesser extent student visas (46.6%) indicated that they intended to apply for permanent residence with much lower rates amongst working holiday visa holders (15.5%). Equally, national variations were pronounced. Respondents from the Philippines (85.3%) overwhelmingly indicated that they intended to apply for permanent residence, with notable numbers of respondents from India (60.2%), South Korea (45.9%), China (42.1%), Other Asia (41.4%) and UK (34.5%) also indicating this intention. If we included the undecided in these figures the proportions for all of these nationalities exceed 60% of the number of total respondents in each nationality.

There are two points worth highlighting here. Firstly, it would appear from these respondents that a significant number of work visa holders generally and respondents from the Philippines and India specifically are holding temporary visas as a pathway to secure permanent residence and then potentially remain in New Zealand. Present migration is a strategy for future settlement rather than a time limited activity. However, and secondly, it should be noted that these rates of intention (even if those who are undecided are excluded) substantially exceed actual transitions to permanent residence. Over a five-year time horizon, for example, Immigration New Zealand statistics indicate that only 17% of all students eventually transition to permanent residence (based on data from the year to 30 June 2015) (MBIE 2015). In the larger nationalities identified here the five-year transition rates are 56% for Philippines, 34% for India, 21% for China and 11% for South Korea. Amongst work visa holders the transition to permanent residence over five years was 18% in the year to 30 June 2015. In the top nationalities identified here the rates are as follows: Philippines (53%), India (36%), China (30%), South Korea (14%), UK (16%).

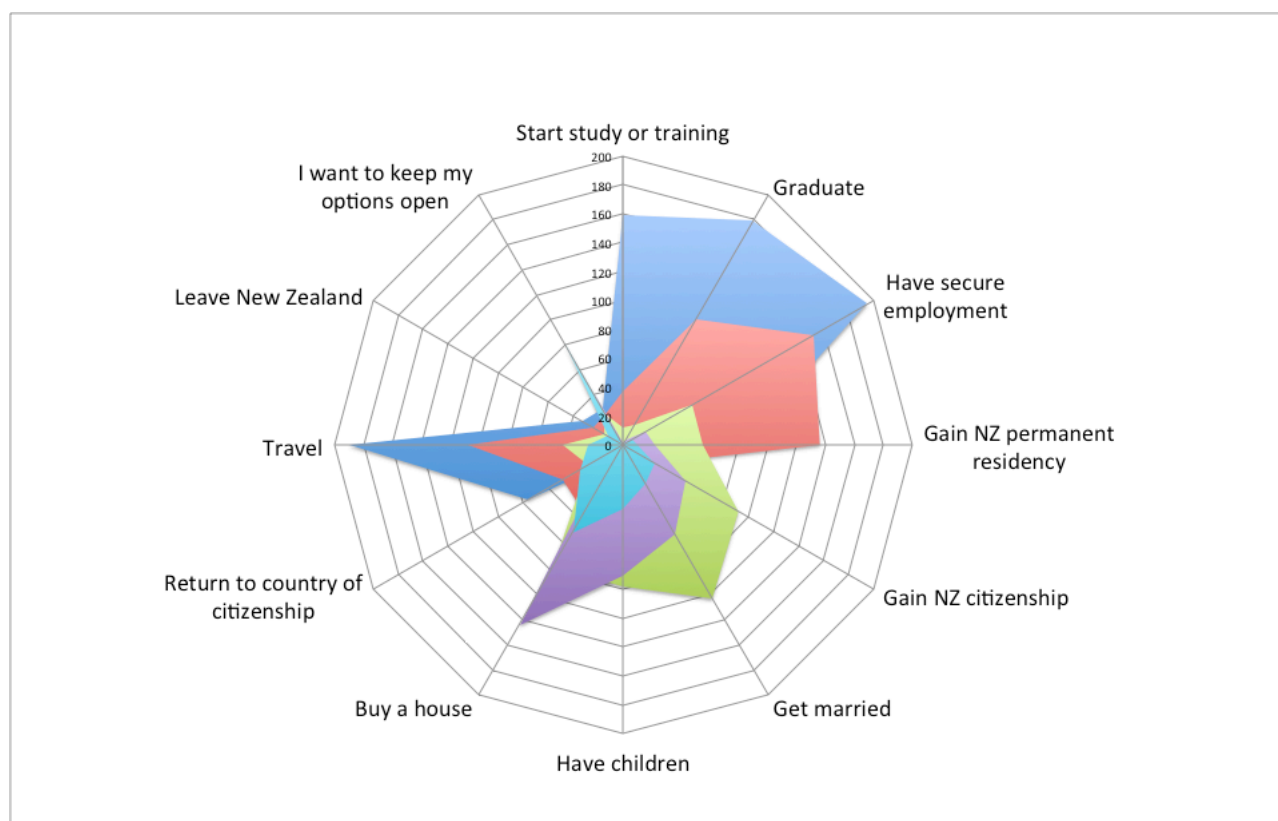
While it is not possible from this survey to understand the timing of permanent residence applications, or whether intentions actually lead to applications, the discrepancy between actual rates of transitions and intentions are striking. If these numbers are stable across time then this suggests that many temporary migrants either fail to gain permanent residence and depart, or remain in New Zealand longer than five years in order to gain permanent residence, effectively 'churning' between visas in order to achieve a longer term goal. When we link these issues to the financing and debt issues identified above a picture of policy vulnerability seems to appear – where immigration controls generate opportunities that will not materialise for many migrants despite the investments that are made in this process. Put another way, current policy

