

**Media portrayal of migrant workers, immigration law and policy in
New Zealand 2008 to 2017.**

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Abstract

Recent social debate suggests that increased migration has led to fewer jobs available for New Zealanders, and that it drives down wages. which makes it harder for New Zealanders to compete for these jobs in the labour market (Ryan, 2017). Changes to New Zealand immigration law and policy from 2008 to 2017 highlight ways the New Zealand Government have reviewed and revised immigration law and policies in order to manage the impact, both positive and negative, of migration for New Zealand and New Zealanders. This dissertation researches three changes and the media reporting around them: 1: Internal Administration Circulars, 2008, 2: Immigration Act 2009 and Immigration Act (2) amendment 2015, and 3: Essential Skills Visa, 2017. These changes were analysed using a critical inquiry approach applying interpretive policy analysis. Thematic analysis was used to analyse media content that report on these changes in the New Zealand Herald and Stuff media platforms.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the relationship between changes in immigration policy, labour market outcomes for New Zealanders and migrants, and social perceptions of immigration in New Zealand. Two key themes were identified 1: New Zealand and New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants, 2: migration and migrants are portrayed as a negative factor by the media, and migrants, therefore are portrayed as having a negative impact in their new country of residence. Key findings are that changes to immigration law and policy are developed to improve benefits to New Zealand businesses and individuals (New Zealanders and migrants). Another key finding is the use of strong negative words to report on migrants and migration creates a negative portrayal of migration and migrants in general.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), no material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Immigration has an impact globally, for example in 2013 around 231 million people globally were living in a different country to the one they were born in (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). This has an impact on businesses worldwide who are competing in a global market for the most skilled people to employ, to maximise their productivity and sustainability. It also impacts on those individuals who move away from their home in search of something better.

The movement of people to labour receiving countries like New Zealand is increasing and is determined by immigration policies that stipulate who is permitted to enter and work in New Zealand. This takes into consideration the suitability of prospective migrants to New Zealand for work purposes. These considerations are based on the need to invest in or eliminate labour shortages. However, historically there have been mixed reactions to allowing multiple ethnic groups into New Zealand despite policies that allow for this to happen (Simon-Kumar, 2015). Immigration is arguably a contentious issue in New Zealand. “A major shift in immigration policy and patterns of immigration has witnessed an anti-immigration backlash and debate over a ‘crisis of national identity’” (Grbic, 2010, p.125). With each change to immigration policies, over time, common themes have emerged when analysing media content including the supposed threat to the New Zealand labour market because of the perception that immigrants take jobs from locals (McGovern, 2007; Skilling, 2012).

1.1 Research Rationale and Significance

Given recent debate during the 2017 general election campaign, it is timely to gain a greater understanding of social response to immigration. (Foster & Rasmussen, 2017; McGovern, 2007). Migrants can be defined or classified by country of birth, foreign citizenship, or moving to another country on a temporary basis or long-term (B. Anderson & Blinder, 2011). New Zealanders for the purpose of this dissertation are New Zealand Citizens or Permanent Residents who can live and work in New Zealand without any restrictions and have access to Government support through the welfare system (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). Immigration policy has been defined as “Governments’ statements of what it intends to do or not do (including laws, regulations, decisions or orders) in regards to the selection, admission, settlement and

deportation of foreign citizens residing in the country” (Bjerre, Helbling, Römer, & Zobel, 2015, p.559), these definitions are used for the purpose of this dissertation.

This dissertation is based on a relativist ontology with a focus on media portrayals of immigration and migrant workers. This research uses a constructivist epistemology where different people may attribute different meanings and in different ways for the same event (Crotty, 1998). An interpretive paradigm and methodology approach are applied to this research (Scotland, 2012) . The research aim of this dissertation is to uncover what the public perception of these immigration policy changes are, through their media representation. This research is based on the critical inquiry approach using unobtrusive and secondary data. This is appropriate for the research question as this facilitates the exploration of how people respond and understand changes to immigration and employment following policy changes through media portrayals.

There are two parts to the data collection. Data for the policy analysis was sourced from official government policy announcements and documents published related to these changes. Data for the thematic analysis was collected from two major media outlets with different ownership and geographic locations: The New Zealand Herald which is based and published in Auckland and Stuff which is located and published in Wellington, these are major media platforms based in New Zealand. They have separate owners, and both use print and online media to distribute news articles and media content. While both media platforms base their media content on their location i.e. Auckland and Wellington New Zealand, for publications they report on articles across New Zealand and globally.

Given increasing global movement of workers, and research which indicates this may not be received well by New Zealanders, this research is timely. It explores the way in which migrants are portrayed by the media, and therefore how they are perceived in society. As Bailey & McCrossin (2016), Morales, Pilet, & Ruedin, (2015), Salashour, (2016) state in their research media can influence public perception of immigration, and furthermore, government response and changes to immigration policy. This dissertation looks at media representation around three points of immigration policy during the period of 2008 to 2017, as outlined in the next section. It explores research to identify *“How does media report on changes to immigration law and policy and how does media portray migrant workers in New Zealand”*.

