MIGRANTS AND THEIR MOTIVES

Rosemary Barrington and Judith Davey

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MIGRANTS AND THEIR MOTIVES

A STUDY OF MIGRATION FROM NEW ZEALAND

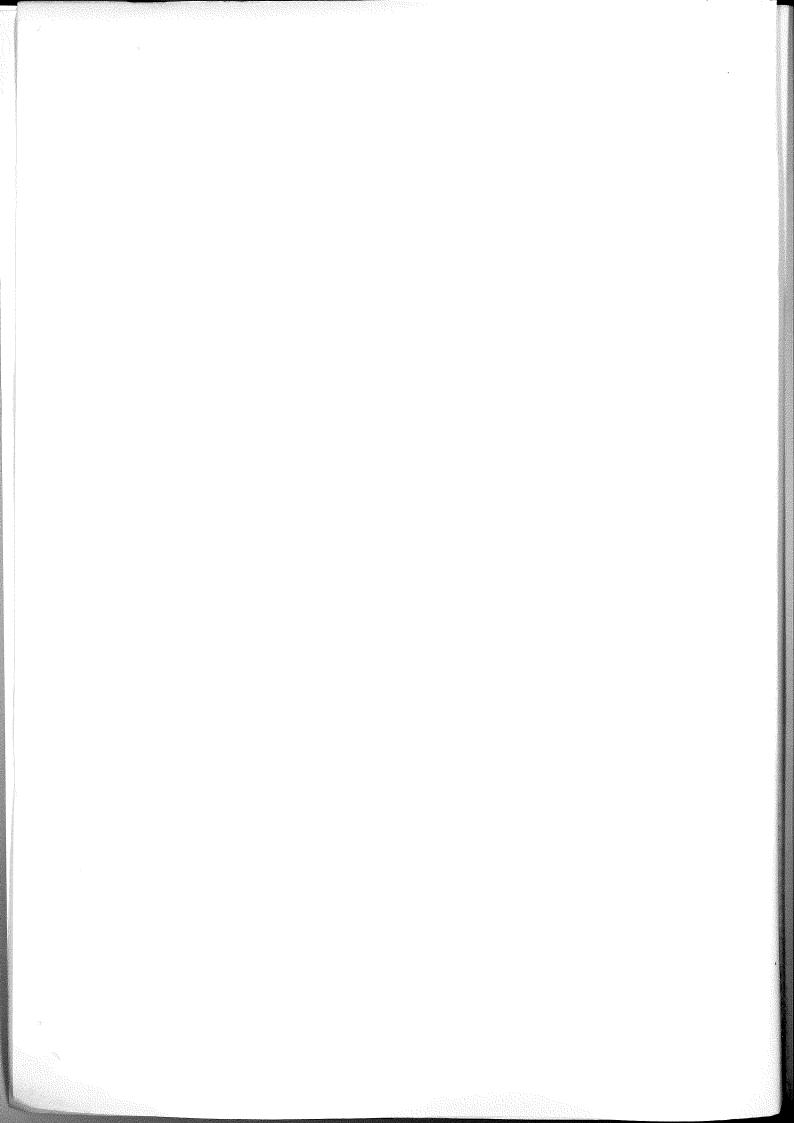
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FOREWORD

A large net outflow of people from New Zealand is something which, in the view of the Planning Council, "merits wide consideration and public debate." The Council is charged with publishing documents on planning issues of this kind. We discovered that little was known about emigrants, their motives for leaving and whether or not they intended to return. We found that the gaps in our information would not be filled by other official agencies. Accordingly, we accepted a recommendation that we should try to fill out the official statistics with a small survey. Two social researchers, Rosemary Barrington and Judith Davey, were commissioned to survey a sample of New Zealand residents leaving the country for a year or more.

The results of this survey, carried out over one week in October 1979 at New Zealand's three international airports, are published in this report. The findings of the report relate to one week; therefore one cannot generalise too extensively from them. Nevertheless the sample represented 1.4 percent of all permanent and long-term departures for the year ended October 1979 and an analysis of four key demographic variables shows very strong comparability with the whole month's figures and with the totals for the October year.

The Council is very pleased with the professional way in which the survey was conducted, and with the final report. This provides an extremely useful base for a further investigation into planning and policy implications of the findings. It remains principally a descriptive study, and any comment is that of the consultants commissioned to do the work, and not of the Council itself.

There are, however, some issues which the survey results highlight. One of these is the strong Trans-Tasman movement in the total - two-thirds of all those surveyed were travelling to Australia - and its effect. To all intents and purposes a common labour market exists. This has wider implications in the light of the current discussions on a closer economic relationship between Australia and New Zealand. Longer-term, there will be questions raised about wage levels and wage policies, manpower training and planning (particularly where both countries might be competing for scarce skills, as in big energy projects) and, perhaps, the harmonisation of other policies affecting movement across the Tasman (e.g. taxation and benefit structures).

Many of those surveyed in the study will be coming back to New Zealand. The large outflows of 1978-79 are not continuing and the proportion of New Zealanders among the immigrants has increased steadily in the last year.

The study sought information about the characteristics of those leaving and what would influence their return. The Council does not regard surveys of this kind as a continuing responsibility. Others, both within and outside the Government, are better placed to continue to improve the information available about both emigrants and immigrants.

A logical sequel to "Migrants and Their Motives" would be a survey of incoming migrants to find out their reasons for coming to New Zealand. It would also indicate to what extent those New Zealanders who were part of an earlier outward movement changed their minds about staying away when beyond these shores.

In addition to thanking the authors of the survey and others outside the Council who helped them, I should like to acknowledge the hard and effective work of our Chief Planning Adviser, Patsy Fischer, who had overall responsibility for co-ordination and liaison, and Sharon Evans, then on our Secretariat, who wrote Appendix III and maintained day to day contact with the consultants and data processing agency.

Frank Holmes

Jak Holies

Chairman

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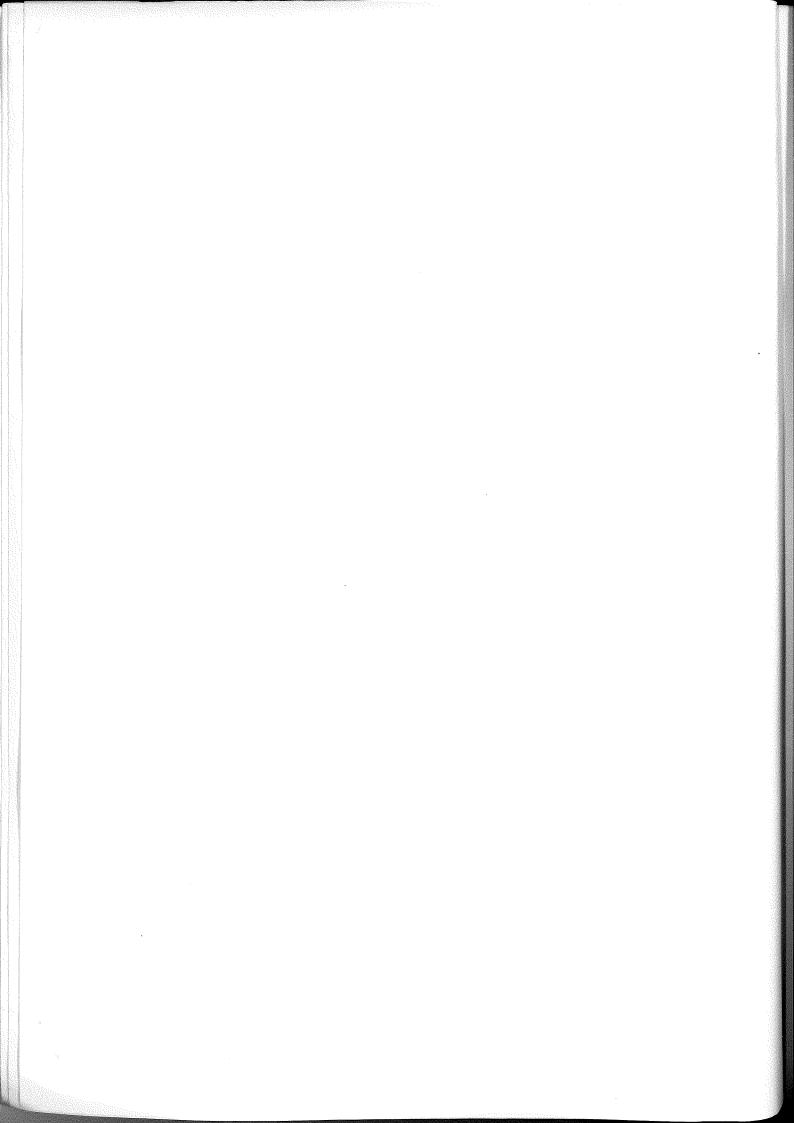
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CONTENTS

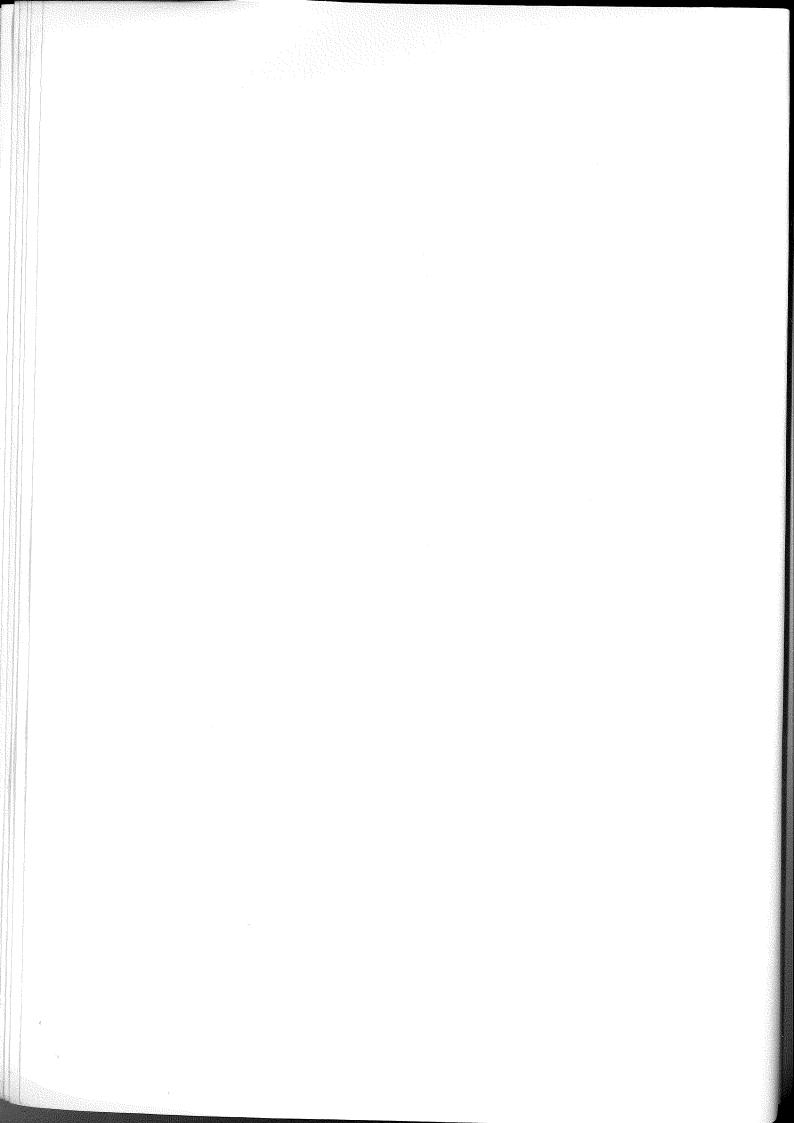
				Page	
	Importar	nt Findings		. 1	
I	Introduc	tion		3	
II	Departin	g Migrants	- Who Were They?	7	
III	Migrants	- Educatio	onal and Work Qualifications	20	
IV	Destinat	cion		31	
v	Why Leave? Reasons for Leaving				
VI	Returnin	ıg		62	
VII	Immigran	nts Emigrati	ing	73	
VIII	Housing			78	
IX	Summary			80	
	Appendi;	k I	Methodology	85	
		II	Comparability of Non- Respondents and the Sample	94	
		III	Comparability of the Sample with Official Statistics	99	
		IV	Age Structure of Migrants by Five Year Cohorts	103	

TABLES

Table No.		Page
1	The Sample	5
2	Stages of Family Life Cycle	11
3	Travelling Groups	12
4	Age X Nationality	17
5	Educational Level Reached	20
6	Highest School Exam Passed	20
7	Highest Post-School Qualification	21
8	Educational Levels Attained, 1976 Census	21
(9)	Work Status	24
10	Occupational Distribution	25
11	Occupational Distribution X Sex	27
(12)	Work Experience	28
13	Occupational Distribution X Experience in Job	29
14	Destination Australia X Nationality	32
15	Destination X Occupational Category	33
16	Destination X Returning?	34
17	Occupational Distribution in New Zealand and at Destination	39
18	Reasons for Leaving	43
19	Length of Absence	63
20	Length of Absence X Age	64
21	Length of Absence X Destination Characteristics	67
22	Length of Absence X Factors Influencing Returning	68
23	"Will Return If"	69
24	Possibilities of Returning X Age	70
25	Possibilities of Returning X Been There Before	72
26	Intention to Settle X Time in New Zealand	73
27	Intended to Settle - Reasons for Leaving	74
28	Selling Housing X Intention to Return	79
29	Non-respondents: 95% Confidence Interval Tests	96
30	Statistical Tests on Selected Variables	102

FIGURES

Figure	<u>e</u>	Page
	Race Distribution, Sample and Census	8
2	Age Structure, Sample and Census	9
(_3_)	Marital Status, Sample and Census	10
4	Birthplace, Sample and Census	14
5	Location of Population, Sample and Census	15
6	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Push and Pull Effect	44
7	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Differences by Sex	47
8	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Differences by Age	48
9	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Differences by Cycle Stage	50
10	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Differences by Working Situation	53
11	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Differences by Birthplace	55
12	Reasons for Leaving New Zealand, Differences by Destination	57



IMPORTANT FINDINGS...

- ... The migration sample is young, a third were between 15 and 24, and almost two-thirds were aged between 15-39.
- ... Eighty-five percent of those in the sample who were over 15 were in the workforce. It is largely from the active workforce that the permanent and long-term migrants are drawn.
- ... Only 4 out of the 710 in the workforce had been unemployed for most of the past year.
- ... Nearly one in four of migrants had a trade or technical qualification.

 Fifteen percent had a university or professional qualification.
- ... Three out of every 10 adults belonged to a family group with children in
- ... Australia was the destination of two out of every three permanent and long-term migrants.
- ... A visit to an overseas country (in most cases Australia) is frequently a precursor of permanent or long-term migration.
- ... Three-quarters of individuals and family groups had somewhere to stay arranged.
- ... One-third had a job arranged, but this was nearly one half for the men in the sample.
- ... Migrants had family or friends where they were going to (85% did).
- ... The reason most frequently mentioned for leaving was the opportunity of a working holiday, 32% said this. The next most important reasons were desire for a change or a new way of life, work or career opportunities, and family situation overseas.
- · · · Ten percent said they definitely were not coming back. Twenty-five

percent said they were coming back. Sixty-five percent said they would come back if there were changes in New Zealand; changes in the political situation, better job opportunities, if the economy improved, and if wages improved.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1979 the New Zealand Planning Council decided to investigate migration from New Zealand. In the last decade the number of migrants has been increasing throughout the world, and in New Zealand since 1976 there has been a net migration outflow.

There are two ways of measuring migration over time. The first is to take the Department of Statistics figures on permanent and long term migration. The net migration is the balance of those who say they are leaving permanently and long term, minus those who when they come into the country say they are permanent and long-term immigrants. On this basis the increase in the rate of annual net loss since 1976 seems to have peaked in 1979, with outflows of:

Year	ended	31	March	1977	19	072
Year	ended	31	March	1978	26	708
Year	ended	31	March	1979	40	200
Year	ended			1980	34	417

These figures, it is important to note, represent people's <u>intentions</u> both to live in New Zealand for a certain length of time, and not to return to New Zealand within a certain time.

The second method of measuring migration is the Department of Statistics arrival and departure figures. The net migration loss is calculated by subtracting all the arrivals from all the departures. This also shows a net annual loss since 1976, but the actual figures are not so great:

Year	ended	31	March	1977	13	727
Year	ended	31	March	1978	22	307
Year	ended	31	March	1979	26	906
Year	ended	31	March	1980	22	292
	(pro	vis	sional)			

However the general pattern of net migration loss is similar whichever method of measuring migration is used.

The only information available on people leaving the country is that published by the Department of Statistics, which is obtained from the official departure cards filled in before migrants leave. To provide additional information to that available from the departure card data it was

decided to undertake a study focusing particularly upon the migrants' reasons for leaving New Zealand.

The study included those people who were leaving New Zealand permanently or long-term, defined by the departure card as those intending to leave for 12 months or more, and having been resident in New Zealand for at least 12 months. Information was gathered on all migrants leaving the three international airports, Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, for a period of 7 days.

In this study it was necessary to rely upon people's stated intentions about their future actions - never the most reliable data base - and one which must be regarded as a limitation when used in a study of migration. However, these people had come to a decision to leave New Zealand and were about to do so. The limitation cannot therefore apply to their reasons for leaving.

It is not possible to predict from this study, and say that the characteristics of future migrants will be the same. The study can only be descriptive of the migrants leaving during the week of the survey. But in the absence of any other information of the kind sought, a detailed description of a selected group of migrants was considered a worthwhile goal.

The sample was tested out for representativeness with figures available on all permanent and long-term departures for the month of October 1979, and for the 12 months ended 31 October 1979. The sample was tested for the variables of sex, age, birthplace, occupational category, length of absence, and destination - all information available from the departure cards. These were felt to be the most important variables for analysis, and the sample was generally found to be representative. (See Appendix III for further details.)

Permanent and long-term departing migrants were identified by the Customs Department officers at the three international departure lounges for the 7 days (24-30 October 1979). During this period all flights from the three airports were covered. The study was designed so that the information on the official departure cards could be analysed together with the information gathered from them by interviews in the international departure lounges (see Appendix I for a full discussion). Wherever possible information was obtained by personally interviewing those identified as permanently departing residents.

The breakdown of the response is as follows:

TABLE I
The Sample

	Percentage	Number
Adult, interview complete	65.2	754
Child under 15, complete but not eligible for full interview	23.3	270
Eligible, but not identified at point of interviewing	9.2	107
Adult, interview incomplete	1.8	21
Refusal	0.5	6
	mouse construction to the construction of the	-
	100.0	1158

For the first two groups in the table, which represent 88.5% of the total sample, complete data from departure cards and interviews was collected. For the latter three categories, comprising 11.5% of the total, departure card data only is available. This group includes 120 adults and 14 children under the age of 15, and there is no information available as to why they are leaving New Zealand. This sub sample of non respondents was unlike the total sample in some ways; and a full comparison is included as Appendix II.

