Out of Reach, Out of Sight

Unequal Opportunities across the Tasman

Tove Andersson, Rebecca Latta, Jeremy Leonard and Jordan Stock
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Executive Summary

In February 2001, The Australian Federal Government amended the *TransTasman Travel Agreement* (TTA) 1973 (Cth). Growing anecdotal evidence from social workers and elders involved with the provision of services and support to Pacific Islander and Maori communities, suggests that the Amendment has caused detrimental outcomes for non-protected Special Category Visa holders (SCV). In collaboration with Multilink Services Inc. and the Queensland Pacific Islander Workers Network (QPIWN), this study seeks to document the impact of the Amendment from the perspective of Pacific Islander and Maori communities in South East Queensland.

This research will form part of a broader project by Multilink Community Services Inc., who is conducting research on behalf of the Community Action for a Multicultural Society network to support policy change. In addition, this research will provide recommendations to our industry partner, to further explore research avenues and policy initiatives. This research is important as the outcomes of the 2001 Amendment on Pacific Islander and Maori youth in South East Queensland have not previously been studied.

Existing studies argue that policies such as the Amendment leverage structural disadvantage to encourage skilled migrants which meet liberal criteria of the ‘deserving citizen’. While it was predicted that the Amendment would lead to a decrease in the
levels of migration, the opposite has been the case with New Zealand remaining one of the highest country of origin for migrants. Furthermore, studies suggest that the Amendment produces stigmatization and increases the potential vulnerability of minority communities in Australia, despite the multicultural objectives of the contemporary Australian state.

By using Community-Based Participatory Research methodology (CBPR) this study built partnerships within the communities to share ownership in issue selection, research design, conducting research, and determining how the results should be best used for action. Preparatory dialogue with the community enabled us to understand important cultural considerations when conducting research with Pacific Island and Maori groups. QPIWN facilitated community involvement in the research which encouraged the participation of Pacific Islander and Maori youth, parents, elders and service providers. Five focus groups and three individual interviews were conducted across South East Queensland.

The findings supported growing concerns that the Amendment has led to detrimental outcomes for Pacific Islander and Maori Communities living in Australia. Specifically, opportunities for school leavers to pursue higher education have been affected by the Amendment, due to the high cost of education. As a result, school leavers have fewer opportunities and often take up employment in lower paid jobs. However, despite these barriers, families of these communities have found support in private education and community services. However, greater support is needed to enable alternative pathways to higher education and employment.
A common feature of the results was the lack of foreknowledge about the Amendment and the constraints it produces in Pacific Islander and Maori participants who migrated to Australia after February 2001. While most Pacific Islanders and Maori reported they moved to Australia seeking opportunities, many are misinformed or unaware about their limited entitlement to services such as, employment services and higher education. Families find it difficult to better their situation due to; the lack of knowledge surrounding permanent residency and citizenship, the barriers to certain visa criteria and the high costs involved in education. The disadvantages produced by the Amendment have also exacerbated community issues such as, anti-social behaviour and increased social and economic pressures within the family.

Despite whether the disadvantages of the Amendment are known or unknown, a large proportion of Australia’s immigration is from New Zealand. The recommendations raised by the community include; giving long residing residences access to higher education (HECS/HELP), easier pathways to permanent residency, increased awareness about the current status of the TTA and greater assistance to affected families. There are currently no restrictions on the number of people migrating from New Zealand and the problems created by the Amendment will likely continue, if left unresolved. This report concludes that that TTA should be reviewed and the New Zealand and/or Australian Government need to take steps to ensure the impacts documented in this study are addressed.

The recommendations made in this report attempt to find realistic solutions to the outcomes resulting from Federal policy change. Lobbying for equality of opportunity in education and employment for people affected by the Amendment could be argued to
encourage positive economic and cultural contributions to Australian society. Furthermore, it could be argued that the result of continued government inaction could increase social and economic costs to society, and that future taxation revenue would be greater through targeted policies which support the community development and socio-economic integration of non-protected SCV holders. Community advocacy services such as Multilink and QPIWN will hold a pivotal role in coordinating people and services that lobby and raise the profile of the issue needed to appeal the Amendment.