mechanisms around migration may well serve to attract the skills that Auckland and New Zealand needs but in the process they also create vulnerable populations.

Future Aspirations

Lastly, respondents were also asked about their future aspirations in a way that included not only migration plans but also wider life course and livelihood concerns. The aim of this question was to examine the ways in which migration processes are situated in relation to other aspects of individual lives. Respondents were provided a list of potential aspirations as well as non-specified 'other' options and asked to indicate what their aspirations were for the next 1, 3, 5 and 10 years as well as 'in the long term'. The complexity of this question means that it remains difficult to assess in statistical terms, but the radar charts below (Figures 16-19) provide an indication of some of the key differences.

Figure 17: Future Aspirations – All Respondents



There are two main points worth highlighting from these charts. Firstly, it is notable that one of the most significant aspirations for all respondents in the short term of one or three years was having secure employment. This varied unsurprisingly across visa categories, with working holiday respondents much more focused on travel of various kinds and starting training. For students secure employment appeared to follow aspirations to graduate or start another course of training. For work visa holders finding secure employment and gaining permanent residency were the most pronounced short-term goals. The emphasis on employment for respondents but especially work visa holders reminds us that we need to recognise and pay attention to the livelihood needs of migrants, not simply view them as potential human capital who may or

may not remain in Auckland or New Zealand. This is clearly related to findings from earlier sections that suggest that a sizeable number of migrants are in low paid jobs and vulnerable situations, despite the way in which the rhetoric of migration policy paints a positive picture of population flows and their benefits.