The proportion eligible, but not identified by Customs officers for interviewing was higher than desirable in terms of collecting complete information from everybody. It occurred at all three airports, but slightly less at Christchurch. If there were to be any repetitions of this type of study, using this methodology, closer scrutiny of departure cards would be desirable.

Some questionnaires were substantially incomplete or lost, because passengers occasionally pocketed their interview questionnaires at Wellington and Christchurch airports. In all three airports some eligible departing migrants also came through Customs at the latest possible time for boarding their aircraft. This did not permit time for a full interview. Given the difficult interviewing situation it is doubtful if this loss could have been avoided.

The low refusal rate was extremely good, and was probably assisted by the survey being part of the official procedures that all embarking passengers have to go through.

Interviewing 88.5% of the permanent and long-term departures who left New Zealand over a 7-day period provides a sufficiently large sample for analysis.

This report analyses the basic demographic characteristics of the sample migrant group; their level of education, skill and work experience; their destination and the degree of prior knowledge they had of their destination; their reasons for leaving New Zealand; and the possibility of their returning to New Zealand. Finally two sub samples are examined, those who had previously immigrated to New Zealand but were now leaving, and those who sold their house before they left.

This report is a description of the migrants who left New Zealand during the last week of October 1979. It does not make any reference to any policy implications, nor does it discuss any theoretical perspectives from which migration can be viewed.

II. DEPARTING MIGRANTS - WHO WERE THEY?

For much of the demographic data (sex, race, age, marital status), information is available on the total sample of 1158 persons. However for some data (schooling, qualifications, work experience) the information was obtained from the interviewed sample only, and is available for up to 753 adults, 15 years and over. In the following summary analysis a comparison of sample characteristics and those of the total New Zealand population is made (1976 Census proportions shown in parentheses).

Basic Demographic Profile

Slightly over half of the total sample, 54% (1976, N.Z. 50.1%) were male, 46% (1976 N.Z. 49.9%) were female. This greater proportion of males is particularly important because they were more likely to be highly educated, or hold employment related qualifications, than the women.

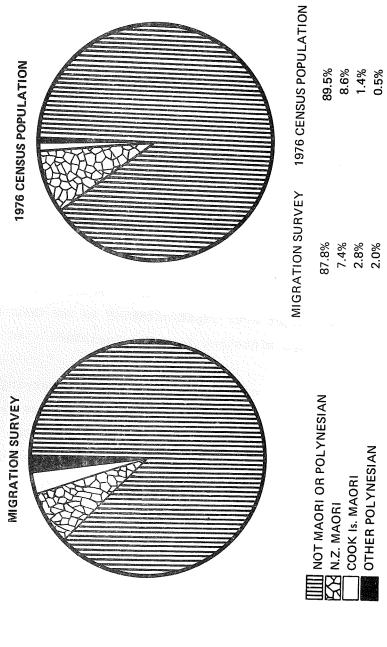
The racial distribution of the total sample is compared with the 1976 New Zealand Census in Figure 1. The racial distribution is very comparable, although there is some slight over representation in the Cook Island Maori and other Polynesian groups migrating from New Zealand.

The age distribution is best revealed in the accompanying age graphs (Figure 2), comparing the total sample with the 1976 Census by 5-year cohorts. The full age distribution is shown in Appendix IV. Almost two-thirds of the sample were between 15 and 39 years of age with a quarter between 20 and 24 (1976 N.Z. 8.3%), and 34% aged 15-24. The migrant sample therefore is a young population.

The marital status distribution of the sample aged over 16 is compared with the 1976 New Zealand Census in Figure 3. It shows quite significant differences between the sample and the New Zealand population. The nevermarried group migrating is considerably larger, 42.5% (1976 N.Z. 23.3%), and the married group is proportionally lower. From what is already known about migration, this high concentration of migrants in the single and also young age groups was to be expected.

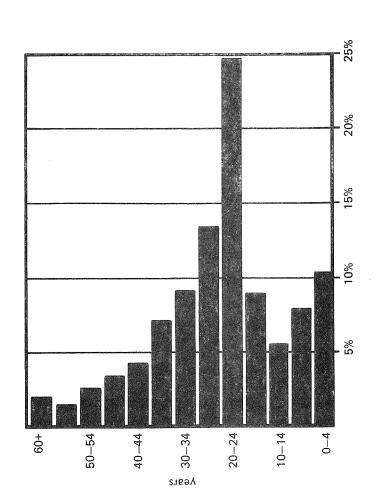
Divorced/separated/widowed are treated as one group on departure cards and were 8.1% of the sample over the age of 16; (1976 N.Z. 10.2%). The

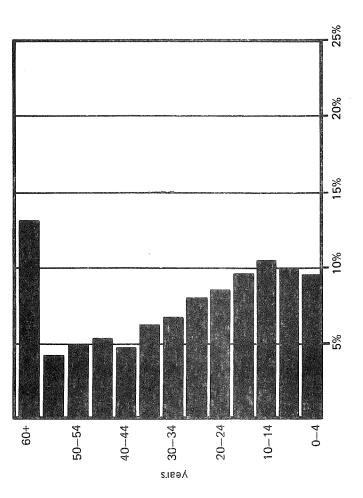
RACE DISTRIBUTION: SAMPLE AND CENSUS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION



COOK IS. MAORI OTHER POLYNESIAN

FIG. 2 AGE STRUCTURE: SAMPLE AND CENSUS





1976 CENSUS POPULATION

MIGRATION STUDY

0–14 years 24.2% 15–24 years 33.3% 25–39 years 29.4%

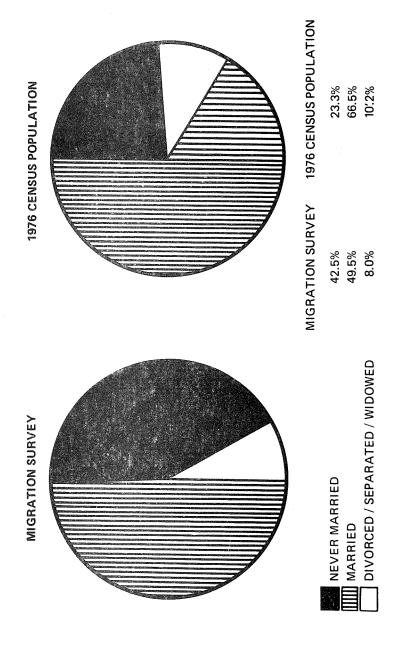
40-59 years 10.5%

60 + years 1.8% not specified 0.7%

0-14 years 29.7% 15-24 years 17.9% 25-39 years 19.9% 40-59 years 19.5%

60 + years 13.0

FIG. 3
MARITAL STATUS: SAMPLE AND CENSUS
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION



Census figures would include a substantial proportion of older widowed people, which the migration sample, because of its age structure, did not; it is therefore probable that most of this 8.1% were in the divorced/ separated group.

Further information on family composition was available from a calculation of a family life cycle stage based wherever possible on the departure card data together with information from the interview. The stages of the family life cycle are shown in Table 2, both for the total number of individual adults (children excluded) and for the travelling groups, i.e. who each migrant was travelling with; which was another method of looking at the group each individual migrant might belong to. There were 699 travelling groups in the survey. Family life cycle stage and travelling group type were attempts to get some information on a group aggregate basis, 1 rather than an individual basis. This was a very exploratory approach for this kind of analysis.

TABLE 2

Stages of Family Life Cycle		ercent of dividuals	Percent of Travelling Groups
Never married		41	52
Married couple, no children		13	9
Couple, with children to age 14		28	22
Couple, children older or left home		8	5
Divorced/separated/widowed		6	7
Not able to classify		4	5
		100	100
	n =	875	699

The work done by the Department of Statistics on household surveys is also of a group aggregate nature. Within each household a 'head of the household'is identified, according to set criteria. A similar set of criteria was not applied to identify who was the 'head of each travelling group' of migrants. In any travelling group where there were two or more adults one was treated as the head, but the selection of who this was, was done on a random basis; sometimes the husband, other times the wife. (To the extent that children's identity numbers were often put on a wife's questionnaire, because the woman was looking after the children going through customs, amongst family groupings wives were more frequently identified as 'head'.)

The figures do not correspond exactly with those of marital status, because that was calculated only on departure card information. There were people for whom there were only departure card data available, and on that basis alone it was just not possible to assign them to a life cycle stage.

Although the majority were without dependents nearly 3 out of every 10 adult individuals belonged to a family group with children in it. Over one out of every five travelling groups had children in it. Nor does travelling group always correspond to the family group because migrants were obviously not always travelling with their family. For instance a husband may be travelling alone to first establish his work and accommodation, and then his wife and children may travel later. The type of group migrants were travelling with was:

TABLE 3
Travelling Groups (percentage)

Travelling alone	47
With non related individuals e.g. friends	16
With a spouse	10
With a spouse and children	14
With children only	8
With adult relative and/or non-related individuals	5
	100

n = 699 Travelling groups

Examining the sample by travelling group is useful where the other variable is common to the whole group travelling together; e.g. where they were going to, whether they had arranged accommodation at their destination, if they lived in their own house in New Zealand and if it was sold or not. Analysis by travelling group reveals far less when the other variable is individually based, e.g. length of education, what the last job was, etc. In any future analysis of migrants it may be wiser to develop a clear policy to identify 'heads of travelling groups', so that all information can be analysed on both an individual basis and a group basis.

Birthplace and Nationality

The largest proportion, 72% of permanent and long-term departures, gave New Zealand as their birthplace, but this is less than the 1976 Census figure of 84% citing New Zealand as their birthplace. (Figure 4)

Non New Zealand born residents (28% of the total sample) are overrepresented in comparison with their place in the total population. This does
suggest that being born outside New Zealand is a factor in leaving New
Zealand on a permanent or long-term basis. This proportion would of course
include people who came to New Zealand for work, or study, for a specified
period of years and who are then returning to their country of origin.

The migration sample is very comparable to the Department of Statistics annual migration figures for nationality. In the sample 75% were New Zealanders, 12% British, 6.6% Australian and 6.6% 'other nationalities'. Obviously some of the migrants who were born elsewhere, subsequently take on New Zealand nationality.

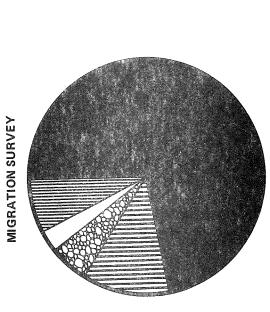
New Zealand residence

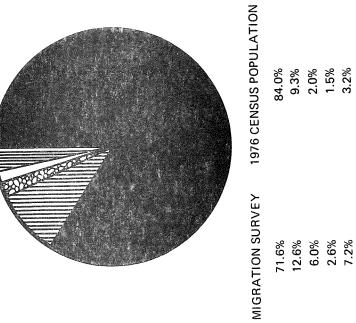
The New Zealand residence of departing migrants is shown in Figure 5. The migrant group is over-representative of North Island main urban areas, defined as centres with a population over 20000. This is especially so for Auckland, 30.5%, and Wellington 14.1%. (cf. 1976 N.Z. 23.7% and 10.5% respectively). And when the unspecified group is broken down into the North and South Island and also included, the sample is further over-representative of North Islanders generally. Conversely the migrant group is underrepresentative of South Islanders, especially from the rural areas, but it was also very slightly under-representative of Christchurch - 8.7% (1976 N.Z. 9.4%).

For analysis purposes residence in New Zealand was divided into living in the metropolitan areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (53%), the other main urban areas (25%), rural areas (15%) and unspecified (6%).

FIG. 4 BIRTHPLACE: SAMPLE AND CENSUS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

1976 CENSUS POPULATION

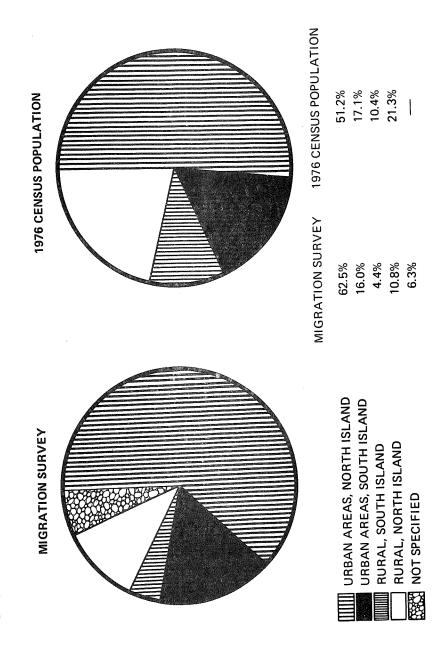




AUSTRALIA PACIFIC ISLANDS OTHER COUNTRIES

NEW ZEALAND BRITAIN

FIG. 5 LOCATION OF POPULATION: SAMPLE AND CENSUS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION



Demographic Variables - More Detailed Analysis

Differences by sex and race

A little over half the migrants (54%) were male, but the male majority was higher than this for the never-married group and the age group 25 - 39 (both 60%). The young single migrants therefore tended to be men rather than women. At the other end of the age range women were over-represented in the 60+ age group (62% of this age group as compared to 45% of the sample). Neither birthplace nor nationality showed marked variations by sex. But men were more likely to be travelling alone than were women (65% in comparison to 35%).

New Zealand Maoris leaving the country (7.4% of the total, 78 individuals), were also slightly more likely to be men than women; whereas other Polynesians (4.8%, 51 individuals) were more likely to be women. There were very few Maori migrants over the age of 40, although this was not so true for the other Polynesian group. Most of the Maoris and other Polynesians were either single or married, and were under-represented in the divorced/separated/widowed group. The Maori and other Polynesian migrants had largely come from the urban areas of New Zealand. Ninety-nine percent of Maoris had been born in New Zealand, but slightly less than half the other Polynesians were born here. As will be shown later the destination of these two groups is quite different, the over-whelming proportion of Maoris going to Australia, whereas two-thirds of other Polynesians were going to other places - Pacific Island countries. Obviously the reasons for migrating by the two ethnic migrating groups may be dissimilar also.

Differences by age and marital status

The sample was divided into children under 15, the young and often single age group 15-24, an older probably married group 25-39, the 40-59 age group and those over 60, very few of whom would be in the workforce. It was considered that these formed different groups whose pattern of migration and reasons for leaving might differ.

Age did of course vary by marital status. Seventy-three percent of the 15-24-year-olds were never married, and 22% of the 25-39-year-olds were single. The married group made up the greater proportion of the 25-39 (60%)

and the 40-59 (81%) age groups. The divorced/separated/widowed were an increasing proportion with age: 10% of the 25-39, 14% of 40-59, and 52% of the 60+. It is probable that in the younger age groups these people were separated or divorced rather than widowed. This was sometimes evident in the interviewing stage, during which a number of people mentioned that their marriage had broken down and they were now moving to a different place to start a new life (particularly if they had family elsewhere). This is one example which helps to reveal the complexity of the migration decision.

Perhaps one of the bigger differences by age was the nationality of migrants.

TABLE 4

Age x Nationality

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

	Zea	New lander	Australian	<u>British</u>	'Other'
15 - 24		51	31	19	27
25 - 39		37	49	43	40
40 - 59		11	20	29	27
60+		1	-	9	6
60 1					
		100	100	100	100
	n =	636	59	115	15

¹ Numbers very small

New Zealand nationals are heavily concentrated in the young age groups, whereas Australians and British are slightly more evenly spread, and greater proportions are in the older age groups. Similarly when marital status is analysed by nationality or birthplace New Zealanders are over-represented in the never-married group and slightly under-represented in the married and divorced groupings - groups in which British nationals are over represented.

Nationality is of course closely correlated with birthplace:

Born in New Zealand: Born in Australia: 98% had New Zealand nationality 91% had Australian nationality 6% had New Zealand nationality Born in Britain:

86% had British nationality 12% had New Zealand nationality

Born in 'other' countries:

59% had other nationalities 29% had New Zealand nationality

Seventeen percent of people who were born outside New Zealand had subsequently taken on New Zealand nationality. Of all the migrants with New Zealand nationality, 93.5% were born here, 4% in 'other' countries, 2% in Britain, and 0.5% in Australia. This proportion who had taken on New Zealand nationality was spread across the age groupings.

With the exception of the younger age group 15-24, and those never married, both groups of which were slightly over-represented as living in the rural parts of New Zealand, neither age or marital status varied by place of residence in New Zealand. It is this young single age group which forms the bulk of the rural to urban migration within New Zealand. With the ease of movement between New Zealand and Australia, the comparability of airfares between Trans-Tasman and internal New Zealand flights, and the expansion of the idea of Australia as a labour market for New Zealanders, an alternative migration pattern may be developing from rural New Zealand to urban Australia. Further research would be needed to substantiate this.

Neither nationality nor birthplace varied a great deal by residence in New Zealand, except that migrants from rural areas tended to be more predominantly New Zealanders - hardly surprising (nationality 88% as compared to 77% of the sample; birthplace 86% as compared to 73% of the sample).

Children

Two hundred and eighty children left New Zealand on a permanent or long-term basis during the week of the survey. This represented children from 152 families, although only 61% of these families were actually travelling as a group with both adult members together. The remaining 39% were composed of families with just one adult member, usually the mother. Of those travelling groups consisting of one parent plus children, 80% of the parents were women. Sometimes this travelling group were going to join a spouse already overseas, or possibly the woman was separated or divorced and was migrating to a place where she probably already had kin.

All families with children had an average family size of 1.9 children,

but as many children were still young it is likely that many families would not have completed their childbearing. (In comparison, 1976 Census, average of 2.21 children per family with children).

Of the departing children 81-82% were born here or had New Zealand nationality. The next largest group, 8-9%, were British born or of British nationality. A little higher proportion than might be expected of the children were Polynesian (6.5%) or Maori (8.1%). Slightly fewer came from rural areas of New Zealand. Exactly the same proportion of children as in the total sample - 68% - were going to Australia.

To summarise this demographic description, variables of age, birthplace/ nationality and marital status stand out as being particularly important in this sample of migrants.

III MIGRANTS - EDUCATIONAL AND WORK QUALIFICATIONS

Information on educational background and work experience of the migrants is in the main only available for the <u>interviewed sample</u>. This can be compared to the New Zealand 1976 Census population. Ninety-six percent of those aged 15 and over had some secondary education as against 85% in the Census, and 14% had attended university as against 5%.

TABLE 5

Educational Level Reached

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

	Migra sampl		ıs
No Secondary	4	15	
Secondary only	77	67	
University	14	5	
Other tertiary	5	13	
	100	100	
	$n = 681^{1}$		

The general educational level of the migrants therefore exceeds that of the total population (and it is suspected that many who had other tertiary qualifications which were not obtained at university answered this question only in terms of finishing their formal school qualifications); but this is better illustrated by the closely associated variables of school examinations passed, and further post school qualifications.