This report will firstly outline the TTA and the history behind the Amendment in 2001, as well as related literature about immigration and social exclusion. Then the CBPR methodology will be explained, with greater detail given on issue selection, research design, the procedure, as well as the data analysis and limitations of this study. The results and discussion are then presented under the three relevant areas of education, employment and community. Finally, this report suggests four key recommendations for policy change in relation to the issues that arose from the research.
In response to the Pacific Islander and Maori community’s concern for decreasing youth opportunity in Australia since the 2001 Amendment of the TransTasman Travel Agreement, Multilink Community Services has commissioned this project which will contribute to a body of evidence for the Community Action for a Multicultural Society network. This study has documented how the 2001 Amendment has shaped youth experiences of education, employment and community, across South East Queensland. Using qualitative Community-Based Participatory Research the Pacific Islander and Maori community was directly involved in the research process. The findings suggest that the Amendment has not sought to encourage equal opportunities in education and employment for the Pacific Islander and Maori community. Youth aspired to become educated, however, the cost of education made this opportunity out of reach. Lower educational opportunities had a flow on affect to the type of employment Pacific Islander and Maori people experienced, whereby limited opportunity for skill development was available. Youth disadvantage is a significant barrier to the community's socio-economic development and over time may create social and economic costs for Australia.
Introduction

On the 4th of February 1973 the TransTasman Travel Agreement (TTA) was formalised allowing citizens of Australia and New Zealand to move freely between nations, sharing reciprocal citizenry rights. On the 26th of February 2001, the Australian Federal Government amended the Agreement whereby, New Zealand citizens could no longer receive social security benefits without obtaining permanent Australian residence (Bedford, Ho & Hugo 2003). The decision by the Australian government to restrict access to social security was to discourage the increase of third country arrivals from the Pacific and Asia who were seen to have come through the ‘backdoor’ and would have otherwise been ineligible through Australia’s general skilled migration schemes (Bedford 2004).

This research aims to illustrate how the Amendment to the TTA has shaped the experience of Pacific Islander and Maori youth in South East Queensland. Working within the cultural conception of youth, this research will illustrate the experiences of eighteen to thirty-year-olds. Specifically, this research focuses on three areas: education, employment and community.

Qualitative Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) methods were employed throughout the project in recognition of the complex cultural and social experiences of participants and partners in this study. Pacific Islander’s and Maori from Logan, Ipswich, Redcliffe and the Gold Coast, participated in and were the focus of this study. Data was gathered from a cross-section of the communities by conducting focus groups and interviews.
Headed by Multilink Community Services Inc. this research, in conjunction with a sister project conducted in North Queensland, will be used by the Community Action for a Multicultural Society (CAMS) in a series of submissions to lobby the Federal Government advocating change. This report will also provide recommendations to Multilink, to further explore research avenues and policy initiatives. This research is unique, as it is one of the first of its kind that examines the outcomes of the Amendment on Pacific Island and Maori Youth in South East Queensland.

The research questions are as follows:
1. Has the 2001 Amendment to the TransTasman Travel Agreement impacted Pacific Islander and Maori youth in South East Queensland?
2. Specifically, what are the impacts of the Amendment on this demographic in terms of education, employment and community relations.

**Literature Review**

With its inception in 1973, the TTA allowed residents of New Zealand and Australia to reside, work and travel indefinitely without the need for a visa. Subsequently, the Amendments [1994] to the Migration Act [1958] defined New Zealand citizens immigrating to Australia as Special Category Visa (SCV) holders, marking the first social and political distinction since the inception of the Agreement. The Amendment [2001] to the Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement [1973] further recast New Zealand citizens arriving
after February 2001 as non-protected SCV holders, restricting their access to the protection and support of Commonwealth afforded by the *Social Security Act* [1991].

Societal and political debate arose throughout the nineties, where public concern conceived migration from New Zealand as invasive, as the perceived skill deficiencies and welfare consumption were seen as burdensome to the economy. These fears were further fuelled by New Zealand’s refusal to offer restitution to Australia for the comparative deficits in social security transfers. The Howard Liberal government (1996 – 2007), brought radical transformations to migration policy in Australia, with a focus on migration policy as a tool to promote the interests of the Australian political economy. This brought claims that the Amendment was essentially ‘cherry picking’ skilled migrants from New Zealand by creating barriers to permanent residency, citizenship and the protection they afforded (Birrell and Rapson 2001).