Figure 18: Future Aspirations - Student Visa Holders

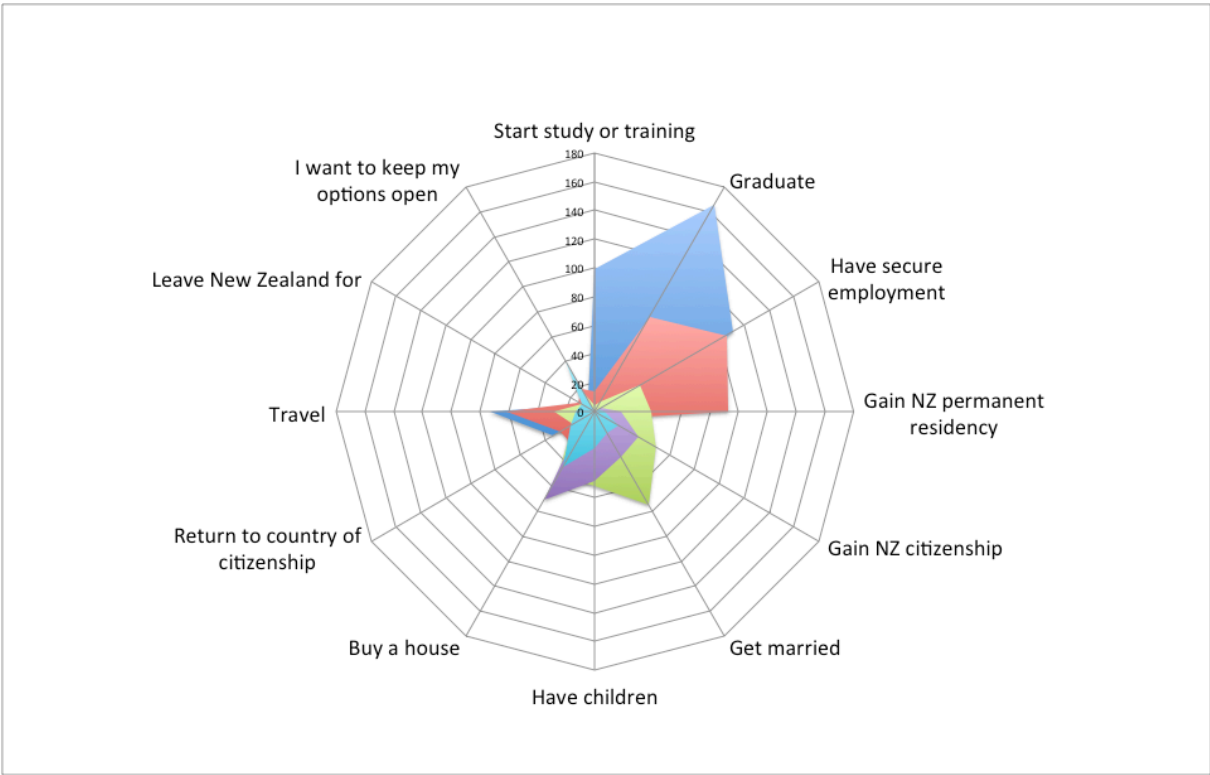
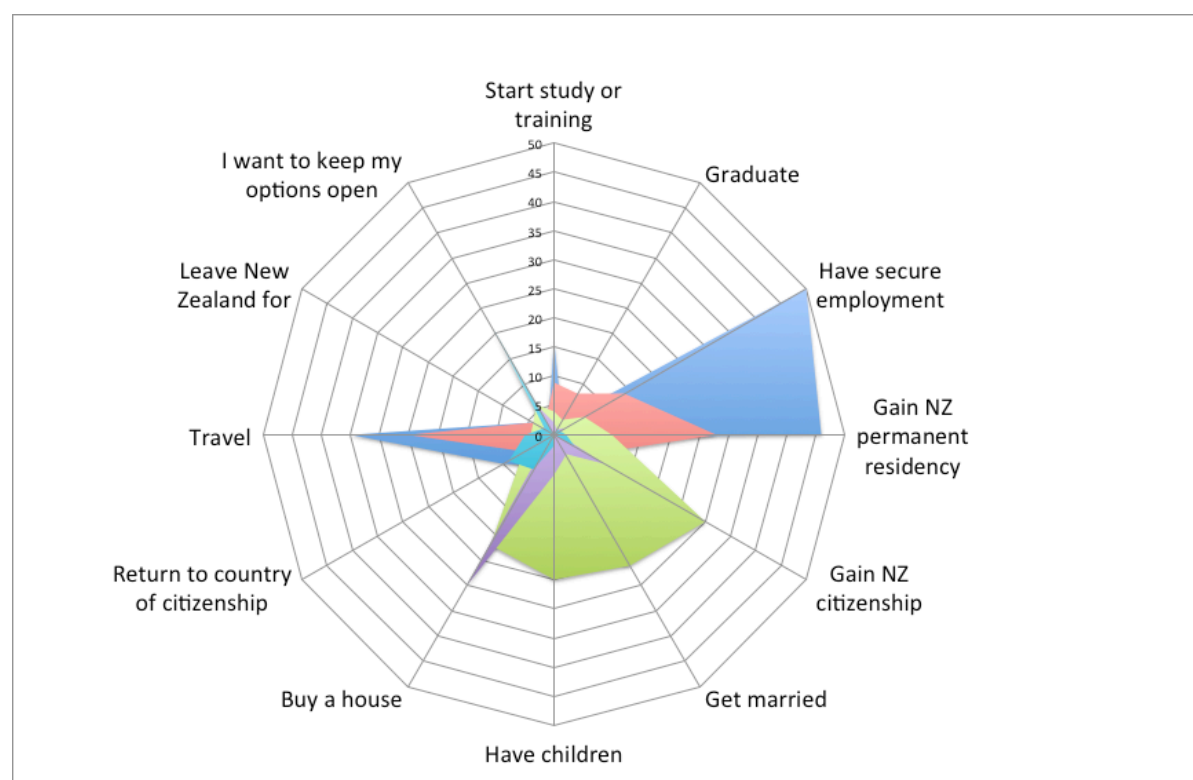