1.2 Policy changes

This dissertation analyses three key changes to immigration policy. Data collection and analysis is done firstly by identifying three key immigration law and policy changes and identify their intended purpose. The three key changes are:

1. The introduction of the Internal Administration Circulars in November 2008 (Immigration New Zealand, 2012)
2. The development and implementation of the Immigration Act 2009 and subsequent amendment in 2015 (Immigration New Zealand, 2015)
3. Changes made to the Essential Skills work visa 2017 (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b)

Internal Administration Circulars (IAC) were introduced in November 2008 to keep immigration staff informed on procedures and processes when changes are made to law and policy regulations. This is a step to ensure businesses, employers and visa applicants adhere to the conditions of visa requirements and ensures New Zealand Immigration staff are kept up-to-date with changes to the policies (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). The purpose of the IAC is not to inform businesses of the law, it is intended to enable immigration staff to monitor and identify where breaches of the law occur and to ensure visa applications are processed correctly. In other words, it operationalises government policy and legislation.

Another key change was the introduction of the Immigration Act 2009 (the Act) as a “framework to manage immigration in a way that balances our national interests with our international obligations, protecting both New Zealanders and migrants” (Immigration New Zealand, 2015, Immigration Law para.1). The Act was developed and implemented to allow for better border management and to improve compliance and enforcement of New Zealand immigration laws and policies (MBIE, 2017).

Other changes to improve the impact of immigration law and policies includes the Immigration Amendment Act (No 2) 2015 which made amendments to the Immigration Act 2009. The purpose of these amendments were to allow for better protection for migrants from exploitation, to strengthen monitoring and compliance of immigration law and policies, to move with changes in technology, and to clarify some uncertainties found in the Act (Immigration New Zealand, 2015).

The most recent change analysed in this dissertation was, in August 2017, when the Essential Skills work visa was changed with the intention of striking the “right

balance between ensuring New Zealanders are at the front of the queue for jobs and preserving access to the temporary migrant labour necessary for New Zealand's continued economic growth" (Immigration New Zealand, 2017, Skilled migrant and essential skills policy changes para.4).

1.3 Media content

Thematic analysis is used to analyse the media content collected. The purpose was to identify themes around immigration and migrants for work in articles published in the New Zealand Herald and Stuff media platforms. These publications have online formats which allow historical data searches. Data collection used key terms such as 'immigration and employment', 'immigration and the labour market' with search parameters six months either side of the major policy changes. Some exceptions were made for these dates based on the length some of the law and policy changes took to implement and due to the significance of the media content. The data sourced through articles was analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis in conjunction with Nvivo coding. This is appropriate for this research to identify patterns that emerge around changes to NZ immigration law and policy. Data taken from media articles have been referenced with an analysis code itemised in Appendix A: Article list.

1.4 Structure of this Dissertation

The structure of this dissertation begins with a literature review, which outlines previous literature on policy change and media representations of immigration, migrants and migration. This is then followed by chapter three which articulates the New Zealand context in relation to immigration and policy decisions from the time Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed in 1840 until recent times around the key changes discussed in this dissertation. Chapter four the methodology chapter then outlines the critical research approach, including justification of the use of a relativist ontology, constructivist epistemology, interpretive paradigm and methodology. Chapter Five presents the findings based on themes identified through policy analysis and thematic analysis. The final chapter presents the discussion and limitations and concludes that New Zealand and New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants, migration and migrants are portrayed as a negative factor by the media, and migrants, therefore are

portrayed as having a negative impact in their new country of residence, and the use of strong negative words to report on migrants and migration creates a negative portrayal of migration and migrants.

The changing nature of the global movement of workers and how countries like New Zealand manage this is important and sets the foundation for the purpose of this research. Understanding the ways migration and labour markets are managed through policy and law changes as well as how the media can influence the way laws are created and individuals' perceptions of migration and immigration is the key focus for this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This review will primarily focus on immigration policy development in relation to immigrants; how media influences the development of immigration policy and how these decisions are impacted by media, and the effect on perceptions held by individuals of immigration policies and migrants.