Such measures enacted by the Amendment initially drew observation that immigration from New Zealand afforded by the Agreement would decline (Hugo 2004). However, since 2001 there has been an aggregate increase in New Zealand citizens immigrating to Australia as non-protected SCV holders¹ (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011). Hugo (2004) claimed that the Amendment would bear distinguished impacts on migrants of Maori and Pacific Islander background. Pacific Islanders who become New Zealand citizens often experience fewer opportunities to engage with formal education, which subsequently impacts upon their skills in the labour market and earning capacity.

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The literature suggests that, these populations may experience difficulties living in Australia under the new provisions of the Amendment.

The Amendment was seen to represent the incorporation of neoliberal principles into migration governance arrangements. This saw the integration of Giddens’ (1998) ‘Third Way’ approach to public policy, known as ‘Mutual Responsibility’ into Australian migration policy. The dominance of economic discourse, embodied in Mutual Obligation, was seen to devalue and stigmatise minority groups such as Pacific Islander and Maori as “uneducated, untrained and only useful for unskilled labour” (Vasta 2004:207). While arguments about the use of immigration policy to enhance national education and skill capacities (Birrell & Rapson 2001) are beyond the scope of this research, social segregation in terms of access to opportunities appear to be a direct outcome of the Amendment.

The aforementioned is supported by anecdotal evidence from New Zealand citizens, community organisations and parliamentary representatives, who have growing concerns of the inequitable situation of non-protected SCV holders residing in Australia. As such, this report will assess and document the experiential outcomes of the Amendment on Pacific Islanders and Maori in South East Queensland. This study will examine what effect this has had on youth educational achievements, job status and broader community dynamics.
Method

Participants

Pacific Islander and Maori youth, parents, elders and service providers, across South East Queensland participated in this study to document how: youth experiences of education, employment and community, have been shaped by the 2001 Amendment to the TTA. Perceptions and experiences from participants of all ages were included to provide a broader insight into how youth and the community are affected by the 2001 Amendment. Thirty-two participants recruited through QPIWN, a community-based network of social service workers and representatives participated in the study. There were five focus groups and four interviews which gave voice to the views of key informants, service providers, elders, parents, and youth aged eighteen to thirty.

Methodology

Utilising a CBPR methodology this research was able to directly involve the community equally in partnership throughout the research process throughout: issue selection, research design, conducting research, and determining how the results should be used for action. Preparatory dialogue with the community enabled us an understanding of important cultural considerations when conducting research with Pacific Island and Maori groups.

Multilink Community Services Inc. in collaboration with QPIWN approached the University of Queensland to conduct research in documenting the outcomes of the Amendment, with a focus on, Pacific Islanders and Maori young adults in South East
Queensland. The issue surrounding how the 2001 Amendment restricted access to social benefits and services was of particular concern to these community organisations. Specifically how the amendment affected opportunities in education and employment for youth. Youth has been defined as people aged eighteen to thirty due to cultural conceptions of youth development and identity.

*Research Design*

This study used qualitative research methods to understanding the complex social experiences of Pacific Islander and Maori youth in Australia. Running focus groups allowed research with youth, parents, elders and service workers, to be explored within their respective groups. Semi-structured individual interviews were also conducted to allow for a more targeted enquiry into individual experiences where greater depth of potentially sensitive issues could be shared, which may have not been conducive in focus groups. In total, five focus groups with 4 – 12 participants and four individual interviews were conducted throughout South East Queensland.

*Procedure*

In a key informant focus group with QPIWN members, a data collection technique was used for participants to categorise issues within education, employment and community throughout the discussion. Pinboarding, a mixed visual technique utilising post-it notes to highlight themes, was used to record the responses and determine the sub-questions within each category. Although each note may discuss different phenomena, the technique aims to narrow the scope of inquiry and understand what communities view
as priorities and how they conceive issues to be inter-related. The importance of emergent subcategories, which then formed the guiding questions in focus groups and interviews, were judged dependent on how many sticky notes were collated around a particular issue. Separate focus groups were structured for youth, parents, elders and service providers (see appendix A). Questions were also chosen to suit the context of each semi-structured interview according to the experience of the participant and their role in the community. It was through this process that the focus of this research, education, employment and community, was found.