TABLE 6

Highest School Exam Passed

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

Percentage of Sample Aged	13 Teals and Over
None	41
School Cert. or partial passe	es 33
U.E., Higher School Cert.	
and Bursary	26
	escular resource
	100
n =	638

The number in the interviewed sample changes for many of the variables in this section. On self-administered questionnaires not all details were filled in. When migrants came through at the last possible boarding time it was necessary to ask questions in order of priority - reasons for leaving first - and not all the questions on education or work were always asked.

TABLE 7

Highest Post-School Qualification Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

None		52
University degree		8
Professional qualification		7
Commercial qualification		6
Trade qualification		21
Technical qualification		4
Other qualification		2
		100
	n =	715

Slightly under half of the sample had some qualifications beyond school level. For 15% this was a university or professional qualification (including higher degrees, post-graduate certificates, but also such qualifications as teachers' certificates, and membership of accountants' society). Twenty-four percent, nearly one in four of the migrants had a trade or technical qualification. This is a very high proportion.

It is more difficult to make accurate comparisons here with the general population from Census data. There is nothing available on the total population which is exactly comparable. From the 1976 Census the educational levels attained by members of the labour force 15 years and over is available:

TABLE 8

Education Levels Attained

1976 Census

Percentage				Workers
Aged	15	Years and	d Over	
Secondary School			62	
University			6	
Technical Institute			8	
Teachers College			3	
None of the above			17	
Other tertiary			4	
			100	•

However, people may be included more than once in this table. It does not include the unemployed, or those not in the labour force. The latter group if they were above the age of 60 would be likely to have a lower level of

educational attainment than those in the labour force.

However, it appears that as well as being more highly representative of the professions and other employment requiring a high degree of training, the interviewed migrants in general appear to be more highly educated and better qualified than the New Zealand population as a whole. This is an important finding.

The pattern which emerges when these educational variables are analysed by demographic factors is interesting. Generally men had higher educational qualifications than women. More men had gone beyond secondary school level in their qualification, they had gained the higher school qualifications of University Entrance or Higher School Certificate. Although they were only slightly more likely to hold professional or university qualifications than women, they were considerably more likely to have a trade, commercial or technical qualification (68% of those holding these qualifications were men, but they were only 54% of the sample). Not only are there more men within the sample, they also have more skills.

Age varies significantly with educational attainment. Those who had not succeeded - they had left school at a Form 4 level or had not passed any examinations - increased with each age group, up to 53% and 69% respectively in the over 60s.

In the groups with more schooling or further school/post-school qualifications the 25-39 age group in particular but also the 40-59 age group were represented more than the sample averages (for instance 25-39 ages, 18.7% had university or professional qualifications, but 14.8% of the sample; 36.3% had trade/commercial/technical qualifications, but these were 33.5% of the sample overall. In the 40-59 age group 20% had university or professional qualifications; 36.3% had trade/commercial/technical qualifications). In the youngest age group, 15-24, those who had passed the highest school examinations or post school qualifications were below the average for the sample.

Chi-square tests were run on most tables. A null hypothesis of no association was rejected if the significance was at the .01 level or lower. The word 'significant' has been used only to describe associations of variables in such tables.

Generally they did not have the same level of educational experience or qualifications as the older 25-39 age group. Perhaps the youngest age group has time on its side, and when 5-10 years have passed, and they have aged into the next age cohort, they will also have obtained further qualifications. The results do mean that the 25-39 age grouping leaving the country are on average more skilled than the younger 15-24-year-olds off to see the world - probable destination Australia. Differences between age groups appear again in reasons for leaving and their intentions to return.

When educational factors were analysed by birthplace such a clear pattern did not emerge. New Zealand-born were very close to the average of the sample. The British-born (some of whom may have had their schooling in New Zealand), were more highly represented amongst those with little schooling or fewer examinations passed, but had a greater representation in the trade/commercial/technical group. The Australian-born showed some discrepancies from the overall averages, but no obvious patterns. For people born in 'other' countries there was also a rather haphazard distribution perhaps brought about by the combining into one classification people born in the Pacific Islands and North America, who would have had very different educational opportunities open to them.

Working Situation

A considerably higher proportion of the sample had been employed either full-time or part-time during the last year when compared with the 1976 Census (interviewed sample, 15 years and over, 85%, 1976 N.Z. 62%). This would primarily be a consequence of the younger age structure, but also the majority of men amongst the migrants.

Ninety-four percent of men and 73% of women were in the workforce. The proportion of migrants in the workforce decreased with age, 90% of 15-24, 85% of 25-39, 79% of 40-59, and 12% of those aged 60 and over. It is obvious that it is largely from the active workforce that the long-term and permanent migrants leaving New Zealand are drawn.

In the workforce, the never-marrieds had a greater representation than the married, or divorced/separated/widowed groups. Being in the workforce was slightly more likely for those coming from rural parts of New Zealand (89% as compared with 85% of the sample), but there was little variation from other parts of the country.

Seventy-seven percent had been wage or salary earners (1976 N.Z. 48%), although the proportions of employers and self employed workers were about the same as in the Census. Far fewer of the sample had not been in paid employment - 14% as against 41%. The composition of this group - retired people, full time students and persons engaged in household duties - was about the same in the sample as in the total population.

TABLE 9

Work Status

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

	Interviewed Sample	1976 Census
Wage or salary earner	77	48
Self-employed	4	4
Employer	3	4
Retired	2	7
Full-time student	2	6
Household duties	10.5	28
Unemployed	0.5	1
Other	1	2
	100	100
	n = 710	

Only four of the 710 respondents answering this question verbally had been unemployed for most of the last year, although others had had periods of unemployment in the past, which were not recorded in detail in this survey.

Occupational Distribution

Information on occupation is available from the departure card data, but because this information was wanted as specifically as possible the question was again asked of interviewed migrants: "What was your last main job?" Data on occupation comes therefore from two sources: from 647 of the interviewed sample who were working, and 105 migrants for whom departure card data only was available.

The basis on which these two columns is calculated is not exactly the same. The percentages of the first three categories of the 1976 Census are based on the total persons actively engaged, that is, people working 20 hours or more a week. Within the interviewed sample some people who were working part-time (less than 20 hours a week) may have been included as wage or salary earners, instead of in other categories; but they would not amount to more than 2-3% of the wage or salary earners.

Occupations were classified according to the New Zealand version of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). This is a four-digit level of classification which allows for a great deal of specificity at that level, and makes it possible to say how many of a particular occupation were in the sample. At the two-digit level the occupational groupings are broader and these can be collapsed even further to fit the seven occupation categories used in the Census. All analysis by occupation in this study has been done on the basis comparable with the Census. However this kind of treatment of occupations does not provide a socio-economic index.

Differences emerge when the occupational distribution of the migrant sample is compared with the New Zealand workforce as a whole (1976 Census).

TABLE 10

Occupational Distribution

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

		Total Sample	1976 Census
Professional, technical and related		22	14
Administrative, managerial and related		3	3
Clerical and related		20	17
Sales workers		8	10
Service workers		8	8
Agricultural and forestry workers, fishermen, hunters etc.		4	10
Production and related workers, transport operators and labourers		35	38
		100	100
	n =	752	

But as is shown (Appendix III) this migration sample is quite comparable to the annual migration distribution for occupation. Obviously those who choose to migrate are not drawn from a complete cross section of the labour force.

Workers classified as professional and technical are much more prominently represented in the migrant sample than in the total workforce. The main sub-

[&]quot;Labour Force" is defined as those working 20 or more hours per week together with those unemployed and seeking work, and those who are relatives assisting.

groups at the two-digit level in this category are professional nurses; surveyors, draughtsmen and engineering technicians; and teachers. The sample is over-representative of those in the clerical and related workers category, the main occupations within which are clerks, stenographers, typists, card and tape punching machine operators; and bookkeepers and cashiers.

On the other hand the sample is under-representative of workers in the primary industries: agricultural workers, forestry workers, fishermen, hunters etc. This ties in with the comparatively low proportion of migrants who are leaving from the rural areas of the country, although migrants from rural areas were not, unexpectedly, over-represented in the agriculture, forestry and fishing occupations.

In other occupation categories certain occupations were more represented than others. Amongst the sales category these were salesmen, shop assistants and related workers. Cooks, waiters, bartenders and related workers formed the largest group of the service workers. Amongst the production/transport and related workers the largest groupings were: bricklayers, carpenters and other construction workers; machinery fitters, assemblers, and precision instrument makers; tailors, dressmakers, sewers, upholsterers, etc.; food and beverage process workers; electrical fitters and related electrical and electronic workers; transport equipment operators; and plumbers, welders, sheet metal and structural metal preparers and erectors.

The occupational distribution of migrants by sex reveals differences.

Occupational groupings are only mentioned at the two-digit level, when a minimum of at least 18 individuals appears at that level. For example there are 21 in the surveyors, draughtsmen and engineering technicians occupational group. Here the two-digit level occupational groupings have been separated by semicolons. To establish which specific occupations are included in any occupational group, it is really necessary to examine the ISCO listings.

27.

TABLE 11

Occupational Distribution X Sex

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

	Male	Female
Professional, technical, etc.	21	23
Administrative, managerial, etc.	6	-
Clerical and related	6	41
Sales workers	7	8
Service workers	6	11
Agricultural and forestry workers, fishermen, hunters, etc.	6	2
Production, and related workers, transport operators and labourers	48	15
	100	100
n =	473	385

All administrative jobs were held by men and they also dominated in the production/transport category and the agricultural sector. Women largely held the clerical jobs, and to a lesser extent occupations in the service area. Perhaps unexpectedly women and men were distributed equally between professional/technical jobs. This may be accounted for by the proportion of female teachers and nurses in the sample.

The distribution by age showed variation also. Of those who were in the workforce 43.5% were 15-24, 40% 25-39, 14% 40-59, and 2.5% 60 and over. A total therefore of 83% of the workforce were less than age 40. The proportion of administrators (all male) increased with age, to be 9.5% of those aged 40-59. The proportion of clerical workers (largely female) decreased with age, from a high of 24% of 15-24 to 14% of 40-59. The proportion of production/transport workers also decreased with age slightly; but one-third were still aged 40-59. Interestingly, professional/technical and related workers were concentrated a little more in the 25-39 ages (46% in comparison with 40% of those in the workforce), but still 43% of this group were aged 15-24.

The occupational distribution by residence within New Zealand was predictable. Migrants from Auckland/Wellington/Christchurch were over-represented in administrative, clerical, service and sales occupations. From other urban areas migrants were over-represented in sales, production/transport, and professional and technical occupations.

It will be later noted that for the interviewed migrants the job they intend to do in the country of destination is expected to be very similar to their last type of employment in New Zealand.

Length of Experience

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Migrants were asked both how long they had held their last job, and how long they had been in that particular type of work. In the analysis total length of work experience, rather than the length of the last job proved the more significant variable. And, in terms of loss of skill and expertise to the country, the accumulated years of experience in a particular area of work is likely to be of greater economic and social consequence than the actual length of time migrants held their last job.

The average length of time respondents had spent in their last job was 3 years. Seventeen percent had held their last job for over 5 years. This reflects the generally youthful composition of the migrant flow. The average length of work experience in the same field as the last main job was greater -7.6 years; 43% of the interviewed sample presently in the workforce had more than 5 years of work experience in their particular area of employment. This represents a considerable loss of experience.

TABLE 12
Work Experience

Percentage of Sample Aged

15 Years and Over

To rear and ov	ET	Length of
	Length of Last Job	Experience in that Occupation
1 - 2 years	38	25
3 - 5 years	45	32
6 - 10 years	17	21
More than 10 years	-	22
		- Continue of the same
	100	100
n	= 620	606

Men were more likely than women to have held their last job for a longer time; 74% of those who had held their last job for 5 years or more were men. Length of last job also varied with age. There were a higher proportion of workers who had held their last job less than 3 years in the younger age groups. Holding a job 3-4 years was a turning point; and the pattern reversed when a job had been held for 4 or more years. Greater proportions of these people were older.

Length of experience in an occupational field revealed a similar pattern. Men, and those in older age groups were significantly more likely to have had a greater length of work experience. Those with 5 years and less experience tended to be younger. The turning point was 9-10 years; if a worker had 10 years' experience he was more likely to be in the older age groups.

When length of job tenure and length of work experience was analysed by birthplace the age structure of the migrants born in different countries is revealed. Very broadly New Zealanders, with their younger age structure, together with Australian-born, predominated amongst those who had above average representation in only having their last job for a shorter length of time, or having less work experience. British-born, and less obviously those born in 'other' places had more job experience (6 years and above), and had held their last job for a longer period of time. This pattern is more distinctive for the total length of work experience than it is for the length of time of the last job.

Total length of work experience, as has been shown, is associated with both sex and age. But it also varied by occupational categories.

Occupational Distribution X Experience
In Job

Percentage

	1 - 5 <u>years</u>	6 - 10 <u>years</u>	10 years plus
Professional/technical etc	55	25	20
Administrative, managerial, etc.	30	10	60
Clerical and related	62	22	15
Sales workers	64	13	23
Service workers	74	12	14
Agricultural and forestry			
workers etc.	64	8	28
Production/transport workers etc	51	24	25
Total Workforce	57	21	22
n = 1	343	126	134

The most striking feature of this table is the length of work experience of the administrative occupational category. Other categories which have

greater than the average percentages for 6 years and more experience were the production/transport and professional/technical groups. Others, such as service workers, agricultural, sales and clerical were over-representative of workers with relatively little experience.

The length of the last job did not vary as significantly by occupational category as did the total length of work experience. There were no obvious patterns, and the trends were only slight.

Summary

The migrant population is youthful, and because of this it does not represent many years of work experience. However it does represent a well-qualified group of people in terms of trade certificates, technician qualifications, and university education - more highly qualified than the total population. There were differences by sex and age, suggesting perhaps different broad groupings within the sample. Generally more men had skills and work experience than women. The youngest age group (15-24) were not generally as well-qualified and obviously did not have as many years' work experience. This will be referred to again when reasons for leaving are discussed. The next age group (25-39) have a higher level of educational attainment, greater job experience, and have perhaps held jobs with a slightly greater level of skill. Their reasons for leaving are likely to be slightly different.

IV DESTINATION

Data on migrants' specific destinations were available from departure cards and are therefore based on the total sample (1158). Questions relating to the other features of destination: whether migrants had been there before, if so how long ago, whether they had friends or family there, if they had accommodation or a job arranged there, were only asked of migrants interviewed, and are therefore available for the interviewed sample (754) only.

Australia was the destination for two out of three permanent and long-term migrants, and one in every five was bound for Sydney. The major ports of entry into Australia for New Zealand air travellers are Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, and together they represented the destinations of 43% of survey respondents. The vast majority of Australia-bound migrants intended to settle in the major urban areas (State capitals).

One in six migrants was heading for Europe, where Britain was by far the leading destination (14%). Small but notable proportions of migrants were going to live in North America (7%) and the Pacific Islands (4%). All other places accounted for only 5% of migrant destinations.

It is possible that there were a greater proportion of migrants going to Australia during the week of the survey than is normal over a longer time span (see Appendix III). But an examination of the proportion of permanent and long-term migrants whose destination is Australia shows that this has been increasing for a number of years. It is worth remembering that characteristics of the Australia-bound migrants are perhaps over-represented in comparison to migration over a year.

Destination Australia?

As there was such a large proportion going to Australia, it is worth examining whether these migrants had any distinguishing characteristics.

Among the Australia-bound the proportion of men to women was exactly the same as amongst all migrants; they were however slightly over-representative of 15-24-year-olds; (36% as opposed to 34% of the sample), but this young group was also over-represented amongst migrants whose destination was Britain (38% as opposed to 34%). However, 7 out of 10 of all 15-24-year-olds

were going to Australia. Accompanying this youthfulness was a similarly small over-representation of the never-married, although this characteristic was not shared by migrants to Britain.

There were slightly more of the travelling group type - one parent plus child(ren) and one person travelling alone - going to Australia, but overall travelling group did not vary by destination.

Migrants going to Australia were overwhelmingly New Zealanders.

TABLE 14

Destination Australia X Nationality

Percentage of Total Sample

<u>Nationality</u>			
New Zealander			84
Australian			9
British			6
Other nationality			1
			100
	n	=	1141

In terms of nationality and birthplace the "Destination Australia" queue was well over-represented by New Zealanders and Australians in comparison with those whose nationality was British or 'other'. The 9% who were Australians returning home represented 90% of all the Australians leaving New Zealand during the survey. The British component were not so faithful - only 56% of those with British nationality were destined for Britain. Ninety percent of those with 'other' nationalities were going to 'other' countries. This latter group may comprise people who were posted to New Zealand for specified periods of time, and are now returning to their home country. But it would also include Pacific Islanders returning.

Those destined for Australia varied only slightly for the Maori and other Polynesian groups, and were the same for the not Maori or Polynesian group (10%, 2%, and 88% respectively). The New Zealand Maoris going to Australia represent 88% of all Maoris leaving, whereas the other Polynesian proportion represents only one third of all other Polynesians. The majority — two-thirds of other Polynesians — were going to Pacific Island countries. There is quite a distinctive difference between the Maoris and other Polynesians in their destination, and as shall be shown later in the factors pushing them from

New Zealand.

Those going to Australia came from a very wide cross section of New Zealand geographically, but still very similar to the geographical distribution of the total sample.

Eighty-eight percent of adults were in the workforce, and this is a higher proportion than those going to either Britain (81%), or other countries (74%). The destination of migrants by occupational categories varied.

TABLE 15

Destination X Occupational Category

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

	Australia	Britain ²	'Other'2	Total
Professional/technical	16.7	23.6	42.7	21.8
Administrative, managerial et	cc 2.7	2.6	6.8	3.3
Clerical and related	19.4	28.0	11.9	19.6
Sales workers	9.2	5.2	3.4	7.7
Service workers	8.8	7.0	7.7	8.4
Agricultural, etc.	5.4	1.7	0.8	4.1
Production/transport workers etc	37.7	31.6	26.4	35.0
	100	100	100	100
n =	520	114	117	751

¹ Excludes not in workforce

Migrants bound for Australia appeared more in the production/transport and sales occupational categories than for the total workforce. The professional/technical category were the most under-represented group amongst those destined for Australia; but were in fact over-represented amongst those going to Britain and 'other' countries - 4 out of 10 of these groups were in the professional/technical category.

Their reasons for leaving New Zealand varied from those given by migrants to other countries and this is discussed in more detail on page 56. The most popular reasons amongst Australia-destined were: working holiday (32%), change/way of life and work/career opportunities (both 28%), wages (21%) and family situation (20%).