Figure 19: Future Aspirations - Working Holiday Visa Holders



Figure 20: Future Aspirations - Work Visa Holders

Secondly, it is notable that beyond employment, many key life course related aspirations seem to hinge on or follow after the establishment of migration status. So for work visa holders in particular, marriage, children and purchasing a house were generally identified as five or ten year aspirations alongside gaining citizenship but following on from permanent residence. If we connect this finding to recognition of the stability that is offered by permanent residence and citizenship, then what becomes apparent is the way in which migration and the status of being temporary is something that forecloses or potentially delays other elements of people's lives. In interviews too, participants spoke about gaining permanent residence as being about freedom or autonomy. Permanent residence was important for several reasons: because it gave freedom in the job market and removed unreasonable obligations to employers; it allowed migrants to get better housing through more acceptance in rental agreements; to access societal goods in a more even handed way; and more broadly to imagine futures in Auckland and New Zealand.

So that's my long term outlook what I'm preparing for, for the future of my kids. Not for me, not even my wife. I guess both of us have been working for the longest time so you know already, we're just you know, we want just a stable job and be able to provide for our kids. If there are other opportunities in moving up, why not but the priority is really being stable. Money is not an objective. It's being stable and getting the family settled properly. We really plan to stay here, eventually migrate here, the whole family.

Philippines Male, Work Visa, Information Technology

I came here and that was one of those ticking things that it needs to be a place where I can get residency so I can have a life. So I came with a whole pathway already in my mind and actually I choose my studies only at the level I choose because of that. I went through the whole ... the legal stuff was the first on the list. It was top on the list. I am investing all my savings. I am investing the best years of youth. But it was the first thing, you know, legal pathway through residency.

Venezuelan Man, Student Visa (Postgraduate at University), Waiter

Yes, certainly if you have a resident visa you are fine, just full time job, regular, do the same thing from nine to five, you will build a family maybe in Auckland.

Taiwanese Woman, Work Visa, Engineer working as waitress

It would possibly change what I do; as I said for the moment I'm tied to this organisation for this job, which means I don't necessarily have the freedom to do what I want to do. [...] Once I get PR I'll keep going for some time and then I would probably do maybe part time work and I would go back and do more translation, do more contract work; [...] I'd like to do more of that. It would free me up, it would mean that my work life would be very different once I get PR. PR means I can do what I want as opposed to what I have to do to be here.

