ANEW DIASPORA

A STUDY OF
SOUTH AFRICAN
INDIAN
MIGRATION TO
NEW ZEALAND.

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ABSTRACT

"I love this country with a passion, but I cannot live here anymore. I can no longer live slung about with panic buttons and gear locks. I am tired of driving with my car windows closed and the doors locked, tired of being afraid of stopping at red lights. I am tired of being constantly alert, having that sudden frisson of fear at the sight of a shadow by the gate, of a group of youths approaching - although nine times out of ten they are innocent of harmful intent. Such is the suspicion that dogs us all."

(Paton, A. London Sunday Times, November 29 1998)

This credence and conviction was echoed repeatedly during the personal interviews in South Africa and New Zealand. The added pressure South African Indian respondent's felt emanated from being Indian. This study argues that although the shift to a post-apartheid epoch has dawned, the providence of the Indian in South Africa remains relatively unaltered. The consequence is that South African Indians are voyaging for security elsewhere. New Zealand has offered them an alternative home. This area of exploration has not been investigated before, since South African Indian migration to New Zealand is a relatively new exodus. This research explores and investigates why South African Indians are migrating to New Zealand, on a micro and macro level. This dissertation focuses on three main aspects: the reasons for migration to New Zealand, the effects on the respective countries and the formation of new 'identities and home.' I developed my main arguments based on the data retrieved from the personal interviews - the greatest source of information for this work.



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- To everyone who answered the questionnaire, in New Zealand and South Africa.
- To friends and family who assisted in their own little way, thank you.

Dedication: For Dad, Mr R. Seebran.

DECLARATION

This dissertation presents original work and photographs by the author and has not been submitted in any other form to another university. Where use has been made of the work or photographs of others, it is duly acknowledged in the text.

DEEBRAN.

Ms. Radhna Seebran

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

I am a second generation South African Indian. My maternal and paternal grandparents were born in India. They voluntarily migrated to South Africa, where were my parents were born. I have always known of myself as being Indian and in the apartheid years, by no means distinguished myself as South African. I attended Indian schools, inhabited an Indian residential area and was educated by Indian teachers who reinforced my 'identity' and notions of race, caste and belonging. I am now a South African 'Indian'.

Almost forty-one years ago Indians became South African Indians. "In 1961 the South African Government gave official recognition to the de facto situation, and decided that Indians were henceforth to be regarded as a permanent part of the population. The hope of repatriating Indians, faint though it once might have been, was at last laid to rest" (Bhana, S and Bridglal P. 1984, 249).

Indians became a small but strong component of South Africa. In the course of South African history their identity label transformed, from Indians, to Asians to South Africans. *Coolies, Curry Munchers* and *Charos* became protected by the New South African constitution only to reappear in lyrical form as *AmaNdiyans*. It is necessary to familiarize ourselves with the historical processes involved in the formation of Indian society so as to understand their concept of home and identity. Indian society was shaped through the process of accretion of immigrants. That was the first Diaspora – people who settled away from their ancestral homeland – India.

Indian diasporans arrived in South Africa facing clearly divided emigrant versus immigrant quandaries and years later the following generations are adding their own complexities to these issues. A new Diaspora is in progress.

South African Indians are steadily migrating to New Zealand. Questions are being explored about this Diaspora, the experience and the effects on the nation.

This dissertation is an attempt to analyse and address some of the many and complex issues revolving around migration. The fundamental nature of this work probes into a detailed account of South African Indian migration to New Zealand. Why are South African Indians migrating and why is New Zealand their choice of destination? The opinions of migrants in New Zealand and those in the process of departing from South Africa was an immense resource. Therefore this dissertation explores and investigates these two multi-layered questions significantly, in the hope of uncovering the core reasons for migration and to seek avenues to curtail brain and skills drain from South Africa.

"There is no single theory of migration..." (Richmond, A, H. 1994,3). The basic starting place for migration is dissatisfaction. There are numerous factors that push people out from one environment and pull them into another. Throughout history people have left their place of birth and searched for greener pastures. Sometimes external circumstances over which people have no control have forced them to move. Historically the major causes of forced migration have been natural disasters like famine, war, slave trade, and deportation.

Migration is not a new social process. About one and a half million years ago, the first human, Homo Erectus, set foot outside Africa. Fifty thousand years later, the first modern humans, Homo Sapiens started global migration. (http://www.oneworld.org/)

"Human societies are not static and have generally been subject to disasters, wars and traumas which have caused migration, eviction and the search for refuge" (Jackson, J, A. 1986,1).

In pre modern, pastoral and agrarian societies, there were regular flows of migration that were undertaken to ensure the survival of that society. On a micro level migration occurs daily, for example, when two people are married and one individual moves to an entirely new social and physical environment. "Migration implies movement of individuals and groups between two societies; that which they have left and that to which they have come" (Jackson, J, A. 1986,2).

It seems that whether migration occurs on the macro or micro level, the common motivation for migration either for refuge, survival or betterment of quality of life, begins with the rational or irrational decision to move. "Migration is clearly a selective process" (Jackson, J, A. 1986,39).

All people yearn for better quality of life, but what pushes people to voluntarily seek this better life? The push-pull model as described by Jackson, (Jackson, J, A. 1986,15), has stated that the individual, rational decision of people is the basis of choice. Jackson says that rational choice of the migrant is not the only cause of choice — "there are many underlying causes which predetermine the choice..." (Ibid, 38).

Migration may be motivated by race disputes, conflict, power, security, identity and the labour market. The motives or push variables for migration may be multiple, but there may also be some common variables within one group or race. Investigating reasons for the surge in South African Indian migration to New Zealand, is the focal point of my research.

I have opted for an in-depth study of South African Indian migration, and this approach has allowed me to write this dissertation that was designed not be a string of sociological facts and definitions, but for provoking insightful analysis and evaluation of migrants. By devoting greater space to the respondents – the diasporans – the people who have migrated and who are considering migrating to New Zealand, important issues and concepts are examined. In order to drive home these ideas, an everyday-life approach is used, narrating common personal experiences as a vehicle of understanding the relationship

between the individuals, society and country. The guiding theme in this work is that ordinary people's lives are affected and therefore shaped by powerful social forces and that influences individual choice.

There is a reciprocal connection between the private constituents of our lives – our families, home, personal experiences, behaviors, thoughts, and the cultural groups, organizations and institutions to which we belong. The link between the micro-sociological (our everyday lives) and the macro-sociological (society), is investigated and through scrutiny the rationale for migration becomes evident.

The purpose of introducing my topic in this fashion is make the familiar –what we know already – unfamiliar. Through critical examination of the common (people and places) we begin to understand the real push and pull factors migrant's encounter.

I wandered for four months through the New Zealand's landscape (politically and socially) and engaged in conversations with the people encountered. I explored many domains of New Zealand, as unknown territory, with maps. I sought specific individuals by following specific methods. South African Indian diasporans in New Zealand were interviewed, and observed in their new homes. Whatever I saw and heard is described and reconstructed as a research report to be assessed by the people of South Africa and New Zealand. The potentialities of meaning in the original stories are dissected through analysis of these themes and explained through my own interpretations.

Migration, its effects on the country, the family and the individual were significant areas of concentration. The style of this thesis was inspired – in part by David Neuman's book, <u>Sociology</u>. Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life (Neuman, D. 1995). Neuman had signed a contract to write his book, and then panicked about how he was going to do it.

He turned to those closest to him for assistance and was advised by his six year old son that he ought to write a picture book because people do not like words, they like pictures. (Neuman, D. 1995, xxi).

David Neuman used photographs and other graphic material in his book because he believed that it allows one to see the sociology embedded in everyday life. Therefore the David Neuman style that I have chosen for this thesis includes photographs that are designed to tell a sociological story. (I, unless other acknowledged otherwise, took all photographs.) I have found that this style best suited my topic, as a person's story is identity-less without their face. The New Diasporic country - New Zealand -proved to be best embraced through vivid images of the new home and familiar architecture.

Pictures provoke thoughtful analysis and evaluation. This thesis mimics the work of David Neuman in that by design, it is personal in style and tone. David Neuman believed that such a style, where people's personalities and philosophies seeped into cracks and crevices were enjoyable, interesting, influential and intellectually challenging.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

2.1.1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The research plan for the proposal followed the structure of a research plan as set out by Durrheim and Wassenaar (TerreBlanche, M and Durrheim, K. 1999. 54-71).

The objective of the study was to address the sociological process of migration. In essence the reasons for South African Indian emigration to New Zealand was studied. The rationale behind my investigation focused on perceptions of identity ("Indianness"), belonging to place and space, citizenship, assimilation and accommodation. My aim was to also investigate why South African Indians have chosen to immigrate to New Zealand in particular and to find common variables for their reasons for emigration. My intention was to draw comparisons between New Zealand and South Africa, (politically, socially and economically) based on the evaluations and perceptions of South African Indian emigrants in New Zealand, other people in New Zealand, and South African citizens.

My investigation focused on the root decision for emigration. I enquired if it grew from South Africa's apartheid structure and the 'sandwich filling ' sense of identity dislocation that South African Indians have felt. My main question was, 'Is the biggest motivating factor for emigration personal (identity, belonging etc.) or external (crime, economics, political)?' I also briefly studied the impact and consequences migration has had on South Africa and on New Zealand.

2.1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

"All social research has relevant literature, and no research takes place in a vacuum" (Punch, K.F. 2000,42). This means that a research project does not exist in isolation but must build upon what has been previously done. One of the most pivotal building blocks involved in conceptualising the research report was the literature review. The literature review highlighted what others have said about migration.

It addressed theories on migration and research, which has been done previously. There are many additional sources that I consulted after starting the research, but the books reviewed were the initial readings - an introduction to my topic.

Aspects of Modern Sociology. Migration, by John, A, Jackson (1986), a succinct introductory text forms part of the Longman Social Processes Series, and as the title states, sets out to examine one of the key factors in the process of social change and development - migration. This was a useful book to begin my research with, as the focus of my research is primarily on migration. For example, in chapter one Professor Jackson introduced some of the basic features and definitions of the migration process. The other five chapters addressed the core of my research problem and helped me to focus on my research topic. They generally dealt with, migration as a social process, labour market theory, migration decisions, assimilation and accommodation, migration policy and social structure. One of the pertinent points Jackson raised was that migration is both a product of individual decisions as well as other social determinants. This is the prime concern of my own research.

Examples of migration were drawn from Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Ireland, Australia and the United States of America, and although my focus is on South African emigration to New Zealand, these examples proved to be insightful as they discussed characteristics and problems of migration, such as formation of ethnic communities and migrant identities among others.

For example, in New Zealand, there is a high concentration of South African Indians in the suburb, Howick, and Howick is being reshaped physically and socially by South African Indians. This will be discussed in more detail later.

One of the problems Jackson pointed out was that "one of the major limiting factors in the conceptual analysis of migration flows and patterns is the capacity that we have to measure movement" (Jackson, J. A. 1986,8). Like others who have studied migration, I had to rely on published statistics, and Professor Jackson emphasized that these are not always accurate. He highlighted a few common errors and these examples served as good warning signs when conducting my own research.

This book proved to be an excellent starting point in my research and also served to clarify some of the key issues involved in migration. Professor Jackson concentrated on the impact of migration on society and its challenge to the established communities. This is another key area of my study as my own research concentrates on the impact of emigration on South Africa and the challenge New Zealanders face with the steady immigration of South Africans.

Searches for identity and struggling with issues of belonging are two important components of this dissertation. Three other books, <u>Citizenship and Migration</u>. <u>Globalisation and the Politics of belonging</u> by Stephen Castles and Alistair Davidson (2000), <u>Migrancy Culture Identity</u>, by Iain Chambers (1994) and <u>Forging New Identities</u> (1998) by Minority Rights Group International, focuses centrally on identity and belonging.

Castles' and Davidson's, <u>Citizenship and Migration</u> (2000), explores civil, political and social rights of citizens. It is common for emigrants to compare their rights in the new country to the country from which they emigrated. Discrimination based on class, race, gender, ethnicity and religion are also weighed between the country they came from and the country they are in.

The notion of citizenship comes into question when emigrants enter into cultural or citizen assimilation in their new country.

Castles and Davidson explore new approaches to citizenship in practical and theoretical terms because they recognise the "signs that citizenship has in recent years become problematic" in most countries (Castles, S & Davidson, A. 2000,2). Migrants, like Roger Madurai, whom I interviewed in Howick, in New Zealand, supported Castles' and Davidson's view and stated that especially after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States of America, countries like the United Sates of America and Canada became "difficult countries to migrate to" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

This enlightening and highly informative book takes cognisance of changes in political and social contexts, because "the global context of citizenship is changing dramatically, but so is the way we perceive it " (Castles, S & Davidson, A. 2000,2).

Migrancy Culture Identity (1994) and Forging New Identities (1998) are a collection of essays and stories that look at the redefining of identity through the process of assimilation and accommodation of the emigrant. Migrancy Culture Identity (1994), concentrates more on the emigrants own history (family etc.), general history (country and world), and culture, in the construction of new identities through dislocation and migration.

Forging New Identities (1998) tell the stories and deepened my understanding of minority students and young refugees living in London and Amsterdam. This is an emotional read as the writings are about memories, the good and bad of young people leaving their home countries and of their new lives in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. It raises awareness and stresses the emotional experience of migration. This book was helpful in the construction of some of the questions (concerning emotional aspects of migration) that featured in my questionnaire. I adopted the literature as a framework to build my study on and the information gathered provided chapter silhouettes for the research.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

The variables (Diaspora, migration, South African Indian) set the parameters of my research topic. The intersection sets as set out by Kaniki (1999,21) that I have chosen are set out in Table 1a and Table 1b. They list the primary, secondary, tertiary and electronic sources, which I have used to collect data.

TABLE 1a.

PRIMARY SOURCES CHOSEN	SECONDARY SOURCES CHOSEN
1. Preliminary search – informal	1. Books
conversation	
2. Academic journal articles in South	2. Documentary sources
Africa and New Zealand.	
3. South African and New Zealand	3. Government statistics -South Africa
newspapers and magazines	and New Zealand
4. Semi-structured personal interviews	
South Africa and New Zealand	
5. New Zealand citizens - questionnaire	
6. South Africans - questionnaire	

TABLE 1 b.

TERTIARY DATA SOURCES	ELECTRONIC DATA SOURCES	
CHOSEN	CHOSEN	

- 1. Librarians 1. Internet
- Academic staff- Universities in New Zealand
- 3. Academic staff Universities in South Africa.

"One of the main problems to be tackled in research methodology (the study of logical problems involved in research) is the analysis of cause and effect" (Giddens, A. 1989,663). The main problem tackled in my research was the cause or reasons for South African Indian emigration to New Zealand and the effect(s) it has on South Africa, New Zealand and the migrant. The aim of this research is to try and understand why South African Indians (from diverse community and financial environments) have emigrated, are emigrating or are considering immigrating to New Zealand. In order to accomplish this task, participants needed to be able to express their own experiences and belief systems in detail.

To collect the primary sources of data; qualitative and quantitative research methods was used. The preliminary search began with informal conversations with Indian people in South Africa. I asked a diverse pool of Indian people (from various economic and social backgrounds), if they knew of any family or friends who have migrated or are considering migrating to New Zealand. The respondents for the preliminary search included Indian adults who worked in supermarkets, banks, petrol stations, clothing stores, libraries, and friends and

family. A preliminary search was done to evaluate the feasibility of my research.

More in-depth qualitative data was gathered via the use of semi-structured personal interviews in New Zealand and South Africa. Semi-structured personal interviews are generally flexible. It is quite informal and is also known as in-depth interviews. There is a wide area of enquiry and this often results in a high quality of data from the subject. This type of interview resembles a conversation and is basically about the respondents talking about their feelings and experiences.

The semi-structured personal interviews deal with general themes. The interview followed a loose format. I used a standard skeleton interview schedule with open-ended questions. The questions varied slightly according to the interviews and the probes also differed accordingly. The advantage of the personal interview is that in depth data was retrieved, through extensive probes and using contingency questions effectively. Relevant issues were immediately discussed and clarified.

An example was that teacher strikes were in progress in New Zealand and interviews with respondents included opinions on the strike. The strikes directly affected the employment status of some interviewees. A vital aspect of face to face interviewing is that the interviewer gains the trust of the interviewee, because the respondent is able to assess the interviewer.

I believe that many respondents expressed very personal opinions and emotions, because they identified with me being South African, and Indian as well. Although this may interpreted as interviewer bias, the advantage was that it yielded a high response rate. Most importantly this type of data collection method includes illiterate people as well. This qualitative method was the best option for a detailed emotional understanding of migration. The oral nature of the interviews allowed the respondents to express themselves and "gleaned details that written words would never have mentioned" (Sundell, S.E. 1999, 27).

Semi-structured personal interviews were conducted with South African Indian migrants in New Zealand and South African Indians in South Africa. They included people from various economic and social backgrounds, as well as key informants, who were either experts in a field or important figures in society. These interviews were recorded on audiocassettes and transcribed. Photographs were taken of most respondents, to add a face to the voice (Appendix C).

Qualitative techniques were used to establish case studies, where South African Indian migrants in New Zealand were compared to other families or people who are in the process of immigrating to New Zealand from South Africa.

Quantitative methodology, specifically the survey, was used to collect primary sources of data. The measurement instrument was the questionnaire.

Questionnaires were self-administered to the sample in New Zealand, which consisted of a series of questions to gather the relevant data.

Questionnaires were also self-administered in South Africa, to gather data on the possible reasons for South African Indian migration to New Zealand. They were not given to respondents to complete in their own time, as the time span of my research did not allow for this. The respondents completed the questionnaires immediately.

The questionnaires were straightforward and simple. I used a six-page questionnaire in New Zealand and a four-page questionnaire in South Africa. The survey was personally conducted. The two main reasons for this was to ensure good data quality and to lessen the costs. Furthermore, there wasn't sufficient funding to employ field workers. The questionnaires consisted of open and closed questions. A questionnaire, in this case was a useful research tool, as it also covers a wide geographical area in a short period of time.

The questions were tightly constructed and designed to collect sociographic information (sex, age, occupation, marital status etc.) and beliefs, attitudes and opinions from the respondents.

2.3.THE RESEARCH DESIGN

2.3.1. SEMI-STRUCTURED PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Mouton (1996) distinguishes between two distinctive research strategies that are used in social research. He differentiates between *generalizing strategies* and *contextual strategies*.

For this study a mix of strategies were used, because the social phenomenon of migration was studied and social beings (South African Indians) were also studied for their interest as representative examples of a larger population of similar beings (other South African Indians in the process of migrating).

It is important to bear in mind that a population is an abstract concept, because it is not possible to freeze a population to measure it. Therefore, the researcher must decide exactly whom he or she wants to count. Deciding on the respondents can do this. The respondents provided a clearer, more concise and realistic population to be studied. It pinpointed the units of analysis more accurately. This allows for a more focused research that would yield more reliable results.

In New Zealand the respondents were South African Indians, who have immigrated to New Zealand. They consisted of eight women between the ages of twenty-seven and sixty, and four men between the ages of thirty and sixty years old. The geographical area was Auckland, and the respondents were from upper or middle class suburbs. The leads were acquired through the help of friends, family and colleagues. Some leads to respondents, for example in New Zealand, were acquired through restaurant staff.

Theo, a waiter at The Gables Tavern, (Jervois Road, Herne Bay, Auckland), was an invaluable lead. Through him I was able to establish contact with the first four respondents in New Zealand.

In South Africa the respondents were South African Indians who are in the process of migrating to New Zealand. The geographical area included towns and cities in KwaZulu-Natal. Further description and details about the participants for the personal interviews are provided in Appendix C.

2.3.2.THE SURVEY

In South Africa and New Zealand the respondents were people from the general public. They included people from various racial and ethnic groups. In New Zealand the respondents included White New Zealanders or Pakehas, Maoris, Islanders, Indians from Fiji and India, South African Whites and Indians. In South Africa they included Indians, Whites, Blacks and Coloureds. The geographical area in South Africa was KwaZulu-Natal and in New Zealand it was Auckland. Due to time constraints, fifty questionnaires were administered in New Zealand and one hundred questionnaires were administered in South Africa.

2.3.3 THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE FOR THE PERSONAL INTERVIEWS - NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA

"Sampling, like random assignment, is a process of systematically selecting cases for inclusion in a research project" (Neuman, W.L. 1994, 193). This study was carried out using non-probability sampling techniques. Probability sampling would have allowed each element in the sample an equal chance of being selected but a researcher uses non-probability sampling, "out of ignorance, because of a lack of time, or in special situations" (Neuman, W.L. 1994, 197). I used non-probability sampling techniques because of lack of time and because it was a special situation.

It was not feasible to obtain all the names of South African Indians in Auckland, (from a directory etc.), and then do a random selection of names to choose the respondents.

The types of sampling chosen for the personal interviews were purposive and snowball sampling. I had only four months to construct a population sample and gather the data in a foreign country.

In South Africa it was also very difficult to obtain the names of South African Indians who were going to immigrate to New Zealand. The Emigration Agencies in South Africa refused to furnish me with contact details, as this would have been unethical

"Purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations" (Neuman, W. L. 1994,198). This type of sampling uses the judgment of the researcher to select cases with a specific purpose in mind. Here each respondent does not have a known probability of being selected. The selection was made by human choice (me through the assistance of Theo) rather than at random. This method suffers in that no specific sampling theories are likely.

According to Neuman (1994), purposive sampling is appropriate in three cases. They are:

- a. If a researcher uses it to select specific cases that are especially informative to the study.
- b. A researcher uses it to select respondents from a difficult to reach specialized population.
- c. When a researcher wants to identify specific cases for in-depth study.

These three cases as set out by Neuman, corresponded with the target population I needed. Initially looking for South African Indians in Auckland was like trying to find a needle in a haystack. I enquired constantly everywhere I went, from supermarkets, to libraries, to petrol stations if anybody knew of any South African Indians.

I was based in Grey Lynn, Auckland and during my stay I did not notice any South African Indians there. Only later, I discovered that South African Indians preferred living in suburbs further away from the city. Most of the people I interviewed were from Howick and the surrounding areas. My choice of respondents had three restrictions. The sample had to be adult, South African and Indian.

Theo the waiter initiated identifying and selecting the sample according to these three criteria. Theo's friend, Ashika Phekoo, was a South African Indian student who lived in Howick, New Zealand. The process of snowballing began. The crucial feature of snowball sampling is "that each person is connected with another through a direct or indirect linkage" (Neuman, W.L. 1994, 199). From the nine case studies in New Zealand, six cases were acquired through snowball sampling. This did not mean that each person directly knows, interacts with, or is influenced by other people in the network. They are an "interconnected web of linkages" (Neuman, W.L. 1994, 199).

Similarly, I relied on word of mouth in South Africa, and through friends, family and colleagues acquired the respondents for the personal interviews.

Snowball and purposive types of sampling were also used to select cases in South Africa.

2.3.4. THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE FOR THE SURVEY – NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA.

I divided the population into racial subpopulations or strata and drew random samples from each stratum. I also attempted to draw equal number of male and female respondents. The restriction on the sample was that they had to be over fifteen years old in South Africa and New Zealand. In South Africa a large number of respondents were South African Indians were purposely chosen to necessitate the study.

2.4. THE RESEARCH PROCESS

2.4.1. GAINING ACCESS

To obtain my sample of South African Indians for the personal interviews I telephoned each respondent to set a time, date and venue for the interview. Telephone numbers were easily acquired through the directory once I knew the surnames of the respondents. Also some telephone numbers were passed on from one respondent to the next.

Fortunately, local calls are free in New Zealand. I introduced myself, and my topic telephonically and stated that I was conducting research for a Masters dissertation. Each potential participant was asked if he or she would be willing to engage in a recorded personal interview with me. I asked them to think about my proposition and that I would contact them for an appointment at a time which was convenient for them. Over a period of two weeks in New Zealand and over the period of a month in South Africa, I had accessed the number of subjects and was able to set up appointments with them for interviews.

2.4.2. THE INTERVIEWS

Each interview occurred at a place and time convenient for the participant concerned. Most interviews in New Zealand and South Africa occurred in the participant's home. There were a few exceptions where people who had work constraints suggested that we meet at their office or at a coffee shop. Either way it involved extensive traveling as all the participants did not live in the same suburb and sometimes lived in different cities altogether. While I was relatively familiar with the different cities in South Africa, locating some of the residential areas in New Zealand was challenging.

My own schedule and transport constraints had to be coordinated with the participant's schedule, which explains why it took several months to complete all the interviews in New Zealand and South Africa.

Once appointments were made I needed to ensure that the interviewees felt comfortable with me and that a relationship of trust was established before asking questions from the interview schedule. Prior to formally starting the interview, I spoke about myself, and the dissertation and engaged in a conversation with the interviewees. While speaking informally we were surprised to learn that we knew certain people in common. For example, while speaking to Joshna Naicker, she said that her maiden surname was Mownchand, and I realized that I knew her cousin from Pietermaritzburg. Such serendipities were discovered with a few other respondents as well.