Percentages of less than 10 in these columns are based on very small numbers

Are those going to Australia more likely to return than migrants going further away? More detailed analysis of the possibility of returning to New Zealand and the factors influencing it are discussed later on, but Table 16 presents a brief summary.

TABLE 16

Destination X Returning?

Percentage of Total Sample

	Australia	<u>Britain</u>	Other	Total
Departing permanently	42	40	29	40
Returning 2 years plus	25	34	49	30
Returning 1-2 years	26	21	20	24
Don't Know	7	5	2	6
		0		100
	100	100	100	100
n =	747	146	181	1089

Migrants do not intend returning to New Zealand because they are only going the short distance to Australia - quite the reverse.

This migration of New Zealanders to Australia (although perhaps overrepresented in this survey), represents a change in the migration pattern of the late 1950s and 1960s when a much larger proportion of young migrants would have gone to Britain, and other parts of Europe. Changes, past and present, in Britain's immigration policy and the level of unemployment there, would perhaps be discouraging young New Zealanders going there for a working With easier travel and communications Australia is only holiday. "across the back fence", and it might be argued that Britain is more dissimilar to New Zealand than Australia is; and that greater proportions of those going to Britain and other parts of Europe in earlier decades may have subsequently returned. This is speculation, but it may be easier for a New Zealander, if only originally going on a working holiday, to get a job, settle down and Perhaps fewer are returning than feel part of the Australian society. amongst the young migrants of the 1950s and 1960s.

Contacts at the Destination

Respondents were asked if they had been to their intended destination before; 44% had not, but 56% had been before. Of the latter almost half had been within the last year, and the vast majority (77%) within the last 5 years. It is suggested that a visit to an overseas country (in most cases Australia)

is frequently a precursor of permanent or long-term migration. Such a visit allows a potential migrant to ascertain job prospects, the cost of living, and the life style of the country, and if these are favourable, a permanent move may follow not long after the traveller returns, especially if there is also cause for dissatisfaction in New Zealand.

There was no difference between men and women as to whether they had been to their destination before, but there was by age. Fifty-six percent of the youngest migrants, 15-24, had not been there before, whereas in all other age groups a majority had been there, increasing with age (59% 25-39, 78% 40-59, and 83% 60+). The young group obviously included a number of young New Zealanders off to get some 'overseas experience' for the first time, destination usually Australia. Although generally having been to the destination before varied only a little when analysed by travelling group, those travelling with non-related individuals (friends) or adult relatives were more likely not to have been there before.

A birthplace other than New Zealand meant there was a very considerable probability that the migrant had been there before; more so for Australians (92%), 'other' places (86%), than for the British born (77%). It appears a portion of the British (either born or by nationality) had lived in New Zealand for a period of time and were now going somewhere else they had not been before; this was obviously not Britain. These people may be habitual migrants. They may also be people who migrated to New Zealand with economic expectations that have not been met here (See Chapter VII).

Forty-four percent of the New Zealand born had already been to where they were going; of these 58% had gone in the last year, and a further 25% in the last 5 years. This provides the evidence that for some New Zealanders (but less likely for the young 15-24-year-olds), an initial visit precedes the decision to migrate.

Again sex made no difference as to when they had been before, but age did. More of the older age groups - over age 40 - were likely to have been there in the past year, and also within the past 5 years.

Family and Friends at Their Destination

Although 44% of the migrants had not visited the country of destination

before, only 15% lacked contacts there in the form of family or friends. Rather more had friends than family (31% as against 20%) but 34% had both. Slightly more men knew nobody, and to a small extent women rather than men had family at their destination. A higher proportion of the 40-59 and the 25-39 age groups (both 20%) knew nobody at their destination, than either the youngest or oldest age groups. Friends were more important for the 15-24 groups (70% of whom had friends), whereas family was of greater importance to the 60+ (83%); although this older age group was very likely to have both friends and family.

Travelling groups consisting of one parent plus child(ren) were very likely to have family at their destination - 89% did; and those travelling alone, or with a friend or adult relatives were likely to have friends at their destination - 71% and 60%.

Having no friends or family at the destination was likely to be higher for the New Zealand-born (17%), than for migrants born elsewhere. Having family at the destination was especially important for British-born (90%), but three-quarters of those born in Australia or 'other' countries also had family there and almost a half of New Zealanders. Comments associated with family situation feature highly as a pull factor in reasons for leaving New Zealand.

Friends were less important than family for the Australians and British, but slightly more important for New Zealanders and 'other' countries.

Somewhere to Live?

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Following on this theme of contacts in the country of destination, is the question of accommodation there. Three-quarters of the individuals and family groups had somewhere to stay arranged, apart from in hotels. In many cases this was a temporary arrangement with friends or relatives. For about 20% of the sample, accommodation had been arranged on a previous visit within the last year; but an additional 25% had a place arranged although they had not been there before. The largest proportion (58% of the total) amongst those

This information was coded on the basis of family group so that where there was more than one adult travelling in a family their accommodation arrangements are only included once. If calculated on total number of individuals these percentages would vary.

who had not arranged accommodation had also not been there before.

Men (28%), more than women (17%) were likely not to have arranged accommodation. Among the age groups the 40-59 (30%), were more likely not to have arranged accommodation. The 25-39-year-olds, who it is probable, would include most of the people travelling with young children, had in the main arranged accommodation. A significant 93% of those one parent and child(ren) travelling groups, and 79% of those couples plus child(ren) travelling together had arranged accommodation. Couples travelling by themselves (35%) were the group most likely not to have arranged accommodation.

The New Zealand born (20%) were slightly more likely not to have arranged accommodation than other migrants.

A Job at Their Destination?

Although a majority of migrants had some accommodation arranged, a lower proportion had a job to go to. Overall 32% had a job arranged, 55% had none and 13% did not expect to be in the workforce at their destination.

Of those who had visited the country of destination within the last year a higher proportion (44% compared with 32% overall) had arranged a job; there was little difference with those who had visited the country for periods of time longer than one year ago. Of those who had not been there before 62% had no job arranged, and this group represented a little over a quarter of the total sample.

Forty-seven percent of men had a job arranged as opposed to only 13% of the women. And although women comprised a larger proportion of those not in the workforce, only 24% of women did not intend to work.

Those aged 25-39 had the highest proportion (39%) who had arranged a job. Surprisingly the 40-59-year-olds only contained the average proportion who had arranged a job (31%), and this was not because there was a large proportion of this age group not in the workforce; 55% had in fact not arranged a job. Of the youngest age group, with considerably fewer not in the workforce, 66% had no job arranged. It is worthwhile noting that over a quarter of the young 15-24 age group had a job arranged. It is this group that is often thought of as the young migrant off to see the world.

New Zealand-born did not vary from the total sample, Australian-born had a higher proportion (16%) not in the workforce, at the expense of not arranging a job; but of those born in 'other' countries over a third (35%) were not in the workforce. The proportions arranging jobs were lower for those born in 'other' countries (22%) and Britain (24%).

Although respondents were not asked how they arranged their job this was sometimes volunteered. The frequency with which migrants mentioned that family or friends already there had arranged a job for them, makes this area of family/friends contact aiding the migration decision worthy of greater study. It is part of the phenomenon of chain migration, and appears to be important in the movement of New Zealanders to Australia.

Doing Similar Work?

Of those with a job arranged two out of every three would be doing work similar to their last job in New Zealand. But half of those with no job arranged also expected to pursue the same occupation; others (29%) were going to change the type of work they did, or just did not know (20%).

The likelihood of doing the same job at their destination varies directly with the length of work experience in that type of work; and also varies, but less obviously, with the length of time the last job was held. A majority of those with 3 years or more experience (3-5 years experience, 52%), in an occupation were likely to be doing similar work at their destination and this increased to 72% of those with more than 10 years experience. The majority of those with 2-3 years at their last job (56% of them) were likely to be doing the same job on arrival, and this increased to 63% of those who had held their last job for 5 years or more. Those who did not know what sort of job they would be doing generally had less experience in their last area of work, and had held their job for a shorter period of time.

As might be expected, the occupational distribution of migrants in their last job in New Zealand corresponds closely to the pattern of work they expected to do at their destination, within the broad occupational categories.

Occupational Distribution in New Zealand and at Destination

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

t n1

Excludes those in the work force who said "Do anything" and "Don't know what I'll do".

There is very little difference also at the more detailed level except that respondents were naturally able to be more specific in describing their last main job than the one they would begin when they reached their destination. There were, however, a few cases where well-qualified people contemplated doing unskilled work, or "anything we can find", for example, nurses, who thought they might take jobs as waitresses.

Because a greater number who were not in the workforce were women, men were more likely both to be going to do the same job and going to do a different job than women in the workforce! However, for every man who was going to a different type of job two were going to be continuing in their area of work. Those not working at the same job were slightly more likely to be young, 15-24 (32% as compared to 26% of the total). Of the older age groups very similar proportions to the total sample were continuing in the same job. But there were still one in five of the 25-39 and 40-59 age groups who were not going to the same type of work. Many of these may of course have been women.

Summary

To summarise this information on destination: two out of every three migrants were bound for Australia. A good half of the sample had visited

their destination before, and a great majority had friends and/or family there and a place to stay, even if on a temporary basis. The situation as regards work appeared to be less favourable with only one in three migrants having a job to go to, (but this was higher for men than for women) although most were confident that they would be working in the same type of work as they had done previously in New Zealand. A quarter, who had no job, and possibly no accommodation, are likely to have friends rather than family there and are probably in the main young New Zealanders off to visit Australia.

V WHY LEAVE? REASONS FOR LEAVING

"Firstly we need to know more about the reasons for emigration ..."

Departure card information indicates broadly the reasons for departing from New Zealand, but this gives no detail of the motives behind the decision to leave. In fact, the majority of the adult migrant sample (almost three-quarters) give work/business or working holiday as their reasons, which is to be expected when the visit overseas is to last for a year or more, and when the great majority of the sample are currently in the workforce (as shown earlier).

The true reasons for permanent or long-term departure are not easy to elicit, as many people have either not conceptualised their motives or find them difficult to articulate. For this reason interviewers tried to talk to people and probe for a full response, and this gave better results than when the questions were self-administered. The question on reasons for leaving was the crux of the whole survey and so when time was short for interviewing, it was given priority over the rest of the questionnaire. By these means information on reasons for leaving was obtained from 753 adult respondents, well over half of whom suggested more than one factor which had influenced them. It is obvious that in most cases a combination of reasons lies behind the decision to leave.

Discussion is limited to setting forward the proportion of the interviewed sample which mentioned a specific reason, whether this was the only one suggested or one of several put forward. Respondents were free to give as many reasons as they wished.

Before proceeding to this analysis, it is necessary to typify each reason, or set of reasons according to whether it operates a "push" or "pull" factor. "Push" factors are conditions in the country of residence which precipitate a move away, such as inability to find a suitable job or dissatisfaction with the Government or the tax structure. "Pull" factors operate from other countries

^{1.} Easton, Brian: "Population and the Economy", in The Population of New Zealand, edited by R.J. Warwick Neville and C. James O'Neill, Longman Paul, 1979.

and attract migrants there. They would include a more pleasant climate or the prospects of higher wages. The opportunity for a working holiday has been interpreted as a pull factor. "Wanting a change" is seen as a push factor associated with current lifestyle. Within the same category, however, the lifestyle in an overseas country may act as a pull factor.

The reasons for leaving may therefore be classified as follows: (see also Figure 6).

Mainly pull - working holiday opportunity family situation

wages

work/career opportunities

study opportunities

Mainly push - political situation

general economic (business) situation

cost of living

housing

tax levels

Pull and push - way of life/desire for a change

climate

Neutral - accompanying spouse or parent(s)

(Push and pull factors here relate to the spouse

or parent rather than the individual - "My

husband has been offered a job there"- so that this

type of reason has been classified as neutral in

action.)

A listing of the reasons according to the proportion of the interviewed respondents who mentioned them is as follows:

TABLE 18 Reasons for leaving

Percentage of Sample Aged 15 Years and Over

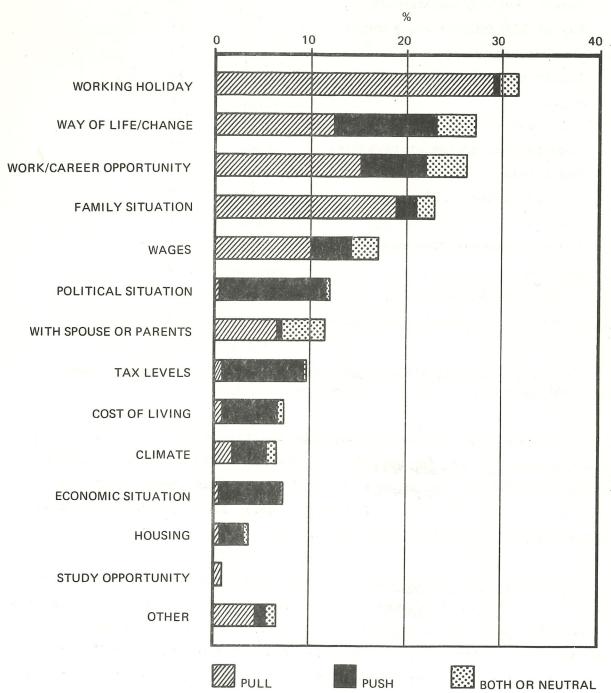
	Percentage ₁ Mentioning
Working holiday opportunity	32
Way of life/desire for a change	27
Work/career opportunities	26
Family situation	23
Wages	16
Political situation	12
Accompanying spouse or parent(s)	11
Tax levels	9
Cost of living	7
Climate	7
General economic (business) situation	6
Housing	3
Study opportunities	1
Other	7

As many people mentioned more than one reason the totals do not add to 100.

This shows that working holiday opportunities and a desire for a change in lifestyle - "to see the world" - are the most commonly quoted reasons for leaving New Zealand, and prove to be predominant among people under 25 (see later discussion on the influence of age.) Family situation is also a frequently mentioned pull factor (Figure 6).

Following after these factors, which relate more to personal circumstances than to the national or international situation, are the pull factors of job opportunities and wages, which are seen by many to be more advantageous overseas than in New Zealand. These factors may work both to pull and to push - "My job here has no prospects, I can get a better one overseas". "Wages are low here compared to the high rates in Australia". Thus one in every four respondents mentioning these factors expresses their relevance to them as push rather than pull factors. Very few respondents mention study opportunities as a reason for moving, but in the way it acts this factor is similar to work opportunities.

FIG. 6
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: PUSH AND PULL EFFECT.
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor.



The most important of the reasons which act clearly as push factors are: the political situation, tax levels, and cost of living in New Zealand. The first acts almost exclusively to push people out of the country. This was expressed particularly in terms of dissatisfaction with the present Government and leadership.

Many factors inherent in the general economic situation have already been discussed separately. "Economic situation" is a summary reason and is also related to the climate for business, i.e. it was mentioned by entrepreneurs and employers who have been affected by the economic recession. This also operates almost exclusively as a push factor.

Very few respondents mentioned factors related to housing in their reasons for moving. This is perhaps because young, unmarried people, who may not yet have considered house purchase, predominate among the migrant group.

Climate ranks with cost of living as a reason for moving, but its effect is neither predominantly pull or push. Overall, rather more respondents complained of the New Zealand weather than said they were attracted by a better climate overseas. These responses could be related to area of residence in New Zealand, and to destination!

"Other" reasons given were varied, but most are covered by a desire to visit friends overseas and a return to a homeland. Several respondents were leaving because their New Zealand residence permits had expired. These reasons are similar to the pull effect of family connections overseas.

The sample was analysed on the basis of whether a reason was mentioned or not. Cross tabulations were calculated for sex, age, life-cycle and travelling group, working situation and occupation, birthplace, destination, and other minor demographic variables of race, residence within New Zealand and educational qualifications. Following this are some examples of the kinds of combinations of reasons which were given.

Differences as between men and women

As already noted, there was a slight predominance of men among migrants interviewed in the survey. The same overall balance is found among the groups

who mention working holiday, way of life/change and study opportunities as reasons for leaving (Fig. 7). The sexes are also roughly equal among those citing cost of living, climate and housing. For the other reasons there is a more marked male or female emphasis among those who mention them. Women are over-represented among those who give family situation and accompanying spouse or parents as reasons for leaving. Men are much more likely to have mentioned economic factors, and predominate among the groups giving reasons related to wages, work or career opportunities, tax levels and the general economic situation. The group who mentioned political reasons are also two-thirds men (men are 54% of the sample).

The major differences therefore appear to be that economic and political factors are more likely to lie behind male migrants' decisions to leave, while a greater proportion of women mention family-related reasons. However, for the most commonly quoted reasons - going on a working holiday and a desire for change - there are no significant differences between the proportions of male and female migrants.

The Influence of Age

A high proportion of the migrant sample falls into the young adult age group, with very few over the age of 60. As might be expected, reasons for leaving do appear to vary with age. This is illustrated graphically in Figure 8.

No one aged 60 or over gave "working holiday" as a reason for leaving, although this was the leading reason overall, and especially for the 15-24 age group (mentioned by 45% of this age group, and 32% of the interviewed sample). In contrast, desire for a change in lifestyle was mentioned by all age groups in proportion to their representation in the sample and this pattern was not greatly deviated from by the groups mentioning work opportunities and wages, apart from a smaller proportion 60 and over, as might have been expected. In this older group 78% mentioned family situation, as against 23% of the sample. Typically older people were going to join children and grandchildren in another country, permanently, or for extended visits. Over a third of the 15-19 age group also mentioned family reasons and were young people joining older family members (and sometimes fiances) overseas. Proportionally fewer people in the 20-34 group mentioned family situation as a reason for leaving.

FIG. 7
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENCES BY SEX.
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor.