British Woman, Work Visa, Manager

Each of these participants and many others who indicated an aspiration to achieve permanent residence described the process in these terms. Being on a temporary visa is a direct or indirect limitation on the normal rights we expect individuals to have in society: to choose workplaces and move when we see fit, to establish feasible housing situations, to start a family with a stable future in mind, to be educated, kept healthy and to contribute to community life. Permanent residence represented all of these things to interviewees; it was a legal status that allowed them to imagine a future in Auckland and New Zealand.

CONCLUSIONS

This research has provided a snapshot of the growing significance of temporary migration in Auckland. As the major destination for new migrants in New Zealand, Auckland also hosts a disproportionate number of temporary migrants, particularly international students and those on work visas. Working holidaymakers often enter through Auckland and do spend time living and working in this city, although their migration patterns are more fluid than other groups. More than just the growing presence of temporary migrants in Auckland, this research has pointed to particular issues in the urban incorporation of migrants that deserve greater attention.

It is clear that there is considerable diversity in the pathways of temporary migrants through Auckland. Nonetheless, some clear patterns have emerged in this research. The survey findings point to the concentration of temporary migrants in specific residential areas in the city, particularly the CBD, and to the fact that temporary migrants are almost universally tenants rather than owner-occupiers in housing. Equally, there is a concentration of temporary migrants in certain industries such as accommodation and food services and health care, and occupations such as sales, labourers, and community and personal service. Put another way, the urban incorporation of temporary migrants occurs through particular employment and housing pathways that appear to distinguish them from other urban residents in Auckland.

The research has also drawn attention to the extent and characteristics of international students in the labour market. With more than 50% of all students in this research employed and nearly 50,000 international students in Auckland there is no doubt that the growth of international education has become closely linked to employment in certain sectors. As the research has pointed out, students have a particularly significant role in the accommodation and food services industry, where around one third of all student visa holders are employed. The fact that nearly half of all student-workers report working the maximum number of legally stipulated hours (20), and others work more, points to the reality that students themselves also rely on employment to get by, a characteristic supported by evidence of debt levels amongst some students.

Among the most striking findings of this research is the extent of debt-financed migration amongst some groups. It has been common in popular discourse in New Zealand to present migrants and international students as having significant financial capital (Collins 2006). While there is no doubt that there are migrants entering New Zealand with high levels of capital, this research points to the fact that debt is also an issue for a considerable number of student and worker migrants. Amongst some nationalities, debt levels are as high as 40% and there appear to be correlations between levels of debt and plans to remain in New Zealand long-term through permanent residence. These debt patterns are important because they can generate vulnerability amongst migrants and influence their pathways to incorporation in Auckland and New Zealand.

The research has also pointed to the wide range of intentions and aspirations amongst temporary migrants in Auckland. While many intend or are considering applying for permanent residence, this

varies considerably by visa type and nationality. Notably, however, the proportion of migrants in this survey intending to apply for permanent residence far exceeds the actual rates of transition that are recorded by Immigration New Zealand. This means that many migrants invest socially and economically in the prospect of settling in New Zealand but are unable to achieve this goal. The potential implications of this for migrants are considerable, particularly when debt levels or career disruption are taken into consideration. For Auckland, the potential loss comes in the form of people who may already have made significant economic and social contributions.

Across all of these issues, the findings of this research suggest that immigration policies and controls are playing a significant role in shaping pathways of urban incorporation. The scope for migrants to move from temporary to permanent visas creates an opportunity that many individuals in this research are now pursuing, undertaking study towards listed qualifications, taking out debt, and accepting jobs that may offer a pathway to residency. Immigration controls on different visas also indirectly and directly shape the choices that migrants have – from the jobs and housing they are offered to the pressure of time constraints in terms of forcing decisions on individuals. Immigration controls, in this respect, also contribute to the creation of vulnerability for temporary migrants.

As the destination for most new migrants in New Zealand, the implications of the growth of temporary migration are particularly significant for Auckland.