I noted that when the interviewee and I realized that we knew certain people in common, the interviewee became more personal and provided detailed views and opinions during the interview. The interviewee felt more secure about trusting me. The privacy of being interviewed at home allowed the participants to freely express themselves without fear of being overheard.

The participants were very accommodating and courteous and often offered refreshments and sometimes a meal. Joshna Naicker said, "I've cooked a curry, with spices from South Africa. Would you like to have some?" (Personal interview in New Zealand). The respondents in New Zealand were very hospitable to me and were delighted to have some contact with another South African Indian. They were enthused by my dissertation and expressed gratitude for being allowed to express their opinions. Another respondent, Roger Madurai, said he felt happy to know that someone cared about them. (Personal interview in New Zealand).

I arrived at each appointment punctually and conservatively dressed. My physical appearance (that is being Indian) set many of the respondents as ease immediately. When participants were ready I encouraged any questions that they might have about my work or about me. This was crucial in establishing trust. I also provided proof of my identity in the form of my student identification card.

I asked the interviewees if they preferred to remain anonymous or to be identified and have their names mentioned and photograph taken. All participants voluntarily agreed to have their photographs taken and their names mentioned or printed.

After the prelude to the interview had been dealt with I asked if I would be allowed to record the interview on the dictaphone with the agreement that all names and places would be included in the transcription and actual dissertation. As soon as participants felt comfortable the interview began. The minimum time for each interview was an hour, and the maximum time was two hours. After the interview each interviewee was thanked for his or her time and ensured that all that had been disclosed in the interview was for research purposes only. Each interview was transcribed verbatim. The transcripts varied from ten pages to thirty-four pages per interview.

2.4.3. THE SURVEY

The New Zealand survey, which consisted of six pages, took an average of thirty minutes to complete and the South African survey, which was four pages long, took an average of twenty minutes to complete.

It was clearly stated in the Instruction Box that all personal and contact details divulged in the questionnaire are confidential. The New Zealand questionnaire was designed to investigate how people felt towards new migrants and how migrants were going to affect New Zealand, especially the job market.

The South African questionnaire focused on the reasons for emigration from South Africa, and highlighted the employment sector (See Appendix B). Both questionnaires included closed and open-ended questions. Honesty and clear answers were encouraged. Participants were briefed at the beginning that they might omit questions, which they felt were too sensitive or too personal.

2.5. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

2.5.1. ACCESSING THE RESPONDENTS

Accessing the respondents for the personal interviews, as previously stated, was quite difficult. It took a longer period of time to locate the interviewees than anticipated. Some people were initially afraid or very skeptical about being interviewed. After asking one potential respondent in New Zealand if she would consent to be interviewed, she immediately explained that all her paperwork was in order and that she is not an illegal immigrant. She was also a Jehovah's Witness and objected to the interview because she felt that it may be political and that goes against her religious practice. This lady arrived in New Zealand two weeks ago and declined to be interviewed.

Another participant in New Zealand thought that I was working for the South African government. He thought that I was accumulating statistics on South African emigrants for the South African government, and refused to be interviewed. Other participants in New Zealand who were not familiar with academic procedure were unsure why I needed to conduct interviews. Once I explained academic protocol and described the nature of the interview the participants became more relaxed and willingly participated.

Some South African Indians were very reluctant to be interviewed. Others welcomed the interview and used it as a means to acquire more information about New Zealand. Suren and his wife, for example, were immigrating to New Zealand without ever having been there. They were very interested in any bits and pieces of information that I could offer after the interview.

2.5.2. THE INTERVIEWS - PROBLEMS

The first constraint was time allocation, specifically from interviewees who were allocating a designated amount of work time to me. Viren Jagroo, for example, stated very politely, but quite firmly that he has only given me his time for an interview because Ashina is his cousin. (Ashina was the lead acquired through Theo, the waiter.) He also said that he is a busy businessman and that 'time is money' (Personal Interview in New Zealand). However, when we began the interview he allocated almost two hours to me instead of one.

The second problem that arose during the interviews was that some interviewees were very emotional, especially when they spoke of their family and friends in South Africa. Niri Singh, for example, was completely distraught and cried several times. I turned the dictaphone off and decided to stop the interview, but she insisted that we continue after a couple of minutes.

The third problem was the vast amount of traveling that had to be done. In New Zealand I had to travel to suburbs that were about one hour away from where I lived. Howick was about sixty kilometers away from Grey Lynn. I was unfamiliar with Auckland and locating the different residential areas, with the aid of maps, was very time consuming, physically exhausting and extremely expensive. Although the majority of the respondents from New Zealand were from Howick, their homes were not close to each other and all the interviews were not done on the same day. This meant that on five separate occasions I traveled to Howick, which was on the East shore. Other interviews were held on the North Shore, Mangere and Titirangi. The petrol costs for these interviews were very high.

In South Africa, all the personal interviews were conducted in the Pietermaritzburg and Durban area. This also involved extensive traveling to and from the different residential areas on different days. The petrol costs in South Africa was also very high.

The fourth problem encountered with conducting personal interviews from home was interruptions in the home environment. Most interviews were arranged to suit the interviewee and were during the late afternoon or evening. This was sometimes during meal preparation time when the entire family was at home. There were interruptions by their children or other people, or the telephone. Visa Singh, for example had approximately twelve people in her home during the interview. This caused difficulties in controlling the interview and making sure that participants did not become distracted. The flow of conversation became difficult at times.

The fifth problem was discovered during transcription of the interviews. The problem was that when two people were interviewed during the same time, they sometimes answered simultaneously. Transcribing their responses was difficult as the precise answers, from two people were sometimes difficult to hear. I recorded the response verbatim as it was on tape clearly outlining the people in the transcript.

The final problem was that the interviews were very time consuming. The interviews were very in-depth and the transcription demanded a considerable amount of time and effort. All transcripts were done personally as it was too expensive to hire the services of a typist.

2.5.3. THE SURVEY - PROBLEMS

The main problem with conducting the survey in New Zealand was that people, (New Zealanders), were hesitant about a foreigner asking questions about their country. Many refused to answer the questionnaire.

In South Africa the only problem arose when certain areas did not permit surveys to be conducted on their premises. For example, a petrol station in Durban prohibited any person from conducting any survey on the property.

2.6.COSTING

The research that I planned to undertake was an expensive one, because it involved traveling to New Zealand to collect the relevant quantitative and qualitative data. Although I am a recipient of the National Research Foundation Master's Equity Scholarship that contributed towards the cost of my studies, my family covered the remainder of my research expenses.

When I left for New Zealand in April 2002, five South African Rands converted into one New Zealand dollar. In addition the airfares to New Zealand was very expensive. To lessen the costs all human resources were managed by me. Table 2 summarises the basic costs involved in conducting this research project.

TABLE 2.

EXPENSES IN	AMOUNT IN	EXPENSES IN	AMOUNT IN
NEW ZEALAND	DOLLARS	SOUTH AFRICA	RANDS
1. Airfare			R8000-00
2. Accommodation	NZ\$220 per week		R15400-00
	(27/04/02l to		
	02/08/02) =		
	NZ\$3080		
3. Traveling for the	NZ\$ 20 x 9	R350-00	New Zealand
Personal	Personal		= R900-00
Interviews	Interviews =		South Africa
(Petrol)	NZ\$180		= R350-00
4. Telephone	To install NZ\$100	R 150-00	New Zealand
	Local Calls are free		= R500-00
			South Africa
			=R150-00
5. Internet	To join NZ\$75	R150-00	New Zealand
			= R375-00
			South Africa
			=R150-00
6. Photocopies	NZ\$30	R80-00	New Zealand
of questionnaires			= R150-00
			South Africa
			=R80-00
7. Photographs	NZ\$10	R56-00	New Zealand
			= R50-00
			South Africa
			=R56-00
8. Dictaphone and	NZ\$ 85	R 30-00	New Zealand
cassettes			= R425-00
			South Africa
			=R30-00
TOTAL			R 26 616-00

2.7. DEMOGRAPHICS AND COMPARABILITY

The respondents for the personal interviews from New Zealand and South Africa ranged between twenty-seven years and sixty years old. The average age of South African Indian respondents in New Zealand was 40 years old and South African Indians in South Africa, was 38 years old.

The age groups of the participants in New Zealand and South Africa cast no problems for comparability. All the participants are married and over the age of twenty-seven. The selected participants are very comparable as they share similar characteristics. All the respondents from New Zealand and South Africa are South African Indians, adults, married and employed. The similarity between the respondents in New Zealand and South Africa allows for more accurate comparability and assessment of the data collected. It also provided a good reflection of the population studied. This will be discussed in more detail later in the data analysis chapter.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

3. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

"As a general rule of thumb, never proceed with a study unless you have a good idea how you will analyse the data" (TerreBlanche M & Durrheim, K. 1999,47).

Methodological Triangulation (multiple methods) was used in this research project. The accumulation of substantial data from two different countries required information from a wide variety of sources. Convergent evidence from different sources, like personal interviews and surveys amongst others were used in this study. Methodological Triangulation methods proved to be best suited as it allowed for a wider spectrum of information to be gathered on the topic, migration to New Zealand.

The personal interviews that were carried out in New Zealand and South Africa were analysed using qualitative techniques.

The two different surveys from New Zealand and South Africa were analysed through quantitative methodology.

3.1.ANALYSIS OF THE PERSONAL INTERVIEWS IN NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA

There are three main themes of qualitative inquiry. They are Naturalistic, Holistic and Inductive. The theme of qualitative inquiry that I used was the Inductive theme. The Inductive theme concentrates on immersion "in the details and specifics of the data, to discover important categories, dimensions and interrelationships" (TerreBlanche, M & Durrheim, K. 1999,43). The interviews began with genuinely exploring open questions rather than testing a theoretically deductive hypothesis.

Social phenomena, like immigration to New Zealand, are context dependent. In other words, whatever the researcher is investigating depends on each unique experience of the individuals. Migration to New Zealand may be different to migration to England. Instead of predefining migration in abstract or theoretical terms, I approached observation inductively. General inferences were made from the themes in the personal interviews for each particular migration to New Zealand.

Migration is understood as a complex system and requires an in-depth style of investigation. Migration focuses on complex interdependencies, with the cause and effect relationship being a part of the whole inquiry. My investigation dealt intensely with the different causes for migration and the holistic effects that migration has on the family, society and the country.

Human experiences are recorded in the context of interaction through the personal interviews. The respondent's experiences are categorised into themes. Qualitative techniques of data analysis begin with identifying themes from the data that was collected and explaining the relationships between these themes (Terre Blanche, M & Durrheim, K. 1999, 47). Through analysis of themes a better understanding of migration is built. There is no "magical tool for finally uncovering the treasures of meaning hidden in the many pages of opaque interview transcripts" (Kvale, S. 1996, 187).

Therefore, when I constructed the interview schedule for the personal interviews each questioned was designed around a theme (Appendix B). This narrowed the focus of the interviews and led to the data being analysed more succinctly. Instead of looking for themes in a large collection of data, the themes were collectively organised in the transcription. This approach, I discovered, results in a more speedy analysis of mass qualitative data.

There are no main roads leading to the analysis of the themes though. In the past many researchers had to rely on their own individual methods of data analysis by "developing their own hunches or by chance finding some suggestions in the scattered qualitative literature" (Kvale, S. 1996, 188). Today there is substantial information on different methods of qualitative analysis. The method I used to analyse the themes from the personal interviews involved five steps.

These are the steps:

Step 1

I identified the themes first, to refine the explanation to which I was working.

Step 2

I then worked out exactly how these themes are interconnected. I tried to establish what relationship each theme has with the other and with the topic.

Step 3

Next, I returned to the transcripts and tape recordings to check the validity of the themes and explanations for them.

Step 4

The fourth step involved refining a set of generalisations that explain the themes and relationships identified in the data.

Step 5

The final step was to compare the new generalising statements with explanations that already exist. I had to develop my findings in convergence with my fieldwork.

To draw accurate and valid conclusions from the study I had to collect sound data to analyse and interpret.

That explains why the minimum time per interview was one hour. This amount of time allowed for more concise data accumulation. If respondents answered in a way that was not clear or ambiguous, I probed for a clearer response. The main reason for this was that it would not have been easy for me to contact people from New Zealand months later for a more precise response to a question.

"The issues of objectivity, reliability and validity are as relevant to qualitative research as to any other approach" (Denscombe, M. 1998, 212). The role of the researcher in qualitative research is important. My personal experiences in New Zealand, for example, and my own value system did not affect my research strategies or findings. At the outset of this project I was fully aware that being Indian and conducting research on Indian people might create a bias. Therefore I prepared my self for detachment from the interviewees and involvement of self-identity.

However, I found that while South African Indians in New Zealand and South Africa were very receptive to me, I knew that the overfriendliness some times was due to being of the same racial background. Although this created a bias, I found that the respondents were very cooperative with detailed opinions during the interview. Some may argue that this may affect the reliability of the data gathered, and that if someone else did the research he or she may have not been able to gather such in-depth data. My argument is that although being Indian may have created a bias it was greatly advantageous in that a large amount of detailed, valuable data was accumulated.

Secondly, if someone else did the same research there is a high probability that they would have yielded similar results and similar conclusions. The difference is that my findings were a little more personal and in-depth. Further, because the researcher is an integral part of qualitative research instrumentation, the researcher will always carry unavoidable minor biases. "Research work is undertaken in very different settings by researchers who bring very different personal and professional qualities to bear" (Denscombe, M. 1998, 214).

The disadvantage of qualitative research is that the interpretation is bound up with the researcher. The way that I coped with this was by being self-aware and maintaining an open mind.

The issue of reliability then was based on fulfilling my aims and purpose of the study very cautiously and as ethically and honestly as I possibly could. Further, the validity of the information obtained was checked in the following ways:

- I ensured that the conclusions do justice to the complexity of the issues concerning migration to New Zealand.
- I avoided oversimplifications of people's opinions.
- Although, I am South African Indian and I interviewed other South African Indians, I was unbiased in reporting my findings.
- I complied with the aims and purposes of my study.
- I explored possible alternative explanations and did not pump for an explanation that fits the topic.
- My findings were triangulated with alternative sources and key informants, as a way of bolstering their validity.
- The research findings will be fed back (via electronic mail) to the respondents from the personal interviews.
- The findings and conclusions of my study are geared towards generating new concepts and theories that are grounded in empirical reality. According to the principals of grounded theory, I constantly checked explanations against my findings and refined them during the research process. I did not start my research with any theory to test; therefore according to the rules of grounded theory, my study took shape during the investigation.

As a result, I was able to capture valid data because the meaning of my topic was induced through interview schedules for the personal interviews and questionnaires, for the survey. Validity, however, is defined by how coherent and believable the data I produced is, to the respondents, you, the reader, and me. The research paradigm, purpose and techniques I used fit together logically and complement each other.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY IN NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA

"The analysis of data is a complex field of knowledge" (Neuman, W.L. 1994,282). Quantitative data needs to be evaluated, organised and manipulated to gain insight into the research topic. The raw data from the questionnaires had to be reorganised into a suitable form for computers, represented graphically, summarised, interpreted and given theoretical meaning. Just as valid data had to be collected for the personal interviews, valid data needed to be collected for the survey in order to come to valid conclusions. I believe that the data I collected for this study was valid as I used quantitative scales through the questionnaires to measure immigration to New Zealand. "The validity of the data is defined by the extent to which the operational definition is a true reflection of the conceptual definition" (TerreBlanche, M & Durrheim, K. 1999, 46).

Through the questionnaires responses from large pools of people from New Zealand and South Africa were measured and this facilitated generalisation, groups from different country comparison and statistical analysis.

The three basic procedures used to prepare quantitative data that was collected from questionnaires, for analysis, according to Neuman (1994) are:

- a. Code the data
- b. Enter the data
- c. Clean the data

The raw data was cleaned first, then coded, entered, cleaned again and evaluated. It is logical that one needs to **clean** raw data before coding it. By cleaning the raw data initially I looked for errors and duplications. I checked that two respondents did not fill in the same questionnaire. It became evident that some respondents failed to answer certain questions.

Through this process, I became familiar with the questionnaires again and this was essential as the first survey was conducted in June 2002 in New Zealand. Cleaning the data allowed me to evaluate the raw data before coding it. As a result the coding was more accurate.

Coding means systematically organising raw data into a format that is computer readable. In other words, coding means that the raw data has to be set into a system of numbers or letters, that would be easier to analyse. Once I coded the data into numerical form, I represented the data in the form of tables, charts and graphs. I chose these forms of data presentation as they are visually powerful, and are an effective way of presenting succinct data. I endeavoured to present enough information without an information overload to the reader. I created rules and consistently applied these rules for transferring information from the questionnaire form (words) into numbers. Coding can be simple and more like a clerical task if the researcher is recording data as numbers on recording sheets, for example.

However, it was difficult to code word answers, like answers to open ended survey questions, into numbers. I tackled this problem by analysing openended questions and interpreted them into categories that I coded. Numbers were assigned to variable attributes. Each category of a variable in the research needed a numerical code. Unanswered questions and 'non-applicable' answers also needed to be coded. By doing this, the coded data is an exact reflection of the raw data except that it is in a coded form.

Entering the data was done in table and chart format. Most computer programmes offer a plethora of different templates for presenting results through tables and charts. Tables, for example, have each row representing a respondent, subject or cases. The columns represent specific variables. "When constructing a chart or table, though, it is important for the researcher to have a clear view about which variable is seen to be the 'cause' and which is the 'effect'" (Denscombe, M. 1998, 184). The independent variable (or the 'cause') is on the horizontal axis and the dependent variable (or the 'effect') is on the vertical axis.

Tables were an easy tool to use in the presentation of data, because they are flexible and fairly straightforward.

Bar charts and pie charts are visually dramatic and very effective. They capture the attention of the reader and convey data very simply. It was easier for me to present data using pie charts and bar charts than tables. All in all, consolidation of data from the questionnaires was a tricky task. It required intense concentration for accurate transference of data. After reviewing the data, it was analysed and entered.

Re-cleaning the data was the final evaluation of the data. I checked if the data capturing was done accurately. Through the process of editing and being satisfied with the result, the data was presented. My aim was to present the opinions of the respondents in a readable and comprehensive manner. Amidst all the complexities of analysing quantitative data, I tried to present the findings in the simplest way possible.

In surveys answers given by respondents are part of a relationship of something they are supposed to measure. The questions posed in the questionnaires designed for the sample population in New Zealand and South Africa, were measuring the respondent's opinions on migration and how it affects the respective countries. The other measure was of opinions on the job market and crime. Therefore the construction of good questions was imperative to yield reliable and valid results. The questions I constructed were clear, worded accurately with well-defined unambiguous terms.

The reliability of the questionnaires was weighed against consistent measures that could be comparable with New Zealand and South Africa. The validity of the questionnaires rested on the purpose of the questionnaires. According to my evaluations the questionnaires were both reliable and valid. The well thought out questions provided reliable and consistent measures for the reasons underlying migration and the answers corresponded to my criteria of what I intended to measure.

CHAPTER 4 NEW ZEALAND IMMIGRATION PROFILE AND STATISTICS

4.1. IMMIGRATION PROFILE AND STATISTICS

Obtaining information on New Zealand statistics was very expensive in New Zealand. Customised data services would have cost between three thousand three hundred New Zealand dollars, and to twenty five thousand New Zealand dollars (http://news.bbc.co.uk).

For the first time however, 300 census databases would be made accessible to New Zealanders for free, when the country's 2001 census was planned to go on line at the end of May 2002. During my time in New Zealand, accumulating New Zealand statistics was not only expensive and therefore inaccessible to me, but also very difficult to find out just about anything on the current population of New Zealand, except for the basic facts. Searching other websites proved to be useful though. Wellington City Council Librarian, Eileen Wharton, says statistical information about New Zealand is exactly what people need, "and there was no way for them to get that information before because it was too expensive" (http://news.bbc.co.uk).

Although the New Zealand government has allocated six hundred and seventeen New Zealand dollars to provide free data from the census online, the most up to date immigration statistics I discovered, was released by the Immigration Minister Lianne Dalziel, for the years, 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002, from February, and are represented in Table 3.

(http://www.nzimmigrationguide.co.nz/NZ Immigration Monitor 04.htm)

TABLE 3.

MONTH AND YEAR	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS AND
	LONG TERM ARRIVALS IN NEW
	ZEALAND
February 1999	4,948
February 2000	5,758
February 2001	7,164
February 2002	8,574

Glaringly there is a steady increase in the numbers of immigrants and long-term arrivals in New Zealand. February 2000 saw an increase of 810 new immigrants and long-term arrivals in comparison to February 1999. These number of new arrivals to New Zealand to permanently reside or stay for long periods of time multiplied by over seventeen times the following year. February 2001 kept in line with a drastic increase of 1406 new immigrants and long-term arrivals.

It is important to remember that Jackson has stressed that statistics are not always accurate (Jackson, J, A. 1986, 8). They are an estimate because there is no exact measurement for movement of people. There is no way of knowing for certain if all permanent residents or long term arrivals have permanently settled in New Zealand. The statistics do not account for deaths and births. People born in Great Britain but who have lived in South Africa for most of their lives, would be counted as British born.

In addition, many migrants recognise the practical value of New Zealand citizenship for international travel and, or for future migration to Australia for example. Therefore statistics of permanent residents are merely a rough estimate

According to Dalziel, February 2002 "saw an 1,410 increase in arrivals in New Zealand"

(http://www.nzimmigrationguide.co.nz/NZ Immigration Monitor 04.htm).

According to the article February Immigration Statistics,

(http://www.nzimmigrationguide.co.nz/NZ Immigration Monitor 04.htm) there has been an increase in permanent residence approvals in 2002 and they are exceeding the migrant target for 2002. The total number of immigrants and long-term arrivals for the years 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002 is 26,444, adding to a country whose population is approximately 3,8 million.

The data I obtained through Immigration Centre, from a free seminar on migration to New Zealand that was held at the Westville Hotel in Durban on the 4 September 2002, was that New Zealand's population is made up of about four million people now. Durban in comparison, which is only a city in KwaZulu-Natal, has approximately six and half million people. The two major immigration cities in New Zealand is Auckland, with an estimate population of one million one hundred people, and Wellington, the capital of New Zealand with three hundred and fifty thousand people.

Wellington and Auckland have more employment advertised in The New Zealand Herald than any other cities in New Zealand. According to the spokesman for the Immigration Centre, at the seminar, New Zealand "needs very qualified people to keep their economy going." It was worthwhile to note that there were twenty Indians, six Whites and four Coloureds who attended the seminar and were contemplating immigrating to New Zealand that day.

My attempt to obtain specific statistical information on the estimated number or percentage of South Africans and South African Indians immigrating to New Zealand for the past few years through immigration agencies was difficult. I contacted Protea Pacific New Zealand Immigration Specialists in Auckland and Durban, who have been in the migration business for the last fourteen years, New Zealand Immigration consultants and Immigration Centre

in Durban, to enquire about the number of South Africans Indians who have immigrated through them over the past fourteen years.

If some figures would have been provided I would have been able to determine the years when immigration numbers grew. The various reasons offered for the unavailability of information, by the different agencies was:

- There are different stages in the migration process therefore it is not possible to give exact numbers
- There is no time available for the agency to help me
- The company is understaffed and perhaps they would be able to help at a latter stage.

Given the time constraints of this dissertation, I was unable to wait for their data. Two agencies did not reply to messages left on their answering machines or via electronic mail.

According to Corrie Rademeyer, "the number of expatriate South Africans in New Zealand has grown by 130% to 26,061 in the five years to 2001" (http://www.sanztrust.org.nz/numbers.html). South Africa according to this article has the highest growth rate of immigrants, to date in New Zealand. It surpasses the immigrants from China, India, Korea, Great Britain, Samoa, Fiji, and Australia. The South African community is the fifth largest immigrant community in New Zealand and forms less than one percent of the population though.

I could not find specific information on the number of South African Indian immigrants in New Zealand. Nonetheless, it seems that South Africans are considering New Zealand as an attractive place to immigrate to. New Settlers Programme Leader at the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University in Auckland, Andrew Trlin, says, "that it appears South Africans are ideally suited to settling in New Zealand" (http://www.sanztrust.org.nz/bench.html).

He believes South Africans share a similar language (English), qualifications and cultural background with New Zealanders. Some the South African Indians I interviewed in New Zealand felt that New Zealand was quite similar to South Africa while others have trouble adjusting to the different cultures in New Zealand, climate and education methods. I believe that this generalisation that Trlin makes is not only a broad one, but is based more on the migration experience of White South Africans. Other races from South Africa who speak different languages may not adjust as easily as English speaking South Africans.

Furthermore, I do not believe that South African Indians for example share a similar cultural background with New Zealander's as a general category. New Zealand is made up of four vastly different ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are European or Pakeha - as they are called in New Zealand - Maori, Pacific Island Polynesian, who are commonly referred to as Islanders in New Zealand and Asians. If according to Trlin's statement, South Africans and New Zealanders share similar qualifications, why are South African qualifications, so rigidly scrutinized by the New Zealand's Qualifications Authority (NZQA)?