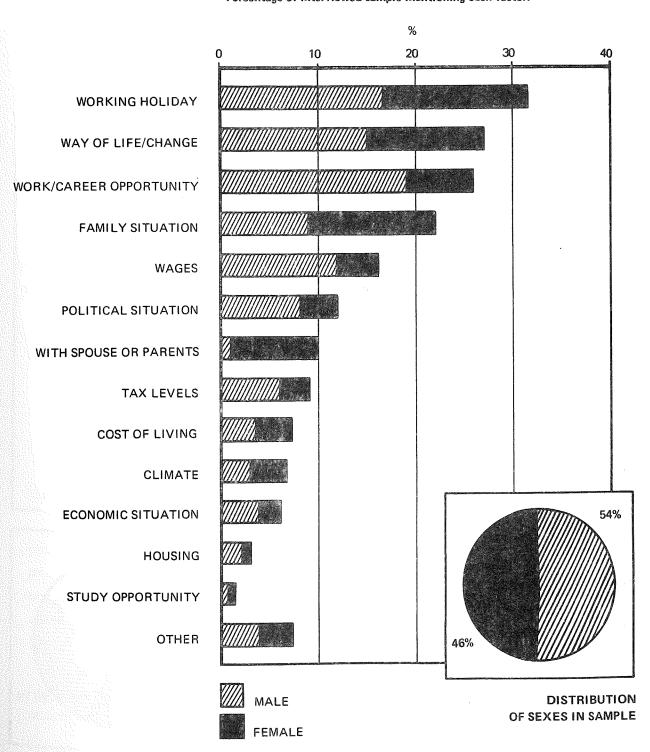
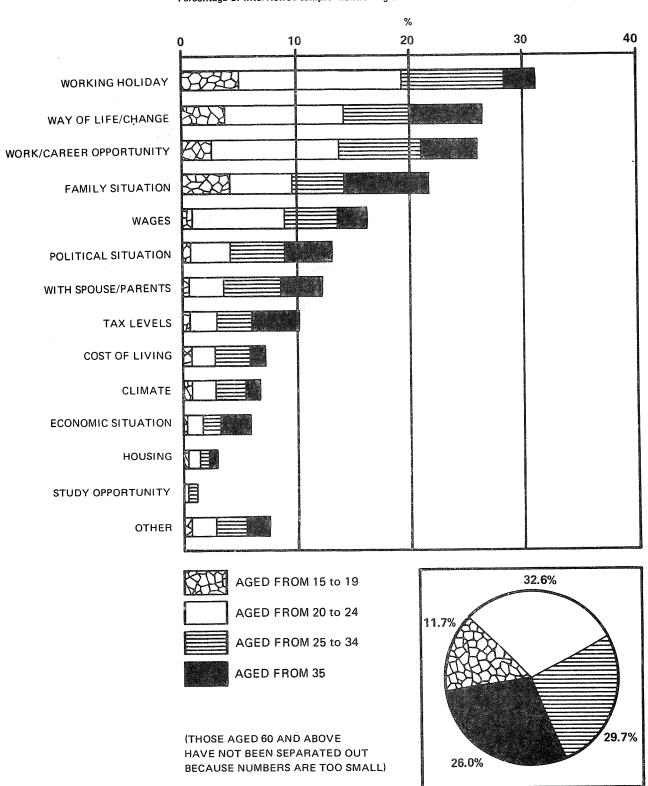


FIG. 8
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENCES BY AGE
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor.



DISTRIBUTION OF AGES IN SAMPLE

The only other factor in which the 60 plus group figure prominently is that mentioning climate; 17% in the age group mentioned this as against 7% of the sample.

In contrast to the work and wages factors, which were noted mainly by the 15-34 age group, cost of living seems to be more of a concern for a broader

age range - 25-59.. This same group especially those aged 40-59 is even more predominant among those mentioning tax levels as a reason for leaving (no one 60 or older mentioned this). Reasons associated with the general economic and political situation are also more frequently mentioned by those aged 35-59, and these are not likely to have come from migrants under the age of 20.

Small numbers of migrants mentioning other reasons for leaving make it impossible to analyse these by age groupings.

In order to summarise the influence of age on reasons for leaving New Zealand, the factors may be grouped very roughly by their importance through the age groupings:

under 20 - working holiday, family situation

20 - 24 - working holiday, wages, work opportunities

25 - 34 - cost of living, wages, work opportunities, taxes

35 - 59 - taxes, economic and political situation

60 plus - family situation, climate

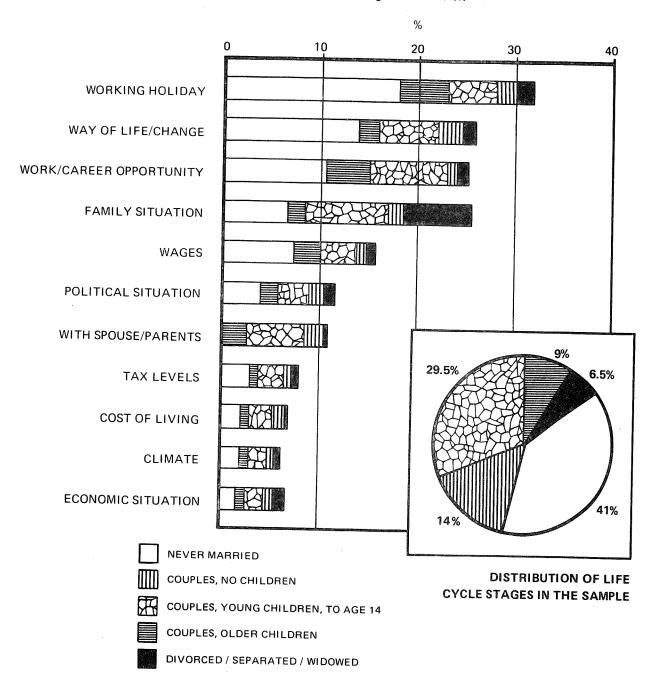
Life cycle stage and travelling group

In the analysis of the life cycle variable, it must be recognised that this is closely associated with age. The never-married group has a similar pattern of reasons for leaving as people under 25: 45% mentioned working holidays (total sample 32%). Way of life and wages are also prominent among their reasons. (See Figure 9).

Couples without children are over-represented in the working holiday, work opportunities, and wages groups, similar to the 15-24 age group, into which many of them would fall.

Family groups more frequently mention cost of living, general economic

FIG. 9
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENCES BY LIFE CYCLE STAGE.
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor. (1)



⁽¹⁾ HOUSING, STUDY OPPORTUNITY AND OTHER FACTORS NOT INCLUDED IN THIS FIGURE AS NUMBERS IN EACH CATEGORY WERE TOO SMALL.

situation and housing (63% of those mentioning housing are in a "family" stage of the life cycle). Family groups as a whole are over-represented among those who give family situation as a reason for movement - 50%. The younger families also mention work opportunities and tax levels while the older mention the climate - both physical and political.

The divorced/separated/widowed group tend to give reasons more typical of the older age groups. They are over-represented among those who mention family situation, tax levels, climate and political factors as their reasons for leaving.

Analysis by travelling group also reveals differences, but it must be remembered that travelling group is a little suspect, because there was not a consistent policy for identifying the head of travelling groups. Therefore for each couple travelling together only one set of reasons for leaving was analysed; and husbands and wives did tend to suggest different reasons when asked why they were leaving, consistent with the differences by sex already noted. Couples more frequently mention the general economic situation, cost of living, work opportunities, and tax levels. Couples travelling with their children tended to give reasons relating to climate, tax levels, and family situation, and a third of the small number who mentioned study opportunities were travelling in a family group.

The travelling group consisting of one parent plus child(ren) tended to give reasons more related to their family situation; although cost of living and accompanying a spouse - but not actually travelling with him/her were also given slightly more often.

For those travelling with friends (non-related individuals), and adult relatives, working holiday was the reason in which they were most over-represented.

People travelling by themselves include the young single adults who form the bulk of migrants; but also the "other parent" - usually the wage earner of the one parent plus child(ren) travelling group who often follow later.

As a consequence this travelling group is over-represented in an assortment of reasons reflecting these two types of individuals; wages (48% of all this group mentioned this), way of life, tax levels, housing, and political climate.

Work Situation and Occupation

Whether migrants were in the workforce or not did influence the kinds of reasons they were likely to give and this is well illustrated in Figure 10. As discussed earlier those <u>not</u> working were largely women and 67% were below the age of 40, so they were predominantly in the housewife role. The reasons they were more likely to give were that they were accompanying a spouse, family situation (26% as compared to 15% of the sample mentioned this), and cost of living. In addition half of those going for study opportunities were not working.

Most of the reasons associated with employment and the economy were given by those in the workforce. Over-represented amongst these reasons were: wages, work opportunities, working holiday, economic situation, tax levels and way of life and housing. Reasons to do with the prevailing climate; either political or physical - were very evenly distributed.

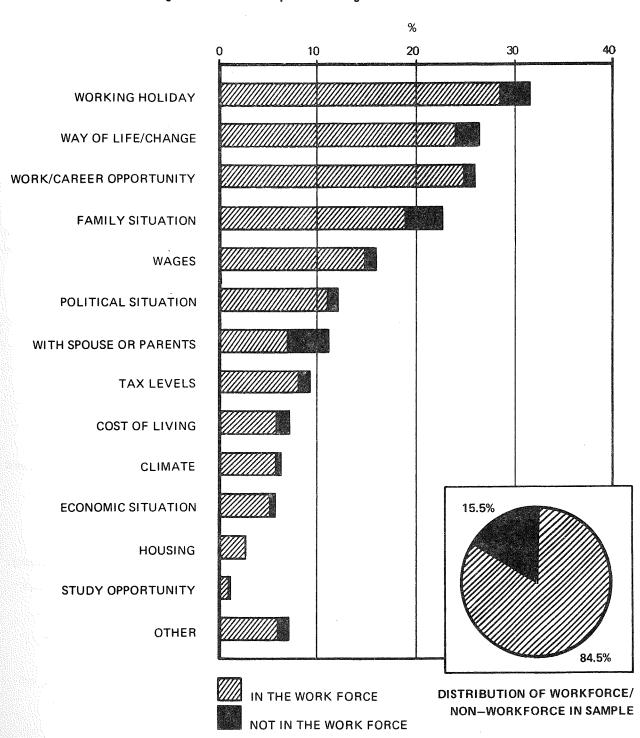
The biggest differences by occupational categories were that work opportunities as a reason for leaving were mentioned by 46% of the professional/technical group as against 26% of the sample as a whole. This group has only average or below representation among the groups which mention other economic and political reasons for leaving.

Workers in industrial production, construction, transport operators and labourers - the largest group among the migrants and in the population at large - have the highest proportion mentioning wages (26% as against 16% of the sample) and tax levels (12.5% as against 9% of the sample). This group is also over-represented among those who mention the political situation as a reason for leaving, although their proportional share is exceeded by workers in primary industry.

Migrants who have worked in primary industry also have the highest proportion mentioning family situation as a reason for leaving.

Some further analysis of reasons for leaving by actual occupational categories is possible, but it is hampered by very small numbers occurring in many of the cells of the cross tabulation.

FIG. 10
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENCES BY WORKING SITUATION.
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor.



Influence of Birthplace

Although it would appear that birthplace has some significance when discussing reasons for leaving New Zealand, it should be noted that this does not indicate length of stay in this country. Some migrants born elsewhere may have been in New Zealand for most of their lives and, as shown earlier, many particularly from "other" countries have taken on New Zealand nationality.

However, the fact of having been born outside New Zealand could be an indication of having contacts, family members and some social ties in the country of birth.

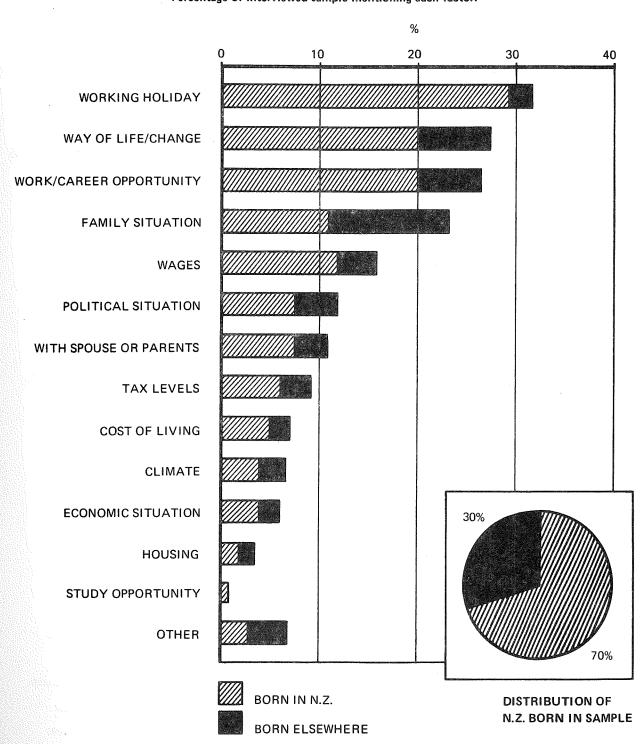
Figure 11 shows the major factors, ranked as before, with a breakdown of birthplace as between New Zealand and elsewhere. Overall 70% of the interviewed sample were born in New Zealand and a similar proportion is found in the groups which mention cost of living, wages, work opportunities, tax levels, way of life, and economic situation as reasons for leaving. A very high New Zealand-born element is seen in the large working holiday group - 90% - and among the few migrants who mentioned study opportunities. For the other factors there is over-representation of migrants born outside New Zealand.

Chief among these, in terms of the number who mention it, is family situation: 51% of the group not born in New Zealand mention it. Thirty-one percent were born in Britain or Europe (15% of the sample), and 7% in the Pacific Islands (3% of the sample). The "other reasons" group, which contained factors relating to a return to a homeland, had the lowest New Zealand-born component.

Of the groups which mentioned housing and climate as reasons for leaving, 46% and 42% respectively were born outside this country. They show a proportionally high incidence of migrants born in Britain, Europe and the Pacific Islands. New Zealand-born migrants are also under-represented among those noting the predominantly push factor of the political situation. Britishand Australian-born migrants account for 34% of this group as against 19% of the sample.

To summarise, the opportunity for a working holiday is the most frequently mentioned reason for leaving among those born in New Zealand (41% say this as against 32% of the full sample), followed by factors associated with work

FIG. 11
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENCES BY BIRTHPLACE.
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor.



opportunities, wages and way of life. For those born outside New Zealand, family situation is the leading factor, mentioned by 51% (23% of the full sample).

The Influence of Destination

To establish whether the country that migrants were destined for made any difference to their reasons for leaving, the countries were grouped as:

Australia (70%), Britain (15%), and all other countries (15%). (See Figure 12.)

There were no differences for reasons relating to housing, study opportunities, political situation, working holiday, or the general economic situation. There were some small differences for cost of living reasons (Australian-bound over-represented), work/career opportunities and tax levels (Australian-bound and those going to "other" countries over-represented in both of these); and also amongst the other miscellaneous reasons.

Migrants mentioning family situation were more likely to be going to Britain (26%), and both Australia- and Britain-bound mentioned a way of life or a change more frequently (74% and 18% in comparison to 70% and 15% in the total sample). Climatic and wage-related reasons were also over-represented by those going to Australia (90% and 89%).

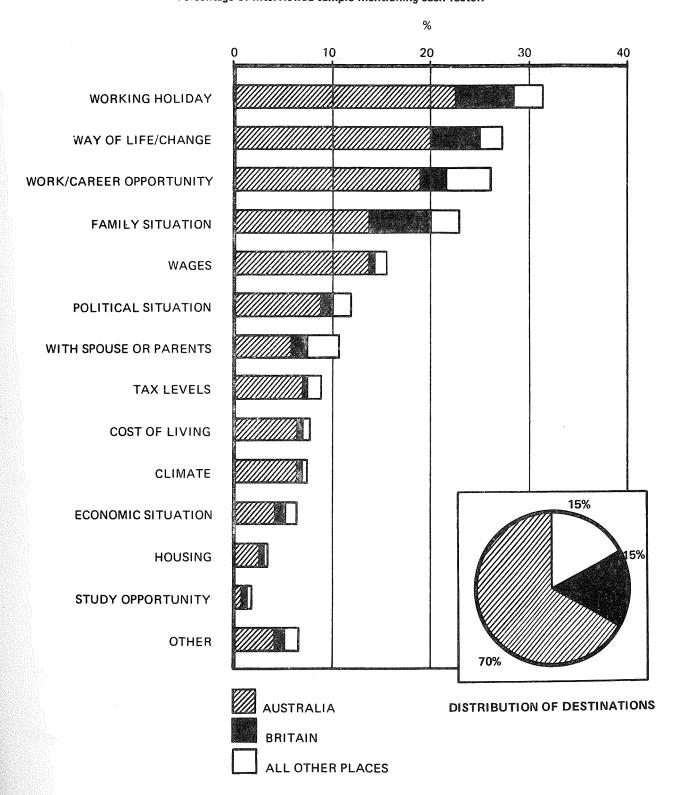
To summarise: migrants going to Britain were strongly pulled by family situation. The other pull factors of work/career and better wages were more likely mentioned by migrants off to Australia and "other" places. Working holiday opportunities seemed to occur throughout the world.

Influence of Other Demographic Characteristics

Reasons for leaving New Zealand were also examined by race, area of residence within New Zealand, and educational qualifications.

As the Maori and other Polynesian groups had different destination patterns (see page 32) it was thought that they might also have different reasons for leaving. The total numbers were small, but they do illustrate some differences. Other Polynesians - primarily going to the Pacific Islands - were over-representative in mentioning family situation (44% as opposed to 23% in the sample), climate and accompanying a spouse. Family situation was also important for Maoris migrating - 28% mentioning this - but the

FIG. 12
REASONS FOR LEAVING NEW ZEALAND: DIFFERENCES BY DESTINATION.
Percentage of interviewed sample mentioning each factor.



other reasons in which they were over-represented were housing and wages. There were therefore both pull and push factors for both Maoris and other Polynesians; the predominant pull factor being the same, but with different push factors.

Generally area of residence within New Zealand was not a particularly important factor in differentiating migrants and this also applies to reasons given for leaving New Zealand. Whether migrants lived in one of the three main metropolitan areas, other urban areas, or came from rural areas affected their reasons only slightly, but perhaps in a predictable way. Migrants coming from rural areas were over-represented in giving working holiday and study reasons - neither are available in rural New Zealand. Urban migrants mentioned reasons of family, housing, general economic conditions, work opportunities, and way of life. The metropolitan area migrants gave reasons of family, study, climate, and cost of living in greater proportions that they were represented in the sample. Cost of living may be something which is higher in those cities.

Educational qualifications were collapsed into three categories for this analysis; those with no post school educational qualifications (52%), those with trade, commercial, technical, or other qualifications (33%), and the university or professionally qualified (15%). There was no difference between these groups giving reasons of working holiday, climate, housing, or "other". There were some small differences for family reasons (those with no qualification over-represented), study opportunities (university or professionally qualified more likely), and three of the economic associated reasons: tax levels, cost of living, and the general economic situation. The trade/commercial/technical qualified were more likely to mention these reasons, and for the last reason they were joined by the university and professionally qualified.

The major differences occurred for reasons of wages (trade/commercial/technical 48%), work/career opportunities (university/professional 21%; and trade/commercial/technical 45%). Wanting a new way of life or a change was mentioned by those with no qualifications (60%). And accompanying a parent or spouse was mentioned more frequently by those with no qualifications, and the university/professionally qualified.

In summary, the push factors differed for the Maoris and other Polynesian groups. Area of residence in New Zealand made no substantial difference.