Data analysis

Thematic coding was the primary tool used in data analysis. Data was transcribed from the focus groups and interviews so that researchers became familiar with the data (Morse 1994). The researchers then worked to group the all the data into themes within education, employment, and community, as the data was examined subcategories emerged which created a thematic tree (see Appendix B). The researchers split up into two groups and analysed how often themes emerged within the data, so to present the dominant weighted narratives within each major theme. The data analysis was then cross-checked by groups to ensure that data was organised systematically. When working with multiple people in data analysis, it is important to engage in dialogue to ensure the validity of the findings as each person has their own subjective tendency to notice particular ideas and concepts in qualitative data (Morse 1994; Uehara et al. 1997). Consensus on how the data was represented was made, and from this method of data analysis, a number of pertinent themes could be identified.
Limitations

At the commencement of our community based research, there was a tragic house fire in Kingston, a suburb in the Logan Shire. The fatalities of a Tongan and Samoan family greatly impacted the community (O’Brien and Kidd 2011). However, the community came together in great courage to support each other in mourning. As a concerned team, the researchers were shocked by these events and offered support for the community at large. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, our research needed to progress nonetheless. The research project was adapted according to the sensitivities of the community, meaning participation was lower than anticipated. Our geographical scope was expanded to involve participants across South East Queensland (extended to include Redcliffe and Ipswich).

Results

The results of this study indicated that there are disadvantages experienced by Pacific Islander and Maori migrating to Australia through the TTA after February 2001. The results are organised into the following categories; education, employment, community as per our research question. Themes which emerged within the higher order categories are outlined below in italics and appeared as the dominant narratives through the coding process. These themes highlight the multidimensional nature of the Amendments impact.
Education

Cost of Education

Participants indicated that the high cost of education and financial pressures in the home may result in Pacific Islander children prematurely leaving formal education without a graduate certificate. When Family Assistance Benefits expire at the age of 16, youth face pressure to leave school and are encouraged to support the family financially. When students remain in school, participants recalled instances of young people working shift work to support their families which negatively affected their performance at school.

In other cases where the child does finish high school, the upfront international fees required for tertiary education are not financially viable for most families, especially in families with more than one child. It was mentioned that some Pacific Islander and Maori youth are not suited to the academic environment and could excel in a workplace, however they are also ineligible for Australian Apprenticeships supported placement once they have left school.

Supporting the Aspirations of Young People

Participants felt that the Amendment has had a negatively shaped the aspirations of Pacific Islander and Maori youth. Even though they aspire to become skilled and educated, the Amendment reduces their opportunity to achieve these goals due to the huge financial barriers to education. Participants felt that limiting access to education has reduced the opportunity for youth to have purposeful employment experiences.
Most youth and parents reported a positive experience of high school. However, high rates of misbehaviour and low attendance rates were attributed to the students feeling frustrated within their high school environment, their social situation and family circumstances.

**Educational Resilience in the Community**

Despite these barriers, families are creating alternative pathways to education. Families adopted several strategies in order to maximise their child’s high school experience, for example, the extra assistance and support offered by private schooling. Overcoming the financial obligations of tertiary education is more difficult. There are few scholarships for tertiary education available for Pacific Islander and Maori youth. However, some find a way into university by excelling at sport and receiving scholarships. Some participants chose to move back to New Zealand with their child to attend university.

**Employment**

**Forms of Employment**

A recurring theme expressed by many participants was that young Pacific Islander and Maori people were working in less-skilled and low wage jobs. Participants described the type of work typically undertaken by youth in these communities as ‘anything we can get’ or ‘survival jobs’ and the most common job mentioned was factory work. One participant explained that:
many pacific islanders work in factories because there are no education possibilities and they are more family oriented, so they do not have the ability to become educated when they have to mainly provide for their family.

Participants also reported concern that Pacific Islander and Maori youth are more likely to be working in physical jobs, with a high risk of injury.