In the article, South Africans set the benchmark, (http://www.sanztrust.org.nz/bench.html), from 35 South African principal applicants (who were eighty percent male and had a mean age of 41 years), and their families who took up permanent residence between July 1997 and May 1998 only 25,7% of them had their qualifications recognised by New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

However, while Trlin states that the South African population group is being used as a benchmark to measure the progress of other immigrant groups in New Zealand it might not necessarily mean that this indicates a successful immigration assimilation in or integration of South Africans with the host country.

4.2. IMMIGRATION - PULL AND PUSH FACTORS

According to the New Zealand immigration government website the three main broad streams of immigration to New Zealand are based on economic, social and humanitarian (that is sometimes based on political factors), reasons. Economic reasons for migration include higher paid jobs, cheaper transportation and cheaper education fees. Social reasons include reunion of close relatives from overseas with family already in New Zealand. From the nine interviews conducted in New Zealand, only Mrs Ramasar migrated to New Zealand to be with her two daughters who were already there. Migration for humanitarian reasons, in a South African context, relates more to people leaving because of affirmative action policies, and the unstable political climate in South Africa (According to data obtained from the questionnaires in South Africa).

One of the motives behind South African migration to New Zealand is often economic. Internal migration, where people moved from farms to cities is a prime example of migration for economic reasons (Definitions of Migration. http://www.britannica.com). The same reason can be provided for external migration where people leave one country or continent to live in another. This search for jobs because of exclusion from the job market due to affirmative action policies according to the personal interviews and survey conducted in South Africa, is one of the leading contributors for South African Indian male's decision to migrate to New Zealand. New Zealand's economy can be described as a mixed economy. Although New Zealand's main exports are wool, food, dairy products, wood and paper, the country has moved away from farming as the main generator of wealth and employment. Therefore a new demand for professionals across a broad spectrum has arisen.

During my time in New Zealand, New Zealanders voiced their opinion that English Second Language (ESL) teaching has become a new forceful player in the New Zealand economy. Many foreigners from China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Brazil and Russia are coming to New Zealand to learn English.

There has been a boom in English Second Language (ESL) industry, which not only brings a significant amount of foreign investment into New Zealand, but also a large number of tourists and permanent residents. South African immigrants in New Zealand, like Mrs Ramasar's daughter, Sudira, are benefiting from the ESL industry, by using it as additional income. Visa (another interviewee) and her husband, also subsidize their incomes by ESL teaching at night. Visa said that a teacher's salary is not adequate to support a family (Personal Interview in New Zealand).

Unemployment stands at a rate of 5% according to Protea Pacific Limited Immigration Consultants (http://www.proteapacific.co.nz), and this is one of the major pull factors for immigration to New Zealand. According to Protea Pacific Limited Immigration Consultants there is a chronic skills shortage in New Zealand. At the seminar hosted by Immigration Centre in Durban, the spokesman said that New Zealand needs qualified people like, pharmacists, university academic staff, nurses, plumbers, mechanics, printers, carpenters, technicians, and other artisan related trades, to keep their economy going. The contradiction is that in reality an abundance of those jobs are not available. Bruce Curtis, a sociology lecturer at Auckland University, said that New Zealand would be down sizing its universities and employment at universities is becoming increasingly difficult.

The warnings offered by the spokesman for Immigration Centre at the seminar to potential South African migrants included the opinion that some New Zealanders may offer them the lowest wage because they are foreigners. Based on the feedback they received from their clients, some South Africans were blatantly exploited in the workforce economically. He further warned the potential immigrants that immigrating to New Zealand is not going to be a "walk in the park" (Immigration Centre seminar). I respected the honesty of this statement because people need to be realistically informed before embarking on life changing decisions. The seminar was beneficial to potential migrants because during some of the interviews conducted in South Africa a few interviewees described New Zealand as utopia.

Some of the potential immigrants who have never been to New Zealand have unrealistic expectations about life in New Zealand. Some of the people interviewed in South Africa have never been to New Zealand, and had accumulated very little information about the place. These unrealistic expectations that one will arrive in New Zealand, find a job and settle into a wonderful life is reinforced by web pages like http://www.geocites.com/satonz/, where South Africans who are already in New Zealand describe their experience to other South Africans who are thinking of immigrating to New Zealand. A South African living in New Zealand says,

"The big question is (I presume) - how are we doing? Great, absolutely great. We're still in the honeymoon phase- enjoying the incredible freedom and safety, the cleanliness, the efficient and friendly service, the general feeling of things are working. I'm sure there will still be quite a few blue days ahead, but I'm confident that we made the right decision. My only regret is that we didn't do it sooner" (http://www.goecites.com/satonz/).

By contrast other articles offer a more realistic account of what life is like in New Zealand. Attracting skilled migrants is aimed at lifting New Zealand's economy, yet the reality of acquiring jobs in line with the migrant's professional qualifications can be very difficult. Four new immigrants, which comprised of two Indians, a Zimbabwean and a South African, were interviewed by the New Zealand Weekend Herald (Appendix B).

"Between them, the four new immigrants have applied for nearly 700 jobs. They have university degrees and all have a wealth of experience, in their professions. But their stacks of rejection letters just get bigger. They are either over-qualified or they do not have the "Kiwi" experience needed for the job. So these fluent but strongly accented English speakers offer their time free to get the experience only to be told the company does not do that kind of thing. One was refused a job because the \$16 an hour pay was "too low" for someone so qualified. Another was refused a job valet parking because other applicants were more

qualified. It does not matter what they do to convince a prospective employer to give them a chance, the goalposts will shift and they will be fobbed off over and over" (The New Zealand Weekend Herald. February 23-24, 2002, A13).

This is only one example of how so called 'pull' factors (like a cornucopia of employment in New Zealand) need to be further dissected and scrutinized. These four immigrants qualified for entrance to New Zealand and thought that finding a job would be simple. They did not realize that "Kiwi experience" (which is work experience in New Zealand) is essential to some employers (The New Zealand Weekend Herald, February 23-24, 2002, A13).

All four know other immigrants who are as highly qualified as them, who work as checkout operators, cleaners, telemarketers and car parkers. So while there may be employment available, immigrants may not be able to work in their area of expertise or practise according to their qualifications. The South African, who was one of the four people interviewed, was surprised that the New Zealand government is still calling for more skilled migrants, when skilled migrants are unable to gain employment. "'Do they really need more telemarketers?' he sarcastically asks" (The New Zealand Weekend Herald, February 23-24, 2002, A13).

Therefore it is important for potential immigrants to bear in mind that while unemployment rates might be low, there are no guarantees of finding employment once they are in New Zealand.

Another pull factor contributing to South African immigration to New Zealand is the low crime rates in comparison to South Africa. "Some wanted a haven from violence, others just wanted new experiences. Either way, as Chloe Groser discovered, these families from South Africa found what they were looking for" (Appendix B).

(In praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/inl/index/)

Revennie Chetty, a South African Indian was interviewed by The Evening Post in New Zealand and said that she left South Africa "partly because of the crime and racial tension, but mainly in search of new experiences and a better life for her children" (In praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/).

However, New Zealand is not free of crime or racial tension either. All the South African Indians who were interviewed in New Zealand agreed that there has been an increase in crime in New Zealand. Six of the nine interviewees were directly affected by crime in New Zealand, but as Niri Singh in her interview said the "blatant senseless killing and crime" (Interview in New Zealand) in South Africa is just too much to bear so New Zealand offers a haven from it.

A topical documentary 'Chinks, Coconuts And Curry-Munchers' was aired in New Zealand on TV3 on Thursday the 14 of November 2002 at 8:30pm, to address race and racism in New Zealand. "There are some cutting observations, like that from university lecturer Shudri Kothari, who suggests racism is interesting because while the influx of ethnic food has been welcomed here, some Kiwis' 'hate the bastards at the same time'" (New Zealand Herald, November 14, Thursday, 2002, A22). This article highlights the presence of racism and racial stereotyping in New Zealand by New Zealanders (Appendix B).

Amidst the pull factors like the pristine environment, political stability, safe transportation, cheap vehicles on sale and cleanliness, the high housing costs and taxes balance the scale once again. Average house sale prices in the North Shore, which is a middle class suburb, costs around two hundred and eighty thousand dollars, rounded off to the nearest ten, according to The New Zealand Immigration Service Permanent Residence Documentation. This converts to one million and four hundred thousand South African Rand. The new immigrant is hindered further financially when the South African Rand is divided by five when converted into New Zealand dollars.

According to figures presented by Immigration Centre at the seminar, most working-weeks consist of forty working hours, where on average people earn seven hundred and twenty New Zealand dollars per fortnight. After tax deductions, it is about five hundred and sixty dollars every fortnight. The average weekly housing rental in and near the city is one hundred and twenty dollars per week and the average food expense for two people is one hundred dollars per week. This leaves one hundred and forty dollars for other expenses like travelling, medical care etc. In the words of the spokesman at the seminar hosted by Immigration Centre, "Immigration to New Zealand for the South African is no longer an easy road to go down, and one has to be mindful of that situation."

Leader of the ACT NZ Party, Richard Prebble, stated in his tax survey letter (which I received when I was in New Zealand) that New Zealand has the highest company taxes in the Asian/Pacific region. New Zealand is one of the highest paying tax countries in the world. The reason underlying the high taxes is because tax funds are used to provide a good social welfare system. However, in 2002 social welfare cost the government fourteen billion dollars. Any person who works in New Zealand and earns an annual income of less than thirty-eight thousand dollars pays nineteen and a half percent tax for every dollar (New Zealand Immigration Service Immigration Documentation). Most people in New Zealand fall in this annual income bracket. If people earn more than thirty-eight thousand dollars but less than sixty thousand dollars per annum, the taxes are at an even higher thirty-three cents for every dollar over thirty-eight thousand dollars (New Zealand Immigration Service Immigration Documentation).

Taking all this into account, why are so many South Africans still considering immigration to New Zealand? New Zealand's Prime Minister, Helen Clark, was in South Africa in September 2002. On the sixth of September 2002, she was the guest speaker on the Tim Modise radio talk show on SaFm.

She said that New Zealand is a "small country and I understand we have something like 50 000 of South African birth there" (Audiocassette recording of Helen Clark on the Tim Modise show, 6 September 2002, 9-10am, SaFm). Some of the reasons voiced by South Africans who chose to migrate to New Zealand are:

Ms Vigne and Colette Nowitz, "The political situation was extremely tense (in South Africa). There was a lot of animosity and hatred and that's where the violence stemmed from" (Appendix B).

(In Praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/inl/index)

Valda and Steven Schecter, "It (South Africa) was still divided into areas. One for the whites, one for the blacks, another for the coloureds and another for the Asians" (Appendix B).

(In Praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/inl/index)

Tony Delo, "He got stuck here. He left South Africa for a change in scene, not to escape violence. His hometown, Port Elizabeth, was a more stable city, and not affected by the trouble plaguing the other areas. I always wanted to see New Zealand. And I'm happy here. The lifestyle, the people are very open and free, whereas in South Africa it's very rigid" (Appendix B).

(In Praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/inl/index)

Zelda MacKenzie, "Many families didn't leave because of violence, but in search of opportunity and because of the troubled currency. They've had opportunities they'd never had in South Africa" (Appendix B).

(In Praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/inl/index)

Revennie Chetty, "There was such diversity of cultures here" (Appendix B). (In Praise of a laidback life. http://www.stuff.co.nz/inl/index)

Ultimately, what is the attraction to New Zealand according to Prime Minister Helen Clark? "New Zealand is a small country, very ambitious, but very confident!"

(Audiocassette recording with Tim Modise and Helen Clark, 6 September 2002, 9-10am, SaFm).

CHAPTER 5 DATA ANALYSIS – SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS IN NEW ZEALAND

5.1. DESCRIPTION OF CASE STUDIES

The personal interviews in New Zealand consisted of nine sets of interviews with twelve respondents. All the respondents were South African Indians above the age of twenty- seven. The personal interviews took place in July 2002. The photographs of the respondents are in Appendix C.

The first interview was with Mrs Ramasar. She is about sixty years old and does not work. She lives in McKittrick Avenue, East Tamaki, Howick, Auckland. She had just arrived in New Zealand and was in Auckland for almost four months. She was still in the process of unpacking her boxes of possessions that just arrived from South Africa. Her lounge suite, curtains, prayer lamps, photographs, kitchenware, etc were from her home in South Africa. She arrived in New Zealand with her husband and son to join her two daughters who had left South Africa a couple of years ago. Asha, her daughter who is married immigrated to New Zealand four years ago and Sudira who is unmarried, emigrated two years ago. Mrs Ramasar also has two daughters in Sydney, Australia. Her son, who was out looking for employment, had already been to New Zealand for ten months on holiday and her husband had returned to South Africa to finalise some financial issues. Mrs Ramasar and her family owned a sugar cane plantation in the South Coast, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. She was on her own during the interview.

The second interview was with Judy. Judy is about thirty something. Her husband Stan was not interviewed because he was at work. Judy and Stan do not have any family in New Zealand. Stan is a car salesman and Judy is a nurse. Judy has two young daughters and lives in Wairau Road, Northshore, Auckland. Judy and Stan have been in New Zealand for almost four years. She applied for a nursing position in Auckland, from South Africa and was successful.

The third interview was with Visa Singh. Visa is in her late forties. She is a remedial teacher. Her husband, Vinodh, who is also a teacher, was not keen on being interviewed. Visa made the decision to migrate to New Zealand in August 1996 and spent five months in New Zealand alone. While she was in Auckland she lived with friends and began the process of applying for teaching positions.

She returned to New Zealand in January 1997 with her children and Vinodh joined his family in July 1998. Visa and her family live in DeQuincy Terrace, Highland Park, Howick. During the interview there were about ten other Indians (from Fiji and South Africa) was in Visa's home. Visa and her family have been in New Zealand for five years.

The fourth interview was with Sherine and Roger Madurai. They are in their thirties. Roger had been in New Zealand for about four months and Sherine had just arrived in New Zealand six weeks ago. In South Africa, Roger was a business analyst programmer for Telkom and Sherine was an accounts clerk, who was also involved in resolutions ticketing and consulting for Singapore Airlines.

They have two young children who are in primary school. Sherine and Roger have recently rented a three-bedroom house in Bleakhouse Road, Mellons Bay, Howick, Auckland. Their home is filled with their possessions from South Africa. The interview was conducted in their dining room.

The fifth interview was with Niri Singh. She is her mid-forties. Niri Singh and her family have been in New Zealand since 1998. In May 1997, Niri, her husband and her two teenage children came to New Zealand for one month on holiday. Niri's husband was in South Africa during the time of the interview. They still own a business in South Africa and every year, Niri's husband returns to South Africa to evaluate the business. Niri and her family live in Dempsey Street, Remuera, Auckland. She is alone in her home and appeared to be very depressed. She cried a few times during the interview. Niri and her family have been in New Zealand for four years.

The sixth interview was with Doctor Pravedh Sewnarain. He is in his early fifties. Doctor Pravedh could only spare time for an interview in his surgery at Orly Avenue, Mangere, Auckland. He also resides with his family in Howick. He and his family have been living in New Zealand for eight years and two months. His brother, sister and wife's sister also live in New Zealand, before he arrived there. Doctor Pravedh's wife is a primary school teacher and his children are fourteen and twelve years old. His surgery is situated in a predominant Maori suburb. Most of his patients were young pregnant woman.

The seventh interview was with Joshna and Angela Naicker. Joshna is in her forties and Angela is in her sixties. Angela is Joshna's mother in law. Joshna is employed on a part time basis and scheduled the interview just before she could leave for work at two o' clock that afternoon. Her husband is a mechanic. Angela has about ten other family members from South Africa living in different suburbs in Auckland. Joshna and her husband had three children in South Africa and Joshna accidentally fell pregnant in New Zealand with her son. Joshna and her family live with her mother in law in O'Halloran Road, Howick, Auckland. Not long after their arrival in New Zealand, Angela was diagnosed with leukaemia. The Naicker family lived in Pietermaritzburg in South Africa. Joshna and her family have been in New Zealand for four years.

The eighth interview was with Viren Jagroo, at his office. Viren is in his forties. He is an extremely busy man during the week and works on a tight time schedule. Viren has postgraduate qualifications and is working as an estate agent. His office is based in Pakuranga, but he lives in Howick.

Viren, his wife and their two children have been in New Zealand for four years. They have family who live on the North Shore, but they are not in frequent contact. Viren's wife was teaching full time for the past four years in Auckland, but she teaches on a relief bases now. The interview, through Viren's consent exceeded the time frame, which Viren originally stipulated on. Viren and his family have been in New Zealand for four years and one month.

The nineth interview was with Vinesh and Venessa Naidoo. Venessa is twenty-seven years old and Vinesh is thirty years old. Vinesh owns a plumbing business, called Trench Plumbers and his wife works for him. After living in Howick for two years, they moved to Titirangi, in the Waitakeri. The Waitakeri area has more wilderness appeal than built up suburbs like Howick. Vinesh and Venessa have a daughter and are planning their second child. The interview was conducted in their home. This was the longest interview that I carried out. It took almost two hours. They have been in New Zealand for three and a half years.

All the interviewees are either citizens or in the process of applying for New Zealand citizenship.

5.2. ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.2.1. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS - CENTRAL THEMES

There were six central themes that enveloped the topic of South African Indian migration to New Zealand. The questions for the personal interviews were constructed around these themes: the reason for South African Indian migration, the migration experience from a South African Indian perspective, reflections of Indian culture, problems experienced by the migrants in New Zealand and the conceptualisation of the new 'home'. The six central themes were narrowed into three major themes. Reasons for South African Indian migration includes the problems that the immigrants face and their diasporic migration experience in relation to the first Indian migration to South Africa. These themes tell us about the respondent's lived world in New Zealand, and unwraps the meaning of these experiences to uncover the effects of their migration. Through analysis of the central themes the surface of the conscious experience is stripped and the deeper sociological meanings are mined. Through the basic mode of human interaction — conversation — I got to know people and learnt about their experiences, feelings and hopes.

The analysis of the themes has lead to the discovery of new knowledge, and instigated a process of reflection that has led me to new ways of cultural understandings. I attempted to uncover taken for granted values and customs of South African Indians and to explore new ways of understanding them and their new country.

Through these conversations I hope to lead others to new understandings and insights on the experiences of South African Indian migration. The themes are an essential part of knowledge formation on this topic. Beginning with how they entered New Zealand, their experiences in the new environment and the understanding of home, the themes engage in the South African Indian migration to New Zealand.

The three themes are:

- i. Reasons for Migration
- ii. Reflections on Indian Culture
- iii. Home as a Symbol of Space, Place and Identity (see Appendix D and E) (the new home)

i. Reasons for Migration

" 7 423 people left South Africa in the first six months of this year. 12 260 left last year", to ten destinations across the globe (The Daily News, Wednesday, October 16 2002, I).

According to the latest migration figures released by Statistics South Africa, collated in the first half of this year, New Zealand is the fourth most popular immigration destination for South Africans. The top three destinations in chronological order are the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States of America. For the year 2001, 1091 South Africans immigrated to New Zealand, and between January and July 2002 another 688 South Africans left for New Zealand again. Three respondents interviewed in New Zealand, (Mrs Ramasar, Sherine and Roger Madurai), were part of the South Africa emigration figures between January and July 2002. They were the newest migrants from South Africa who were interviewed in New Zealand.

The main reasons for leaving South Africa, according to the respondents were:

- New Zealand was an accessible destination for South African Indians especially.
- To reunite with family
- Because of crime in South Africa
- New experiences
- For the betterment of their children

Three respondents settled for New Zealand as an immigration destination because it was a country that was more accessible to them than other countries like Canada and Australia. According to Roger Madurai, Canada, which was his first choice of country to immigrate to, became more rigid with criteria for immigration, especially after the September 11, attacks on the United States of America. Viren Jaroo's first choice of country for immigration was also Canada. He said, "The entry requirements seemed a little bit easier here (New Zealand) than in Canada. I knew a few people here" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

Mrs Ramasar said that she wanted to migrate to Sydney in Australia, where two of her daughters live. However, in order to be sponsored to live in Sydney, one of the requirements was that fifty percent of one's family must permanently reside there. Mrs Ramasar's family was almost equally divided, with three members in South Africa, two in Australia and two in New Zealand. Mrs Ramasar, her husband and her son, were not eligible for sponsorship to Australia but qualified for sponsorship quite easily to New Zealand where her other two daughters are permanent residents.

According to The New Zealand Immigration Service Immigration documentation, any person who has immediate family members who are New Zealand citizens or residents and who live permanently in New Zealand can apply for permanent residency in New Zealand under the family category. They can also be sponsored under the same criteria as set out in the Family Quota Category. There are no restrictions for permanent residency applications based on the percentage of family members in New Zealand, like Australia has.

South African Indians are more restricted than South African Whites in choosing immigration destinations because they do not qualify for ancestry visas to countries like the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, among others. Also their citizenship status is often only South African and most do not hold dual citizenship with other countries.

Therefore access to other countries is very restricted. New Zealand offers them an opportunity to live and work more easily than in Britain. As stated in chapter 4, New Zealand has opened channels for South African Indians (after acquiring citizenship) to other countries like Britain and Australia, where it is easier to enter by being a New Zealand citizen than a South African citizen. This new way to travel was expressed by five respondents.

Three respondents, (Joshna Naicker, Viren Jagroo and Doctor Pravedh Sewnarain), said that having family in New Zealand influenced their decision to migrate there. They all agreed that their family in New Zealand helped them to settle more easily into the new environment and provided emotional supported. They also assisted in furnishing the new immigrants with practical information, like where to shop cheaply, directions, information on schools and setting up a home. Traditionally the family in an Indian context included extended families. Joshna for example, has quite a large component of her extended family in New Zealand. This provides a comfortable landing pad for the new immigrant. It contributes to the familiarity of 'home' within the new diaspora as well.

The third reason for migration to New Zealand was based on what the respondents termed, 'high crime rates in South Africa'. Four of the nine respondents were directly affected by crime in South Africa. Viren Jagroo was held up in his home, which he also used as his Real Estate office in South Africa. Niri Singh's husband was shot and spent six weeks in Intensive Care Unit at St. Augustines Hospital in Durban. Visa's home in Sydenham in Durban was robbed and, Joshna and her husband were held up three times, and their business premise was broken into twice. Mrs Ramasar said that crime in her neighbourhood on the South Coast of Durban was increasing. She said that she lived in fear and became "imprisoned" in her own home and crime in South Africa was restricting people's lives. Vinesh Naidoo's opinion on crime was that in South Africa "life is cheap" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

On the other hand six respondents agreed that crime has also escalated in New Zealand. During Joshna's sixth month in New Zealand her home in Howick was robbed and their entire lifesavings from South Africa, which were converted to American dollars, was stolen. Joshna said that they were "led to believe that New Zealand was crime free." Niri Singh's husband was another victim of crime in New Zealand. His new business vehicle filled with work implements worth ten thousand dollars was stolen from the driveway in Remuera. Niri said that they were so surprised by the theft because Remuera is one of the wealthiest suburbs in New Zealand and they were informed that it was crime free as well. Doctor Pravedh Sewnarain's home was broken into and Visa's daughter's car was stolen. Two respondents, Mrs Ramasar and Roger Madurai, were only in New Zealand for four months and could not assess whether crime has increased since their arrival, and Vinesh Naidoo expressed the opinion that he thought that crime has decreased since his arrival (Personal interview in New Zealand).

His opinion is refuted by three newspaper articles, which confirm that crime has increased in Auckland especially. Auckland central member of parliament, Judith Tizard states that she "has been talking with Auckland police and lobbying Police Minister George Hawkins for recognition that the region's unprecedented growth and changing patterns meant that Auckland's needs were not being met by the present system" (Tiz Biz, Winter Edition, 2002, 3) (Appendix B). The "unprecedented growth and changing patterns" that Judith Tizard refers to is the increase in the number of immigrants and long-term arrivals in Auckland. Tizard argues that the present police systems in Auckland cannot serve the increasing population, which consists largely of migrants.

Doctor Pravedh Sewnarain and Joshna Naicker even blamed the large influx of immigrants in Auckland for the increasing crime rates. Residential areas were crime was minimal, like Point Chevalier in Auckland, was the target of crimes in July 2002. In the newspaper article, <u>Crime spree rocks community</u>, (Auckland City Harbour, Wednesday, July 24 2002, 1), Annabel Scaife reports that "the elderly are virtually barricading themselves in their houses.

They're too afraid to go out at night" (Appendix B). Ironically, one of the reason respondents like Mrs Ramasar offered for migrating from South Africa becomes a moot point. Mrs Ramasar said that she felt imprisoned in her home in South Africa and residents in cities in Auckland express similar sentiments.

Policies addressing crime like those attempting to be implemented in South Africa like,' zero tolerance', is not being considered by members of parliament in New Zealand like Judith Tizard, as an option, because it "would cost hundreds of millions of dollars while being ineffective in reducing crime in the long term" (Sensible, effective legislation. (Tiz Biz, Winter Edition, 2002, 3) (Appendix B). The article also states that people in New Zealand should be concerned about crime. The government proposed to not only punish those guilty of crimes, but is committed to crime prevention. Twelve million dollars were set aside to provide intensive individualised programmes for youth offenders, for example (Focusing on results – tackling youth offending.