- There is clearly a need to address levels of vulnerability amongst temporary migrants. This might occur through support or advice services or through efforts to combat exploitative employment situations.
- The employment situation of migrants in part relates to either concerns on the part of employers about temporary visas or the demand that migrants have ‘kiwi experience’. There is a need to find mechanisms to bridge apparent gaps between temporary migrants skills and employers needs, both in terms of accepting a diversity of experiences and in terms of the demands visa restrictions place of migrants and employers.
- A greater emphasis on the wellbeing of migrants in immigration policy is needed. This would appear to be particularly the case in relation to international students where policy seems to be focused primarily on maximising student numbers and revenue and less on the situations or expectation of students themselves.

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APPENDIX: THE QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

Temporary Migration and Urban Incorporation – Dr. Francis Collins (f.collins@auckland.ac.nz)

1) How old are you?							
<input type="radio"/> 18-19	<input type="radio"/> 20-24	<input type="radio"/> 25-29	<input type="radio"/> 30-34	<input type="radio"/> 35-39	<input type="radio"/> 40-44	<input type="radio"/> 45-49	<input type="radio"/> 50-54
<input type="radio"/> 55-59	<input type="radio"/> 60-64	<input type="radio"/> 65+					

2) What is your nationality? (country of citizenship - choose preferred if multiple)	

3) Gender	
<input type="radio"/> Female	<input type="radio"/> Male

4) Do you hold New Zealand permanent residency?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes (end survey)	<input type="radio"/> No

5) Before coming to New Zealand, what was your highest level of education?		
<input type="radio"/> None	<input type="radio"/> Primary / elementary school	<input type="radio"/> Intermediate / middle school
<input type="radio"/> Trade/vocational certificate	<input type="radio"/> Diploma	<input type="radio"/> Bachelors degree
<input type="radio"/> Graduate degree (e.g. masters)		<input type="radio"/> PhD or equivalent

6) Have you completed any formal qualifications in New Zealand?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No (skip to question 8)

7) Please list the qualifications you have completed and the educational provider.	
Qualification #1 (e.g. Diploma of Teaching)	
Provider #1 (e.g. Unitec)	
Qualification #2	
Provider #2	

8) Are you currently enrolled in an education or training course?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No (skip to question 10)

9) Please list the education or training courses you are currently enrolled in.	
Qualification #1 (e.g. Diploma of Teaching)	
Provider #1 (e.g. Unitec)	
Qualification #2	
Provider #2	

10) When did you first come to New Zealand?	Year:
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11) What type of visa or permit do you currently hold?		
<input type="radio"/> Student visa or permit	<input type="radio"/> Working Holiday Scheme	<input type="radio"/> Work visa or permit
<input type="radio"/> Visitor visa or permit	<input type="radio"/> Don't know / not sure	<input type="radio"/> Other (specify) _____

12) If you are on a work visa or permit please specify what type you hold		
<input type="radio"/> General Work Visa	<input type="radio"/> Essential Skills Visa	<input type="radio"/> Family or Partnership
<input type="radio"/> LTSSL (Long Term Skills Shortage List) Visa	<input type="radio"/> Post-study Work Visa - open	
<input type="radio"/> Post-study Work Visa - employer assisted	<input type="radio"/> Work to Residence Visa	
<input type="radio"/> Other (specify):	<input type="radio"/> Don't know / not sure	

13) Are you in New Zealand primarily as a tourist?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes (end of survey)	<input type="radio"/> No

Temporary Migration and Urban Incorporation – Dr. Francis Collins (f.collins@auckland.ac.nz)

14) How did you finance your migration to New Zealand? (provide percentages to 100%)			
Personal savings	%	Loan from bank	%
Family savings (gifted)	%	Loan from private lender	%
Loan from family	%	Other (specify)	%
Loan from friends	%	Other (specify)	%
			=100%

15) Are you in debt as a result of your migration to New Zealand?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No (go to question 17)