For developed countries globally the number of migrants arriving with low skills has become an issue because of the social and economic effects low skill immigration can have (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016). Immigration rates to developed countries have consistently increased by 85 million people over the past couple of decades, to 258 million in 2017, an increase from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (United Nations, 2017). This has meant that immigration has become increasingly important for developed countries' in relation to their economies and labour markets (Berman & Aste, 2016). Immigration is evolving rapidly and in 2013, "there were approximately 231 million people around the world who were living in a country different from their place of birth, either on a temporary or permanent basis, which is a 50.2% increase since the 1990's" (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p.803). The competition to attract the 'best and the brightest' has been the basis of many policy approaches around the world, including countries like New Zealand (Chiou, 2017). New Zealand is historically known as a nation of immigration, and has been previously listed as having one of the highest numbers of incoming migrants in the world, in relation to its population (Salahshour, 2016). Immigrants are coming to New Zealand every year from all parts of the world temporarily and permanently for living, education and work (Salahshour, 2016). Reports on New Zealand demographics indicate that by the end of 2012 the largest migrant pools of both permanent and long term were from the United Kingdom who was the highest and then those from China and India (Salahshour, 2016). According to reports in 2006, immigrants made up between 37% and 41% of Auckland population (Watson, Spoonley, & Fitzgerald, 2009). Across New Zealand between 2006 and 2013 immigration increased by 7,000 each year. Auckland received the most migrants, with Nelson and Waikato also showing an increase in migrants too. Meanwhile Southland saw a decline in its population with fewer migrants choosing to live there (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). With statistics like these, the issue of immigration and specifically policies that impact immigration is extremely important to New Zealand (Salahshour, 2016). More of the New Zealand context will be outlined further in the next chapter.

2.1 Policy Decision Making

The relationship between Immigration trends and the labour market, economic and social policy needs to be considered when developing immigration policies. These policies also need to consider global competitiveness where a consistent flow of migrants cannot be guaranteed (Blewden, Carroll, & Witten, 2010). A study by (Morales et al., 2015) which compares seven countries Austria, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and the UK drew from data collected between 1995-2010 which related to the Support and Opposition to Migration Project 2. Their research found that the gap between public preferences that look for more restrictive immigration policies versus the reality of relatively expansive immigration policies has caused considerable debate. Research has found that these decisions have been dominated by elites with political and economic power to influence, while the general public remained unheard (Morales et al., 2015).

Policy makers include the government and their ministries who work towards developing law and policy to address areas of need for New Zealanders and those who visit New Zealand short and long term. What influences policy-makers in making immigration policy decisions has been researched in terms of how the media, political debates and labour market activities impact these decisions. Some researchers found that policy-makers need to, pay more attention to the issues local residents care about, and they should be more responsive when developing or making changes to immigration policies (Morales et al., 2015). This research also found that there is a disconnect between immigration policies and public preferences (Morales et al., 2015). Public preferences and attitudes have been generally found to be more restrictive or favouring the status quo, however, research has identified that policy-making tends to be more expansive (Morales et al., 2015). These patterns in the findings suggest that policy-makers are not responding to growing concerns and public preferences (Morales et al., 2015).

Globally, pressures arising from low fertility rates, aging populations, and labour/skill shortages, have meant that policies have been developed to allow for less restriction on immigration policies to target and attract skilled migrants (Chiou, 2017). The human capital focus moved toward selection targeted around labour market demand for specific skills. This meant that there was an increase in the emphasis in temporary foreign worker programs, including attracting and recruiting international students, and regionalisation of immigration (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014).

Similarly, in Australia economic pressures towards the end of the twentieth century, resulted in Australian immigration policy shift is towards to a focus on attracting and increasing a skilled migrant pool (Ressia, Strachan, & Bailey, 2017). At the same time, labour market policies in New Zealand had more of a focus on supply, which also included the attraction and retention of skilled migrant workers. There were also big changes in the nature of labour market recruitment which included an increase of various forms of non-standard employment, for example casual, fixed term and part time work Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). Rayp, Ruysen, & Standaert (2017) who use the Bayesian state-space model in their research have found that there are also indications that due to the financial crisis of 2007-2008 policies were developed to be more restrictive in allowing migration entry (Rayp et al., 2017).

Research has also identified that income distribution motives in the host country may play a part in the design of immigration policies (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). New Zealand has a system made up of regional councils, but these councils do not have any devolved authority to pass legislation or implement policy. This has impacts on smaller regions around New Zealand as policies are not always developed with small town New Zealand issues in mind (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). Research has discovered that where policy implementation or changes do not match public preference, as in Morales et al (2015) study where it was found that in Austria, the Netherlands and Spain; the direction of policies tends to be more expansive policies rather than more restrictive as local residents generally preferred (Morales et al., 2015).

“In terms of opinion-policy congruence there are three aspects to consider 1: The intensity of the public debate on immigration in the media, 2: the strength of anti-immigration parties and 3: the level of anti-immigration mobilisation by civil society actors. All of these factors contribute to the politicisation of the immigration policy issue, and their presence or absence may help to understand why policy-makers do or do not respond to public preferences” (Morales et al., 2015, p.1499). Blewden et al.’s (2010) research was based on intersections of policy decision stages and other streams of policy development models, as well as Weiss’s typologies of research used to analyse different stages of policy development and they have found that there are other elements that are likely to influence policy decision making include media, statistics, expert views, cultural and community knowledge or personal experience as well as public perception and political ideologies (Blewden et al., 2010).