Pathways and barriers to employment

Many participants were concerned that there is a hidden and increasing unemployment rate amongst Pacific Islander and Maori. Employment services have few incentives to offer support to Pacific Islander and Maori youth because as Stream 1 job seekers, they receive a total budget of $80 in comparison to Stream 4 job seekers who have a budget of $8000.²

The increasing number of youth with no high-school certificate, apprenticeship or tertiary certification was also seen to contribute to growing levels of unemployment in these populations. As English may not be their first language or the language most often spoken in the home, participants mentioned language difficulties in the job interview process, as well as at work. Some participants also felt racially discriminated against in the selection process.

However, the community has overcome these barriers to employment to some extent. Many participants referred to the fact that often Pacific Islander and Maori youth are able to find employment by using their kinship networks such as family, friends or

friends of the family. It is usual to find many people in the same family working in the same factory.

Community Issues

Miscommunication

Many people base their decision to migrate to Australia on potentially inaccurate information from friends and family. In the words of a Maori youth:

I heard that Australia was easy money and that money grows out of the tree pretty much, but it doesn’t look like it.

For many participants, there was a tendency to think that opportunities are much better in Australia, as they are unaware of their limited access to services. Some people did not know they were ineligible for a HECS-HELP until they went to apply. Stories such as this one recounted by a mother were repeated by many parents:

My son was really determined to go to uni, we applied for the fees and that didn’t go through, so we were like okay yep, we couldn’t do anymore cause we didn’t save enough money to send him there cause we were paying half for private school, so we left it at that cause we didn’t think we could get help from anywhere else, so that was it.³

The communities also felt that broader Australian society was misinformed about the situation of the Pacific Islander and Maori community. The participants reported that

³ Her son wanted to go to university to do Social Work but is now working in a factory.
they felt like they were labelled as ‘dole-bludgers’ and a burden on society, even though they are not eligible for the dole.

*Family and community challenges*

The Amendment has caused financial strain, identity confusion and inter-generational conflict. Participants reported that people perceived their relative deprivation as a fault of their family. Sacrifices made for education and family pressures have had an effect on family relations. Several participants also felt that due to lack of access to social services the Amendment has placed them as ‘second class citizens’. While most people felt accepted into Australian society, some participants mentioned that they felt less sense of community or felt it was difficult to anchor themselves in a community here in Australia compared to in New Zealand.

Participants reported that there have been changes in the community since 2001 with increased of incidents of drug use, alcohol, boredom, homelessness, suicide, teen pregnancy and depression, as well as instances of prostitution and anti-social behaviour. Service providers in Logan and Ipswich reported a higher incidence of people accessing food parcels since the Amendment.

The following discussion analyses the results in the context of the literature illustrating broader production of detrimental outcomes borne of the Amendment.
Discussion

The results indicate that the Amendment has had a detrimental impact on Pacific Islander and Maori youth’s experiences of education, employment and community. The results suggest that the high cost of education has constrained opportunities and shaped the employment choices of the Pacific Islander and Maori youth in South East Queensland. Furthermore, this has affected family dynamics and exacerbated negative social outcomes in these communities.

The Amendment contradicts the aims of the National Agreement for Skills and Workforce Development which states a national imperative that;

Individuals are assisted to overcome barriers to education, training and employment and are motivated to acquire and utilise new skills (Council of Australian Governments 2010:4).

Ethnic minority groups are often denied equitable access to informal employment information because they belong to social networks of people of similar backgrounds (Braddock and McPartland 1987; Brown 1995; Harvey 2000). This is particularly salient, given research illustrating 40 percent of businesses use informal networks to recruit employees\(^4\) (Wooden and Harding 1998). In relation to our findings, this could illustrate why constrained employment opportunities are socially reproduced.

\(^4\)Research conducted on the recruitment practices of a sample of 1448 Australian non-government businesses.
Children often immigrate with their families at a young age and complete their formative education in Australia. Participants found that formal classroom settings were not always amenable to diverse cognitive styles or learning strategies, and so ‘hands-on’ vocational work was often cited as an attractive career option. Further, participants described the scope of costs imposed with the re-framing of Pacific Islander and Maori as international students. For example, a Diploma program offered at a Brisbane TAFE service⁵ would cost $3,128 for a locally supported student, as compared with $16,560 charged to an international student. As one of the participants stated, “and for a Diploma, why would you bother?”