16) Approximately how much debt do you have as a result of migrating to New Zealand? (NZD)			
<input type="radio"/> \$0-9,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$10,000-19,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$20,000-29,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$30,000-39,999.00
<input type="radio"/> \$40,000-49,999.00	<input type="radio"/> Over \$50,000.00	<input type="radio"/> Decline to answer	

17) Are you planning to apply for Permanent Residence in New Zealand?		
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No (go to question 19)	<input type="radio"/> Undecided

18) If you receive New Zealand permanent residency will you apply for citizenship?		
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> Undecided

19) How long do you intend to live in New Zealand?	
<input type="radio"/> Indefinitely (go to question 22)	<input type="radio"/> Years: _____

20) At what stage do you plan to leave New Zealand?	
<input type="radio"/> At the end of my current studies	<input type="radio"/> After I receive citizenship
<input type="radio"/> At the end of my current employment contract	<input type="radio"/> Other (specify) _____
<input type="radio"/> When my permit or visa expires	<input type="radio"/> I don't know yet
<input type="radio"/> After I receive permanent residence	

21) When you leave New Zealand, where will you migrate to next?	
<input type="radio"/> I don't know / haven't decided	<input type="radio"/> Specify country: _____

22) Have you received money from any of the following overseas sources (not in New Zealand) to support your stay in New Zealand?			
<input type="radio"/> No (go to question 24)	<input type="radio"/> Spouse	<input type="radio"/> Parents	<input type="radio"/> Children
<input type="radio"/> Other relatives	<input type="radio"/> Friends	<input type="radio"/> Others (specify): _____	

23) Approximately how much money have you received from overseas sources during the last 12 months?			
<input type="radio"/> \$0-9,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$10,000-19,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$20,000-29,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$30,000-39,999.00
<input type="radio"/> \$40,000-49,999.00	<input type="radio"/> Over \$50,000.00	<input type="radio"/> Decline to answer	

24) Have you sent money overseas to support any of the following people?			
<input type="radio"/> No (go to ques. 26)	<input type="radio"/> Spouse	<input type="radio"/> Parents	<input type="radio"/> Children
<input type="radio"/> Other relatives	<input type="radio"/> Friends	<input type="radio"/> Others (specify): _____	

25) Approximately how much money have you sent to overseas sources during the last 12 months?			
<input type="radio"/> \$0-9,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$10,000-19,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$20,000-29,999.00	<input type="radio"/> \$30,000-39,999.00
<input type="radio"/> \$40,000-49,999.00	<input type="radio"/> Over \$50,000.00	<input type="radio"/> Decline to answer	

Temporary Migration and Urban Incorporation – Dr. Francis Collins (f.collins@auckland.ac.nz)

26) What is your employment status?		
<input type="radio"/> Employed full-time	<input type="radio"/> Employed part-time	<input type="radio"/> Casual employee
<input type="radio"/> Self-employed	<input type="radio"/> Not currently employed	<input type="radio"/> Other (specify) _____

27) Do you have more than one job?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes, how many? _____	<input type="radio"/> No

28) In your main job, what was your occupation, for example PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER, RETAIL ASSISTANT, BANK MANAGER, NURSE, RECEPTIONIST? _____

29) In your main job, what tasks or duties did you spend the most time on, for example RUNNING SHOP, ANSWERING PHONES, ATTENDING PATIENTS? _____

30) What is the main activity or your employer or the business that you work for, for example MAKING CLOTHES, SELLING HOUSES, CAR REPAIR? _____
--

31) How long have you worked for your current main employer?			
<input type="radio"/> 0-6 Months	<input type="radio"/> 6-12 Months	<input type="radio"/> 12-18 Months	<input type="radio"/> 18-24 Months
<input type="radio"/> 2-3 Years	<input type="radio"/> 3-4 Years	<input type="radio"/> 4-5 Years	<input type="radio"/> Over 5 Years