Decision makers also need to take into account value conflicts, individual rights, and economic and cultural development (Blewden et al., 2010). Policy-makers need to consider other forces including election promises, policy priorities, ministry advice, pressure from foreign governments and the personal priorities of individual ministers. These elements play a big part in policy development and also include ways to enforce these immigration policies (Blewden et al., 2010).

When policies are developed, having a plan to enforce these laws and policies is crucial to ensuring these policies have the desired effect. In the US, enforcement of immigration policies has historically been the sole responsibility of Federal and State governments. However, in recent times some states including Arizona, Alabama, and South Carolina have recently developed state / regional level initiatives to address the employment of unauthorised immigrants (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). States that focus their efforts on internal enforcement, mean that it is easier to monitor and identify firms that are recruiting unauthorised immigrants, and this detection can help ensure those unauthorised immigrants do not have access to specific regional goods and services, such as subsidised healthcare and education services (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). Most of these states in the US have passed laws allowing state governments the ability to enforce immigration policies (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017).

Previous research has found that the numbers of unauthorised immigrants declines when there is effective enforcement activity because internal or border enforcement increases, and the number of unauthorised immigrants increases when the local goods are offered to both locals and unauthorised immigrants (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). One negative effect of higher unauthorised immigrants is that domestic wages become lower (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). Another negative impact is, if local labour and unauthorised immigrants are substitutes for domestic workers in production, then the welfare for local residents becomes a larger burden for the government (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017).

2.2 Migrants

To better understand immigration policies, it is key to understand the profile of one of the main parties to immigration policies and that is migrants. This section explores the profile of migrants, in particular who are migrants, what motivates them to move away

from their homeland to another country, and what do migrants experience in the immigration process. There are numerous definitions of “migrant” one definition is that migrants can be defined or classified by foreign birth, by foreign citizenship, or by their movement into another country either temporarily or for the long-term (University of Oxford, 2019). Dictionary definitions also distinguish ‘immigrants’ as people who are, or intend to be settled in their new country versus ‘migrants’ who are seen as temporary residents (B. Anderson & Blinder, 2011). For the purpose of this dissertation the focus is on international migrants who intend to move to New Zealand temporarily, short or long term and also those who intend to migrate permanently and does not include internal migrants within a country. An internal migrant can be defined as a person who moves from one area to another within the same country for example moving from Auckland to Tauranga.

New Zealand, Australia and Canada, are countries with a history of active policies to seek and recruit immigrants to “increase” the population and their economy (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). An example of how migration to New Zealand has transformed in the census year between 1991 and 2013, the data revealed that the Asian population peoples grew from 3% to 13% and there was a new category added to the Census, MeLAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African), this is an indication of the growth in diversity of those migrating to New Zealand (Simon-Kumar, 2015). Migrants bring with them different skills to contribute their new working environment. Those that are skilled migrants choose to uproot their lives to move with the expectation that migration will lead to a better life with attractive employment and education opportunities and better economic outcomes (Ressia et al., 2017).

As well as a change in social status, such as being an experienced medical doctor or lawyer in their home country to being un-qualified in their new place of residence, migrants can also face perceived discrimination throughout the recruitment processes in their new country of residence and this is worsened due to their lack of knowledge and experience of how the system works, and this can lead to migrants obtaining employment in roles that are not equivalent to jobs they previously held in their home country for example qualified Doctors driving taxis to make a living. This is known as experiencing ‘downward occupational mobility’ or worse migrants experience unemployment leading to ‘brain waste’ (Ressia et al., 2017). Previous research highlights the need to address the underutilisation of human capital, to ensure these skills are used effectively to improve the wider economy (Ressia et al., 2017). It should

also be noted that migrant women and men have different experiences of job-seeking post-migration, it has been reported that migrant women find it even harder to find employment closely linked to their skills, however for both men and women research has confirmed that migrants are less likely to be recruited versus local residents with similar qualifications. In addition, migrants often experience lower wages (Ressia et al., 2017).

In comparison, low-skilled migrants who work in low-income sectors, such as the caregiver or horticulture industries, which are very important to the local economy are not considered as the officially desirable migrant (Simon-Kumar, 2015). Research has shown that those low skilled migrants from the Pacific Islands including Samoa and Tonga or even Asia including China and India, are less desirable than the highly skilled workers, but as seen earlier some high skilled workers are forced to work in low skilled roles until jobs that match their skills are acquired (Simon-Kumar, 2015). Low skilled migrant workers often find themselves in precarious work usually due to language barriers and this can lead to a significant proportion of these migrants working in areas with high accident rates as well as degrading work conditions and lower wages (D. Anderson & Tipples, 2014). This also leads to the notion that migrants are employed instead of local residents , because migrants are more willing to take on any work they can, and so with increasing numbers of migrants filling positions considered 'New Zealand' jobs, some researcher's question: What are the existing protections for New Zealand's vulnerable workers? As well as, what can be done to improve the protection of vulnerable workers, both migrants and local residents and how does this impact on labour market issues? (D. Anderson & Tipples, 2014).