There were differences by educational level; work/career opportunities or the political climate were more likely to be given by migrants who already had qualifications. In addition economic related reasons - primarily wages, but also tax levels and cost of living - were mentioned more frequently by trade/commercial and technically qualified. Those with no educational qualifications predominated amongst those going for a new way of life or a change.

Combinations of Reasons

Analysis has not been done, in this report, on the kinds of combinations of reasons respondents gave, but some examples help to show the range of combinations.

During interviewing it became apparent that the young, usually single New Zealanders who were off on a working holiday more often had very uncomplicated reasons. Often they only gave one reason: "I want a change."
"I'm going on a working holiday." Some examples:

Working holiday. If I can get a job I like I will stay permanently. Will resort to catering if I have to. Experience to see what it's like outside New Zealand.

Single, 24-year-old qualified chef.

Working holiday. Taking opportunity while single.

Single, driver.

Working holiday, returning after 2 years.
Woman teacher.

Working holiday, visit brother.

19-year-old clerk.

Get out and try and make it on our own. Seeing places, travelling.

Factory worker.

Boy-friend's gone, and asked me to come over. He's a Londoner.

Typist.

Others who were also going on a working holiday trip mentioned some pull or push factors in addition.

Much better money in Australia. To travel, will go further than Australia.

Have a look around, earn more money than earning here. Work experience.

20-year-old secretary.

To have a look around. See how others live. Seems ideal time to go. New Zealand is too bureaucratic, too many laws restricting living. Feel free to take what comes.

23-year-old carpenter off to Europe.

To travel. Can't get ahead. Not enough opportunities here. Housing problem - hard to raise finances. Sick of industrial disputes.

23-year-old cashier going to Sydney.

However if a family was migrating there was rarely just one reason. The reasons were more complicated, the decision probably more difficult to arrive at, but based on quite a knowledge of where they were going to.

I'm not rubbishing New Zealand. But I'm going on a 2-year working project as a motor mechanic. I can get better wages, education-wise it's good for children, lower tax levels, and there's cheap housing. Want to come back when the eldest child starts secondary school.

30-year-old motor mechanic going to a job.

New Zealand's going downhill. The wife has to work to get enough income. Single income families can't get ahead. Overtime taxes are too high. No incentives. Will get twice the salary in Australia.

30-year-old qualified fitter and turner going to a job.

Fed up. Money - felt not getting a fair deal with the job here - long hours - and not getting paid sufficient. With my experience will be able to get a better job with more money elsewhere. We've got everything we want here, we're not in need, but we're working too hard to get what we want. And the weather is shocking here!

24-year-old travel manageress.

To rejoin husband - machine driver at Mt Isa for the past 6 months. He previously worked at Twizel and moved to Australia after work finished there. Also to see what Australia is like.

24-year-old housewife.

Prefer Australian climate. Consider more scope in my particular type of business. Have family there.

Self-employed industrial caterer.

With increased communications and closer networks around the world, people know far more about the reality of another country, especially if it is Australia. Migrants going to Australia were quite well informed about the economic differences between the two countries, and had obviously made the decision to go on the basis of the quite extensive evidence available to them. If Australia turns out to be as hospitable as expected, and they fit into the society, will they return?

VI RETURNING

"We do not know how many will return or when." How many of the migrants in this study will return within less than 12 months? How many of the migrants who say they are going to stay away 1-2 years, end up by staying away permanently? How many who said they were leaving temporarily and are not even included in this study in fact stay away permanently? It is not possible to estimate. A study of immigration into New Zealand would be the next step to help determine some patterns of return. The possibility of migrants returning to this country is a complicated question.

Firstly it must rely upon what people write or state at the time of leaving. This will reflect their view of events in the future, which will very often depend upon how well they succeed overseas, and upon circumstances beyond their control. What they intend to do when they leave may never take place. Only a few can state adamantly that they will not return.

Secondly these questions on the departure card are ambiguous.

	. N.Z. Resident Departing:		 i	
Permane	ently Temporarily \	/isitor	<u> </u>	
	I	Date of a	rrival /	/
Question 16.	My intended absence from New Zea	aland		
	is	Years	Months	
•	OR length of stay in New Zealand	d f		
	was"			

Migrants are instructed, on the back of the card, not to fill out Question 16 if departing permanently. The definition of what is permanent or temporary is left to the individual, such that there may not be consistency among people as to the interpretation of the terms. Somebody who has been resident in New Zealand for three years might be more likely to answer Question 16 in terms of the latter part of the question - that their length of stay in New Zealand was three years, rather than that their intended absence was for the rest of their lives.

^{1.} N.Z. Planning Council, Planning Perspectives, 1978-83, 1978, p. 20.

Question 16 was fulfilling two functions and some answers to it could therefore be interpreted two ways. Migrants were not consistent between Questions 15 and 16 with the result that some answers were ambiguous.

Deficiencies in the data aside, the information was available for the total sample. Excluding gross inconsistencies, the distribution was as follows:

TABLE 19
Length of Absence (percentages)

	Total Sample	Adult Sample ¹
Permanent	.40	39
Long-term 1-2 years	24	28
Long-term 2 years or more	30	33
Do not know	6	-
	-	
	100	100
n =	1089	757

¹This is based on the population aged 15 and
 over. Those who answered "Do not know" were not included in
 this analysis.

The figures differ between the total and adult sample because there was a smaller proportion of children going particularly for 1-2 years, but also for 2 years plus, in comparison with children departing permanently.

Analysis was completed on the three groups within the adult sample. These were New Zealand residents departing: permanently; long-term, 1-2 years; long-term, 2 years or more. This is based on migrants' intentions upon leaving New Zealand.

There was little difference between men and women as to their intended absence, but there was between age groups. Those leaving permanently were older than either of the long term departures.

TABLE 20
Length of Absence X Age
(percentages) 1

	Leaving 1-2 years	Leaving 2 years +	Departing Permanently	Total Sample
15-24	58	48	31	44
25-39	31	40	48	41
40-59	10	12	17	13
60 plus	(. 009)	(.008)	4	2
	100	100	100	100
n =	213	246	298	757

Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Of those aged over 60, 75% were departing permanently, aged 40-59,50% were leaving permanently, and aged 25-39, 46% did not intend coming back. The young, generally single New Zealander off on a working holiday formed the greatest proportion of those migrating for 1-2 years, or 2 years plus.

As those who say they are leaving permanently were older, perhaps greater proportions of them have made a more conscious and deliberate decision and will not return home "when the going gets rough" elsewhere. As intention to depart permanently varies with age, and perhaps the older age groups may be less likely to change their minds, the proportion of migrants who are over a certain age (perhaps 30 or 40) might provide a guide to the proportion departing permanently. Further work could be done using already existing Department of Statistics figures collected on an annual basis to establish whether there was a direct relationship between age structure and proportion departing permanently. It might be possible to calculate some sort of index incorporating age and birthplace - proportion born in New Zealand, proportion born elsewhere - as this also varies with intention to return, and is easily available from departure card data.

As marital status is a factor of age, so there is a pattern between the never-married and married groups. Sixty-two percent of those leaving for 1-2 years were never-married; but only 30% of the never-marrieds were leaving permanently, below the overall average of 39%.

The married group were very much split between those who were intending to depart permanently (40%), and be away for 2 years plus (43%), with only a quarter planning an absence of 1-2 years. Children were underrepresented amongst those leaving for 1-2 years, so it would appear that family groups are more likely to be departing for a longer length of time, or permanently. Within the divorced/separated/widowed group the greatest proportion (48%) were leaving permanently (39% in the total sample).

Those who were departing permanently were over-representative of other Polynesians (56% did not intend coming back), but under-representative of Maoris (17% not intending to return), the largest proportion of whom - 53% - were leaving for 2 years plus. There were little differences amongst the intentions of the largest group who were neither Maori nor Polynesian.

Permanent migrants differed from long-term departures in country of birth and nationality. Of those departing permanently 38% were born outside New Zealand (28% in the total sample) and 33% had New Zealand nationality (23% of total sample). Those born outside New Zealand were over-represented among those permanent departures, especially those who were British by birth (61%) or by nationality (62%); but also Australians (birth, 55%; nationality, 45%), and migrants of other nationalities. Conversely New Zealanders - born here or nationals - were over-representative amongst those leaving long term and for both birth place and nationality there were greater proportions of New Zealanders leaving for the longer period of 2 years plus, than for 1-2 years.

Returning by Work Status

There were no real associations between the intended length of absence of migrants and their educational qualifications or length of schooling, but there were when the variables associated with work were considered. Half of those not in the workforce intended to depart permanently, which meant that permanent departures within the workforce group were a slightly lower proportion than in the sample overall (79% as compared to 85%). This is partially a reflection of the age structure of permanent departures, but is also because of the proportion of families, in which the wife did not work, who were departing permanently.

Those leaving long term (especially for 1-2 years), were slightly more likely to be working, to have held their last job for a shorter length of time and had less experience in that occupation. This is no doubt a reflection of the youthfulness of those intending to go for this length of time. Those leaving for 2 years plus, or departing permanently had both held their last job for similar lengths of time (30% up to 2 years in their last job; 43% 2-5 years; 27% 5 years and over). But there was a difference between these two groups with respect to their total length of work experience. In accord with the older age structure of the permanent departures, 49% of them had had 6 years or more work experience in their particular occupation. Amongst those leaving for 2 years plus this proportion was only 39% (the same as that for the total sample).

Thirty-nine percent of the sample were departing permanently, and this did show some variation by occupational category. Those categories greater than the sample average were: Administrative and managerial (57%, an occupational category with an older age structure as has already been shown), and Sales workers (46%). Amongst those leaving for 2 years plus the proportion was higher than average for Professional/technical workers (40%), and Service workers (34%). And for those intending to be away 1-2 years Agricultural workers (35%), Clerical and Production/transport workers (both 31% and with young age structures), and Sales workers (30%) were above the average of 28% for the total sample. The pattern really means very little, as it is the age structure within occupation categories that seems to come through as a determining feature.

Returning by Destination

Whether the length of absence varied with where migrants were going to, was discussed briefly in the Destination chapter, and in particular see

Table 16. The differences between those going to Australia and the total sample are not marked. A greater proportion of those going for 2 years plus were going to Britain, though nearly half of those travelling to "other" countries were going for two years or more. Of those departing permanently a slightly greater proportion than the average (74% in comparison to 70%) were Australia-bound, and a smaller proportion were bound for "other" countries. Eighty-four percent of people who did not know how long they would be away were going to Australia; it was most unusual not to know amongst those going further away. Those going to Britain were very close to the overall pattern of the sample.

Amongst those departing New Zealand permanently 64% had already been to their destination before (cf. 55% of total sample). Of these, 48% had been within the last year, and 72% within the last 5 years. The proportion who had already visited the country was not as high for any of the long-term departures or those who did not know for how long they would be away. And amongst those going for 2 years plus, a majority (55%) had in fact not been there before. Those going for this length of time were less likely to be going to Australia and many may have been going to Britain or elsewhere -North America perhaps - to take up a job commitment or study opportunity for a specified period of time exceeding 2 years. They would also include people going on long working holidays to Britain and Europe. This adds further weight to the conclusion made earlier (page 35) that a visit to an overseas country, especially if it is Australia, is often a precursor of permanent migration (but perhaps less so amongst the young and single). Long-term migration, particularly if not to Australia, is made by different groups within the sample.

There was really little difference between permanent and long-term departures for the other destination variables.

Length of Absence X Destination
Characteristics (percentages)

	Leaving Permanently	Leaving Long Term	Total Sample
Arranged a job	34	32	32
Doing same type of work	51	47	49
Knew nobody at their destination	15	15	15

In summary, variations by length of absence are minor. The biggest difference is that those going for 2 years plus are more likely to be going to "other" countries, than to Australia. A proportion of those going to "other" countries appear to be going for a set posting or contract and a greater proportion intend returning.

<u>Influences</u> on Return - Interviewed Sample

The interviewed sample were asked: "What sort of things would help you make up your mind about returning to live in New Zealand?" As with the departure card data this is an assessment based only on what migrants intend

doing when leaving New Zealand; and this is probably why the proportions who said categorically that they would or would not return is much less than those who made qualified statements. The information is available for 740 people, but the totals in most of the tables are usually a little less, because if the migrant was very late boarding only this and the question on reasons for leaving were asked; hence there is information missing on education and work variables.

Although this question was an attempt to get more information about the possibilities of returning, to supplement the analysis by permanent and long-term departures, the results are not exactly comparable. Respondents did not apply exactly the same approach in answering this question and filling out Questions 15 and 16 on the departure card. Some who wrote that they were departing permanently then said they would return; others who indicated they would be away on a long-term basis then said in the interview they would not return! (The interview question was after all asking something different from the departure card, but it would have been more desirable if there had been no inconsistencies at all!) Fortunately the percentages which were as inconsistent as those examples above were the smallest in the overall distribution – and do actually cancel each other out!

TABLE 22

Length of Absence X Factors

Influencing Returning (percentages)

Departure Card Data						
Interview Data	Departing Permanently	Don't Know	1-2 years	2 years plus	Total Sample	
Won't return	16	11	5	7	10	
Will return	12	17	34	34	25	
Will return if	72	72	61	59	65	
	100	100	100	100	100	
n =	253	46	185	222	706	

There appears to be a number of migrants who under no circumstances will return. This may be as high as 10%. But nearly three-quarters of those who say on the departure card that they are departing permanently would consider returning if changes occurred in New Zealand. Changes occurring within New Zealand are less important for those going on a long-term basis; but they are still mentioned by over half of those leaving for 1-2 years or 2 years plus.

A third of these groups say they will definitely come back, and it is perhaps surprising that this proportion was not higher. Obviously many leaving on a long-term basis do not really know how long they will be away - or if they will return!

To the interview question one in ten said they were unlikely to return and did not elaborate at all.

A quarter said they definitely would return after having spent a fixed period of time overseas (e.g. an overseas posting or a job contract). Some also gave the reasons that they would definitely return because of home and family in New Zealand.

The rest (65% of the sample) qualified their prospect of returning to New Zealand in terms of "if...". A very large group of these (72% who "will return if...") mentioned changes they would like to see in New Zealand before they would consider returning to live. Many gave combinations of factors, as will be seen, but the main factors, with the percentage of respondents who mentioned them are as follows:-

TABLE 23

"Will Return It"	
	Percentage
If there is a change in the political climate	11
If there are better job opportunities	10
If the economy (and business climate) improve	7
If wages improve	6
If there are changes in the tax structure	5
If there are changes in the New Zealand lifesty	le 4

There were also combinations of "if" and "because" factors, for example - I will return if there is a job for me, because my family is here. I like the country, but I don't like the present Government. Other frequent combinations brought together the major factors already listed.

Also in the "if" category are a further 8% of the sample who said that the factors which would influence their decision lay in their country of destination, either if they didn't like it or did not get a job or were not successful. For example, I will return if I don't like it in Australia. If I can't get a job. If I don't get on well there.

Influences to Return - Further Analysis

The distribution of the sample into the three groups of "Won't Return", "Will Return" and "Will Return If..." was analysed by other variables to see if there were any patterns complementary to the analysis by intended length of absence.

The differences by sex were not large; the biggest difference being that more women expect to return (51% in comparison with 46% of the sample). More women said they would return because of family in New Zealand. As women also put more emphasis upon family as a reason for leaving New Zealand, family ties (if they are strong) appear to be a very powerful migration force for women.

Age did affect the likelihood of returning to New Zealand.

Possibilities of Returning X Age (percentages)

	Won't Return	Will Return <u>If</u>	Will Return	Sample
15-24	37	40	57	44
25-39	34	43	30	39
40-59	22	15	11	15
60+	7	2	2	2
				
	100	100	100	100
n =	76	468	185	729

Those who "Won't Return" (although they are a much smaller group in the interviewed sample than the 39% who were permanent departures), again have an older age structure. Those who definitely "Will Return" have a younger age structure. Those who "Will Return If..." represent a medium age group, the largest proportion of which (43%) were aged 25-39.

Not surprisingly the possibility of returning to New Zealand varied by birthplace. The category of which the greatest percentage were New Zealanders, were those who "Will Return" - 85% of this group were New Zealand born (but New Zealanders are only 70% of the total sample.) Of those who said they "Will Return If.." a slightly greater proportion than the overall average (71% in comparison with 65%) had "other" birthplaces. This was the only difference amongst that group. Of those who said definitely they "Won't Return", 46% were New Zealanders.

The groups particularly over-represented in this admittedly small number were those born in Britain (26% in comparison with 15%), and Australia (17% in comparison with 6%). Therefore of the New Zealand born 3 out of every 10 said they definitely "Will Return", almost two-thirds said they "Will Return If...", and 7% said they definitely "Won't Return". The New Zealanders leaving never to return are a small number, but much greater is the very large group who "Will Return If..." there are changes in the political and economic situation and in employment prospects. This is one of the most important findings about the possibility of returning to New Zealand.

There were variations in the possibility of returning by educational qualifications, although no overall pattern. The biggest difference was that three-quarters of those with trade/commercial or technical qualifications gave qualified answers of "Will Return If...", which was higher than the sample average of 65%.

Overall the possibility of returning did not vary significantly with occupational category. There were minor differences, but particularly within the "Won't Return" and the "Will Return" groups, 10% and 25% of the sample (the numbers are very small). As the "Will Return If..." group is larger - 65% - the proportions have more meaning; those categories which were over-represented include Production/transport workers and Administrative (both 70%).

There was really no difference by the destination of migrants and their possibility of returning to New Zealand. Similar proportions going to Australia as in the total sample "Will Return", or "Will not Return". The biggest difference overall was that 31% of those going to "other" countries (in comparison to 25%) said they "Will Return". This helps to confirm the trend that a certain proportion of this group were going on a job contract or an overseas posting with a definite intention of returning to New Zealand.

But having actually been to the destination did influence whether or not migrants would return.

Possibilities of Returning X Been
There Before (percentages)

	"Won't Return"	"Will Return"	"Will Return If"	Sample
Been there already	80	45	57	56 ·
Not been there before	e 20	55	43	44
		Wingston (St. State)	****	
	100	100	100	100
n =	74	183	464	721

Of migrants who won't return, the large majority have already been to their country of destination before.

To summarise: it is true we still do not know how many will return or when. It is possible to calculate that 10% definitely won't return and that 25% very probably will return. The remaining majority do not know if they will return, and this depends upon how well they do elsewhere, and especially if there are any changes in New Zealand society. The factors most affecting the likelihood of returning were age and birthplace.