32) How did you find out about your current job? (choose all that apply)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement in English language media	<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement in non-English language media	
<input type="checkbox"/> Friends	<input type="checkbox"/> Asked employer about work	<input type="checkbox"/> Family members or relatives
<input type="checkbox"/> Employment/recruitment agent	<input type="checkbox"/> Migration agency or broker	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____

33) What was your weekly take-home pay last week (after tax/ACC deductions)? \$ _____
--

34) Where do you work? (Suburb in Auckland for your main job): _____

35) How many hours did you work last week? (include all paid employment): _____ hours
--

36) Do you live alone?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes (go to question 38)	<input type="radio"/> No

37) Who do you share your home with? (tick all that apply)			
<input type="checkbox"/> Parents	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse / partner	<input type="checkbox"/> Children	<input type="checkbox"/> Other family/relative
<input type="checkbox"/> Friends	<input type="checkbox"/> Co-workers	<input type="checkbox"/> Others (flatmate, boarder, homestay student)	

38) Where do you live in Auckland? (which suburb or neighbourhood): _____
--

39) What kind of accommodation do you currently live in?		
<input type="radio"/> Apartment	<input type="radio"/> Terraced house or unit	<input type="radio"/> Dormitory or hostel
<input type="radio"/> House (detached single dwelling)	<input type="radio"/> Other (specify): _____	

40) In your current accommodation are you?		
<input type="radio"/> Tenant (renting whole house)	<input type="radio"/> Tenant (renting 1/some rooms)	<input type="radio"/> The owner
<input type="radio"/> Neither (living rent free with family/friends)	<input type="radio"/> Other (specify): _____	

41) How many bedrooms in your current accommodation? Rooms: _____
--

42) How many people live in your current accommodation? People: _____
--

Temporary Migration and Urban Incorporation – Dr. Francis Collins (f.collins@auckland.ac.nz)

43) Do you have a spouse or de facto partner? (wife, husband, partner)		
<input type="radio"/> Yes, living in Auckland	<input type="radio"/> Yes, living in another part of NZ: _____	
<input type="radio"/> Yes, living overseas: _____	<input type="radio"/> No	

44) Do you have any children?	
<input type="radio"/> Yes (how many?): _____	<input type="radio"/> No (skip to question 46)

45) Where do your children live? (tick all that apply)	
<input type="radio"/> In Auckland	<input type="radio"/> In another part of New Zealand (specify city/province): _____
<input type="radio"/> Overseas (specify country): _____	

46) Please tell us about your aspirations for the future (draw a line into one of the five boxes)	
a) Start study or training	<u>In the next 1 year</u>
b) Graduate	
c) Have secure employment	<u>In the next 3 years</u>
d) Travel	
e) Get married	<u>In the next 5 years</u>
f) Have children	
g) Buy a house	<u>In the next 10 years</u>
h) Gain New Zealand permanent residency	
i) Gain New Zealand citizenship	
j) Return to country of citizenship	<u>In the long term</u>
k) Leave New Zealand (country?): _____	
l) I want to keep my options open	
m) Other (specify) _____	
n) I don't know	

<p>Would you like to participate in further research on this topic?</p> <p>We are recruiting research participants who fit one of the following three categories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International students who are also in the workforce (who also have a job) - Recent graduates with New Zealand qualifications who are looking for a job or are within 12 months of their first job after graduation - Work permit holders who did not study in New Zealand <p>This research will involve a face to face interview about your migration experiences and aspirations, which will take between 1 and 1.5 hours and can be completed at a time and place that is convenient to you. All selected participants who complete an interview will receive a \$50.00 shopping voucher as a token of appreciation.</p> <p>If yes, please provide your name and email address on the following question.</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Yes, I would like to participate in further research</p> <p><input type="radio"/> No, I do not want to participate in further research</p>
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Please provide your name and email address for the purposes of selecting winners of the shopping voucher prizes. (Your name will be stored separately from all other responses and deleted after prize is allocated).	
Name:	_____
Email	_____

Thank you for your time.