Labour shortages in horticulture and viticulture grew significantly from the early 2000s caused by decreased unemployment rates and the lack of casual labour (Blewden et al., 2010). Seeking to recruit and retain immigrant skills became an important solution to these labour shortages, the key was to retain the casual labour pools that would return for each season (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). Research shows that the cost benefit of investing in temporary workers, could only be realised if these temporary workers were secured for a returning season and became regular, albeit, a temporary labour supply (Blewden et al., 2010).

2.3 Perception and Attitudes

Research undertaken to examine the public perception surrounding immigrants and immigration policies considers 1: the intensity of the public debate on immigration in the media, and 2: the strength of anti-immigration parties and (Morales et al., 2015). Analyses from this research highlights how attitudes toward immigration shows important social group differences in beliefs about one's own national identity and the acceptance and incorporation of migrants. Attitudes toward immigration, whether positive or negative can have different meanings depending on an individual's social and cultural positions in society (Grbic, 2010). Further research and analyses found that the majority of New Zealanders have positive attitudes toward immigrants and are more open to multiculturalism versus Australian or EU nationals (Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero (2016) have conducted a study using data from the 4th wave (2008) of the European Social Survey (ESS). This is a social survey that collected data on attitudes and beliefs of individuals from a range of European countries (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016).

Sample questions used to measure attitudes and beliefs include "To what extent [country] should allow people from poorer countries outside of Europe to come and live here?" with four possible responses "1: allow many to come here, 2: allow some, 3: allow a few, or 4: allow none." (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016, p.17)

Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero (2016) research suggests that the higher the political influence of the rich, highly skilled local residents then, the less tolerant the poor and middle-class locals are about immigration. It has been found that the rich tend to favour immigration and as they have more political influence, political outcomes are usually more aligned to their preferences and further from the preferences of those in other groups (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016). A key prediction of Iturbe-Ormaetxe and Romero's (2016) theoretical model is that as the highly skilled rich class garners more political influence, this will result in a political equilibrium outcome where there is a decrease in public spending and an increase in immigration quotas. This has clear consequences for low and middle-skilled local residents in that they will oppose both of those outcomes. This is because they do not want foreigners to take low-skilled jobs

and they do not want to see a decrease in social support spending for those local residents who are struggling to find work.

Therefore, it is clear that there is a polarisation of opinions and attitudes towards immigration in regions where the wealthier groups are dominant (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016). Political competitiveness impacts politicians decisions to implement immigration policies as they want to satisfy the interest of a majority, this can lead to negative attitudes toward foreigners among those in minority groups (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016). Representative government should have some degree of responsiveness to the needs of the public, and research suggests that governments and policy-makers do respond to the preferences and demands of the public, however, in most cases only to lobby for re-election (Morales et al., 2015).

2.4 Business Influence

Literature around the part businesses play in influencing public perceptions of immigration looks at the effect's immigration has on local residents in terms of employment and the labour market. Research has exposed the effect of immigration including how the wages of local residents are impacted and specifically impacts those local residents who are low or unskilled and have no high school qualifications (Berman & Aste, 2016). Employee wages are usually the only, and easiest variable that can be manipulated by employers. Other costs such as power, water other utilities and rent are a fixed expense (D. Anderson & Tipples, 2014).

Growth in migrant labour globally has increased significantly for the low-skill, low-wage workers in various sectors, including caregiving, agriculture, hospitality, and food services (D. Anderson & Tipples, 2014). These sectors have been found to be perfect areas where migrants can substitute local residents with up to a high school equivalent level of education but not a match where local residents have University or higher education level (Berman & Aste, 2016). Shortages in the low-skill sectors and the increase in migrant labour to address this has contributed to poor working conditions, poor quality work, which leads to lower productivity and also the increase in the use of illegal migrant labour (Blewden et al., 2010).

To alleviate the advent of illegal migrant labour temporary foreign worker (TFW) programs were developed, however these have been the source of debate among academic literature. This is evidenced in the research which indicates that TFW

programs have actually led to exploitation and inadequate enforcement of migrant workers' rights, because of employers who are trying to keep their labour cost low at the expense of the migrant workers (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). The Recognised Seasonal Employers (RSE) scheme was developed to address some of these problems including addressing shortages of workers (Cameron, 2011 as cited in Anderson & Tipples, 2014), but the illegal labour market employment practices continue as long as businesses can continue to get away with it. This situation is not ideal for the migrants as the vulnerability of these workers and their seemingly lack of rights to enforce their contract or statutory rights creates a situation of power for the employers over these workers, as well as creating workers for positions local resident workers are not prepared to accept (D. Anderson & Tipples, 2014).