Tiz Biz, Winter Edition, 2002, 3). Those inspiring words however were spoken during the general election campaigns during July 2002. The proof of the pudding is yet to be seen.

Doctor Pravedh expressed that New Zealand provides personal security for him and his family. All the respondents agreed that this was the beginning of the new experience, the fourth reason for migration to New Zealand. Five respondents applied for permanent residency and arrived in New Zealand to settle without ever seeing the country before. It was also their first experience abroad. Although historically migration is not a new experience for Indians, voluntary migration among South African Indians is a relatively new concept within the framework of South Africa historically. The majority of South African Indians are in South Africa today because of their ancestors, who came to South Africa as indentured servants.

"On the 16 November 1860, the day the Truro reached Natal, a large crowd gathered at the Point – the landing place for travellers by sea. Although the weather was wet and windy, people were excited to see the first shipment of Indian indentured workers" (Malherbe, C and Mesthrie, U. 1992, 28). The early indentured Indian immigrants in South Africa had little idea as to what to expect from South Africa. Madaree Mahuzoo, a north Indian tells a typical tale of how most Indians arrived in South Africa.

"I, Madaree Mahuzoo, came from Nasrajpurkot, a village in north India. I had worked there for five years, laying tracks for a railway company. One day I heard that railway workers were needed in Natal. Thousands of villagers from North and South India had already gone to Natal. Most were indentured on the farms and sugar estates but the Natal Government Railways also wanted workers – especially experienced like me. When a recruiting agent came to Nasrajpurkot, I went to hear what this man had to say. The scheme he offered seemed most attractive. My journey by ship would be free. Once I arrived, I would be indentured for five years. I would receive a wage and food rations: rice, dholl, salt fish, ghee, oil and salt, among other things.

When my indenture was over I could remain in Natal as a free person, to work as I pleased. Or after ten years I could get a free passage back to India. Many people accepted the terms of this scheme. Life was hard in our villages. When there were droughts the crops died, and then we were left even poorer than before. Some left the villages because of family quarrels, or debts they were too poor to pay. In my village we heard that there was gold in Natal. I decided that I should go. I would leave my wife and three children behind, make some money for my family, and then return to India. I registered for the scheme to Fyzabad. They were gad to have me: they wanted strong young people who could work hard and I was just 22 years old at that time.

From Fyzabad I was taken to Calcutta, which is that port of departure for all north Indian recruits. A doctor examined us. His job was to make sure that we were healthy and would not carry contagious diseases to Natal. Recruits who were weak or sickly were sent back home. Our ship was called the S.S. Umzinto VI. Nearly 500 passengers were loaded aboard: 304 men, 128 women, and 54 children.

We arrived at Durban on 12 March 1894. Our voyage was quick: it lasted just 28 days! In earlier times, when shipped used sails instead of steam, the journey could have taken twice as long! While we were at sea, five of the passengers died - of pneumonia, fever or dysentery. But also, a baby was born. At Durban, the Protector of Indian Immigrants took charge. He gave each of us a number - my number is 54 687 - and indentured us to our employers. He indentured me to the Natal Government Railways, to work on the main line from Durban to the border with Transvaal. I was made a head ganger. I had to oversee more than 30 other indentured men who were employed to lay the tracks. After we had finished the main line, in 1895, we built the smaller branch lines. I am now in my second term of indenture. A few years ago I lost contact with my family in India. Then I heard that my wife had died and that my father had taken away my children to another village - I don't know which village. In 1902 I married Bhugwantia Dabi. She had come the year before as an indentured labourer. Once my indenture is finished, I plan to stay in Natal. I know of many free workers who have bought or leased land. They are growing and selling vegetables now. However, I would prefer to open a barber's shop. I used to cut people's hair in India, as my family caste was nau - the barber caste.

Natal is now my home"

(Malherbe, C and Mesthrie, U. 1992, 33-35).

South African's Natal Indian indentured labour scheme started the first diaspora of Indians. Indian diasporans, Like Madaree Mahuzoo arrived in South Africa facing emigrant versus immigrant dilemmas. The title of this dissertation, A New Diaspora – a study of South African Indian migration to New Zealand, concentrates on the second migration – the new Diaspora - where Indians, who later became known as South African Indians, leave their new homeland, South Africa for New Zealand. There are many similarities in both diasporic encounters. Madaree Mahuzoo, is another example of model diasporans like Mahatma, K, Gandhi, who initially laid down the trails for the chain migrations. The following generations, like the respondents interviewed in New Zealand, add their own complexities to the issues.

Indians like Madaree Mahuzoo did not only contribute to the labour force, as was originally planned by the government, but to the culture and way of life of South African society. It is almost incongruous to think that historically most Indians migrated to South Africa in search of new experiences and are leaving for the same reason. Like Madaree Mahuzoo, South African Indians within a similar diasporic framework, are leaving for New Zealand searching for greener pastures. The South African Indian population today is largely descended from the indentured Indian immigrants from the nineteenth century.

Most of the indentured labourers, like Madaree Mahuzoo, came from the poor working class stratum in India. South Africa needed "strong young people who could work hard" (Malherbe, C and Mesthrie, U. 1992, 34). For most Indians like Madaree Mahuzoo, it was their first time abroad. Similarly, for many South African Indians their migration to New Zealand was their first experience abroad. From the respondents interviewed in New Zealand, Vinesh, Venessa, Joshna, Roger, Viren Jagroo, Visa and Judy, have never travelled overseas before. South African Indians, like these respondents, who are emigrating from South Africa come from different economic strata, while the mass exodus of Indians from India to South Africa largely comprised of a poor working class strata. Respondents from the interviews conducted in New Zealand included two Indians who were wealthy business proprietors and seven who were average 'middle class' wage earners.

Previously, only the wealthy South African Indians travelled via ships and aeroplanes until the late 1980's. Generally the reason for travelling abroad was to journey on pilgrimage or holiday. During the personal interviews with South African Indians in South Africa, all interviewees agreed that only recently they noticed an increase in South African Indians migrating, working overseas or holidaying abroad.

The parallels between Madaree Mahuzoo's immigration tale and those of the nine respondents in New Zealand focuses primarily on life betterment, not only individually but like every respondent said, "mostly for their children" (Personal interview in New Zealand). Although the new country is chosen for self-development and family development, questions are raised about the host nations status. Madaree Mahuzoo's intention was to "make some money for his family" (Malherbe, C and Mesthrie, U. 1992, 34). During this time consuming endeavours he was exposed to poor environmental conditions, where "enteritis, tuberculosis and brochial disease were common among the Indian immigrants" (Malherbe, C and Mesthrie, U. 1992, 41). In addition the new diasporans were exploited financially, were paid very low wages, worked long hours, were physically abused and treated unequal to their White counterparts. Tragically, Mahuzoo's reason for exodus was not fulfilled, for he eventually lost all contact with his family in India.

All nine respondents in New Zealand firmly expressed the prime motivating reason for migrating to New Zealand was because New Zealand provides a better quality of education and opportunities for their children than South Africa. Sherine and Roger Madurai complained about the high student teacher ratios in South Africa and further elaborated that students do not get the academic attention their parents pay for in South Africa. They also remarked that teaching non English speaking students in the same class as English first language speakers hindered he progress of their children. As a result they believe that their children are already showing more confidence and excelling in the past six weeks in New Zealand. Sherine and Roger were proud and delighted with a certificate their son received for excellent work from his school in Howick (Personal interview in New Zealand).

Within four years of immigration South African Indian children are New Zealand citizens and entitled to full opportunities as any other New Zealander. Niri Singh elaborates by saying, "My son qualified for a student loan and that was a big plus, because university education is very expensive as we all know. And especially in South Africa they would have had to pay up front, so here it was about filling some forms and walking in. It was really easy and the

children did it completely on their own. I never stepped out of the house to do it for them" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

The New Zealand government is committed to making tertiary education more affordable. The labour led government is investing eight hundred million over four years to freeze fees and cancel interest charged on student loans. "Cutting the cost of tertiary education has also involved creating a fairer loans scheme" (Auckland tertiary students save more than \$14m under the current government. Tiz Biz — Winter Edition, 2002, 2). Access to tertiary institutions, and financial assistance (for education) is a great incentive for South African Indian migration.

Lastly, the New Zealand job market is also not overtly controlled by affirmative action policies, or any policy that excludes other races from being employed. (Personal interview in New Zealand) Most respondents expressed the opinion that while they were employed in South Africa they were not confident about their children being employed, especially when restricted by affirmative action policies. Covert affirmative action policies exist in New Zealand. Mrs Ramasar, Judy, Roger, Joshna and Venessa agreed that New Zealanders could be prejudicial in employing South Africans, especially Indians and first preference may go to Maoris. New Zealand like South Africa is embarking on policies to level out the planes caused by injustices in the past. (Helen Clarke's talk on the Time Modise show) Policies are being geared towards compensation for unfair treatment of Maoris in the past.

Judy suggested that South Africans are further prejudiced because of the actions of others. The underlying reason for this is because there is a high risk involved in employing a new immigrant in that may decide to return to their 'home' country and not fulfil his or her employment contract. Employing new immigrants are a risk for employers.

Also as discussed in Chapter 4, while unemployment rates may be lower in New Zealand in contrast to South Africa, it is not easy for immigrants to find employment.

Joshna, her husband, Niri, Judy's husband Stan and Venessa all began with the low starting wage of twelve dollars an hour. Joshna, Niri and Stan earnings have not increased. Venessa now works for her husband Vinesh.

ii. Reflections on Indian Culture

"The term culture is notoriously difficult to define. As Raymond Williams (1988) pointed out, it is one of the two or three most difficult words in the English language. Its meaning derives from farming, from the cultivation or development of crops: hence the word agriculture, and the use of the term in biology to refer to bacteria. The use of culture to mean cultivation has persisted in the context of defining culture of something developed, something (or someone) refined or to a particular quality. Yet culture can sometimes refer generally to the 'artefacts' of society, its paintings, music, writing, films and so forth. Or it can refer, in anthropological sense, to the 'whole way of life' of a people: language, values, customs, economic and social organization, religion and artefacts, and entire history and tradition" (Ashe, F. et al.1999, 132).

I will approach the concept of South African Indian culture in the anthropological sense. The whole way of life or culture of South African Indians in a general sense includes language, values, customs and religion that have affected their economic and social organisation in South Africa. Language, an important dividing instrument in society, is closely associated to religious denomination. Traditionally Muslims would speak Urdhu or Gujerati, North Indians would speak Hindi or Gujerati and South Indians would speak Tamil or Telegu. Although South African Indians speak English most often, their values and customs were often schooled through religion. Each religion contained its own taboos. Muslims would not eat with people who ate pork and Hindus would not eat with beef and pork consumers. This religious separation among Indians found fertile ground during apartheid. The two systems of division and control (The Apartheid Group Areas Act and religion) maintained social stratification within South African Indian communities and resulted in the formation of different exclusive cultural groups.

These cultural groups replaced the Indian caste system that was formed according to village and social structure in India.

The question of culture is of particular importance to the Indian community in South Africa, New Zealand and throughout the Indian Diaspora.

Culture is related to forms of power, belonging and identity. Culture and the status attached to it allow groups in society to differentiate themselves from others. This cultural hierarchy, according to Pierre Bourdieu, "is an integral part of maintaining class division in society" (Ashe et al. 1999,135). Pierre Buordieu, an influential French sociologist and anthropologist regarded culture as being predisposed through "habitus", which is an unevenly distributed resource. To be westernised, dress differently and financially secure is a resource that is, in South African Indian culture a mark of status and power. The acquisition of cultural economy and cultural capital are the product of upbringing and education according to Bourdieu(Ashe, F. et al. 1999, 136).

The cultural needs and desires of South African Indians in New Zealand are the product of upbringing (religion, values, customs, language and social stratification) inculcated in South Africa. The cultural attitude is manifested in a wide range of cultural practices: the consumption of Indian food, religious worship, family norms etc. Cultural groups are divided by places of worship, food consumption and availability from restaurants and job descriptions. The distinction in New Zealand is that the hierarchical structure in terms of culture and status they experienced in South Africa is altered. South African Indians in New Zealand are a third of the Indian Diaspora. The other two thirds are made up of Indians from India and Fiji. The clarity of identity and belonging in the new Diaspora becomes complicated.

My experience while conducting research for this dissertation in New Zealand was the defining period during in exploring South African Indian identity.

People I met in restaurants and supermarkets would ask me which part of India I was from. Others would ask if I came from Cape Town, believing I was Coloured because the colour of my hair is brown.

I would reply that I was South African Indian. This identity description was often not understood. I was questioned further by, when did your family arrive in South Africa? Explaining that I was a second generation South African Indian was met with great suspicion. Niri Singh, Joshna Naicker and Venessa Naidoo were familiar with this identity challenge experience too.

It was extraordinary that while the democratic New South Africa through its cultural diversity gave birth to a multiplicity of identities, beyond South Africa it was not understood. South Africans to a few New Zealanders and Indians from India and Fiji are made up of Black and White South Africans. The formation and meaning of identity is challenged further when South African Indians in New Zealand conceptualised their identity within the triple Indian diaporic framework. Viren Jagroo, for example, expressed his view that the Indians from India "obviously culturally superior to us (South African Indians), there is no doubt about that. Everyone speaks Hindi, sometimes I feel embarrassed..." (Personal interview in New Zealand). At the same time categorising on the basis of language, Indians from India on a higher hierarchical scale than South African Indians, Indians from Fiji were placed on a dais. Viren Jagroo elaborated this point by saying that "because we speak English the way we do, not really queen's English, but our English is far better than ...we don't have an accent like the guys from India and Fiji but generally.... and this is probably a bad thing to say, but err...Indians from Fiji are quite arrogant" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

Social and class stratification among diasporic Indians in New Zealand is based on language, cultural dress and employment primarily. Most South African Indians interviewed in New Zealand believed that they were culturally superior to Indians from Fiji and India. "We, South African Indians are westernised and you'd find that that they (Indians from India and Fiji) won't take easily to you. We dress totally different form them" Judy believed. She narrated her experience at a shopping mall where Indians from India were offended by the way she dressed. Judy was wearing shorts.

South African Indians came from a background where it was legislated in the constitution that they were inferior to another (White) racial group. Today in South Africa, through employment equity policies South African Indians feel like they experience racism from Blacks. They express themselves by saying that "before we weren't White enough and now we are not Black enough." Most respondents thought of themselves as a sandwich filling in between Blacks and Whites (Personal Interviews in South Africa). They refuse to feel that way in New Zealand. The multiple of fluid identities that have migrated with them have fortified notions of superiority culturally. Most respondents agreed that being 'westernised' added to their confidence. Based on my own empirical observation in Auckland most Indians from India dressed in traditional Indian attire like Punjabis and saris, while South African Indians wear western attire.

The next component in the definition of culture was based on employment status. In South Africa Indians who are doctors, attorneys, academics and businessmen have traditionally been perceived by the older South African Indians as being highly successful and powerful. Culturally in South African Indian community, money was equated with power rather than education. Joshna Naicker explained during the interview that most South African Indians whom she knew in Howick (an upper middleclass suburb in Auckland) still competed with each other. Material possessions, like cars and houses, were used as a measurement of wealth and success. Viren explains that South African Indians sum up their wealth and status as part of the cultural baggage.

"A lot of them come in here with, I'm talking of South African Indians, a lot of professional people come in here and are cut down to size because you come here and firstly your money is divided by five. Even if you come with a million Rands, it's only two hundred thousand dollars. It cuts a lot of people down to size to be honest. I mean with my experience (in real estate) and probably my first year in this business, you get South African couples and it's, "We had this big house that was worth so much." They come and show off and you know they would want to

see houses that are worth three or four thousand dollars. But I suppose that is the mistake.

I have come to New Zealand for a better life for myself, my wife and my kids and I've left behind the cliquism in South Africa. A lot of South Africans come here and think that this is still South Africa. They have the normal Friday night and Saturday night drink and booze parties. ... They talk about the same thing all the bloody time. Oh it's the same things, you know, he's driving that car or he's doing this. ... We feel that because we have a couple of degrees that we are superior to people.... Well one of the things that keep coming up, especially from one of my colleagues is, when they meet South Africans, everybody talks about these huge houses that they've left behind and sometimes it's quite a lie" (Viren Jagroo from the Personal interview in New Zealand).

The question of profession is of particular importance to the Indian community in South Africa. Most respondents argued that South African Indians defined culture through material possessions acquired through their livelihoods. Cultural needs and definitions are a product of upbringing within specific frameworks. It reflects and reproduces social hierarchy within the framework where the definition of that culture is accepted. In South Africa culture can be measured against others who share the same meaning of its definition. The different attitude is manifested in New Zealand in relation to language, religion and vocation. Such distinctions are a product of different positions social classes occupy.

A plumber can earn twice as much as a teacher, and sometimes more than an academic, doctor or attorney in New Zealand. Doctor Pravedh Sewnarain admitted that he considered a change in profession from medicine to farming. Medicine does not carry the elitist baggage that it has in South Africa and he had to work twice as hard in New Zealand. The social pressures that he would have experienced in South Africa from his extended family would never 'allow' him to change professions, even if he wanted to.

Culture inadvertently still controls Indian society in South Africa. South African Indians in New Zealand feel that they are not bound by those inherent cultural baggage, cultural 'laws and practices.'

Social classes within the community are being restructured in the South African Indian context. Vinesh Naidoo understood that in South Africa he would never be respected, revered or be paid as much a doctor, for example. In New Zealand artisans, who are essential commodities, are rewarded for their skills. Vinesh Naidoo earns forty-four dollars an hour – that places him among the highest earners in the country. He is confident, buoyant, self-assured and pleased that within this new diaspora he is not less than, any longer.

"In a culture that includes an uneven distribution of power, this will be the process of hegemony, whereby different groups (Indians from India, Fiji and South Africa) within society (in New Zealand) are engaged in complex 'intellectual and moral' competition. This is a process that never ends" (Ashe, F. Et al. 1999, 153).

iii. Home as a Symbol of Space, Place and Identity (see Appendix D and E)

This section addresses the transformations in the concept of 'home' brought about through migration. 'Home' is described as both the physical place and the symbolic place of space and identity where " in the words of Vincent Descombes, a person is 'at ease with the rhetoric of those whom they share a life" (Morley, D. 2001, 425).

From a functionalist perspective, the analysis of the home and the family that dwells within it involves three main questions:

- 1. What is the function of the home?
- 2. What is the relationship(s) between this home and the other parts of the social system?
- 3. What is this home providing for the individual?

These questions need to be interrogated from the new diasporic locale. In this new context a new understanding of home emerges. In South Africa the Group Areas Act of 1950 designated specific urban areas for occupation by Indians. Although in 1951 a Joint Planning Council was established by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) to resist unjust laws like the Group Areas Act (Pampallis, J. 1991, 195). The reality of racial separation geographically is still a reality in South Africa today.

n my opinion wealthy Blacks, Indians and Coloureds have moved into what was known as 'Whites Only' residential areas, while the poorer masses are still occupying residences in the geographical areas designated by the Group Areas Act.

The evidence of racial syncretism in South Africa is barely visible. In this context South African Indians are still more familiar with socialising and being part of 'Indian residential areas' and culture. From the nine respondents interviewed in New Zealand, eight respondents came from Indian areas in Natal, South Africa as designated by the Group Areas Act of 1950. Therefore home was exclusively defined through the interaction of Indian family and friends. During the personal interview in New Zealand Vinesh Naidoo said that in South Africa he would only have Indian friends over to his home. "Here we only have White friends" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

He further explained that besides socialising with Whites for the first time, his own personal tastes were being altered within the ambit of what he would call his home. He tastes are now open to difference in music, food preparation etc. His concept of home is metamorphosing beyond the Indian structure.

The most typical function of the South African Indian home was for the nurturing of the nuclear family with close ties to the extended family. Traditionally most Indian families in South Africa are still functioning through a patriarchal ethos. Although there are a large number of nuclear families where both spouses are employed the final decision in most homes are still being made by the husband. The division of labour within the family still exists. The family relationship typical to of South African society is modified within the New Zealand context. Although some changes in the traditional family life might be expected the degree to which they are changing in New Zealand is redefining the old culture and concept of home.

In South Africa the main breadwinner with the higher paid salary from eight of the nine respondents, was the husband. This allocated a high degree of autonomy to the man in the management of the home. In New Zealand four female respondents earned the same or higher wages than their male counterparts.

Due to financial pressure in the new country, women like Joshna and Niri, who have only worked in their own businesses in South Africa, have entered the secular employment sector. During the first five minutes of the personal interview in New Zealand Niri Singh said that life without a maid is difficult for women. Therefore for the first time South African Indian men are expected to assist in household chores and childrearing. Employment hours in New Zealand often can extend into the evening and decisions at home have to be shared because of time constraints. Both parents are equally involved in decision making in the home.

Also due to the absence of the extended family, children have to be supervised solely by the parents. Judy, who is a nurse, said that it is exorbitantly expensive to hire child-care givers in New Zealand therefore parenting is shared equally between spouses in New Zealand. In South Africa most families rely on the extended family for assistance (Personal interview in New Zealand).

The shift in responsibilities and division of labour in the home emphasises the male parent's role in the home in New Zealand. South African Indian men are more involved in childcare and domestic chores in New Zealand than they were in South Africa.

An additional transformation in the spatial arrangements at home is the restructuring of the nuclear family. It became apparent that immigrant children have adapted their family life to fit New Zealand circumstances. Many young adults begin 'flatting' in New Zealand while or after completing their tertiary education. Mrs Ramasar and Niri Singh were disconcerted with their children not residing in the same home with the parent. Mrs Ramasar said she was "shocked" that her daughter refused to stay with her family and Niri believed that South African Indian children are "leaving the nest too quickly in New Zealand" (Personal interview in New Zealand).

Even though changes in culture is most apparent with South African Indian children who assimilated into a western New Zealand culture and lifestyle with less difficulty than their parents, the relationships on which their traditional family life was based remains relatively unaltered. This means that the South African Indian home is being reshaped by a variety of new family types. It may be safe to say that New Zealand may have more affect on future generations.

The home loses its function as a unit of production when less money is spent on the home centred family than the individual. In South Africa married siblings have the option of living in the family home, where luxuries are obtainable when more than two individuals within that home contribute their salaries toward the maintenance of the home. For South African Indians in New Zealand money is being spent on the individual (who is flatting) rather than being pooled into the home to be enjoyed by the entire nuclear family. Niri Singh commented that her son, who is a student, earns almost the same wage as his father. The son does not contribute his earnings to the maintenance of the home because he intends to live on his own. Therefore, back in South Africa maintaining the home would have been easier (Personal interview in New Zealand).

Within the home the parent, who ultimately created the home becomes threatened with the foreign cultures of the new country. The taken for granted identities of the children from the previous home is altered in the new physical and virtual space. The progeny of South African Indians search for a new place based identity, rather than delving into the past and investigating indigenous origins, their identity is being shaped by the present – in the new home: New Zealand.

The older migrants like Mrs Ramasar and Angela Naicker find solace in the access to their culture of their home country through diasporic media. Triangle television, a community based free channel in New Zealand, shows old Hindi and Tamil movies. Watching vernacular movies was part of their weekend recreational activities in South Africa. This helps the old migrant to settle in the new home. Through these old films, the old South African Indians feel included into the diasporic community.

It affirms a commonality with fellow migrants living outside their home country who are, like them, defining an identity within the new home. Their children and grandchildren show little interest. It is foreign to them.

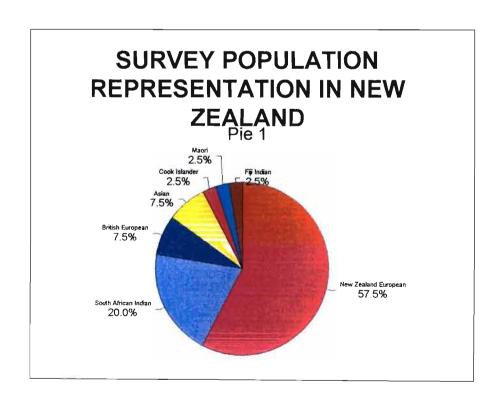
5.3. The Survey in New Zealand - Data Interpretation

5.3.1. General Statistics

Fifty questionnaires were self administered in New Zealand. These questionnaires contain the opinions of people residing in New Zealand. They include citizens, permanent residents and long-term arrivals. This section interrogates the opinions of people living in New Zealand, their reaction to the high number of immigrants entering the country and also investigates the availability of employment in New Zealand. The survey population consisted of New Zealand Europeans, South African Indians, Asians, British Europeans, Maoris, Fiji Indians and Cook Islanders.

Chart 1.a. and Chart 1.b represents the population of respondents who answered the questionnaires in New Zealand and the number of males and females in that population. The purpose of the charts are to elaborate more specifically on the opinions being analysed and to provide specific information about the individuals.