Two key informants reported that Pacific Islander and Maori now comprised the majority of young adults presenting at Youth Justice Conferencing services in the cities of Ipswich and the Gold Coast. Given the multidimensional nature of antisocial and criminal activity, these developments cannot be attributed solely to the impact of the Amendment, however the findings demonstrate that additional pressures placed on families may constrain their ability to adequately respond to these issues. The literature (Dwyer et al. 1990, Alan and Newman 2000, and Aizer 2003) supports the anecdotal evidence from participant families that minority groups experiencing financial pressure, often work multiple jobs leaving young people unsupervised who are then more likely to engage in unsafe and antisocial behaviour.

In response to a growing recognition of the issues faced by Pacific Islander and Maori young adults, as a result of the Amendment, State and Local governments at the

⁵Based on a Diploma of Community Services Work (2011) at the Southbank Institute of Technology, see http://www.southbank.edu.au/course/DOM/CHCS0608.htm [accessed 22 October 2011]
‘coalface’ have had to respond through the initiation of local programs, such as employment support. Through the focus groups and interviews there was strong evidence of positive cooperation between communities, political representatives and local Councils. However, given the reliance of State and Local governments on inter-governmental grants, program funding is often regional and periodic.

**Conclusion**

From the data gathered the findings suggest that the Amendment to the TransTasman Travel Agreement has had a number of negative impacts on the Pacific Islander and Maori population in South East Queensland. The younger generation experience barriers to education, which constrains employment opportunities and exacerbates social problems within families, communities and broader Australia.

There were a number of limitations worth noting. By adopting a qualitative research methodology and due to our small sample size, this may limit our ability to make broader generalisations from our results. This Amendment is a Federal issue and affects all residents migrating from New Zealand to Australia through the TransTasman Travel Agreement, however only data from cross section of the South East Queensland was documented. Therefore, caution should be taking when making broader generalisations to Pacific Island and Maori Communities in other parts of the country. Moreover, though the focus of the research was on Pacific Island and Maori communities a number of participants who identified as New Zealand born residents also shared experiences of
disadvantaged by this Amendment. However, due to specific focus of the research and small sample size of New Zealand born participants this research is not able to document their experiences. Future research should examine this further by looking at the experiences of Pacific Island and New Zealander communities in other parts of Australia.

The following are policy recommendations suggested by the New Zealand, Pacific Island and Maori communities, as well as the researchers.

Recommendation 1: **A Commonwealth review of the 2001 Amendment to the TransTasman Travel Agreement (Cth).**

That the Commonwealth of Australia undertakes an independent review and evaluation of the Amendment. Specifically, an evaluation should focus social outcomes of the Amendment in the context of national policy objectives and Australia’s obligations to human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

Recommendation 2: **Enable access to tertiary and vocational skilling pathways.**

Participants identified access to higher education as the greatest disadvantage produced by the Amendment. Specifically, participants felt that the government should enable access to HECS-HELP loans for non-protected special category visa holders who have lived in Australia for two years. Commonwealth and state government support should also extend to apprenticeships and vocational training with a focus on individuals who leave their secondary education without a senior certificate. While the overall experiences of the education system are positive, without easing financial
burdens on families, any initiatives to promote vocational and higher education will likely experience limitations due to existing socio-economic issues and cultural blocs in the prioritisation of familial needs over individual pursuits.

**Recommendation 2: Equitable pathways to permanent residency and citizenship.**

Families who have lived and worked in Australia for a long period of time cannot get permanent residency because their particular skills are not currently prioritised. Participants felt that citizenship would increase a sense of belonging for their communities, but the cost of applying for this was too high. The proposed changes to Permanent Residency and skilled migration, with the introduction of an EOI process, is welcomed⁶, however this does not necessarily encourage employer-sponsored visas nor does it reduce the financial barriers for low-income earners to have their skills recognised by an assessing authority in line with the Skilled Occupation Lists (SOL). New pathways to permanent residency could be pursued by developing alternative criteria, potentially based on character and length of stay, for non-protected SCV holders or by extending HECS/HELP programs to enable individuals to meet the requirements of the SOLs and sub-class 485 visas.