These business activities impact on local residents in terms of employment and will affect their attitudes towards migrants because it appears they are taking a job which local residents are capable of doing, but local residents are not prepared to work in such poor conditions and for such low wages that migrants are willing to accept because migrants cannot depend on the welfare system for support if they are not employed, this makes some migrants more desperate and vulnerable (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). In Australia research shows that there is a greater match in skills and jobs meaning better labour market efficiencies through matching immigrant workers with labour supply, despite this immigrant workers, are treated differently to their local resident colleagues. This means lower wages and conditions for migrants and weak employment and immigration regulations mean that these practices are not being addressed by the Australian government and until there is a willingness for the government to stop this, business will continue to exploit these migrant workers (Clibborn & Wright, 2018). This exploitation has clear impacts for local residents in Australia and will impact how local residents view migrant workers, in terms of doing work they can do for less money and conditions.

2.5 Media influence

Media plays a large part in influencing public perception and attitudes. Recent research has been conducted to address: How are immigrants represented in Auckland's most prominent daily newspaper, the *New Zealand Herald*? (Salahshour, 2016). The New Zealand Herald is one of New Zealand's most widely published and read newspaper

and is printed in New Zealand's city with the highest proportion of immigrants. Statistics New Zealand reported in 2014, that 39 percent of Auckland's population was born overseas, an increase of 37% from the 2006 census (Salahshour, 2016). These immigrants may account for a certain proportion of the newspaper's readership. Salahshour (2016) suggests that this could influence the way in which migrants are represented in this publication so they do not compromise sales revenue from migrants as they do not want to portray migrants negatively (Salahshour, 2016). The use of negatively geared words such as "*influx*" and "*cause for concern*" develop patterns in the way words are used as outlined in the Salahshour (2016) study. This negativity can also be extended to words such as migrants or refugees when used together such as a "*huge influx of refugees have arrived*". These emotionally charged metaphors may lead to negative attitudes towards immigration (Salahshour, 2016).

The combination of negative attitudes and extensive media coverage has a direct impact on whether immigration policies are matched with public preference (Morales et al., 2015). Previous research has found that media attention is central to understanding how the public reacts to increasing levels of immigration, and that increasing importance and influence the media has as well as a negative rhetoric creates feelings of threat and reinforces negative views about immigration (Morales et al., 2015). It is expected that the more often and intense the media report on immigration, with facts and figures or claims made by stakeholders on the issue, that policy-makers will align their policy-decisions with public preferences (Morales et al., 2015).

In some countries media reporting intensifies the reactions of the public which produces negative attitudes and those in political power tend to develop policies in the opposite direction as found in Austria and the Netherlands. In other countries such as Spain, Belgium and Switzerland media coverage were not concerned about immigration, and their media coverage was not consistent enough to see any clear correlation with immigration policy trends and public attitudes. However, in Ireland and the UK, the media plays a big part in influencing the agenda for policy changes versus other countries in the study (Morales et al., 2015).

Researchers have highlighted that it is important to consider the language of news media since, as a social constructionist approach indicates, this language helps to shape our opinions and how we view the world (Richardson, 2007; Talbot, 2007 as cited in Salahshour, 2016). Media plays a big part in shaping peoples' reality, which reiterates

the importance and power that the media holds, and highlights the implications this power can have (Salahshour, 2016). It is also important to consider that there can be numerous instances of positive representations, however, the antipathetic representations depicting immigrants as a burden, or as violent, illegal beings fleeing miserable and grim situations in their home lands (Salahshour, 2016). The study revealed that most of the negative constructions of immigrants were from syndicated articles written by overseas journalists (Salahshour, 2016).

Newspapers often weave in other negative impacts for local residents and in some cases describe immigration as a risk to house prices, these negative effects of immigration on the New Zealand house market was a dominant discourse in the data (Salahshour, 2016). Strategies to mitigate the feelings of threat that can be associated with immigration incorporate the effects of both negative media messages and anti-immigration political rhetoric which work against achieving these goals (Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

With regards to the way immigration is reported in the news print media, perception to news events reported through the media, these can be controlled by using ‘frames’ – through composition, presentation, and language of the story (Entman, 1993). Frame analysis is a popular methodological approach used in the area of social sciences. Research done in Australia found that the mass media, including newspapers, is becoming more influential than research outcomes (Gillespie, McCosker, Lonne, & Marston, 2014). “How the media frames contested issues can profoundly affect audiences understanding and acceptance or denial. It is therefore important to understand just how immigration is presented and portrayed in the media” (Gillespie et al., 2014, p.4).