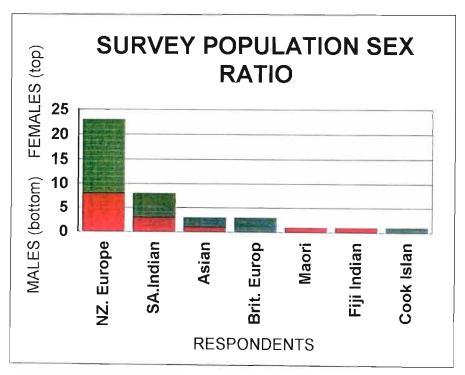
CHART 1.a. SURVEY POPULATION IN NEW ZEALAND



The majority of repondents (57,5%) who answered the questionnaires were New Zealand Europeans (or Pakehas as they are refered to in New Zealand). The questionnaires were administered in Auckland and the geographical areas included Mount Eden, Remuera, Howick, Mount Albert, Ellerslie and Grey Lynn. These residential areas are in very close proximity to the central business district in Auckland. They are described as middle class and upper middle class areas. The demographic component of these areas are made up of a large number of New Zealand Europeans, and a small number of foreigners (Asians, South Africans and British Europeans). I only discovered during the later days of my stay in New Zealand that the majority of Maoris and Cook Islanders live further away from the city residential areas. New Zealand is similar to South Africa in that there are pockets of other racial groups occupying geographical areas saturated with one major racial group of people. In Remuera, for example, the majority of residents are New Zealand Europeans, with other minority

racial and ethnic groups scattered around. The male female ratio is represented in

CHART 1.b SURVEY POPULATION SEX RATIO



Note: Red = % Males

Chart 1.b.

Green = % Females

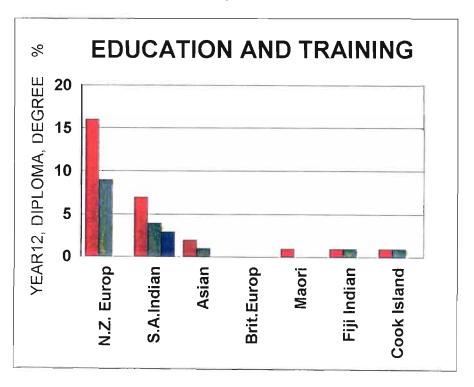
The number of female respondents is amlost double in comparison to the male counterparts. Chart 1.b represents the male and female sex ratios in the different racial and ethnic groupings as represented in the survey.

Males were less willing than females to answer the questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered before lunch, during the hours between ten o' clock and twelve o' clock in the morning. It appeared that during that time there were fewer males than females in public shopping malls and central city areas.

5.3.2. Education and Employment

Section D and E in the questionnaires concentrated on the eduactional backgrounds of the respondents and their employment status. The respondents were also asked about the accessibility of employment in New Zealand. Chart 1.c represents data on the respondents education and training.

CHART 1.c EDUCATION AND TRAINING



Note:

Red = Year 12

Green = Diploma(s)

Blue = university degree(s)

Year 12 or sixth form as it is referred to in New Zealand is equivalent to a South African matriculation exemption. Diplomas refers to certificates received from Technical Colleges and Unitechs and degrees are certificates awarded from Universities. The data is representative of the population as described in Chart 1.a.

The only group that held university degrees were South African Indians. Most New Zealand Europeans had either one of the following diplomas:

- publishing diploma
- diploma of Fine Arts,
- Jewellery Design
- · Gemology Diploma
- Dance Training diploma
- · Sport and fitness diploma

Most Asian respondents were students either completing an undergrauate degree or completing a diploma in English (IELTS). There is a large Asian population in Auckland enrolled in learning English as a second language. This enables them to attend schools and universities in New Zealand after completion of the course. New Zealand has specific English language requirements for applicants over the age of 16 who wish to apply for permanent residency under the General Skills category, the Business Categories and the Residence from Work Category. Applicants like the respondents who answered the questionnaires, who do not meet the specified standard of English language, are permitted instead to purchase ESOL (English for Speaker of Other languages) tuition. Skill New Zealand has contracted a range of training organisations around New Zealand to provide English language tuition for the increasing Asian immigrant population in New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration Service Immigration Documentation).

Fiji Indians and Cook Islanders held diplomas in automotive mechanical engineering or secretarial courses. Artisan vocations are strongly encouraged at school and from parents.

The least tertiary educated population group according to the survey are British Europeans. All the British Europeans, were forty years and older except for one who was twenty-five years old. She was the only British European who was employed as a bar manageress at O' Hagan's Irish Pub in Howick. The entire British survey population (7.5%), believed that New Zealand does not have plenty of jobs to offer foreigners, including the less skilled jobs like telesales and supermarket staff (packing, cashiers etc.) The O' Hagan's Irish pub was owned by a White South African family and attracts numerous South Africans in New Zealand. The lowest employment rate was among British Europeans too.

In addition, 1 Fiji Indian, 4 South African Indians and 1 New Zealand European (who holds dual citizenship with South Africa), thought that finding employment in New Zealand is difficullt. The rest of the survey population thought that it was either very easy or easy to find a job in New Zealand. Only 6 respondents were unemployed. The most common types of employment the other respondents engaged in were secretarial, advertising, bankers, jewellery valuators, office and sales assistants and waitrons. The spokesman at the seminar at The Westville Hotel in Durban, emphasised that academic or specialised types of employment like journalistism, research, priesthood, education, accounting etc, are more difficult for foreigners to gain access to. There isn't a great demand for these types of skills in New Zealand. He stressed that the most popular type of employment available in New Zealand for foreigners are administrative, secretarial or the artisan sectors (Seminar at The Westville Hotel, Durban. Immigration Centre).

The problems as described by the foreign (South African Indian, Asian and Fiji Indian), adequately qualified respondents, experienced in the workforce was:

- they received very low wages
- they are over qualified for the type of work they are employed in or offered
- they work long hours and are not fairly compensated for it.

Apart from the problems experienced by foreigners 22.5 % (South African Indian, Asian, Fiji Indian) they also expressed the opinion that New Zealand does not have enough jobs available for them. Maoris and Cook Islanders, in this instance, are not listed as foreigners because they qualify for support from the New Zealand government in the form of the dole (also referred to as the benefit) just as all citizens do.

5.3.3 Opinion of New Immigrants

Respondents were asked various questions to evaluate how they felt about the new foreigners in the country. Questions 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 10 from Section F in the New Zealand questionnaire required yes and no responses. (Appendix A) These responses are recorded in table format to draw comparable and informative conclusions. Questions answered as 'no opinion' or unanswered questions are coded as 'No Opinion'. Table 4 represents this data succinctly. The questions, for convenience, are repeated on the right hand side of the page and the codes are provided below.

TABLE 4 LIKERT SCALE MEASURING OPINIONS OF NEW ZEALAND CITIZENS AND PERMANENT RESIDENTS OPINIONS ON IMMIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND Key:

NEW ZEALAND	A	В	С
EUROPEAN (PERMANENT RESIDENTS AND CITIZENS) OPINION ON IMMIGRANTS - SECTION F FROM QUESTIONNAIRE	YES	NO	NO OPINION
Q. F. 1 Do you enjoy living in New Zealand?	92%	4%	4%
Q. F. 2 Do you believe that there are plenty of jobs in New Zealand at present?	65%	26%	9%
Q. F. 3 With the high number of immigrants entering New Zealand each year, do you think that there will be many jobs available in the next five years?	56%	35%	9%
Q. F. 5 Does the high influx of immigrants affect your job?	44%	44%	12%
Q. F. 7 Do you think that foreigners are taking over jobs that New Zealanders would have had?	40%	48%	12%
Q. F. 9 Do you think that racism exists in New Zealand?	79%	4%	17%
Q. F. 10 Do you think that foreigners bring problems in from their own country that affects New Zealand negatively?	65%	8%	27%

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN, ASIAN,	A	В	С
BRITISH			
EUROPEAN,	YES	NO	NO OPINION
MAORI, FIJI			
INDIAN, COOK ISLANDER			
(PERMANENT			
RESIDENTS AND			
Q.F.1 Do you enjoy	100%	0%	0%
living in New Zealand?			
Q.F.2 Do you believe that there are plenty of jobs in New Zealand at present?	42%	53%	5%
Q.F.3 With the high number of immigrants entering New Zealand each year, do you think that there will be many jobs available in the next five years?	18%	76%	6%
Q.F.5 Does the high influx of immigrants affect your job?	35%	47%	18%
Q.F.7 Do you think that foreigners are taking over jobs that New Zealanders would have had?	53%	42%	5%
Q.F.9 Do you think that racism exists in New Zealand?	76%	18%	6%
Q.F.10 Do you think that foreigners bring problems in from their own country that affects New Zealand negatively?	65%	29%	6%

Most New Zealand citizens (92%) and all permanent residents(100%) enjoy living in New Zealand, however 53% of non European New Zealanders believe that there aren't plenty of jobs available for them.

Further, they believe (76% of new citizens and permanent residents) that with the huge number of new immigrants entering New Zealand each year, there will be fewer jobs available in the next five years. European New Zealanders(56%) express more optimism perhaps because unlike the new citizens and permanent residents they have not burnt bridges to be in New Zealand. South Africa Indians for example sell their assets to purchase airline tickets and basic commodities in New Zealand and are then completely at the mercy of the job market in the new country. Unlike European New Zealanders who are confident about jobs being available in the next five years, the migrants have experienced the threat of vast numbers of unemployment in South Africa.

European New Zealanders are not very sure about their own jobs though. Therefore while 56% agree that there will be plenty of jobs available over the next five years, they are not sure if these jobs might be filled by immigrants. A high 65% of European New Zealanders believe that foreigners are bringing problems from their old country into New zealand and that is affecting New Zealand negatively. New citizens and permanent residents of other racial and ethnic groups (65%) share the same opinion.

According to these respondents some of the problems that immigrants are importing into New Zealand are:

- "New Zealand indentity is being affected and transformed."
- "Racial strife and prejudice, racist attitudes"
- "Crime (Asian gangs)"
- "Bad manners"
- "Anger and resentment of New Zealanders because the immigrant's qualifications are not recognised and as a result can not be employed."
- "Different lifestyles and cultures"
- "A city culture where the uniqueness of New Zealand ecology is not appreciated."

- "Certain people, like Islanders, abuse the dole or benefit which is readily available to them. This results in loss of incentive to gain employment."
- "Different languages that New Zealanders do not understand."
- "Ethnic group exclusivity. They live together and work together and do not engage in New Zealand culture and society."
- "They carry racial baggage from their home countries."
 (taken from questionnaires)

Only 25% of all respondents said that the high number of immigrants will contribute towards the betterment of New Zealand. Other respondents believed that the problems immigrants import lead to xenophobia and racial tension. The reasons offered for these opinions (in question 11, Section F, New Zealand questionnaire - Appendix A), were directed specifically at Asian, Maori, Indian and 'Island' immigrants (which include people from the Cook Island, Tonga, Samoa, etc.).

The first grave concern was that New Zealand is being transformed from the familiar and undergoing changes in identity. This concern I believe emnates from the number of immigrants being almost equal to the number of New Zealanders in Auckland. When I first arrived in Auckland, the city centre was replete with Asians. This was a clear indication that the hub of New Zealand is going through transformation. During my stay I learned that the fastest growing industry in Auckland is English Second Language (ESL) teaching - hence the high influx of Asians.

Language barriers force ethnic groups (who do not speak English) to live together to survive and cope with the new environment. The respondents thought that the formation of ethnic communities and residential areas are changing New Zealand physically and ecologically. New Zealanders expressed fear that immigrants do not appreciate the pristine environment, especially after emigrating from big cities.

Repondents thought that immigrants are introducing a "city culture" in New Zealand and that is the best breeding ground for crime and drug abuse (Question 11, Section F - Survey). They believed that immigrants are responsible for the escalation in crime and drug abuse. An innate component of city culture was the introduction of a large number of motorists on the motorways (Glossary) of Auckland. Due to automobiles being very affordable (espcially in comparison to South Africa), it is accessible to a large part of the population in Auckland. One respondent wrote that traffic is unbearable in Auckland because of the immigrants. This imposes on their lives because they have to leave for work earlier than before to avoid traffic congestion.

Others believed, that while Auckland has beome a melting pot culturally, it has turned into a cultural war zone. New Zealand identity is being remoulded in part through the changes in landscape culturally. The presence of numerous Chinese, Indian and Japanese Fast food shops line the streets of Auckland. While some New Zealanders are feeling excluded and alienated due to immigrants conversing in their native languages, others may be racially intolerant. As mentioned previously in chapter 4, a university lecturer Shudri Kothari, said that "while the influx of ethnic food has been welcomed here, some Kiwis hate the bastards at the same time" (Appendix B - Words that hurt cut to core of racial debate).

A large number of respondents listed "different language, which they don't understand" as an increasing problem in New Zealand (Question 11, Section F - Survey). The ability to speak English is an important criteria. For example, the physical appearance of South African Indians causes confusion among other races in New Zealand. Accept for variations in dressing it is difficult to identify Fiji Indians and Indians from India from South African Indians. A respondent from the personal interview (Judy - Appendix B) said that only when South African Indians speak English, they are identified as not being a Fiji Indian or an Indian from India.

Judy also said that Kiwis become "more accepting of you" (Personal interview in New Zealand). South African Indians speak English more fluently in comparison to the other Indians, who speak English as a second language.

An irate New Zealand European respondent wrote why the inability to speak English fluently is a problem to him,

"They should have to be able to speak English clearly and know the Kiwi way before coming here. Why - there's too many here already. Send tham somewhere else. Why NZ? Are we the only idiots prepared to take them? They all come here as a springboard to Australia anyway and serve there two years here, then head to Oz (Australia). If the boat and assylum seekers must come here they should have to do what Sydney is looking at, they've got the right idea - not let the main city overflow with them as they get first dibs (Choice) on our state housing, take our places on in zone schooling. - They should be given a choice of two provincial towns to go to and incentives. If they don't want to then tuff, go to another country - but stop overcrowding Auckland city - traffic problems too. There's not enough room in Auckland. The rest of our country doesn't have to put up with non English sepaking people who use "I no speak English" as an excuse to get what they want or have to listen on the other end of phone banking (operator) to some ignoramas who can't communicate" (New Zealand Questionnaire, Section F, question 11).

This respondent answered the questionnaire in great detail and specfically. he feels that it is not just for New Zealanders to accommodate people who are using the country for entrance into Australia. He feels violated and expresses his discontentment over a number of issues. He does suggest that New Zealand ought to adpot Australia's policy of allocating other parts (not main cities) of the country to foreigners. This would prevent overcrowding of cities and evenly distribute immigrants.

Another respondent felt that immigrants are "bad mannered." What the respondent terms "bad manners" may simply be a means of comunicating in another culture. It may be due to vastly different cultures conglomerating in a limited space, that

intolerance and a type of claustrophobia and fear is being manifested as racism. Another example, of foreigners bringing problems from their own country was expressed by a South African Indian who felt that "Afrikaaners from South Africa still think that they are the dominant group in New Zealand" (New Zealand Questionnaire, Section F, question11).

European New Zealanders (56%) believe that because foreigners are entering the job market daily, they predict that in the next five years there will not be many jobs available, especially for them. The scramble for employment in New Zealand has defintiely created tension among the different races. As a result New Zealanders feel that undeserved anger and resentment is directed at them. They believe that this reaction occurs when foreigner's qualifications are not recognised and consequently can not successfully gain employment. Foreigners react resentfully to New Zealanders, who are awarded first preferance because they have "Kiwi experience" (Personal interviews in New Zealand), which is a prerequisite for most jobs.

Ultimately the main cities in New Zealand like Auckland and Wellington are being culturally overloaded by the extensive number of immigrants. Auckland and Wellington are metamorphisising at a rapid rate and shocking reactions (like fear, animosity, intolerance, etc.) are unavoidable. The respondents answers represent a reality - a reaction to migration. Their opinions could be dismissed as merely being *opinions*, but they are entitled to it and it is based on their own experience in *their* country afterall.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF DATA – SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN'S MIGRATING TO NEW ZEALAND

6.1. DESCRIPTION OF CASE STUDIES FOR THE PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

I originally planned nine sets of interviews. Due to unfortunate circumstances, one respondent, Vishal Lutchman, was very seriously injured in an automobile accident, and was physically unable to be interviewed. He was planning to immigrate to New Zealand in 2002 and due to physical disabilities sustained in the accident he is unable to fulfil his plans. Due to time constraints I was unable to find a replacement. Therefore 8 personal interviews were conducted in South Africa. All respondents currently reside in KwaZulu-Natal. A few respondents requested that their surnames be omitted in the dissertation. Three respondents are departing permanently to New Zealand by the end of January 2003.

The first respondent was Mrs Rohinee Gunpath. She resides with her four children and her husband in Bombay Heights, Pietermaritzburg. Her husband and her are business proprietors. Two sons and her daughter, (in their twenties), reside with their parents. The oldest son is married and lives in a neighbouring residential area. Everybody works in the family business. Mrs Gunpath and her husband became interested in emigration in 1994. The change of government instilled fear and uncertainty in their lives. They did not feel confident about the New South Africa's democratic promises and now believe that their fears and uncertainties are warranted.

The second interview was with Marlene Veeran. Marlene and her husband have two children. Their daughter is thirteen years old and their son is twelve years old. Marlene's husband was in New Zealand in January 2003, applying personally for employment in the Education sector. He was advised and directed by the immigration agency (Network Migration) to apply for employment personally in New Zealand. This would enable him to attend interviews and gain insight into New Zealand. Mr Veeran is a Senior High School educator (Head of Department) and Marlene works as a textile designer for David Whiteheads in Tongaat.

They reside in an affluent area in Seatides, Tongaat. Marlene's husband was successful in acquiring a position as a teacher at one of the High schools in Auckland. His contract begins in February 2003.

The third respondent was Saloshni Harirajh. She is thirty-four years old, has two children (a nine-year old son and a three-tear old daughter), and is married for ten years. She owns a house in Tongaat. Her interest in New Zealand was initiated through a colleague who left to New Zealand in 2002. She has worked (2001-2002) in Saudi Arabia as a Renal Trained nurse and earned twenty five thousand Rands a month. The foremost reason for being in Saudi Arabia was based on financial need. Her husband and her were in a financial slump and there was a demand for nurses in Saudi Arabia. This experience encouraged her to investigate New Zealand as nurses are in demand there as well. Tracy Hudson Recruitment (an immigration agency) contacted Saloshni after she attended one of their seminars, and informed her that there is a vacancy for a Renal Trained nurse at Auckland Hospital 1. Saloshni accepted the job offer and will be in New Zealand by the end of January 2003.

The fourth respondent was Suren. He is employed as a Laboratory Manager for a textile industry in Tongaat. He also lives in Tongaat with his wife and two children. He has never been out of the country before and has gathered information on New Zealand via friends and family who are living in New Zealand. He has only heard positive reports about New Zealand and is keen on travelling for the first time and experiencing something new. He is thirty-five years old. He is migrating to New Zealand with his family in January 2003. He is in the process of applying for a work permit and will begin searching for employment when he is in New Zealand.

The fifth interview was with Ms. Niri Maharaj. Ms. Maharaj resides in an affluent 'Indian' residential area in Pietermaritzburg. She is currently employed as an educator and is married with four sons. Approximately ten years ago, Ms. Maharaj and her husband attended emigration seminars in Durban exploring the idea of migrating to New Zealand.

There was a demand for teachers in New Zealand at that time and the South African currency was strong. In addition, Ms. Maharaj's husband's brother lived in New Zealand.

Ms Maharaj's two sons are working in The United Kingdom, and plans to migrate in the next few years to New Zealand is still divisive.

The sixth respondent was Ms. Shamani Chetty. Sharmani is a divorcee and has one daughter (seven years old) who resides with her in Morningside, Durban. She is employed in the Banking Industry as an Insolvency Practitioner. Shamani is considering emigration to New Zealand in the next two years. She intends to save additional capital and first experience New Zealand through a working holiday. She will measure her potential for employment and inspect New Zealand to gauge the suitability of the country for her and her daughter. New Zealand will be her catalyst to Australia.

The seventh respondent was thirty-five years old, Doctor Shankara Chetty. He is employed as a medical officer at King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban. He is married with no encumbrances. He returned to South Africa two years ago, after completing a medical degree (MBBS) in Mysore, South India. Doctor Chetty has measured New Zealand and Canada as migration options. He is dissatisfied with the medical fraternity in South Africa.

The last interview was with Sunitha. She resides in the North Beach area in Durban. She is thirty-three years old, married with no offspring and is currently self-employed. She was previously employed as a Fashion Designer in Durban. Her argument for relocation is based – in part - on supporting her husband's resolution to migrate.

The section was based on data collected from question 1 in the Personal Interview schedule for the Personal Interviews in South Africa (Appendix A). Photographs of respondents are inserted in Appendix C.

6.2. ANALYSIS OF DATA - PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

There were three main motivating factors contributing to the South African Indian respondents decision to migrate to New Zealand. Investigating the reason(s) for migration was the fundamental objective of interviewing the respondents. These factors are analysed thematically, together with understanding why New Zealand was the choice of migration destination. Supplementary motivating rationales are dissected based on the responses offered by the interviewees.

6.2.1 PERSONAL INTERVIEWS - CENTRAL THEMES

A. WHY THE LAND OF THE LONG WHITE CLOUD?

New Zealand translated into Maori, is Aotearoa, which means the Land of the Long White Cloud.

None of the respondents have visited New Zealand, yet they consider a country they have actually never seen, to migrate to. The information they received has been collected from family members, friends, the Internet and through books. They wholly trust the reliability of the information retrieved from family and friends. They believe that New Zealand is going to tender them with improved lifestyles, enhanced education, higher salaries, greater security and endow them with freedom from heinous crime. New Zealand may proffer some, but I doubt there is a single country that could offer all.

Chapter 5 addressed issues of crime escalation, high taxes, mediocre lifestyles and personal security under threat, in New Zealand. In comparison to South Africa, as most of the respondents said in the personal interviews in New Zealand, "it's not so bad," (Personal interviews in New Zealand).

Why are these eight respondents considering New Zealand as a choice of migration destination? Four respondents have either friends of family in New Zealand who they suppose may help them to assimilate into the new lifestyle.

Ms. Maharaj also mentioned that having family there means that "everything would not be so foreign" (Personal interview in South Africa). Family and friends are familiar tokens of home. Five respondents agreed that New Zealand is the only other country similar to South Africa. They were referring to the climate and general geography.

The last reason for migration to New Zealand (instead of another country) was based on the accessible entry requirements that New Zealand offers foreigners. Other countries like Canada and Australia have stricter requirements for migration than New Zealand.

B. REASONS UNDERLYING EMIGRATION

The three main reasons the eight respondents proposed for migration were:

- Crime
- Dissatisfaction in the workplace and with high rates of unemployment
- · Personal (and family) growth and development

Lacking personal freedom and security were sentiments echoed over and over again throughout the personal interviews. Even though only three respondents were directly affected by crime, all had experienced crime-induced trauma vicariously through other family members, friends or neighbours. Each respondent agreed that reading local newspapers filled with criminal reports have become soul destroying and consumes them with fear.

Shamani Chetty said, "You can't live a peaceful life under these circumstances." New Zealand has provided an alternative to this intense fear, and while it may seem that family, friends and country are being sacrificed, all respondents agreed that they are being "forced" into migration due to the instability in South Africa (Personal interview in South Africa).

In a profile on drugs and crime in South Africa released on the 7 November 2002, the UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (ODCCP), said "crime did not affect people uniformly, and the risk of being a crime victim was influenced by gender, ethnicity, age, income and place of residence. Thus, for example, while blacks/Africans are at a higher risk for individual violent crimes, non blacks/Africans are at a higher risk for property related household crimes "(Living in Fear. Daily News, Thursday, November 7 2002, 1).

All the respondents who were interviewed resided in middle class or upper middle class resident areas. Shamani Chetty lives alone with her daughter and was the victim of property related household crimes twice, and car theft crime once. She stressed that as a single mother, she cannot endure this situation to any further extent. She has worked exceedingly hard to pay for good-quality education for her daughter and for assets that were just stolen from her. The significant issue raised by all respondents is that there is no reprisal for criminals in South Africa any longer. Consequently reliance and assurance on the South African Police and government is forlorn.

Shamani, like Ms Maharaj, Suren, Saloshni, Mrs Gunpath, Marlene and Doctor Chetty are discontent with their employment conditions. Most respondents felt that they work long hours and are not adequately compensated for it. Some have no chance of upward mobility in the workplace due to affirmative action policies. Others expressed their disgruntlement with the deterioration in the work environment.

Ms Maharaj has been employed as an educator for the past twenty years, and said that working for the Education Department has become problematical. Pupil ratios have increased from 35 to 50 per class. In addition government employed teachers are educating English speaking pupils in the same class with second language English speakers and the quality of education being provided to both learners is reduced. Teaching dual category learners, she said is not an easy task for teachers, as well. In addition to these trying teaching conditions, the Education Department is embarking on an Equality Redress Programme where teachers are going to be retrenched.

The increase in the numbers of pupils per class means that fewer teachers will be required. Job certainty in South Africa is becoming obsolete.