**Recommendation 3: Increase awareness of the existing provisions of the TransTasman Travel Agreement**

Providing greater accessibility in terms of information to government agencies, service providers, migration agents, and citizens in New Zealand prior to emigration about the services they will and will not receive. Furthermore, an increased awareness about the conditions of the Amendment for those already living in Australia who are affected

would enable families to better strategize ahead of potentially dire situations. Further, existing programs to increase the cultural competency of service providers, teachers and police working with Maori and Pacific Islanders is a welcomed initiative, although these are currently sporadic and coordinated by state and local governments. Initiatives to improve the cultural competency of ‘mainstream’ society is critical to achieving a multicultural society.
References


Appendix A: Focus Group Structure

Focus Group Structure for Youth

- Introduction by facilitator
  - Then in each focus group we begin with an introduction:
    Hi my name is ____, I am from the University of Queensland. We are here today doing researching on how the changes to immigration law in 2001 has affected Pacific Island and Maori communities which have moved to Australia via New Zealand. We would like to find out how these changes have affected your ability to access government services. In particular, we would like to talk to you about employment, education and Pacific Islander and Maori communities in Australia.

    I am just going to hand out some information sheets for you to read more about what we are doing. These sheets have our contact details on them, so if you would like to find out more about this research you can contact us on any of these emails (show group were the emails are located on the sheet). Before I start the recorder I just want to make you aware that everything you say is confidential and that anything said by anyone in the group must remain within the group. I would just like to let you know that I am now going to start recording. Before I do that would you like to go around the table and each say your names?

- Recording is started
  I’d like to start off by asking why you or why your family decided to move to Australia?

- To lead into talking about education
  Q: When you were in high school what did you think you wanted to do when you left school? Were you able to do that when you left school?
  - For those who wanted to get further education (e.g. tafe, uni and apprenticeships)
    Q: What support did you draw on (e.g. family, government help or friends)?
    Q: Did you know you can’t access certain government services?

- To lead into talking about employment
  Q: What did you do/are you doing now? Did Pacific Islander and Maori young people find it hard to work?
  - If there are people who have expressed finding it hard to find work:
    Q: Did anyone else have a similar experience? What did you do?

- To lead into talking about community
  Q: What changes have you seen in pacific Island and Maori communities over your lifetime, these can be negative and/or positive?
  Q: Are Pacific Islander and Maori communities welcomed into broader Australian society?

- Concluding Statement
  Thank you for talking part in this discussion. We hope that the information you have given it us today will help make the government realise the need for change. If any of have anything further to talk about, please feel free to see us afterwards or contact us via email.
Focus Group Structure for Parents or Elders in the Community

- Same Introduction as youth focus group structure

- Recording is started
I’d like to start off by asking why you or why your family decided to move to Australia? What is your role in your community?

- To lead into talking about education
Q: What impact has limited educating opportunities had on youth in your community?

Q: Would having access to government supported education help youth to develop their interests once leaving high school?

Q: What support do youth draw on if they seek further education? (e.g. family, government help or friends)?

- To lead into talking about employment
Q: How are youths working to support themselves in __(city)__?

Q: Unemployment: Difficulties without access to services?

Q: Do you feel that there is greater discrimination towards Pacific Islanders in getting a job?

- To lead into talking about community
Q: Are Pacific Islander and Maori communities welcomed into broader Australian society?

Q: What changes have you seen in pacific Island and Maori communities over your lifetime, these can be negative and/or positive?

- Concluding Statement
Thank you for talking part in this discussion. We hope that the information you have given it us today will help make the government realise the need for change. If any of have anything further to talk about, please feel free to see us afterwards or contact us via email.
Appendix B: Thematic Analysis Coding

Education
- Cost of Education
- Aspirations
- School Experiences
- Alternatives/Opportunities
- Type of work

Employment
- Job Satisfaction
- Pathways to Employment

Communication
- Miscommunication
- Identity
- Future
- Migration
- Whose Responsibility?

Community
- State Relations
- Agency
- Access to Services
- Citizenship
- Family/Community Dynamics
- Culture
- Future
- Migration
- Whose Responsibility?