Mass media platforms such as the New Zealand Herald and Stuff can have a major influence and shaping public attitudes, perceptions of immigration, and policy reform and these media platforms are a key source of immigration information relating to government legislation for many people. This highlights the fact that the language used by the media to disseminate information about immigration has the potential to influence perceptions and attitudes about immigration to a wide range of people, including migrants, New Zealanders, potential migrants, investors, politicians and local businesses (Bailey & McCrossin, 2016; Gillespie et al., 2014). The speed, wide availability and possible overload of information via print and digital media can also impact on the perception of the information readers have access to, this may mean that

readers may not pay too much attention to information they have available to them, this may diminish the credibility of the media reports and have less of a negative effect on perceptions of the article they are reading (Karlsson, 2011; Tagliamonte, 2014). Research has found that the use of language with “perceived negative connotations can have a negative impact on a person’s attitudes and beliefs, which could have a flow on effect” on their views towards migrants and or migration (Bailey & McCrossin, 2016, p.493).

Bailey and McCrossin (2016) made the following comparisons in terms of negative versus positive word use. This lists positive alternatives to negative ways of describing medical terms:

Table 1: Comparison positive vs negative terms

Positive		Negative
Persons living with diabetes	VS	Diabetes sufferer
Unhealthy / Healthy weight		Obese / Normal weight
Managing diabetes		Treating this patient

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion immigration policies are continually changing to meet the needs of both the New Zealand population and global economic market requirements. It is also important to understand whether these policy changes are matched with what the majority wants and needs or are the changes more in line with what wealthy business investors want. With the changes in global market requirements the profile of a migrant is difficult to define as this is also changing. Labour market trends have a big impact on policy changes too as they dictate when and where labour is required and impact on where the personnel are available to fill these gaps in the labour market. In terms of the impact media has on influencing perceptions and attitudes, media plays a huge part in influencing how they impact on their readers and can lead to those readers having negative impacts around migration.

Chapter 3: Overview of the New Zealand context

From the time Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi, the treaty) was signed in 1840, New Zealand has been characterised as a nation of migrants. At the time the treaty was signed, New Zealand was made up of an indigenous Māori population. The Treaty is an agreement between indigenous Māori and British settlers to allow rights to both Māori and British settlers and the establishment of a government body and laws (Stokes, 1992). However, there are numerous versions and many ways to interpret the intention of the treaty (Stokes, 1992). One outcome of the treaty allowed for unrestricted British settlement which led to a steady influx of Europeans to New Zealand in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Grbic, 2010). The reason behind this influx was due to a widespread labour shortage with the introduction of so many British settlers and new businesses forming (Ward & Masgores, 2008).

During the 1950s immigration policy was guided by the need to fill labour shortages in low-wage manufacturing sectors (Grbic, 2010). This is when New Zealand began sourcing labour from the Pacific Islands and the population of Pacific People grew from approximately 8,000 in the mid-1950s to 66,000 by the late 1970s (Grbic, 2010). This post war period during which Pacific migration grew came to an end in the late 1970s when the New Zealand government sought anyone overstaying their visas and took atrocious measures to deport any over stayers. These measures included the dawn raids which meant homes were invaded in early hours of the morning to trap, catch and deport unwanted Pacific people (Ward & Masgores, 2008). The Pacific people who stayed in New Zealand faced ongoing discrimination in the labour market evidenced in institutionalised patterns of ‘ethnic disadvantage’ for both Māori and Pacific people (Grbic, 2010). This led to a collaboration of the indigenous Māori and Pacific people working together to forge a multicultural way of doing things and this also influenced the immigration policy framework to recognise the importance of Māori culture (Grbic, 2010).

In the late 1980s policies that focused primarily on European migration to New Zealand changed dramatically. In 1986 policy changes meant immigration was opened to non-traditional sources of migration, and by 1991 an active recruitment policy seeking skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants was introduced. From this point on while British European immigration to New Zealand remained steady, Asian migration saw an enormous growth, with an increase of 240 percent between 1998 and 2008. China and India are the largest growing populations into New

Zealand with almost 40 percent of overseas-born persons in New Zealand originating from Asia and the Pacific (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Pacific people who have for a long time been an essential part of the New Zealand labour market for low / unskilled jobs have become undesirable migrants as they are not seen as being of value to the New Zealand economy (Simon-Kumar, 2015).