Akin to struggles in the workplace, unemployment is a key concern. Mrs Gunpath's concern was primarily for her children. All four children have post matriculation qualifications and cannot gain secular employment. South African Indian families for the first time are *allowing* their children to work abroad. The two respondents with teenagers said that "in their day" (referring to about twenty years ago) their parents would never grant them permission to work overseas. Today parents are left with no alternative but to support their children's search for employment outside the country. The outcome is that South African Indian nuclear families are being globally fragmented.

Daily advertisements in newspapers request people under the age of twenty-seven to apply for specialised or menial jobs in the United States of America, United Kingdom, Alaska and New Zealand, among other countries. These countries are aware of the high unemployment rates in South Africa and is (in my opinion) capitalising on South Africa's - increasing brain and skills drain.

There is no substitute for skill and experience when it comes to generating economic growth and stability in any country. A country like South Africa, may have abundant natural resources, plentiful willing labour and a well developed commercial and industrial infrastructure, but if it has unclear employment equity policies and affirmative action policies enforced, marginalized sectors of the population will seek employment elsewhere. According to the latest South African brain drain statistics " in the first half of this year (2002) alone 7 400 graduates and professional left the country for perceived greener pastures abroad, and this figure is on the conservative side because many emigrants do not even bother to complete airport departure forms " (Skills going down the brain drain. Daily News, Thursday, October 17 2002, 18).

This extrapolates to a massive loss for the country, and for individual families. Previously South African Indian parents relied on their offspring for support (financial and emotional) during old age.

With children being dispersed all over the globe, the parents endure more stress and financial pressure than in the past.

"Skilled people also help create jobs for those who are less competent than themselves. Every professional who leaves these shores means more workers in the unemployment queue. It is a chronic problem, which the Government, unions and private sector will collectively have to address and reverse if they hope to help President Thabo Mbeki deliver on his dream of an African Renaissance. And it's not just about salaries. Skilled people, because of their higher lifestyle expectations, need to be assured of a safe and secure future. If the Government cannot reasonably assure them that these are the long term prospects for South Africa, then people who can afford to relocate themselves will continue to do so, and the country will continue to suffer " (Skills going down the brain drain. Daily News, Thursday, October 117 2002, 18)

The last reason mentioned for migration to New Zealand was based on personal (and family) growth and development. Marlene, Suren, Saloshni, Mrs Gunapth, Sunitha and Ms Maharaj articulated that migration has become an option for improvement of children's lives and education. They believed that it is unjust for children to be restricted by the education system, crime and violence (especially against children) and unstable political climate in South Africa. If New Zealand can offer more security, sound education and "peace of mind" then the option ought to be explored (Personal interview in South Africa).

C. ADDITIONAL PUSH FACTORS

Although, the controversy surrounding Mbongeni Ngema's song, AmaNdiya seems to be over or at least silent for now, some sensitive issues still need to be addressed. "Victimised, shocking, hurtful words, angry, disappointed, insulted, ridiculous and blatantly stupid" were some of the passionate words used by the respondents to express their onions on Ngema's AmaNdyia (Personal interview in South Africa).

Undeniably the South African Indian community felt singled out by the title and lyrics of this song. Respondents (100%) felt that this personal attack and victimisation of South African Indians affects the identity of the South African Indian. After years of being labelled as "Asian" (on passports and identity documents), then "Indian" (devoid of being citizens of India), South African Indian became an acceptable racial classification only to become illogical in light of Ngema's song.

The common reply from respondents was that this song made them be aware of some people not accepting them as South African at all. A former activist of the Natal Indian Congress, Swaminathan Gounden, explained that this song is an insult to South African Indians. "Despite the hardship, discrimination and suffering meted out by the white rulers, poor working class Indians made enormous contributions to the freedom struggle and the socio-economic development of South Africa"

(Apology call angers South African Indians, India Express Bureau, February 3 2002, 1).

Doctor Shankara Chetty said that Ngema "had a right to say what he had to say. Our constitution allows freedom of speech – but if I had to do the same, it would be another story. Are different sections of society governed under different rules? Is the South African constitution then really fair and democratic?" (Personal interview in South Africa). On the foundation of Doctor Chetty's questions, how can South African Indians feel like a component of this country? Respondents remarked that this fortifies their decision to leave South Africa.

The aftermath and furore over the racist song was a minority group feeling threatened and too tired to engage in the definition of *belonging* in South Africa. One of the myths that suddenly became truth, in constructing the history of South African Indians was the idea that somehow they did not support the liberation struggle nor did their communities support those who participated in that struggle.

There is no need to be defensive about the part played by different groups in the struggle against apartheid, especially when we take into account the crucial engaging by the intelligentsia of all races in the formulation of ideas that led to the democratic South Africa. South African Indians rejected the schemes of the apartheid ruling class and now appear to be rejected through hate speech in lyrical document.

Excerpts from a translation of the song include the following:

"...Africans struggle so much here in Durban, as we have been dispossessed by Indians" and "I have never seen Dlamini emigrating to Bombay, India. Yet Indians arrive everyday in Durban – they are pacing the airport full" ('AmaNdiya' may not be sold to people under 18. The Natal Witness, Saturday, August 24 2002, 2).

How can Ngema justify the statement that this song, that the South African Human Rights Commission described as "racist hate speech" ('AmaNdiya' may not be sold to people under 18. The Natal Witness, Saturday, August 24 2002, 2) was intended to stimulate discussion on the negative impressions some African have of Indians? This initiated racial tensions between Blacks and Indians. 36% of Indians who answered the questionnaires felt that they experience racism from Blacks – especially. Whether this was a by-product of Ngema's AmaNdiya is arguable. Nevertheless, The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) must be congratulated for its efforts in trying to diffuse these racial tensions. It is a good start towards peace.

Whether the intention of producing messages like AmaNdiya was for financial gain, to stimulate discussion or purely to instigate trouble and open old wounds, the end results were:

 The Afro-Indian dialogue symposium where reconciliation between Africans and Indians was organised. Politicians, businessmen and religious leaders felt that before people move beyond Ngema's song, Ngema needs to apologise to Indians for insulting them. This never happened.

- Mbongeni Ngema's 'Amandiya' did not be of any significant assistance financially to his creditors whom he owes 1.5 million Rand.
- Ngema was voted the tenth worst celebrity in South Africa (<u>Best and</u> worst celebs of 2002. Daily News, Friday, January 3 2002, 2).
- It became another contributing factor in the eight respondents reasons to migrate from South Africa.

6.3. THE SURVEY - DATA INTERPRETATION

There were 100 questionnaires that were self administered in the Pietermaritzburg and Durban areas in South Africa. Due to my topic concentrating on South African Indians, the majority of questionnaires were answered by them. Questionnaires were administered in shopping malls in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. The data is arranged in subsections to be analysed. The subsections are based on the 4 page questionnaire that each respondent answered. The original questionnaire is attached in Appendix A. The subsections are:

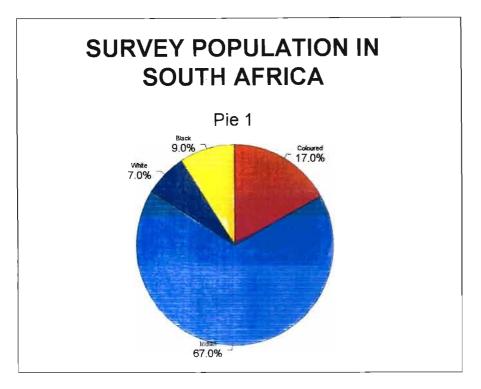
- 6.3.1. DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY POPULATION
- 6.3.2. EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
- 6.3.3. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

These subsections enabled me to compare different sections of the population and to quantify responses more effectively. The data is represented in the form of tables and charts. These charts and tables allow quick access to information that was recorded in hundreds of pages.

6.3.1. DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY POPULATION

Chart 2.a represents the survey population in South Africa. The data obtained from the questionnaire is presented in the format of a Pie Chart. This is the most easily readable form of demographics representation, especially when comparison is drawn about the different slices (strata of the population). The purpose of explaining the population is to provide information on exactly whose opinions are being analysed. As stated earlier, the majority respondents for the survey were South African Indians.

CHART 2.a SURVEY POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

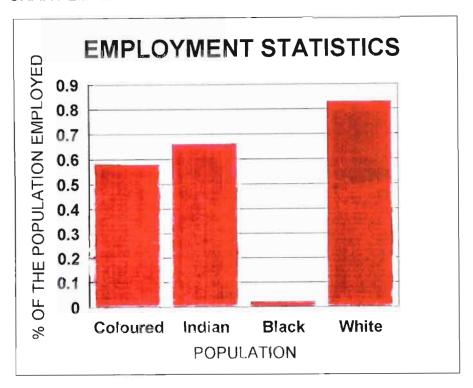


The majority of respondents 67% were Indians from Pietermaritzburg, with 17% Coloureds, 9% Whites and 7% Blacks from Durban and the surrounding areas. Therefore when calculating percentage figures for other responses to questions from the questionnaire, the number of responses are divided by the actual numbers of that specific race group in the population. For example, when I calculated the percentage of Coloureds who held tertiary qualifications, the number of affirmative responses from the Coloured community is divided by the total number of respondents from that group. The underlying reason for calculating percentages in this manner was to gather more accurate and realistic data from each race group.

The Black section of the population who answered the questionnaires were between the ages of 18 to 25 years old. They comprised largely of school leavers. The other racial sections of the population were between 19 years and sixty-four years old. It is important to bear this mind because the percentage representation of the Black sector is that of young adults.

6.3.2. EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA





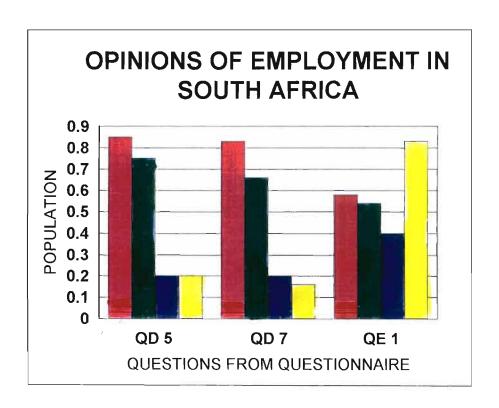
At a glance one can conclude that the highest unemployment (80%) is among the Black section of the population and the highest employment rate (83%) are among the White section of the population. The majority of respondents from the White section of the population were between the ages of 31 years and over forty years old. This can account for the high percentage of employment rates as none were school leavers.

80% of the Black population group were school leavers who have just entered the job market, and were in the post schooling transition phase.

The second highest group of employed people were Indians, with 34% of the population who were unemployed. The respondents varied between the ages of 19 years and over forty years old. The Coloured population was the third highest employed group with 42% of the population unemployed.

The crucial question to the employed section of the population was 'How did you find a job?" (Section D, question 5. See Appendix A). Chart 2.c explains how the employed respondents acquired jobs and is describes the job market in South Africa.

CHART 6.3.c OPINIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA



Population groups are coloured coded as follows:

Red = Coloured

Green = Indian

Blue = Black

Yellow = White

Question five enquires how respondents found a job. They were provided with six options to choose from. The most popular answer was: through friends and family, and that is coded in Chart 6.3.c. Therefore, the Coloured section of the population (85%), and Indian section (75%) mostly found employment through family and friends. Only 20% of Blacks and Whites found employment this way. The White section of the population sought employment predominantly through employment agencies or by directly approaching employers.

The most popular types of employment held by the Coloured section of the population were employment in supermarkets and public relations sectors. The White section of the population were employed as accountants, secretaries, and managerial staff. 20% of Blacks were employed as domestic labourers and Indians were employed as academic staff, medical officers, legal practitioners, accounts clerks, stores management, sales consultants, secretaries and in the motor vehicle industry (Taxi drivers, automobile salesmen, mechanics).

The successful employment rate among Indians is accredited to the results that: 68% of the Indian respondents completed high school, 32% had received diplomas from Technical Colleges and 9% were university graduates. In addition 75% of respondents said that they acquired employment through help from family and friends. This is an important criteria in assessing employment accessibility to Indians. In contrast to the relatively high rate of employment in this section of the population 66% of Indian respondents claimed that gaining employment was very difficult. Through an oversight on my part, I was unable to establish salary ranges from those who were employed, and perhaps discontentment arises from low salary incomes.

The highest employment section of the population were South African Whites (83%). This population group had a 100% matriculation pass with 66% holding Technical College Diplomas. There were no university graduates within the survey population groups, with the exception of 9% Indians.

Education is a great factor in employment accessibility. 50% of the Coloured population group completed high school and the employment rate was 58%. Although 80% of the Black stratum of the population completed high school, they were still in the process of procuring employment. The main grievance aired by Blacks was that there is not enough jobs available for young people without experience.

Job security among Indians and Coloureds was a prime concern. Affirmative action and other employment equity policies, they believe impede and jeopardise their security with regard to employment. For this reason 58% Coloured and 54% Indians are considering migration.

6.3.3. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

The highest number of people considering migration are Whites (83%) and the lowest are Blacks (40%). All respondents listed the unavailability of employment (due to Affirmative action and Employment Equity policies) and job insecurity as reasons for migration.

In addition, high crime rates (rape, murder, theft), high inflation, poverty, racism, an inexperienced government, the AIDS crisis, poor economic growth and low standards of education were listed as reasons for emigrating from South Africa.

Government is the largest player in the economy - and the economy directly affects every person's life. The government assumes that the kick-start to economic growth will be provided through a set of tax cuts targeted at the private sector and upper income earners. Our recent growth and history suggests that this is not a reliable method. Despite some positive growth between 1999 and 2002, unemployment has increased significantly. A great but underestimated factor is the increase in the number of people leaving the country. If all respondents who answered affirmatively to migrate, were to actually migrate over the next five years, the numbers would not only have increased but the reality of the brain and skill drain will increase the level of unemployment significantly.

From the population choosing to migrate the reasons were listed in Section E, question 2, from the questionnaire (Appendix A). A simple table - Table 5 effectively conveys the main reasons for migration from the specific race groups in South Africa.

TABLE 5. REASONS FOR THINKING ABOUT MIGRATION

Only those respondents who answered yes to question E.1 (Appendix A) are represented on this table. Percentages were worked out according to the total number who answered affirmatively. Question 2 from Section E in the questionnaire was:

If Yes (to migration), what is your reason? (You may choose more than one).

QUESTION 2 FROM QUESTIONNAIRE	COLOUREDS	INDIANS	BLACKS	WHITES
Q.2. a To join family who have emigrated?	29%	12%	0	33%
Q.2.b To find better employment?	100%	72%	100%	0
Q.2.c Because you could not find employment in South Africa?	29%	28%	0	0
Q.2.d For the betterment of your children?	43%	48%	0	16%
Q.2.e Crime in South Africa is intolerable	29%	88%	0	66%
Q.2.f You have been directly affected by crime.	14%	32%	0	16%
Q.2.g To explore another country?	29%	12%	0	50%
Q.2.h Because of affirmative action in the workplace?	57%	52%	0	33%
Q.2.i Because of racism? (if racism, from whom?)	14%	36%	0	0

The highest number of people who would consider migrating to join family members abroad were South African Whites. Other racial groups do not have as many family members overseas. !00% of the Coloured and Black population groups decided to

migrate due to the difficulties they face finding employment in South Africa. They were also the two race groups with the lowest employment rates according to the survey.

Only a small percentage of the population indicated that they would migrate because they are the unemployed sector of the population. As stated earlier, the percentage of the population who are employed does not necessarily mean that they are either earning a good salary, content with their working conditions or are secure in their current jobs. The percentage offered is only a debatable indicator, in that instance. Less than half of all racial groups who answered question 2.d. would migrate for the betterment of their children. As discussed in the Section 6.2. young adults now have the opportunity to work abroad, while their parents remain in South Africa.

Indians had the highest percentage (88%) of agreement that crime in South Africa is intolerable. The reason is substantiated in question 2.f, where according to the statistics provided in the questionnaire, the Indian section of the population(32%) were most directly affected by crime in South Africa.

The percentage of people who would consider migration for aesthetic reasons, like to explore a new country were generally low. 50% of Whites, 29% of Coloureds and 12% of Indians considered this a supplementary reason for migration.

Over fifty percent of the Coloured and Indian population groups believed that affirmative action in the workplace encourages them to migrate. From the 33% White s who answered that affirmative action in the workplace is a push factor to migrate, the reason was substantiated by a White male in his thirties, saying that "White Afrikaans males are considered last when it comes to employment." (South African questionnaire)

The final category included people who considered migration because they experience racism. Coloureds (14%) and Indians (36%) believed that racism from Blacks and Whites encourage them to migrate.

Among the different countries offered as a choice of migration destinations, 33% Coloureds, 13% Indians and 16% Whites chose New Zealand as a migration destination.

The main deduction based on the questionnaire is that the two major reasons for dissatisfaction in South Africa is unemployment, or the inaccessibility to employment and the affects of crime on the population. Most respondents suggested that the government play a more active role not only in addressing these two areas of concern, but to actively engage with them. A new concern for South Africa is to curb emigration.

Everyday people are leaving South Africa, whether under the pretext of temporary visits, or permanent migration. Accurate statistics are not available, as most travellers are not filling in departure forms truthfully or even at all. Statistician - general P.J. Lehohla, said that, "the number of documented immigrants has remained less than the number of self-declared emigrants. But the emigration figure - based on the number of emigrants as recorded on their departure forms at international airports only - could be far higher "(They're off to the pound seats. Professional are leaving in droves for greener pastures" Daily News, Wednesday, October 16 2002, 1).

CHAPTER 7 KEY INFORMANTS

7.1. KEY INFORMANT'S VIEWS OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN MIGRATION

The topic of this dissertation focuses on migration of South African Indians to New Zealand. To engage with this within the framework of South African Indian communities, key informants opinions on this matter were sought. Mr. Amichand Rajbansi, Mr. Kay Makan and Mr. A. H. Trikamjee were asked to verify the premise that there has been an increase in the number of South African Indians leaving South Africa in the last five years. The three key informants unanimously supported this launch-pad statement.

The interviews with the key informants were not constrained by an interview schedule. It was compliant and flexible with the key informants opinions on South African Indian migration and with de rigueur probes I kept the conversation within the ambit of my topic.

The three key informants granted that a few years before 1994 owing to apartheid legislation South African Indians began investigating and departing to other countries abroad. Besides, the uncertainty of the new Black government exacerbated the migration figures. According to Mr. Rajbansi, during a time when South Africa was announcing freedom, population groups like the Indians were being marginalized through affirmative action policies and felt like they were not being recognised as part of the masses who were also oppressed and disadvantaged during apartheid rule. In Mr. Rajbansi's words they felt "hopeless" (Personal interview with key informants).

Countries like New Zealand offer South African Indians opportunities (like employment) which they no longer have access to in South Africa. Mr. Rajbansi said that this contribute to the brain drain in South Africa.

He also highlighted the unique situation that South African Indians are occupying. Unlike the rest of Africa, the largest component of South African Indian genealogy is rooted in indentured labour. Through the years (Indians like Madaree Mahuzoo – Chapter 5), loose contact with their family and have no-where else to go and remain in the new country. The end result is the formation of a strong South African Indian Diaspora with the emergence of new class structures within that group. Today there is a large upper class wealthy elitist sector (whose forbearers may have been indentured labourers), a stable middle class and a large number of people who just manage to get by.

Mr. Rajbansi said that professional Indians cannot stand the trauma of the transitional government and are "hypocrites and cowards" to run away from the country and Black rule, (and migrate) especially if they were involved in the freedom struggle. Migrants, on the other hand, who are departing because of crime escalation or who are concerned about the security of their children are "not begrudged." Mr. Rajbansi said that he understands and appreciates the concerns of Indians in this category, because the government has failed in dealing with crime and "people have become prisoners in their own homes" (Personal interview with key respondents).

Mr. Kay Makan agreed that crime is a leading concern in this country. His family have been severely affected by crime (murder, theft and car hijacking). He believes that South African Indians can cope with affirmative action and unemployment because of the extended family structures that provide strong emotional and financial support. Crime is the only "excuse" people have to migrate. A few members of his family have migrated to New Zealand and have returned to South Africa because they were disillusioned with New Zealand.

Mr. Makan believes that an understated push variable for South African Indian migration is "brainwashing" (Personal interviews with key informants). South African Indians who have migrated only narrate the positive and honeymoon experiences of their exodus. The adversity and destitution they experience is never conveyed because they do not want to admit failure, perhaps. Makan considers this an important influence in the person's assessment to actually migrate.

The pressures that encourage migration are growing and fundamentally rise from disparities in opportunities. South African Indians are realising that there are opportunities elsewhere, if not in South Africa. Daily, the newspapers advertise and search for skilled people from South Africa. It is luring in the face of political instability, poverty, unemployment and high crime velocity. People are seeking safety and security in more prosperous nations.

However while migration might lower population pressures and unemployment at home, the repercussion for host countries are the opposite. Xenophobia, racism, intolerance and saturation of the employment markets are set in motion in the new Diaspora. Chapter 5 highlighted some of the setbacks and predicaments of the new migrants. Makan stressed that people underestimate migration expenses and are caught up in the adventure more than the financial reality of migration. Consequently, depression and melancholy was the primary experience of all the respondents in New Zealand. I added to their sadness – I was a symbol of their past and most respondents held on to me – clung to me – some cried – and missed home.

Immigration created a variety of cultural fears for them. The fear that there is no control over national boundaries, the fear that an ethnically homogeneous race will be altered through intermarriage and western influence and fear of changes in the home and the family structure is real. The fears expressed by New Zealanders are that the influxes of new ways of life are altering their landscape. Religious rituals and cultural habits and the fear that newcomers will encroach upon property, clog the education system and deplete social benefits owned by them, is escalating in New Zealand.

Many respondents expressed concern that migrants bring too may of their own problems into New Zealand like, racism, crime and AIDS, which strain their country and create resentment among the residing citizens. There is a fear in Auckland especially that immigrants are becoming a statistical equal (or perhaps majority) rendering them less powerful in their own country.

South African Indian migration, if it continues at this rate will have a profound affect on the entire population in years to come. The growing number South African Indian migrants and their children will shrink the numbers of native born South African Indians.

Mr. Ashwin Trikamjee asserted that many Indians have to be more introspective. To most Indian people, Blacks are "bad and evil", and ignorantly think that there lives were better under the old government. He substantiated by asking if people can actually claim to have been more content with their lives and standard of living (during apartheid) while they were oppressed?

He claimed that crime rates have not necessarily increased – "crime has increased in relative terms". Crime is just redistributed more evenly among all race groups now. He purported that the old government did not publish accurate crime statistics and that crime was just as high then. While White, Coloured and Indian areas had the services of numerous police stations Black areas, which had a higher population of residents, had only one police station.

Therefore former Indian areas were more protected at the cost of the Black people. This is not the case any longer – and this (lack of abundant policing) is being used as a reason for migration (Personal interviews with key informants).

According to Trikamjee there has been a drop in crime!! The media has misled and is continuing to feed people with incorrect, sensationalised reports. He summed up by saying that South African Indian migrants are assessing South Africa from a very narrow perspective.

President Thabo Mbeki, believes that South Africa stands on the brink of a brighter future. He believed that 2002 ended on a positive note for South Africans and the economy has grown beyond expectations. He asserts in his speech that one of the biggest challenges will be to ensure higher rates of economic growth and development and greater confidence in South Africa. He believes that in 2003 South African people will continue to build a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic country. In the next breadth he pleads that we, the people of South Africa, must make real advances "for the sake of the African woman and for the future of the African child" (Hope and Confidence. Africa stands on the brink of a brighter future, writes President Thabo Mbeki).

South African Indians (based on the personal interviews and the survey) do not feel a shared sense of this nationhood and South African solidarity. In truth they know that the African woman is the Black woman and the African child is not their child. The security of would be migrants are being searched for elsewhere, and the government ignores this. Nelson Mandela during his presidency referred to migrants (who are predominantly non Blacks) as "cowards" and said that the country can do without them (Why I'm fleeing South Africa by Anne Paton [widow of Alan Paton]. London Sunday Times – Dispatches, Sunday, November 29 1998).

"Cowards" are leaving though. Crime is rampaging through the land; the government has many excellent schemes for improving the lot of the Black people, who have been disadvantaged for so long. A great deal of money is spent in that direction. Eight years after South Africa's transition to democracy, government has made promises, increasing integrated mechanism government, determined to alleviate poverty, create jobs, and prioritise African development as a prerequisite for Africa's own progress. The South African Indian asks, where is that progress?

Black empowerment pressures come to the fore, and socio-economic development within other sectors of the population is ignored. Crime is addressed constantly but never empirically decreases.

Helen Clarke (Prime Minister of New Zealand) says, "yes, the crime (in South Africa) is a problem, there's underdevelopment but there's a lot of hope" (Conversation with Helen Clarke and Time Modise. SaFm. Tim Modise Show, September 6 2002, 9-10am). Does she mean that there is a lot of hope for her – for New Zealand, the new Diaspora? Each day professionals and other highly skilled people are leaving South Africa for New Zealand.