VII IMMIGRANTS EMIGRATING

In the interview respondents were asked whether they had been born in New Zealand. If they had not been they were then further asked how many years ago they came to New Zealand, and if they or their family had intended to settle permanently at that time. Twenty-six percent of the interviewed sample were not born here, and of this group, 74% (149 people aged 15 and over) had intended to settle permanently or had been undecided at the time they came here. They would of course include young adults who came to New Zealand as children and are now leaving for an overseas working holiday. They had been in New Zealand for varying lengths of time:

TABLE 26

Intention to Settle X Time
In New Zealand (percentages)

3	Not born in N.Z. Intended to Settle	All not born in N.Z.
1-5 years	35	41
6-10 years	23	22
More than 10 years	s 42	37
		T-t-manus
	100	100
n =	149	200

The average length of time for all those not born in New Zealand was 10.7 years. The average for those emigrating could be expected to be less than this, because fewer would have been here for very great lengths of time; but Table 26 is evidence that many had been here for quite considerable lengths of time. The immigrants are not, however, dominated by people who have only been here a short time, got homesick, had difficulty settling down and are now leaving New Zealand.

Those emigrating were older than the interviewed sample, 38% were 40 and over (17% of population 15 plus in the interviewed sample). Only 22% were 15-24, (44% in the same interviewed population). Using either birthplace or nationality criteria they were over-represented by those of British origin. Approximately 60% of those who intended to settle were British, a further quarter (27%) came from "other" countries, and the remainder (13%) were Australians. (In the total sample those born outside New Zealand were distributed as follows: 45% British, 34% from "other" countries and 21% Australians).

This group did not wholly consist of people who were all leaving New Zealand permanently, and who were dissatisfied after having migrated here. Although they comprised 19% of the interviewed sample it would be wrong to say that they were all dissatisfied immigrants. Some of the younger ones would be going on an extended working holiday and plan to return. But those who came to New Zealand for a specified period of time (e.g. a 3-year job contract) and never intended to settle permanently have already been excluded.

But answers to the question on their possible return did indicate that over half, 52%, intended leaving New Zealand permanently (40% for the total sample). The proportions intending to be away 1-2 years or 2 years plus were correspondingly lower than for the total sample. It can be estimated that half of this group - 10% of the total sample by the time children are included as well - are immigrants to New Zealand now emigrating.

The reasons for leaving New Zealand given by this group give a different picture to that portrayed by the interviewed sample as a whole.

TABLE 27

Intended to Settle - Reasons for Leaving

Mainly		Percentage
Pull	Family Situation	40*
Pull & Push	Way of life/desire for change	28*
Pull	Work/career opportunities	21
Push	Political situation	15*
Pull	Wages	13
Pull	Working holiday	13
Neutral	Accompanying spouse/parent	13*
Push	Tax levels	12*
Neutral	Other	11*

Mainly		Percentage
Push	Cost of living	10*
Push	General economic situation	7*
Push & Pull	Climate	7
Push	Housing	5*
Pull	Study opportunities	1

^{*} For these reasons the percentage mentioning them was higher than the proportion given by the total sample.

Family situation was a dominating reason pulling immigrants away, probably to their country of origin. For example:

Visiting my family in Switzerland.

- Man here 6 years.

Have son there - going to buy a home there. Daughter in New Zealand will follow later.

- 70-year-old retired man, here 11 years.

Go back and see the family.

a Samoan here 4 years.

Daughter in England having a baby. Has been there a year and married there.

- Woman here 10 years.

I'm Australian born. Have family and grandchildren here. Going for a break to see sister and friends in Australia. Have decided to go for a year - because super. not provided in New Zealand and can get it in Australia.

67-year-old widow here 32 years.

But the family could be one of several reasons:

Going back to see family in Britain. Nothing here for young people.

- 21-year-old, who came here at age 9.

Family reasons, - going to see children. Homesick and want to travel.

 a receptionist who has been in New Zealand 9 years. Depressed state of country workwise. Tradesmen don't get enough money. Want kids ages 7, 9, and 11 to see the other half of my family - especially my mother. Little bit homesick. Of last 18 years spent 15 of them in New Zealand.

- 39-year-old carpenter.

Those giving economic related reasons had probably come to New Zealand in a period of greater economic growth and opportunity and now found conditions did not meet their expectations. They would have considerable knowledge of another country, and would know how well they might be able to get on elsewhere.

I'm an Australian - returning. Can't live on the wages here.

 a 25-year-old bank officer here 3½ years.

Better opportunity. Limited opportunity here. Limited experience jobwise here. Need more large-scale experience in textile - carpet manufacture. Worried about effects of legislation on freedom of individual.

- 44-year-old married man here 5 years.

Lack of opportunity here. Can earn more in Australia. More interesting life. More amenities. Economic management in New Zealand. Political outlook here. Friends have left - leaving a sinking ship.

 32-year-old systems analyst here 7 years.

Because I like Australia better. Can make more money. More chance over there for future progress.

 a 37-year-old sales consultant here 5 years.

Obviously the small size of New Zealand is sometimes a factor in limiting people's work opportunities, once they have become particularly specialised. But for a very few nothing was right:

Apathy of people. 'She'll be right'. Nice country.
But no one wants to do overtime. Wife's parents
interfere - that's the main reason. Good country
spoilt by government, Muldoon and his arrogant attitude.

Setting aside family related reasons, the reasons which were given by a greater proportion of those emigrating than in the total sample, were predominantly push reasons. This would suggest that family considerations plus sometimes strong dissatisfactions with the New Zealand economic or political situation or the New Zealand way of life were the main factors in immigrants emigrating.

VIII HOUSING

The interviewed sample were asked if they had lived in owned or rented accommodation during the past year, and if they owned a house whether they had tried to sell it before leaving New Zealand. It was thought this would provide some indication of the seriousness of migrants' intention to leave permanently. The information was recorded on a travelling group basis only, not for all individuals. Percentages refer only to those who owned accommodation

Because so many of the migrants were at the stage in their lives when they were unlikely to be home owners, only 22% of travelling groups had owned accommodation before they left. The majority had lived with parents or family, rented accommodation or lived in a hostel. Of the number who had owned their own accommodation, 44% had sold it, 14% had tried but had not been successful (58% sold or tried to), and 42% did not try to sell it.

The proportion who sold or tried to sell increased with age. They were 41% of the very small number aged 15-24 who owned accommodation, 54% of the 25-39, and 71% of the 40-59. Therefore there were proportionally fewer of the older age groups leaving housing behind in New Zealand. This is in agreement with the earlier findings that a greater proportion of the older age groups were making a very deliberate decision and appeared unlikely to come back (see page 70).

Although the numbers were not large for some of the groups this trend is further evident in the analysis by life cycle stage of the travelling groups. Those who owned houses were spread between these groups as follows: 7% were never-married, 13% childless couples, 54% couples with young children, 17% couples with older children, and 9% were divorced/separated/widowed. Of home owners, 66% of those never-married had sold or tried to sell accommodation, 44% of childless couples, 53% of couples with young children to age 14, 74% of couples with older children, and 66% of those divorced/separated/widowed. This does suggest a slightly greater commitment to leave New Zealand by the families at an older stage of their family life cycle.

Comparatively, destination of migrants made far less difference than either age or life cycle, and it was not a significant variable. The only slight difference was that 70% of those going to Britain had tried to sell or sold housing, and the proportion was less for those going to Australia

(57%) and "other" countries (55%).

Whether migrants had sold their accommodation or not, did vary by their intention to return.

TABLE 28
Selling Housing X Intention to Return (percentages)

	Departing Permanently	Leaving 1-2 years	Leaving 2 years +	Won't Return	Will Return	Will Return If
Sold	71	25	30	93	23	45
Tried to sell	15	54	62		3	19
Did not try to	sell 14	21	8	7	73	36

	100	100	100	100	100	100
n =	58	28	50	14	30	106

n = Travelling Groups, not individuals.

Very large majorities of those who said they were departing permanently or who "Won't Return" had sold (71% and 93% respectively), or tried to sell their house. This represents part of the hard core of migrants - perhaps 10% of the total - who could categorically say they would not be back. However between a quarter to a third of those leaving long term or who said they definitely "Will Return" had also sold their house; and many more of those leaving temporarily had tried to sell their house. Of the largest group in the sample - that proportion who "Will Return If..." - 45% of travelling groups had in fact sold their house, a further 19% had tried unsuccessfully and a little over a third did not try. This suggests that almost a half of those who owned houses were not really intending to return. They might represent a further 15-20% of the total sample, given that travelling groups who owned housing were more likely to consist of couples with children.

To summarise: 58% had sold or tried to sell their housing. Those who had were over-represented amongst the older age groups and those in the later stages of the family life cycle. Intended destination was far less important in influencing whether migrants had sold their houses. Using selling of a house as an index, a core of 10% of the interviewed sample do not intend coming back to New Zealand. However most of those leaving on a long term basis or who said they "Will Return If.." had also sold, or tried to sell their house. The smaller proportions who had actually sold their house - perhaps 15-20% of the total sample - may not come back either.

IX SUMMARY

The migration sample was a young population, slightly over-representative of men, but more over-representative of the never-married groups in the population. Although the majority were without dependents nearly 3 out of every 10 adults belonged to a family group with children in it. Such migrants were not always travelling with all the members of their family together. Although the largest single group of migrants were New Zealanders, according to birthplace or nationality, people whose birthplace was outside New Zealand were over-represented amongst migrants in comparison with the total population. The New Zealand residence of departing migrants showed some over-representativeness of people from the North Island main urban areas, but the variable of where migrants had lived in New Zealand played little part in influencing their reasons for leaving or the possibility of returning. Variables of birthplace/nationality, age, marital status, and (associated with the latter two variables) the life cycle stage of migrants stood out as being particularly important.

The general educational level of the migrants exceeded that of the total population, slightly over half of the sample having some qualifications beyond school level. Nearly one in four migrants had a trade or technical qualification, and a further 15% had a university or professional qualification. Men had slightly higher educational qualifications than women, and the 25-39 and 40-59 age groups appeared more qualified than the younger 15-24 year olds. Eighty-five percent of migrants had been in paid employment during the last year. It is obvious that it was largely from the active workforce that the long term and permanent migrants were drawn. A very small proportion, 0.5%, had been unemployed for most of the last year. Migrants were not drawn from a complete cross section of the workforce, but were over-representated in the professional/ technical and clerical categories, and were under-representative of workers in the primary industries. There were variations in the occupational categories by both sex and age. The total length of work experience of migrants was more important in describing the migrant sample than the length of time migrants had held their last job. The average length of work experience in the same field as migrants last main job was 7.6 years, and the last job had been held for an average of 3 years. Both these variables were influenced by sex and age, and to the extent that age differed with birthplace, this latter variable was also influential.

During the week of the survey two out of every three migrants were going to Australia. This may be a higher proportion than over a longer time span of 12 months. One in six migrants were heading for Europe where Britain was by far the leading destination. Other destinations included North America and the Pacific Islands. Migrants going to Australia or Britain were slightly more likely to be young, 15-24, and to be in the workforce. But Australia does seem to have replaced Britain as the destination for the majority of young migrants off on a working holiday - it is after all only across the "back fence". There were some variations in occupational categories by destination.

A good half of the sample had visited their destination before. It is suggested that a visit to an overseas country is frequently a precursor of permanent or long-term migration, although such a visit is less likely to have been made by the young New Zealander (age 15-24). Only 15% of migrants lacked contacts at their destination in the form of family or friends. Three-quarters had arranged a place to stay, even if only on a temporary basis. However a lower proportion had a job to go to - 32% had a job arranged, but this was higher for men than for women. This also varied somewhat by age. Two out of every three expected to be doing similar work to their last job in New Zealand.

Reasons for leaving can be divided into push, pull or neutral factors. The most frequently mentioned reason was the pull factor of working holiday opportunities, mentioned by 32% of migrants. Following this were way of life or desire for a change (pull and push), work/career opportunities (pull factor) and family situation (pull factor). Each of these reasons were mentioned by over 20% of migrants. Other reasons mentioned by 10-20% of the sample were: wages, the political situation and that the migrant was accompanying a spouse or parent.

Reasons differed by sex, age, life cycle stage, whether migrants were in the workforce or not, birthplace, and destination of migrants. For instance economic and political factors are more likely to lie behind male migrants' decisions to leave, while a greater proportion of women mention family related reasons. The order of importance of reasons through age groups varies: working holidays are more important to the young 15-24; cost of living, wages, work opportunities to the 25-34; and taxes, and the economic and political situation to those 35-59. Life cycle stage shows many similarities to age, and reveals

differences between those with and without dependents. Those in the workforce were more likely to give reasons associated with employment and the economy, for example wages, work opportunities, working holidays, the general economic situation, and tax levels. Those not in the workforce were likely to give as reasons accompanying a spouse, family situation, and cost of living. There were also some differences by specific occupational categories. For those born outside New Zealand family situation was the leading reason. The opportunity for a working holiday was the most frequently mentioned reason for leaving among those born in New Zealand, followed by reasons associated with work opportunities, wages, and way of life. Migrants going to Britain were strongly pulled by family situation; the other pull factors of work/career and better wages were more frequently mentioned by migrants off to Australia and "other" places.

Although the young single New Zealanders off on a working holiday were more likely to give just one reason, many migrants gave multiple reasons for leaving. If families were emigrating the reasons were likely to be more complex.

It is difficult to estimate how many migrants will return. Using information from immigrants emigrating, selling of housing and those who said they were departing permanently or wouldn't return, it is possible to establish that 10% will definitely not be back. A quarter said they did intend coming back and were only going away on a long-term basis. Their reasons were concerned with having family in New Zealand, or because this was their homeland.

The majority, 65% might return if there were changes in New Zealand society. The changes that were given in decreasing order of frequency were: changes in the political climate, better job opportunities, if the economy and business climate improved, if wages improved, and if there were changes in the tax structure. These are very much factors relating to New Zealand's present economic conditions. Of this large majority it appears that 15-20% of the total sample probably really do intend coming back. When one considers the remaining respondents who said they "might return if...", it has to be remembered that nearly half of the group said on their official departure cards that they were leaving permanently. For the rest it probably really does depend upon how well they do overseas, and what changes occur in New Zealand. A study of immigration into New Zealand similar to this study would be the next step to help determine some patterns of return.

The length of migrants' intended absence varied by age groups, marital status, country of birth, nationality, and destination.

From this wealth of very detailed data it is possible to generalise and identify four major groupings amongst the migrants.

Firstly there are the young, who are usually single, but may include some childless couples, who are leaving New Zealand usually on a working holiday. They are principally New Zealanders, aged 15-24, more unlikely than other groups not to have been to their destination before. The destination is usually Australia, and a smaller proportion are going to England and other parts of Europe. They are a little less qualified or skilled than the older age groupings and their predominant reasons for going are for a working holiday, or because they want a change in their way of life. They are going for 1-2 years, or perhaps 2 years plus, and in the main intend returning to New Zealand. This is the largest group in the sample.

The second grouping is less distinctive and it partly merges into the third grouping. In the main, it consists of adults aged 25-35 or perhaps some up to 39, who usually belong to a family which has young children. Also included in this grouping may be some childless couples. They are going for reasons relating to the cost of living, wages, work opportunities. They are more highly qualified, and have a higher level of skill than the first group; and have very probably been to their destination before. They perceive that they can do better elsewhere, but might think of returning if changes occurred in New Zealand, to the economy and the political situation. Of those who owned housing in New Zealand approximately half of them have left it unsold behind them. They are hedging their bets.

The third grouping is older again, predominantly 35/40-59. Generally they have reached a certain level of work experience, where New Zealand because of its small size offers less opportunity than large countries. They are likely to be going for reasons of taxation, the general economic and business climate, and the political situation. Many of them appear to have made a very conscious deliberate decision to leave, which probably involved selling a house if they owned one in New Zealand. They are less likely to return to New Zealand than either of the first two groupings; but they are also smaller numerically.

The fourth broad grouping cuts across both the second and third groups. It consists of those people who originally immigrated to New Zealand and are now emigrating from it. They had been in New Zealand for varying lengths of time, but were not dominated by people who had only been here a short while, got homesick and had difficulty settling down. In the main they were older than the rest of the sample. Sixty percent were British, 13% Australian, and the remainder of "other" nationalities. Their reasons for leaving were dominated by family situation - a pull factor - but perhaps associated with some push factors resulting from dissatisfactions with the New Zealand way of life or economy. Approximately half of those who had at some time immigrated to New Zealand now said they intended to leave permanently.

These brief examples provide some idea of the four major groupings in the sample, but there were other smaller groupings also; for example, those who were separated or divorced and were leaving New Zealand after the breakdown of a marriage probably to return to a country where they already had family. There were a few constant cross-Tasman migrants, who have lived and worked in both New Zealand and Australia, and constantly moved to maximise their opportunities, or because they have family on both sides of the Tasman, and there were non-New Zealanders leaving after a job assignment in New Zealand. They had never intended to reside here permanently.

The association of age, birthplace, marital status (and hence life cycle stage) therefore appear to be crucial factors in the decision to leave New Zealand.

APPENDIX I METHODOLOGY

A number of alternative methods of data collection were considered: a self-administered questionnaire to <u>all</u> passengers either to be completed in departure lounges, or while in the air and retrieved later through airline co-operation; interviewing passengers while actually on their journey; and interviewing only permanent and long-term migrants in the departure lounges. For reasons of cost, ease of retrieval of the questionnaires, depth of information, and logistics the last alternative was considered the most feasible.

A large number of Government departments and agencies are involved in airport management. After consultation with the airport authorities in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, the Customs Department, the Department of Statistics, the Department of Labour, the New Zealand Air Facilitation Committee and the Auckland Airline Operators Committee, a pilot study was carried out in early September on three different days at the three international airports - Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. On the basis of this, the questionnaire was revised and the survey method altered for the main study conducted on the seven days, 24-30 October 1979.

October was chosen because it did not represent any known seasonal biases. It was thought important to avoid holiday periods, the beginning and end of academic years, periods when the Epic flight timetable was operating, and the beginning of the Northern Hemisphere summer. And the seven days were sufficiently over before the start of the Melbourne Cup traffic! Looking at migration figures for the month of October over past years, October was likely to be slightly lower for permanent and long-term movement in comparison with other months.

Seven consecutive days were chosen for logistical reasons, seven random days throughout the year might remove any bias a particular time period has; but such an alternative was considered impractical and more time consuming.

Upon entering international departure areas passengers move through airport security and Customs. It was decided to interview departing migrants once they had completed their other formalities. But posters advertising the study were placed near the entrance to the departure areas. There had also been extensive news media publicity in the week leading up

to the study.

Usually departure cards are filled out by passengers before coming through Customs, and for this study Customs officials were responsible for identifying those eligible to be interviewed, on the basis of answers to questions on the departure cards.

To Question 13:

"The country in which I last lived for 12 months or more was:"

the answer had to be New Zealand.

And to Question 14:

"The country in which I next intend to live 12 months or more is:"

the answer had to be any country other than New Zealand.

This identified people who had been resident in New Zealand for 12 months or more, and who were intending to depart for at least 12 months.