She suggests that one way in which New Zealand is thinking at the moment, which might be relevant to South Africa, is to keep the talents and expertise of the expatriates, through networking with them all over the world. New Zealand has about 50 000 South African birth rate there. She further stated that migrants feel 'out of sight, out of mind'. She was trying to educate our government to refrain from merely calling them cowards, and to appreciate that migrants are a tremendous resource to their homelands. They have new networks in the host country, and the home country can tap into those networks for investment, whether it is professional, enterprise or to upgrade skills at home. She encourages South Africa to turn the situation around, and appreciate the expatriate community because they could contribute to the development processes at home.

CONCLUSION

This study, although in-depth, has not aimed at being exhaustive. It has selected key issues to illustrate the underlying pull and push factors for South African Indian migration to New Zealand. An effort has also been made to convey the complexities involved in migration (principally for South African Indians) on a micro (personally and within the ambit of family and home) and macro (involving the respective countries, South Africa and New Zealand)) level.

In a certain sense, while the present world is more tightly integrated than at any earlier point in history, migration – the process and the effects of that decision weights the distance, space and struggles involved in relocating to a new domicile. It is true that migration is a pervasive tendency that influences the lives of people in every country – the concept has become a widespread one as a result of desperate circumstances. Migration has all the sociocultural processes that contribute to alter the country as well as the person. It has important economic, political and cultural dimensions, as well as equally important ethical implications. The process affects the conditions of people living in the new locality, creating new forms of opportunities and vulnerability.

This dissertation centred around South African Indians who have migrated and those who are in the process of migrating to New Zealand. Access to New Zealand, made it the foremost choice of country to migrate to. The United Kingdom, United States of America and Canada require ancestral visas or only allow working holidays for people under twenty-seven years old. New Zealand is accessible to South African Indians as its migration policies are based on a point system, where skills, education and work experience serve as entrance requirements. Spoken and written English is also a prerequisite for entry. The added advantage is that New Zealand has a demand for artisan skilled labour with high remuneration packages.

This exigency has opened up new panoramas for South African Indians across the economic spectrum. Owing to the largest component of South African Indians descending from the mass exodus of indentured labourers from India, the majority of the South African Indians sustain an average standard of living in South Africa. Few opportunities were available for them to improve their plight. New Zealand is granting access to these people.

The key informants (A. Rajbansi, K. Makan, and A, H. Tirkamjee) were consistent with the understanding that overseas travelling is a new opportunity for South African Indians. Previously due to financial constraints and political pressure exploration of new countries was inaccessible to Indians. Six respondents in New Zealand agreed that migrating to New Zealand was motivated by the accessibility of New Zealand to Indians and to engage in new travelling experiences.

The most important groundwork underpinning my topic was acquired from the respondents for the interviews in New Zealand and South Africa. The main incentives for migration to New Zealand were discovered through extensive discourse. The primary reason for migrating to New Zealand according to the respondents in New Zealand was for the betterment of their children. All the respondents interviewed in New Zealand were employed in South Africa before they migrated. Therefore, unemployment was not the key motivation for migration. The future and security of their children was of grave concern in South Africa. Respondents asked, "why should our children pay for the injustices of the past in South Africa?" (Personal interviews in New Zealand).

Another respondent succinctly argued his point by saying that he and his wife had secure jobs and lived comfortably in South Africa, but there was no hope for his children. The quality of education, he believed, has deteriorated, personal security in the home was threatened and his children could never progress in this environment in South Africa.

A good standard of education is provided in New Zealand at very reasonable rates and tertiary education is financially supported in New Zealand. In South Africa, parents realise that it is essential to send their children to model C or private schools in order to gain a good quality of education for their children. This is unaffordable to most parents. Other respondents were content with their children being able to play in parks unsupervised, ride their bicycles in the neighbourhood and enjoy the simplicity of life that a child ought to have. They conceded that this reality is ruined in South Africa.

The life of the new Diasporans in New Zealand were not free of impediments though. The adverse repercussion for migrants today means pushing into territories already occupied by others with their own cultural and social practices. Based on the evidence from the survey conducted in New Zealand, New Zealanders are becoming frustrated with the high number of immigrants in Auckland. They are beginning to fell threatened and insecure of their own future in this city. The population is steadily increasing in Auckland, with a large number of Asians entering New Zealand, to learn English. Pockets of ethnic communities are emerging in suburbs near the city and New Zealanders are beginning to feel overcrowded and overwhelmed by the changes in landscape. The result is that racism and intolerance towards foreigners is blossoming in Auckland.

The employment sectors are also becoming stricter about employing foreigners, and are demanding 'Kiwi' experience as an essential prerequisite for employment in New Zealand. This marginalizes a large sector of the migrant population. On the job market foreigners are also exploited and are paid very low salaries. Three respondents in New Zealand started off earning twelve dollars an hour, which is a below average rate. The worst setback for migrants over the age of forty was restarting from scratch. Buying a home (which start around one and a half million Rands) is challenging.

New Zealand has also noted an increase in crime during 2002. The migrants argue that the type of crimes committed is not as heinous as it is in South Africa.

They believe that crime can be contended with when it is not personal attacks, like rape and murder. Five respondents were the victims of household burglary and car theft in New Zealand.

Crime was the main reason put forward for immigration to New Zealand by the respondents interviewed in South Africa. Lacking personal freedom and security were unanimous motivating reasons. Crime, corruption of government and violence was a fear that these respondents are not prepared to tolerate any longer. They believe that the quality of life has degenerated with the new government in South Africa.

While Trikamjee argues that Indians in South Africa enjoyed security at the cost of oppression, the respondents agreed that although they may have been oppressed under apartheid rule government, they honestly (but regrettably) believe that their quality of life was less threatened and better. Having operable and effective policing in the *Indian* residential areas kept crime in check. The new government and democratic constitution does not recognise Indians as being part of the historically oppressed people of South Africa, and continues to marginalize them just as the former White government did.

Politically the respondents felt sandwiched by the two governments. They believe that the constitution does not recognise nor address the needs of minority groups. The outcome is that South African Indians are further marginalized in the employment sector through Employment equity policies and Equality Redress Programmes. Affirmative action policies are geared towards Black empowerment, and they exclude the Indian in South Africa, who was considered Black throughout apartheid. A South African Indian's reality is endured through being purged and castigated by the new government.

Migration and children who are being forced to search for employment in other countries are fracturing traditional South African Indian families.

Respondents living in New Zealand highlighted issues concerning the shared responsibility of child-care.

Not having extended family to assist dual working parents with after school care was sorely missed. Child-care givers are expensive to hire in New Zealand. In addition, the responsibility of domestic roles, especially parenting is being de-gendered due to time constraints. Most respondents in New Zealand held more that one job in order to subsist financially. This is a small shift away from patriarchal ideology. The profile of (South African Indian) family and home is altered in New Zealand.

While Black empowerment pressures have come to the fore in South Africa, the needs of other sectors of the population are being looked for elsewhere. While President Mbeki's focus on job creation and switching to appropriate education and training is sound, the time lag on such decisions is a generation or so. Government is committed and poised for delivery, but if South Africa is going to prosper in the long term, some highly unpopular political decisions need to be made and implemented now.

Affirmative action is not really working. Well not for South African Indians anyway. Brain and skills drain is a direct result of redeployment and equity redress policies. The government is not even addressing the issue of migration, because there is a clear postulation that only Whites and Indians are migrating. The attitude from government is, who needs them anyway?

In response to problems, many people have migrated to New Zealand and will continue to migrate to New Zealand and other countries where prospects for an enhanced life are anticipated. Migration is a chief player in demographic processes and is an important factor for South Africa to consider in its growth and decline of its population.

While Prime Minister Helen Clarke, welcomes migrants to New Zealand, she also includes New Zealand expatriates into her plans to boost New Zealand's economy through networking with them in other countries. She does not label them as cowards, but includes them as part of New Zealand's growing transnational economy.

People in South Africa, like all the respondents who were interviewed, are pessimistic about South Africa's future. South Africans in New Zealand are safe, employed and feel confident about their new status as New Zealanders. They still hope that 'things would improve at home', and six respondents said, "If things improved we would come back – South Africa will always be our home" (Personal interviews in New Zealand).

South African Indians are thinking like idealists in the search for an alternative way to live. Realistically though, there is a poignant possibility that peace, economic stability, decent living conditions, political freedom, secure employment and democracy may be a pipe dream in South Africa.

"A character in Cry, The Beloved Country says: "I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they are turned to loving they will find that we are turned to hating." And so it has come to pass. There is now more racial tension in this country than I have ever known.

There is a quote from my husband's book: "Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear. Let him not love the earth too deeply. Let him not laugh too gladly when the water runs through his fingers, nor stand too silent when the setting sun makes red the veld with fire. Let him not be too moved when the birds of his land are singing, nor give too much of his heart to a mountain or valley. For fear will rob him of all if he gives too much."

(Paton Anne. Why I'm fleeing South Africa. London Sunday Times – Dispatches. November 29 1998).

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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

NEW ZEALAND

Mrs Ramasar

15 July 2002. Flat Bush, East Tamaki, Howick, Auckland

Judy

16 July 2002. Glenfield, North Shore, Auckland

Visa Singh

17 July 2002. Highland Park, Howick, Auckland

Joshna and Angela Naicker

18 July 2002. O'Halloran Road, Howick, Auckland

Sherine and Roger Madurai

18 July 2002. Mellons, Howick, Auckland

Dr. Pravedh Sewnarain

22 July 2002. Mangere, Auckland

Niri Singh

25 July 2002. Remuera, Auckland

Vinesh and Venessa Naidoo

27 July 2002. Titirangi, Waitakari, Auckland

Viren Jagroo

29 July 2002. Pakuranga, Auckland

SOUTH AFRICA

Marlene

28 November 2002. Sea Tides. Tongaat

Mrs Rohinee Gunpath

3 December 2002. Bombay Heights, Pietermaritzburg

Saloshni Harirajh

11 December 2002. Tongaat

Suren

11 December 2002. Tongaat

Ms. N. Maharaj

10 January 2003. Mountain Rise, Pietermaritzburg

Ms. Shamani Chetty

11 January 2003. Glenwood, Durban

Sunita

13 January 2003. Durban North.

Dr. Shankara Chetty

13 January 2003. Glenwood

KEY INFORMANTS

Mr. Kay Makan

3 December 2002. Kay Makan Electronic Appliance shop. Pietermaritzburg

Mr. Amichand Rajbansi.

12 December Royal Coffee Shop, Durban

Mr. A. H. Trikamjee

16 January 2002. Glenwood, Durban

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SEMINAR

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- Bruce Curtis. Lecturer of Sociology, University of Auckland.
- Telephone conversation with New Zealand Immigration Consultants
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GLOSSARY

- 1. South African: A person born in South Africa
- 2. South African Indian: An Indian born in South Africa.
- White: Denotes a South African reality and is used in human discourse to refer to Caucasian people or people of European descent.
- Coloured: Racial classification in South Africa for people born of European and Black genealogy.
- Kiwi: Citizens in New Zealand affectionately refer to themselves as Kiwis, after the national bird of New Zealand.
- Sari: Traditional North and South Indian form of attire. Clothing that is six meters of fabric draped around a woman's body.
- Punjabi: Traditional attire for North Indian and Muslim women. Consists
 of a pair of pants worn under a long dress. It is accessorised with a
 scarf.
- Middle Class: Commonly refers to a section of the population who earns above average salaries and lives in developed areas.
- Upper Middle Class: Commonly refers to the wealthier section of the population, who own large amounts of assets and have reasonably accumulated capital.
- 10. Flatting: A term used in New Zealand when students live communally in a flat or house away from their parents.
- 11. Motorway: Synonym for freeway or highway.

APPENDIX A

- THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
- THE QUESTIONNAIRE NEW ZEALAND
- THE PERSONAINTERVIEW SOUTH AFRICA
- THE QUESTIONNAIRE SOUTH AFRICA

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS - NEW ZEALAND (NZ)

1.For how long have you been living in NZ- (how did you first learn off NZ)?

Did you visit/holiday in NZ prior to immigration?

Who made the decision to move to NZ/ (father, you)? Did you trust that decision?

Did you/your family apply from SA for immigration to NZ? (Expensive process?)

How did you feel when you were leaving SA?

 $2. \mathsf{Did}$ you have to qualify for entrance? What criteria were used for selection? (Points?

How did your family qualify? (Education/skills/money/marriage)
Was your SA qualification approved (did you have to apply for NZQA)?
What were the results of NZQA-did you have to do additional courses?

3. What was your first impression of NZ?

Did your migration cost a lot of money?

Now what is your general perception of NZ in comparison to other countries?

. Where did you live in SA (city/area - to determine class strata)? Do you miss anything or anyone from your old neighborhood in SA?

What do you think of the houses /STD of living in NZ?

- . Describe the emotional side of your migration (Vanessa started smoking /going mad
- . Assimilation- do you feel like a NZ citizen -like part of NZ
- . Why did you leave SA primary reasons

 Were you (family) directly affected by SA crime/job market?
- 4. Do you still keep in contact with pp from SA -why?
 How frequently (Do find it affordable?)
 Do you keep up to date with any SA news (how internet/TV etc
 ** The rugby incident in the nightclub -opinions

5. When it comes to citizenship - legally are you a NZ citizen?
Do you still fell like SA citizen (are you holding dual citizenship)?

6. Indian Culture

Do you miss your SA family and friends? Have any family come to NZ to visit. How frequently?

Lifestyle - adjusting to Masalas Food-

Emotional ties _ Indians extended families (are there ties with others in NZ)

Do you or your children know your family in SA- grandparents/aunts/uncles

Do you fell like you robbing children of family ties

- . Western influence in NZ departure from Indian culture??
- . Celebrations of Indian rituals (Diwali same? Is it important?
- . Do you id with Indians (India/Fiji)...commonness
- . Do you still think like a SA Race/ fear etc?
- 7. Do you regret your decision to move? Would it be something you would do again if you had a chance?

Will you ever consider going back to SA?

Do you think that your life would be different if you were still in SA (better life worse any comparison

8.Job -was it easy to find employment - How long did it take before you were employed? What type of employment were you in SA? Now?

Do you think that the NZ is prejudicial towards employing Africans?

Did you experience any xenophobia from NZs?

Do you think NZ leans towards affirmative action policies with Maoris?

9. NZ PROBLEMS -What does believe are the problems that NZ face?

Opinions on recent crime escalation in NZ / teacher strikes/ teen pregnancies. Is there an escalation in NZ crime?

10. How often do you have contact with family / people from home (tel fly home).
Do you hope that you could visit more frequently? What are the impediments (money/time)?

What is your opinion about SA? How do you support these views? Your perception/family news/ news etc

The data collecte	ed from this qu	estionnaire is to	be used for a M	aster's Dissertatio	on in Sociology. This		
_		•			ent at The University of		
				obtained will be c	ontidential. 		
INSTRUCTIO	<u>ONS</u>						
4. Please ans	swer all que e a pen (bla swer all que irk your ansv	stions in all s ack or blue) a stions truthfu	and not a pend lly.		d from the given		
e.g Are you a New Zealand citizen? Yes □ No □							
Thank you.							
	_						
SECTION A: PERSONAL AND CONTACT DETAILS							
1. Tick One :							
Prof. □	Dr. 🗖	Mr. □	Mrs□.	Ms.□	Miss□		
2. Surname :							
4 Postal Add	ress (optior	nal) ·					
r ootal r taa	roso (optioi						
5. Suburb :							
8. Are you ma				No □			

SECTION B : RESIDE	NT STATUS							
1. Are you a New Zeal	and citizen?	Yes	No 🗖					
2. If not, do you have i	resident status, or	Yes 🗖	No □					
3. A current work perm	nit ?	Yes □	No 🗖					
SECTION C : PHYSIC	CAL DESCRIPTION							
The following information is requested and will be used for statistical purposes only.								
Please tick the approp	oriate box.							
1. Are you:	Female		Male □					
2. How old are you? 15 -18 years □	19-21 years □	22-25years	-					
26-30 years □	31-40 years □	40years and old	der□					
3. Please tick the most appropriate description of yourself. You may tick one or two boxes only.								
a. New Zealand European or Pakeha								
b. New Zealand Maori								
c. Pacific Islander (please state country) :								
d. Indian (please state country) :								
e. Asian please state country) :								
f. Fijian								
g. Other Ethnic Origin (please specify):								

SECTION D : EDUCATION AND TRAINING
1. Did you complete Year 12 (or 6th Form Certificate) ? Yes □ No □
2. Did you complete a Bursary Examination for University entrance? Yes
3. Do you have any tertiary qualifications ? Yes □ No □
4. If your answer was Yes to question 3, please state name of institution where tertiary qualification was obtained : Name of Institution: Country of Institution :
3. Do you have a (or more than 1) diploma ? Yes □ No □ If Yes, please state type of diploma(s) obtained:
4. Do you have a (or more than 1) degree ? Yes □ No □ If Yes, please state type of degree(s) obtained:
5. Do you have any other type of training? Yes □ No□ If Yes, please specify:
SECTION E : EMPLOYMENT DETAILS
Are you currently employed? Yes □ No □
2. If, yes, what type of employment are you currently in?
a. Professional (medical doctor, accountant, lawyers, nurses, teachers etc.) Please state:
b. Academic (Professor, lecturer, researcher etc.) Please state :
c. Business Sector (bankers, clerks, secretary, receptionist etc.) Please state :

d. Blue Collar (mechanic, plumber, electrician etc.) Please state :
e. Other : Please state:
3. At what age did you first start working? 15years □ 17years □ 19years □ 21years □ 23years □ 25years □ other:
 4. Was it a. very easy b. easy c. difficult d. very difficult, to find a job in New Zealand?
5. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1 week
6. How did you get a job? a. through the newspaper
7. How qualified do you think you are you to do the job you are doing? a. not qualified
doing? Yes I No I
9. If the answer is No to question 7, please state why.
10. How are you treated in your work environment? a. very well

11. If you are unemployed, are you
a. on the government's unemployment benefit?
b. living off a family member?
c. living off your own investment?
d. other
SECTION F : YOUR OPINION
1. Do you enjoy living in New Zealand ? Yes □ No□
2. Do you believe that there are plenty of jobs in New Zealand at present? Yes □ No □
3. With the high number of immigrants entering New Zealand each year, do you think
that there will
be many jobs available in the next 5 years?
Yes No D
4. How do you feel about the high number of immigrants entering New Zealand each year?
a. happy
b. unhappy
c. very threatened
d. very annoyed
e. very invaded f. it does not bother you
I. it does not bother you in
5. Does the high influx of immigrants affect your job? Yes□ No□
6. How would you feel if your superior at work was a foreigner (not from New
Zealand?
a. happy
b. angry

7. Do	you	think	that foreig	ners are	taking	over job	s that	New	Zealanders	would h	nave
had?	Yes		No□			•					

8. Do you think that the new immigrants

e. other : please state:_____

a. improve the New Zealand economy?□

c. disturbed □
d. undisturbed □

b. affect the New Zealand economy negatively?□ c. do not affect the economy at all.□
9. Do you think that racism exists in New Zealand? Yes□ No□
10. Do you think that foreigners bring problems in from their own country that affects New Zealand negatively? Yes□ No□
11. If, you answered yes to the above statement, please state what type of problems you think foreigners bring into New Zealand.
12. What do you think of the New Zealand government's plan to increase the number of immigrants per year? a. it will affect New Zealand national identity. b. it will be towards the betterment of New Zealand. c. it will create xenophobia (fear or dislike of foreigners). d. it will start racism where there was none. e. it will not affect New Zealand at all.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – SOUTH AFRICA – KEY INFORMANTS

- 1. Do you think that, in the recent years, there has been an increase in the number of Indians emigrating from South Africa? If yes, when did you notice this increase? What is your opinion on Indian migration from South Africa?
- 2. How many Indians do you know of, who migrated to New Zealand?
 Why do you think that New Zealand is a popular choice of destination?
- 3. What do you think are some of the underlying reasons for South African Indian migration?
- 4. Do you think that Indians have always needed to feel a sense of belonging in South Africa, and because they do not feel that are emigrating?
- 5. What is your opinion on Bongani Ngema's song, Amamndiya and what effects do you think that this song has had on Indian people?
- 6. What is your opinion on the restriction of fireworks and crackers for the celebration of Diwali? (Do you think that this is agitating Indians even further?)
- 7. Would you consider emigrating from South Africa? Why?

The data collected from this questionnaire is to be used for a Masters Dissertation in Sociology. This survey is being conducted for and by Ms. R. Seebran, a Sociology Masters student at The University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. All data obtained is confidential.

Please print in block letters.
Please answer all questions in all sections.
3. Please use a pen (black or blue) and not a pencil.
 Please answer all questions truthfully. Please mark your answer with an X, where an answer is required from the given
alternatives in blocks.
Eg. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No.
SECTION A : PERSONAL AND CONTACT DETAILS
SECTION A. PERSONAL AND CONTACT DETAILS
1.Title:
Prof: Dr: Mr: Mrs: Ms: Miss:
2.Sumame :
3.First Name or Initials :
4. Postal Address (optional) :
5. Suburb : ———————————————————————————————————
6. Town / City :
7. Contact Telephone Number: code:———— Tel No:————
8. E-mail address: ———————————————————————————————————
9. Status : Married : Divorced : Single :
9. Status : Married : Divorced : Single : 10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No
3
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No SECTION B: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 1. Did you complete standard 10/ grade 12? Yes No
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No SECTION B: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 1. Did you complete standard 10/ grade 12? Yes No
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No SECTION B: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 1. Did you complete standard 10/ grade 12? Yes No 2. Do you have any tertiary qualifications? Yes No
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No SECTION B: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 1. Did you complete standard 10/ grade 12? Yes No 2. Do you have any tertiary qualifications? Yes No 3. If Yes, please state type of degree(s)/ diploma(s) obtained: 4. Do you have any other type of training? Yes No
10. Are you a South African citizen? Yes No SECTION B: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 1. Did you complete standard 10/ grade 12? Yes No 2. Do you have any tertiary qualifications? Yes No 3. If Yes, please state type of degree(s)/ diploma(s) obtained:

SECTION C : PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION The information requested will be used for statistical purposes only.
1. Are you : Female : Male:
2. How old are you? 15-18years
26-30years 31-40years 41years and older
Please mark the most appropriate description of yourself. You may tick one or two boxes only. South African Indian
a. South African Indian b. South African White
c. South African Black
d. South African Coloured
e. Other Ethnic Origin (please specify)
SECTION D : EMPLOYMENT DETAILS
1. Are you currently employed? Yes No
2. If Yes, what type of employment are you currently in?
2. If Yes, what type of employment are you currently in? 3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month)
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other:
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other:
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. 1 through the newspaper b. 1 through an employment agency c. 1 through a friend
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. through the newspaper b. through an employment agency c. through a friend d. through the Internet
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. 1 through the newspaper b. 1 through an employment agency c. 1 through a friend d. 1 through the Internet e. 1 through a family member
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. through the newspaper b. through an employment agency c. through a friend d. through the Internet
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. 1 through the newspaper b. 1 through an employment agency c. 1 through a friend d. 1 through the Internet e. 1 through a family member
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. 1 through the newspaper b. 1 through an employment agency c. 1 through a friend d. 1 through the Internet e. 1 through a family member
3. If Yes, when did you start working? (Year and Month) 4. How long did it take you to find a job? a. 1-2 weeks b. 1-2 months c. 6-12 months d. other: 5. How did you find a job? a. 1 through the newspaper b. 1 through an employment agency c. 1 through a friend d. 1 through the Internet e. 1 through a family member

6. How qualified do you think you are to do the job you are doing?
a. adequately qualified
b. over qualified
c. not qualified
7. Is it
a. very easy
b. easy
c. difficult
d. very difficult, to find employment in South Africa.
d. D very difficult, to find employment in coddination.
8.If your answer is 7d, why is it very difficult to find employment in South Africa?
SECTION E: YOUR OPINION
1.Have you considered emigrating from South Africa?
Yes No No
2. If Yes, what is your reason? (You may choose more than one)
2. If fes, what is your reason? (Fourmay choose more than one)
a. To join family who have emigrated
b. To find better employment
c. Because you could not find employment in South Africa
d. For the betterment of your children
e. Crime in South Africa is intolerable
f. You have been directly affected by crime
g. To explore another country
h. Because of affirmative action in the workplace
i. Because of racism
(If racism, from whom?)
i Other (please state reasen)
j. Unther (please state reason)

If Yes, to question 1, which country have you considered emigrating to?
a. England
b. Scotland
c. New Zealand
d. Australia
e. Canada
f. Other: please specify:
4. If you have answered question 3, why did you choose that particular country?
5. What do you think are South Africa's 3 worst problems?
a
b
C
6. Do you think that South Africa has a high number of emigrants? Yes \(\simeq \) No \(\simeq \)
7. From which year did you notice an increase in the number of emigrants
from South Africa?
8. Are you emigrating within the next year? Yes \(\square \) No \(\square \)
9.What problems do you think emigrants will experience?
10. What suggestions do you have to curb emigration from South Africa?

Thank you for answering the questionnaire.

APPENDIX B

• NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Focusing on results – tackling youth offending

Law-abiding residents want substance rather than spin.

The government's new youth offending programme, which targets serious and repeat offenders, will deliver the results that law-abiding residents want.

There is no disputing the need to crack down on youth offenders. That is why the government is targeting crimes unfortunately dominated by young people.

Burglary is a case in point.

A lot of serious offenders begin their criminal offending by committing burglaries. In fact almost a quarter of offenders convicted of burglary go on to commit serious violent offences.

The government will introduce legislation later this year adding burglary to the list of crimes that police can gain compulsory DNA samples for.

But the major drive to cut youth crime is covered by the government's youth crime strategy launched recently by Justice Minister Phil Goff.

This wide-ranging strategy is the result of a comprehensive report compiled by former Principal Youth Court Judge David Carruthers.

We must make young offenders responsible for the crimes they commit. We must also ensure they don't go on to become career criminals. Ministry of Justice figures show 70 percent of 17-19 offenders are reconvicted within two years. Getting to the cause of the problem early is then absolutely essential in the fight against crime.

The Youth Offending Strategy will target mainly 14-16 year-olds. Key elements are:

• The creation of local youth offending teams to ensure a properly integrated and coordinated response to youth offender across government agencies.

· A new residential youth offender pilot programme



Justice Minister Phil Goff: the government is cracking down on serious and repeat youth offenders.

where offenders can be placed for up to year rather than the current youth residential supervision. \$2.85 million is being provided for this in this year's Budget.

 \$12 million set aside in the Budget for Day Reporting Centres where Corrections, and Child, Youth and Family will provide intensive individualised programmes to help kids who have strayed from the straight and narrow from descending into a life of crime.

This year is election year. National and Act will try and score cheap political points by grandstanding on the issue of law and order.

They will offer populist, simplistic options that will do nothing to reduce youth crime in the long term.

The government led by Helen Clark will focus on delivering real solutions to addressing serious issues such as youth offending.

Sensible, effective legislation - instead of empty election-year rhetoric

The Labour-led government has taken effective measures to produce a tougher sentencing regime for the hardcode of dangerous offenders. The Sentencing and Parole Return Bill is a sensible, considered piece of legislation, instead the empty, election-year rhetoric of other parties.

Policies dredged up by other parties – such as Egero tolerance' – would cost hundreds of millions of dollars while being ineffective in reducing crime in the long-term.

Such a sentencing regime would lead to a 55 percent increase in the prison population and cost more than \$800 million over three years – money that would inevitably be at the expense of health, education and superannuation.

The only possible justification for spending this level of money would be if it could be demonstrated that it sharply reduced crime. However evidence from the United States and New South Wales demonstrates it doesn't.

Of course people are concerned about crime, and have a right to be. But simplistic, populist solutions are no solution at all. The Government's approach is not only about punishing those guilty of crimes, but in the longer term, achieving the more important goal of crime prevention.

The Government has committed an additional \$90 million over four years to implementing the Sentencing Act and Parole Act passed recently. The major features of the new legislation are:

- Increasing the minimum non-parole period for aggravated murders from 10 to 17 years. Seventeen years will be just a starting point for judges.
- For the first time providing guidelines in legislation that will require judges to consider imposing close to the maximum penalty in the law for the worst offences.
- A new, professional parole board will for the first time, have the safety of the community as its paramount consideration.
- Abolishing the system currently in place where serious violent offenders are automatically released after serving two thirds of their sentence, regardless of the risk of reoffending. Judges have the discretion to impose a minimum non-parole period of two thirds of the sentence.

Focus on Law and Order \$2.5m police package means a safer Auckland

The Labour-led government's massive investment in the police includes a \$2.5 million policing package for Auckland.

Initiatives in the package include funding for 60 additional non-sworn staff to provide extra behind-thescenes support, a second radio frequency for Auckland City, and a "modern cadet" scheme to attract 17 to 21 year olds into police careers.

Of the current 240 Police Tlzard.

Auckland Central MP Judith Tizard.

College recruits, 92 will be working in the three Auckland Districts by the end of June, and around 70 more recruits destined for Auckland are due to enter the college in the next two intakes.

The package means front-line police will be able to focus on front-line work.

"This is an exciting package that recognises the necessity of providing safe streets and reducing crime throughout Auckland," said Minister Assisting the Prime Minister with Auckland Issues, Judith Tizard.

"Policing in Auckland is not only an issue of personal safety and security for residents. Auckland is an international city with a steady flow of tourists and significant events such as the America's Cup."

The MP for Auckland Central said more than 100 additional police will be provided in Auckland for the America's Cup from September this year.

They will be deployed on water and on land, especially in the Viaduct Basin and lower central city.

"I have been talking with Auckland police and lobbying Police Minister George Hawkins for recognition that the region's unprecedented growth and changing patterns meant that Auckland's needs were not being met by the present system.

"Prime Minister Helen Clark told Auckland's leaders before the last election that Labour in government would work with Auckland to accommodate growth.



Police Minister George Hawkins announces that another police station is going to be rebuilt. The police are \$140 million better off since the Labour-led government came to office in 1999.

"I am delighted for the Mayoral Forum and police, who have supported me in my calls for better policing in Auckland, that the region is getting the policing resources it urgently needs from the Labour-led government," Judith Tizard said.

YOUR **PLACE** YOUR **PAPER**



Auckland City Harbour News

reporters:

815-4366

with all your news

Wednesday, July 24, 2002

Internet: www.stuff.co.n

Crime spree rocks community

By ANNABEL SCAIFE

AN inner city suburb has dubbed a training ground for young criminals as police struggle to staff the twice in the past five months and there was area.

Community leaders blame rising crime in Pt Chevalier on the absence of a community constable.

Residents are still waiting for a new community constable, after being told back in February that the vacancy left by Community Constable Raelene Ingram would be filled as soon as possible.

The Pt Chevalier TAB has been robbed an armed holdup of the ASB Bank on June

Paddy Ensor, a Pt Chevalier Community Committee member and business association chairman, says there's more graffiti in

the area, car break-ins and early morning "hoons" since Ms Ingram left.

"Robbers seem to use Pt Chevalier as a training ground," Mr Ensor says.

"The elderly are virtually barricading afraid to go out at night."

Pt Chevalier residents say their police station has not had a constable assigned to it for regular periods for more than three years.

Grey Power life member and resident Marie Bayer says the area urgently needs a policeman.

"We de rately want the police here. We've got nothing, not even a Citizens Advice Bureau," Ms Bayer says.

But Auckland city district commander Superintendent Howard Broad cannot themselves in their houses. They're too guarantee an appointment for the next 12 months.

> Mr Broad "hopes" to assign a community constable by June, when the staffing situation has improved.

> "We've 'and no applicants. I could pick scmeone, out I'm not going to do that."

> He says there are no plans to disestablish the position.

Appendio EB3

Words that hurt cut to core of racial debate

It's hard to think of a more provocative title for a documentary right now than Chinks, Coconuts And Curry-Munchers.

But it indicates that tonight's *Inside New Zealand* (TV3, 8.30), which surveys experiences of race and racism from Kiwis with different ethnic backgrounds, doesn't shy away from the heart of the debate.

Says comedian and Samoan-born New Zealander Oscar Kightley early in the doco: "Chinks, Curry-Munchers and Coconuts. You know they're all words that I think most New Zealanders — most honest ones — would admit to having used at one stage."

Indeed, director Libby Hakaraia says the idea for the documentary came from a conversation about what New Zealand identity is and who we are.

"We [documentary production company Kiwa] have done a lot of documentaries, like The Truth About Maori, that look at identity from a Maori angle and we thought, 'Let's

look at the other peoples in this country'.

6

TV Preview

GREG DIXON

"We were throwing it around, going, 'What did you used to call Chinese people?' Oh, Chinks.' There were Coconuts, FOBs, Ragheads, Rastas etc. So we had to cut it back to the three Cs."

Interestingly enough, apart from older participants in the documentary, it's been her white liberal friends who have most

objected to the title, she says.

Chinks, Coconuts And Curry-Munchers features a range of famous and not-sofamous talking heads, including Kightley, writer Helene Wong and playwright Jacob Rajan, offering thoughts about issues such as trying to fit in, whose country it is, who they are, where home is.

There are some cutting observations, like that from university lecturer Shudri Kothari, who suggests racism is interesting because while the influx of ethnic food has been welcomed here, some Kiwis "hate the bastards at the same time".

The documentary also uses a few onscreen statistics — such as the fact that of the 75,000 New Zealanders of Indian origin, only 6000 own dairies — to underline the flimsiness of racial stereotypes and assumptions that dog New Zealand society.

Winston Peters, who has been at his provocative worst in the past week, features in clips from speeches that are used to illustrate the heat in the issue.

Hakaraia says what stood out for her while making the documentary was the older people, whether they were Chinese or Pacific Island or Indian, who still carry the hurt of trying to assimilate, of trying to fit in



Jacob Rajan offers his thoughts.

and clearly not fitting in. And of their suffering at the hands of the name-calling in the documentary's title.

"But the young people surprised me. It was like, 'Bring it on. Call me whatever you like, we own those identities now'. They're proud to be 'Coconuts' or whatever.

"Going to Freemans Bay Primary School



Winston Peters' speeches feature.

[in inner-city Auckland] was a real eyeopener, too. They are such a mixture. I couldn't believe my own eyes," she says.

"I grew up in predominantly Pakeha schools. But I stood there looking at those kids, thinking. 'God, this is New Zealand, this is the changing face'.

"And I doubt, in the future, that there is



Oscar Kightley ... we all use the words.

going to be that much of a problem because I see it in the kids. They are actually mixing and are much more aware of different cultures."

Let's hope that Peters and the 10 per cent of New Zealand who voted for his cynical, populist scaremongering watch tonight — and learn.

Rejection a way of life for skilled newcomers

New Zealand offers them a home — but work is a different story. Catherine Masters talks to four well-qualified immigrants still seeking the promised land.

Between them, the four new immigrants

have applied for nearly 700 jobs.

Three have university degrees and all have a wealth of experience in their professions. But their stacks of rejection letters

just get bigger. They are either over-qualified or they do not have the "Kiwi" experience needed for the job. So these fluent but strongly accented English speakers offer their time free to get the experience, only to be told the company does not do that kind of thing.

One was refused a job because the \$16 an hour pay was "too low" for someone so qualified. Another was refused a job valet parking because other applicants were more qualified.

It does not matter what they do to convince a prospective employer to give them a chance, the goalposts will shift and they will be fobbed off over and over.

When asked if the Weekend Herald could take their photograph, the quartet become alarmed and decline to be identified. When asked if their names can be used, their answer is the same.

"There are a lot of sensitive issues out there," says the white South African freight forwarder. "A lot of New Zealanders are not aware . . . It's really an indictment on this country. I have been rejected so many

Says the young Indian homoeopathic doctor and computer expert: "It's because we are scared.

And the black Zimbabwean with a master's degree and 18 years in banking: "It could jeopardise our future chances.

These three try to make ends meet by working for a telemarketing firm where the bay is low and they have to try to convince strangers at the other end of the phone to buy a piece of a timeshare, or to accept an appointment on behalf of someone else who wants to sell a mortgage.

Often they are sworn at and abused by people who tell them to go back home.

Most of the 20 workers at the telemarketing company are immigrants and if they do not meet their weekly targets they will lose even this job.

The fourth immigrant is an Indian

We don't want any sort of dole . . . What we would appreciate is an opportunity.

qualified English teacher from India

woman, a qualified English teacher, who came here to be with her family but cannot get a job.

All four know other highly qualified immigrants who work as checkout operators and cleaners.

It is a situation immigrants have complained about to the Herald for years, but even though migrants are allowed to come here - in the last financial year 45,011 people were granted permanent residency they are never warned they may not be able to get a job.

The Government announced a few weeks ago that the number of skilled migrants into New Zealand will rise by 3500 to 33,200 a year.

Attracting talented people is also part of its new "innovation framework" policy, which aims to lift the country's economic performance.

These four came here for a better life and, aside from not getting work, have no

complaints about their new country.
"I love it," says the Zimbabwean who wanted to further his career and leave his tumultuous homeland behind.

'New Zealanders are great people. They have been so kind.

He cannot understand why he has had so many rejections when he has so much experience in banks, from the bottom to senior management: Banking is banking. You put money in and you take money out.

But in New Zealand, employers will not even give immigrants the latitude to start at the bottom again, he says.

The Indians, who are not related, are Christians and this is not acceptable in India, they say. Both sold everything to come here but are fast running out of money and may have to go on benefits, a thought all four find abhorrent and demeaning. They came here to work.

"We don't want any sort of dole," said

"We don't want any sort of pity. What we would appreciate is an opportunity.

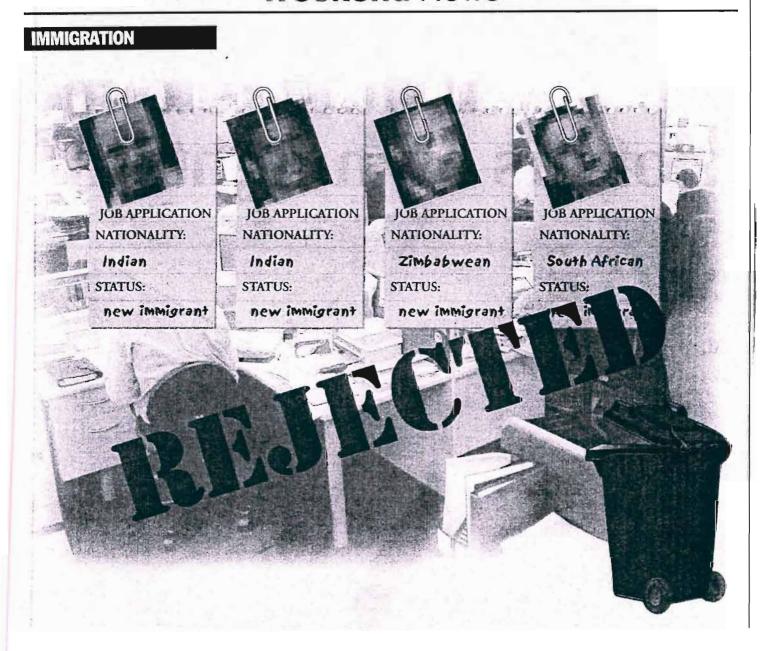
If the country is prepared to let them in, she says, the business world should be prepared to give them jobs.

The South African is astounded by the Government's call for more skilled migrants.

"Do they reall; telemarketers?" he asks. really need more

The four collapse laughing, but it is as much in despair as amusement.

Weekend News



FEATURES

THURSDAY, 23 MAY 2002 FEATURES STORY

In praise of a laidback life

10 April 2002

Some wanted a haven from violence, others just wanted new experiences. Either way, as Chloe Groser discovered, these families from South Africa found what they were looking for.



RIGHT AT HOME: South African Indians at home in Brooklyn. From left Kistama and Rajoo Govender, Revennie, Nakaylia, 6, Denesha, 7, and Dev Chetty. ROSS GIBLIN/The Evening Post

South Africans Shane Pressley and Tamsyn Vigne wondered what they had let themselves in for when they arrived in Wellington last year on February 6.

It was a sunny Tuesday afternoon, but when they drove through the centre of town to check out their new city, all they saw was a ghost town.

"I thought, this place is absolutely deserted, why did we come here and leave Cape Town," says Mr Pressley.

The next day people filtered back into the streets and they found out they'd arrived on a public holiday - Waitangi Day.

Still, the Harbour View, Lower Hutt, couple say Wellington is much quieter than their hometown.

"Cape Town is a bit more vibey. There's always heaps to see and beaches and stuff. Wellington is really laid back, though it's funny to say somewhere is more laid back than Cape Town," Mr Pressley says.

They moved here with Ms Vigne's parents for a bit of adventure, but others, including Colette Nowitz, who left Johannesberg nine years ago, said they chose to leave because of the political turmoil at the time.

Appendix B

"We left just before Nelson Mandela was voted in. The political situation was extremely tense. There was a lot of animosity and hatred and that's where the violence stemmed from," Mrs Nowitz said.

New Zealand offered her family relief from the violence, though she said old habits die hard.

"(Violence) had become such a way of life, I found it incredibly hard to stop locking my car doors as soon as I got in . . . I still won't walk some places during the day here, even with a friend . . . She thinks I'm crazy."

Her first trip back to South Africa five years after she left gave her hope for the country, she says.

"In that time there had been a lot of positive change. There were no longer black or white or coloured South Africans, but South Africans as a whole."

Valda and Steven Scheckter came to Wellington five years ago for similar reasons. Their home town, Vryburg, still had the hall-marks of apartheid and was violent.

"It was still divided into areas," says Mr Scheckter. "One for the whites, one for the blacks, another for the coloureds and another for the Asians."

He says the town was typical of many small towns throughout South Africa. But there had been huge change since he was a child. "An 80-year-old black man would have to get off the foot-path to allow me, a six-year-old white boy, to pass."

The Scheckters own On Trays, a small South African delicatessan in Petone. They say the shop provides a focal point for the growing South African community in Wellington. "We've had people who heard about our shop on the plane. They come straight here - it's their first point of contact," Mrs Scheckter says.

Tony Delo, a coloured South African, regularly buys his lunch at the



TIGHT KNIT: Back from left, Zelda Scheckter, Shane Pressley, Maxine Scheckter, 6, Tamsyn Vigne, Justine Nowitz, 13, Colette Nowitz, Valda and Steven Scheckter. At front are Dane Nowitz, 9, and Thomas Scheckter, 8. ROSS GIBLIN/The Evening Post

shop. He's been in Wellington since 1998, when he was on his way to a job in Canada and "got stuck here".

Appendix B

He left South Africa for a change of scene, not to escape violence. His hometown, Port Elizabeth, was a more stable city, and not affected by the troubles plaguing other areas.

"I always wanted to see New Zealand. And I'm happy here. The lifestyle, the people are very open and free, whereas in South Africa it's very rigid."

Zelda MacKenzie, who runs the organisation South Africans In Wellington, says many families didn't leave because of violence, but in search of opportunity and because of the troubled currency.

She came to Wellington four years ago, as a single parent with two teenage children. She said the move paid off. Her son has joined the Navy and her daughter is in Denmark on an AFS exchange for a year.

"They've had opportunities they'd never have had in South Africa."

She says the majority of South Africans in Wellington are white and coloured. Only a few black South Africans were beginning to make their way here.

Revennie Chetty, a South African Indian, said she experienced huge culture shock when she came to Wellington last year. Although Mrs Chetty, a nurse, worked in a "white" hospital in Natal, she had gone to an all-Indian school and socialised mainly within her race.

"There was such a diversity of cultures here," she says.

"The Maori population was something totally different for me. I couldn't make the difference out between Maori and Samoans. I didn't know what my gestures should be."

She says working in Wellington hospital forced her to mingle with the vast array of ethnic groups.

She left South Africa partly because of the crime and racial tension, but mainly in search of new experiences and a better life for her children.

Mrs Revennie says she's found it.

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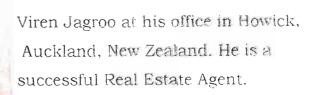
The Evening Post

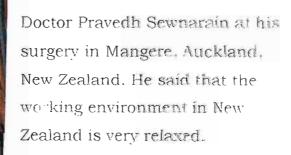
APPENDIX C

- PHOTOGRAPHS OF RESPONDENTS FOR THE PERSONAL INTERVIEWS IN NEW ZEALAND
- PHOTOGRAPHS OF RESPONDENTS FOR THE PERSONAL INTERVIEWS IN SOUTH AFRICA
- PHOTOGRAPHS OF KEY INFORMANTS



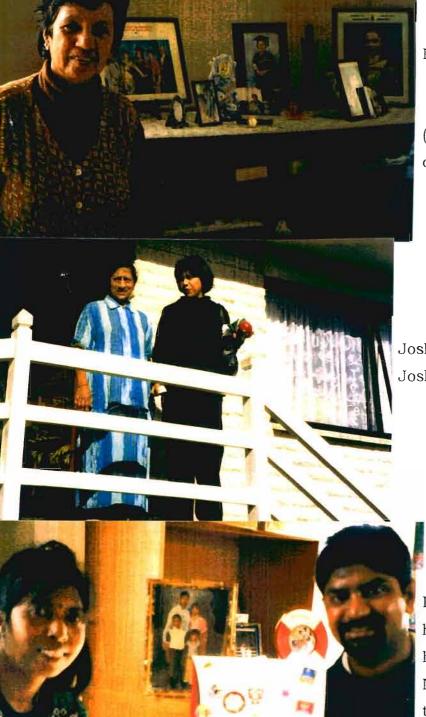
Visa agreed to be interviewed although she had just come back from the dentist. Her praying area is in the corner of her dinning room. She carried her praying lamp with her from South Africa. That she said, is sacred.





Vinesh and Venessa Naidoo, in their home that is adorned with South African memorabilia.

Vinesh said that immigrating to New Zealand was a business plan, that has certainly paid off. He owns a plumbing company (Trench Plumbers)



Mrs Ramasar stands in her new home in Howick, Auckland, New Zealand.

Her daughters' graduation photographs (from UNISA) are proudly displayed on the sideboard in the dinning room.

Joshna and Angela Naicker.

Joshna is about to leave for work.

Full of pride Sherine and Roger Madurai, hold their sons achievement award from his new school in Howick, Auckland, New Zealand. They are satisfied with their decision to migrate.



Judy with her two young daughters.

Judy stressed during the interview
that there isn't a great deal of help
available for child-care in New Zealand.

Babysitters are incredibly expensive to hire.

RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA



Mrs Rohinee Gunpath



Marlene



Ms. Shamani Chetty



Sunitha



Saloshni Harirajh



Ms. N. Maharaj



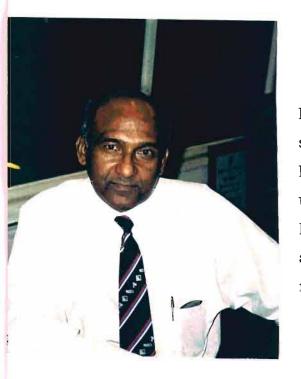
Suren



Doctor Shankara Chetty

KEY INFORMANTS



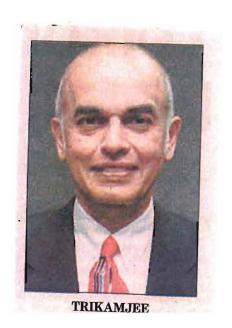


Mr. Rajbansi is now the leader of The Mipority
Front Party. His interest in the Indian
community was in full bloom in the 1980's
when he was the executive chairman of the South
African Indian Council (S.A.I.C). "Indian
aspirations or the solution of the problems
of the Indian community go side by side
with the solution of the problems of the
other sections of the South African community.
I want to emphasise this point very, very
strongly; it is not an island." (S.A.I.C Debates,
Proceedings and minutes, 1st meeting,
5th Council, 22 February 1982, pp13-18.
Bhana, S and Bridglal, P. 1984, 281)

Mr. Kay Makan is the proprietor of a string of Electrical Appliances outlets.

He is also involved in community upliftment projects in the greater

Pietermaritzburg areas. He was chosen as a key informant because he is a respected member of the community in Pietermaritzbug.



Mr. Ashwin, H, Trikamjee is a learned Attorney, former acting judge, a Hindu priest, Marriage officer and President of The South African Hindu Maha Sabha. The photograph that is inserted was taken from the Daily News. (Daily News, Thursday November 7 2002, 15) Due to time constraints I was unable to photograph him personally.

APPENDIX D

- THE NEW HOME IN NEW ZEALAND
- (THE LAST 2 PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN FROM <u>THE</u> CENTRAL PROPERTY PRESS. March 22, 2001)

*New Zealand's housing lifestyles are many and varied. In urban areas, you will find homes ranging from the old villas (many dating from the early 1900s) to new suburban homes and inner city apartments. Most urban houses are stand alone and built of wood. This was the main complaint (from eight respondents) South African Indians had of the housing style in New Zealand. They were not accustomed to living this way. That was what most said they missed about South Africa – there home. Metaphorically speaking their new home lacks comfort because they are still settling into it. Most houses do not have central heating or double glazed windows, instead they use open fires, wood burners or gas heating. Electrical heating is too expensive. Prices for home vary considerably, starting from 250 000 New Zealand dollars. (That is equal to 1.250 000 South African Rands. The respondents agreed that they have to start from scratch, and owning a home is still in the pipelines. Here are some illustrations of houses that most respondents could not

fine-tune themselves to.







APPENDIX E

• SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHITECTURE IN NEW ZEALAND



The Sri Radha Krishna Temple and The Mahatma Gandhi Centre, are two of numerous places of gathering and worship for Hindus, in Auckland. Most residential areas have at least one temple. South African Hindus have an opportunity to meet Indians from other countries who worship or attend dance, meditation or creative arts classes at the temples. There are also may Mosques and Churches too. New Zealand is a predominantly Christian country.



he Laager Springbok Restaurant Sports Café nd O' Hagan's Irish Pub and Grill epresent familiar elements in social hanges and in the architecture in New ealand. These two buildings are familiar andmarks to South Africans, who often top there in search of familiar faces and paces. There are many other South African nangouts' in Howick, Auckland, New Zealand. Iowich embraces a significant number of South African migrants.