An identity number was put on the departure cards of those eligible, and copies of departure cards were later made available by the Department of Statistics to be analysed with the data obtained through interviewing.

The departing migrant was then brought over to a table, and wherever possible information was obtained by personal interview. International departure lounges are not ideal interviewing situations. If migrants had completed formalities with plenty of time, and there were not many more eligible migrants coming through Customs, it was possible to go beyond the formal questions and probe further.

The questionnaire had also been designed so that it was possible for it to be self-administered, and in a very few instances the respondents completed it themselves. The interviewing conditions it was known would be experienced had been a severe constraint on the design of the questionnaire, and the number of questions that could be included; as had the need for it to be both the basis of the interview, but also completed by the respondent if necessary. Through the Pacific Islands' Educational Resource Centre at Auckland an interpreter was available for flights going to Samoa and Tonga from Auckland. In a few cases these interpreters were most necessary.

The majority of migrants (72%) left from Auckland International Airport, with 14% leaving from each of Wellington and Christchurch airports.

	Caralla Nama		REVERSE FO			
1.	Family Name Given Names					
_		Day	Mor	ath	Year	
	My Date of Birth w	Male	Female	7		
	(Tick Box) Never N		Married _		orced/Separated owed	
5.%	My Passport No. is	:-				
6.	My Country of Birt	th was :-				
7.	My Nationality or	Citizenship is	s :-			
8.%	My Usual Occupati (If retired state "R					
9.3	(Tick Appropriate	Box)				
	/2 01 111010		Other Polyne (Specify)	sian	Not Maori or Polynesian	
10.	Give the reason for (Tick only ONE bo	your Visit t	o OR Trip	from New Zea	aland	
	Holiday Vacation			king Holiday		
	Visit Friends or Re			mal Education	n	
	Work (full-time)		Sto	pover		
	Business (Private o	r Official)	Oth	er (Specify) .		
11.	Give the overseas p					
12.3	Give the name of t	his ship or				<u></u>
13.	The country in wh	ich I last live		ths or more w te or Province		
14.	The country in wh	ich I next in				
	Country		Sta	te or Province		
15.	N.Z. Resident Dep	arting— Tempora	(Tick E	Nox) Visitor Date of ar	rival /	1
16.3	My intended abser			Years M	or D	ays
17.	If N.Z. Resident g					
18.	Give the country i this overseas trip:-			have spent th		on
	(T: 1 D) \()::i:	tors - While	in New Zeala	nd I stayed:-		
19.	(LICK ROXES) AISI	tors — vviinc			er (Specify)	

LAB IMM 17

NEW ZEALAND

PASSENGER DEPARTURE CARD

- A separate card must be completed by or for each passenger including one for each child or baby, and given to an Immigration Officer at port of departure from New Zealand.
- 2. If a person is incapacitated or a child is under 15 years of age the card is to be completed by one parent, guardian, or accompanying adult.
- 3. For guidance in completing cards:-
 - Q 5 If passport not required between Australia and New Zealand, enter N/A.
 - Q 8 The particular job or type of work you do use definite terms, e.g., write primary school teacher or music teacher rather than teacher, metalworking machinist, not machinist, etc.
 - Q 9 Required for Population statistics purposes only. Complete only if you have been in New Zealand for 30 days or more.
 - Q 10 "Stopover" refers to passengers whose MAIN reason for staying one night or more in New Zealand (i.e. while in transit) is because they had to wait in New Zealand for an onward connection by aircraft or ship.
 - Q 12 Copy from your ticket or boarding pass.
 - Q 16 New Zealand residents departing permanently are not required to answer this question.

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NEW ZEALAND PLANNING COUNCIL

Te Kaunihera Whakakaupapa mo Aotearoa

MIGRATION SURVEY

Tena koutou katoa. Tena koutou i roto i nga ahuatanga o te wa. Haere ra. Ma te wa, ka hoki mai ano.

- We would like to find out more about the people who are leaving New Zealand to live overseas for a year or more.
- If you are 15 years or more please complete the question-naire.
- All answers will be confidential.

PLEASE MAKE YOUR REPLIES VERY CLEAR TICK BOXES OR ANSWER ON DOTTED LINE

1.	First of all, who are you travelling with?
	Wife Friend(s) Husband Brothers/sisters Children: Travelling alone ages Other (please specify)
2.	Where are you going to live for most of the next 12 months? Please state both country and city or town.
3.	Have you been there before? Yes No
4. 5.	If yes, when was this? Do you have friends or family there?
	Yes, friends and family Yes, friends only No Yes, family only
6.	Have you arranged a place to live (apart from a hotel/motel)? Yes No
	Please Turn Over

2. Have you a job already arranged? Yes 8. If yes to Question 7: What sort of job will you be doing? (give as much detail as possible). If no to Question 7: What sort of job will you be looking for? 9. What was your last main job? (give as much detail as possible). 10. How long did you have that particular job? years months 11. How long have you done this type of work? years months 12. What has been your work situation for most of this year? Wage or salary earner Employer in own business/profession Self employed, but not employing labour Unemployed Retired Full time student Household duties Other (please specify)

4	3.
13.	At what stage did you finish your education?
	Primary/Intermediate School
	Up to Form 4, Secondary School
	Form 5 and beyond, Secondary School
	University Other tertiary institution (including Technical
	Institute, Training College)
	If educated outside New Zealand, please state at what level you finished your education.
14.	What exams did you pass at school?
	None University Entrance
	Partial passes Higher School Certificate/
	in School Bursary Certificate
	School Other (please specify)
	Certificate
15.	Do you hold any trade, technical, or professional qualif- ications, degrees or diplomas? Please list each qualific- ation and the main subjects covered.
	Qualification Main Subjects
16.	Why are you leaving New Zealand? Please state your reasons in order of importance.
	Please Turn Over

4.

IF YOU WERE BORN IN NEW ZEALAND GO TO QUESTION 19. IF YOU WERE BORN OUTSIDE NEW ZEALAND GO TO QUESTION 17.

17. How long ago did you come to live in New Zealand?
years months
18. When you or your family came to New Zealand, did you intend to settle permanently?
Yes
Undecided
19. Did you live in owned or rented accommodation in the last year?
Own
Rent
Lived with parents or family
Other (please specify)
20. If you owned your home, did you sell it before you left?
Yes
No, but tried to sell it
No, did not try to sell it.
21. What sort of things will help you make up your mind about returning to live in New Zealand?
Average Control of the Control of th
•••••
••••••

THE PLANNING COUNCIL THANKS YOU FOR YOUR HELP HAVE A SAFE JOURNEY

APPENDIX II COMPARABILITY OF NON-RESPONDENTS AND THE SAMPLE

The number of non-respondents was 134, or 11.5% of the total sample. The majority of these, 80%, were migrants who Customs failed to identify at the point when departure cards are handed in. These migrants were subsequently identified by the Department of Statistics staff when they examined all departure cards for all the flights during the survey time period. The remaining consist of migrants for whom a little interview data was available, but the interviews were substantially incomplete, or lost. A few migrants pocketed their green interview questionnaires in Wellington and Christchurch where interviewers were separated from the Customs officials and could not always identify departing migrants. When migrants came through Customs at the last possible boarding time it was sometimes impossible to do a full interview with them without delaying their aircraft! And a small number of 6 people refused.

For this total group of 134 people (14 children and 120 adults) departure card data only was available - no information on their reasons for leaving other than the simplified information from departure cards - but it was possible to compare them to the rest of the sample for basic demographic variables to see if there was any difference between the two groups. Applying the chi-square test of significance to the variables there were differences. Fortunately most of these differences can be explained in terms of how migrants came to be non-respondents - primarily by not being identified by Customs officials.

Postulating a null hypothesis of no difference between the two samples: the non-respondents (134) and the rest of the sample (1,024) it was possible to reject the null hypothesis at the .05 level of significance or better for the variables of age, life cycle, birthplace, nationality, length of absence, destination, reasons for leaving and last main job. For these variables there were differences between the non-respondents and the rest of the sample. For the variables of sex, marital status and residence in New Zealand it was (fortunately) not possible to reject the null hypothesis. Nor was it possible to reject when the chi-square test was rerun on the reasons for leaving variable, excluding the category of child.

Variable - Categories listed in the following table

·		
	Computed χ^2	χ2 .05
Sex	0.01	3.84
Marital status	3.57	7.81
Residence in New Zealand	2.29	7.81
Age	20.74	9.49
Life cycle stage	13.15	9.49
Birthplace	60.88	7.81
Nationality	73.72	7.81
Length of absence	11.75	7.81
Destination	28.06	5.99
Reasons for leaving - all categories	30.80	9.49
Reasons for leaving - excluding the child category	4.91	7.81
Last main job	20.25	14.07

Because there did appear to be statistically-significant differences between the non-respondents and the rest of the sample for certain variables 95% confidence interval tests were applied to all the categories of each variable to help isolate what the differences were, these tests results are shown on the following page.

TABLE 29

Non-respondents: 95% Confidence Interval Tests

	95% confidence interval for a	normal distribution	Not
Variable	Category	Representative	Representative
Sex	Male	x	
	Female	~ , X	
Marital Status	Never Married		x
	Married	X	
	Divorced/separated/widowed	x	
Age	0 - 14		x
90	15 - 24	x	
	25 - 39	x	
	40 - 59	x	
	60 plus	X	
Life Cycle	Never Married		x
· -	Couple, no children	x	
	Couple, young children	x	
	Couple, children gone		x
	Divorced/separated/widowed	X	
Birthplace	New Zealand		x
-	Australia	X	
	Britain		x
	Other		x
Nationality	New Zealand		x
	Australia	x	
	Britain		x
	Other		x
NZ residence	Metropolitan areas	x	
	Other urban areas	x	
	Rural	X	
	Unspecified	X	
Length of			
absence	Departing permanently	X	
	1 - 2 years		х
	2 years plus		x
	Don't Know	X	
Destination	Australia		×
	Britain		x
	Other		x
Reasons for			
leaving	Vacation, visit friend	X	
	Work/business	x	
	Working holiday	X	
	Education, deportee, other		x x
	Child		

(cont'd)

TABLE 29 (cont'd)

Variable	Category	Representative	Not Representative
Main job	Professional/technical		x
	Administrative/managerial	x	
	Clerical	x	
	Sales		x
	Service	×	
	Agriculture, etc.	×	
	Production/transport		x
	Not actively engaged		x

Eighty percent of the non-respondents were migrants not identified by Customs officials. Although Customs officials had been very carefully briefed as to who was eligible on the basis of answers to Questions 13 and 14 of the departure cards (see Appendix I), when the migrant was of 'other' nationality (non-New Zealand, Australian, or British), Customs officials did not always realise that these people were also to be included in this study as long as they had been resident in New Zealand for at least 12 months.

These people had to present their passports before passing through Customs, and this may have further broken the routine of Customs officials in identifying eligible migrants. This meant that people of 'other' nationalities formed a much greater proportion of non-respondents. This is also reflected in the variable of birthplace. ("Other" nationality 22.4% of non-respondents, 4.1% of rest of sample; "Other" birthplace 27.6% of non-respondents, 7.4% of rest of sample). And there was a lower proportion of New Zealanders amongst the non-respondents.

This greater proportion of "other" nationalities also affected the destination patterns; the non-respondents being over-represented amongst those going to "other" places, than Australia-bound.

As 14 of those not identified were American Mormon missionaries (all single males), who had completed a tour of duty in New Zealand this helped to bias the occupational distribution of the non-respondents (considerable over-representation of professional/technical category - the category into which the religious profession is coded). This group also helped account for the greater proportion of never-married among non-respondents.

The proportion of children among the non-respondents was considerably lower than for the rest of the sample, which no doubt affected the chi-square test on age, as the other age categories all fall within the 95% confidence

interval. There is no obvious explanation as to why there were fewer children but it does affect both the age and reasons for leaving variables, when the child category is still included.

It might be argued that the biases amongst the non-respondents in fact reflect people who are not usually considered when permanent and long-term migration is discussed. And if there were to be biases amongst this group the general direction of the biases, with the exception of the under-representation of children, is in a not undesirable direction. It is fortunate that in this study, unlike most, basic demographic information is available for non-respondents.

APPENDIX III COMPARABILITY OF THE SAMPLE WITH OFFICIAL STATISTICS

The 1158 respondents in the sample represented 1.38% of permanent and long-term emigrants for the year ended October 1979. It is likely that a sample of this size, comprising one week's outflow, is not entirely representative of the year's departures. However, it is felt to be sufficiently so to produce estimates of acceptable accuracy. In order to check this assumption, a number of demographic variables have been tested statistically.

Six variables - AGE, SEX, BIRTHPLACE, OCCUPATION, LENGTH OF ABSENCE and DESTINATION - were selected using two criteria. They were seen as key variables in the survey analysis, and there were official migration statistics with which they could be compared. Other key variables such as education could not be tested because there were no corresponding official figures.

The survey's percentage distribution of each of the six variables was compared with official figures for the month of October 1979 and the year ended October 1979. Both comparisons were made because some of the variables are likely to be affected by seasonal factors, making comparison with the month's figures more relevant. Two statistical tests were used. In the first, the 95% confidence interval was calculated for each proportion of a variable to check on its relationship with both the month's and the year's figures. Where the interval encompassed the official figure, the sample was said to be representative of that category. Secondly, the overall distribution among the categories of each variable was compared with the month's and year's figures by means of a Chi-square test. The calculation χ^2 was used to test the null hypothesis of no difference at the .05 level of significance with the appropriate number of degrees of freedom. Rejection of the hypothesis implied that the sample was not representative for that variable, while failure to reject supported the presumption of representativeness.

Table 30 shows the survey data and the figures used in the statistical tests, with official statistics, for the selected variables. It can be seen that for each variable, the hypothesis of no difference between the survey percentages and the month's is not rejected. Thus, the sample is likely to be representative, for these variables, of all permanent and long-term departures in that month. The tests for comparability with the year's

figures show a similar congruence for AGE, SEX, BIRTHPLACE and OCCUPATION. However, for both LENGTH OF ABSENCE and DESTINATION, the null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level, implying that the sample is unrepresentative for these variables.

In the case of LENGTH OF ABSENCE the discrepancies are quite marked, as is shown by the confidence intervals. When the reasons for this were sought, it was discovered that the coding scheme used for the sample data was more complex than that used for the official statistics. When the survey data were recoded using the latter scheme, the following information was obtained:

	Survey %	95% Confidence Interval	October Year X	
1 and under 2 years	27.9	25.2 - 30.6		
2 years or over	34.2	31.3 - 37.1	5.8713	
permanent	37.9	34.9 - 40.9		

The corrected χ^2 statistic showed that the null hypothesis was not rejected. This finding of differences in the coding schemes suggests that this variable must be equated with its counterpart in the official statistics with some caution.

In the case of DESTINATION, it appears that seasonal factors are at work. The proportions for the year are all outside the bounds of the 95% confidence intervals around the month's figures, indicating that the month's data are not representative of the year's. In October it is autumn in the Northern Hemisphere, perhaps making that part of the world a less attractive destination than at other times of the year, and conversely, making Australia more attractive.

Examination of the confidence intervals in Table 30 shows some categories of the variables were not representative of either the month's or the year's figures. With a sampling fraction of this size, complete congruence cannot be expected. Some of the differences, for example, under OCCUPATION, may be due to different levels of coding accuracy. The survey collected more information on each respondent that did the official departure card alone, and for this reason the survey coding may have been more precise.

The outcomes of these tests suggest that the survey data are representative of permanent and long-term emigrants for both the month of October 1979 and the year ended in that month.

TABLE 30 STATISTICAL TESTS ON SELECTED VARIABLES

Variable	Category	Survey %	Confidence Interval	Ornicial S October Month	statistics Cotober Year	October Month	October Year	.2
AGE (years)	0-14	24.0	21.5, 26.5	22.4	18.8	V	2	
n = 1144	15-24	33.7	6.	34.5	38.5		i	:
	25-39	29.8	7,	30.6	31.9	0.2981	2,6547	9.4877
	40-59	10.7	.9, 12	10.1	8.7			
	+09	1.8	1.0, 2.6	2.3	2.0			
SEX	Female	45.8	42.9, 48.7	46.5	47.5			
n = 1158	Male	54.2	51.3, 57.1	53.5	52.5	0.0197	0.1158	3.8415
BIRTHPLACE	New Zealand	71.6	68.9, 74.3	71.0	72.4			
n = 1158	Australia	6.0	4.6, 7.4	5.9	5.3			
	United Kingdom	12.6	10.6, 14.6	12.6	11.4	0.0413	0.2286	7.8147
	Other	8.6	8.0, 11.6	10.4	6.6		,	
OCCUPATION	Professional/technical	14.2	12.1, 16.3	12.9	16.2			
n = 1158	Administrative/managerial	2.2	1.3, 3.1	2.3	2.2			
	Clerical	12.7	7, 1	11.8	12.2			
	Sales	5.0	7, 6.	3.9	3.6			
	Service	5.4	٦,	4.6	4.7	2.3116	2.3749	15.5073
	Agriculture, etc.	2.7		1.6	2.3			
	Production/transport	22.7		22.8	21.0			
	Not actively engaged	33,3	.5, 36.		33.9			
	Unspecified	1.7	0.9, 2.5	2.9	3.9			
ENGTH OF ABS	LENGTH OF ABSENCE 1 and under 2 years	25.6	22.9, 28.3	29.8	34.2			
n = 1026	2 years or over	32.1	29.2, 35.0	34.6	38.6	2.1885	12.0899	5.9915
	permanent	42.7	39.6, 45.8	35.6	27.2			
DESTINATION	Australia	68.5	65.8, 71.2	62.6	55.1			
n = 1142	United Kingdom	13.7	.7,	14.3	18.2	1.7973	7.3381	5.9915
	74.0		ר כר ש	ריני	ו			

n is less than 1158, the total sample size, where "not specified" or "don't know" codes have been excluded.

APPENDIX IV AGE STRUCTURE OF MIGRANTS BY FIVE YEAR COHORTS

	Number	Percent		
0 - 4	119	10.3		
5 - 9	95	8.2		
10 - 14	66	5.7	0 - 14	24.2%
			······································	
15 - 19	102	8.8		
20 - 24	284	24.5	15 - 24	33.3%
25 - 29	152	13.1		
30 - 34	106	9.2		
35 - 39	83	7.2	25 - 39	29.4%

40 - 44	47	4.1		
45 - 49	35	3.0		
50 - 54	25	2.2		
55 - 59	15	1.3	40 - 59	10.5%
****			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
60 - 64	9	0.8		
65 - 69	2	0.1		
70 - 74	5	0.4		
75 plus	5	0.4	60 plus	1.8%
·	:	*****		
No information	8	0.7		
	1,158	100.0		

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