3.1 Issues for New Zealand

In the New Zealand context, there are numerous issues for New Zealanders. One key issue for New Zealanders is that New Zealand has traditionally been described as a bicultural nation, founded on the principles of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi but in recent times has transitioned into more of a multicultural nation which has fuelled the public debate around immigration. Due to effects of colonisation and the influx of immigrants to New Zealand from a diverse range of places and for a number of different reasons, it is important to analyse New Zealanders' attitudes toward immigrants, immigration, immigration policy and acceptance of multiculturalism (Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

New Zealanders who see a move to multiculturalism as a threat are, Indigenous Māori. For many Māori they have genuine fears that a rise in immigration and wider ethnic diversity may encourage the government to focus on developing a multicultural policy framework rather than working to protect Māori rights (Grbic, 2010; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Māori also oppose political and cultural marginalisation, which they feel is attributed to new migrants who seemingly compete for limited resources and cultural recognition. Therefore, Māori feel threatened by migrants, and are more likely to prefer exclusion, and have negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Policy-makers need to acknowledge the importance of Māori cultural presence as the indigenous people and partners in a historically bicultural nation to enable New Zealand to transition into a genuinely multicultural society (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). This means that policies created to allow for growth in the New Zealand labour market should factor in the level of unemployment amongst Māori, the level of incarceration of Māori and provide solutions to mitigate the effects of unemployment which has flow on effects. That means instead of bringing migrants in to New Zealand to fill low skill positions there needs to be a way to recruit those New Zealanders in particular Māori to give them confidence and to get them away from activities that may lead to jail and other unsavoury outcomes such as drug use or

death. There should be better facilities that can be used to upskill New Zealanders easily to fill positions that are in high demand, for example building and other building related trades such as plumbing and electricians.

As well as Māori, general public attention around the issue of migration and the role of New Zealand's migration policies created public discourse as it was seen as a 'flood of migrants' being let in to New Zealand (Bedford & Liu, 2013). Immigration, for some will always have age-old fears about outsiders, strangers, people who are not like them. This is because they believe that these outsiders, are responsible for society's ills and they apparently take jobs local residents can perform, sponge off the government for welfare benefits, promote crime waves, and bring ideas and practices that go against the norms in New Zealand (McGovern, 2007). These claims have also been said about the influx of immigration into Britain and the US but it appears these fears never quite materialised as predicted (McGovern, 2007). Numerous socio-economic factors affect native attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policies. Overseas research has identified that local resident workers tend to be more reluctant to more incoming immigrants because there are fears and concerns having to compete for labour with foreigners, this may also be true for New Zealanders (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016).

Labour market issues that have been the basis of immigration policy include labour supply and skill shortages, the lack of suitably trained local residents which impacts the labour market position for groups such as Māori, and pacific migrants and their descendants (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). The issue for local employers is labour shortages that impact their productivity and growth were minimised, this was highlighted in the Department of Labour survey in May 2000, the data showed that 39% of businesses had difficulty in recruiting the skills they needed for expansion, and 12% of all businesses found that this shortage was a huge constraint on business growth (New Zealand Herald, 23 October 2002 as cited in (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008).

3.2 New Zealanders' Attitudes

In many cases two identical individuals can have different attitudes toward immigration based on the regions they live that represent different types of political majorities (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016). Current immigration policies have

become a tool which is threatening to change the nature of our society (Skilling, 2012). Some want immigrants to become New Zealanders, and then there are those that resent that there are too many immigrants, as they are led to believe that most immigrants who cannot secure stable jobs go into the welfare system and onto a benefit, at the expense of the hard-working New Zealand taxpayer (Brash 2005 as cited in Skilling, 2012).

3.3 New Zealand Policies

In New Zealand there have been immigration policies intended to address increasing demands for labour in specific parts of the country where demand is higher, however these have been applied based on a national scale and demand rather than policies that impact areas of need (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). Immigration policies were then developed with a focus on increasing demands driven by local labour market considerations. This resulted in recruiting immigrant labour to address local skill shortages (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). To address short-term labour shortages and sustain the flow of migrant workers to specific regions, programs were developed to expand the labour supply in regions with labour shortages and also meant less of a burden to the government as there were no obligations that are offered with citizenship (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). Another solution to labour shortages, was to highlight the incentives of employers investment in a returning labour supply, this meant the same pool of temporary migrants would return each season for work, rather than hiring and retraining new migrants (Blewden et al., 2010).

Table 2. Key Immigration Law and Policies in New Zealand 1970's-2017

Date	Law / Policy Changes	Government
1974	Change from race-based to skills shortage by occupation list	Labour
1991	Points System for residency	National
2000	Selection criteria of skilled migrants	National
2002	Pacific access category	Labour
	Points Premium for migrants with jobs relevant to their qualification	Labour
2003	General skills category replaced with Skilled migrant category	Labour
2009	Immigration Act 2009 introduced	National
2012	Introduction of the Internal Administration Circulars	National
2015	Immigration Act 2009 Amendment	National
2017	Essential Skills Visa updated	National

(adapted from Simon-Kumar, 2015)

Some other examples of recent policy changes in New Zealand were a points bonus for immigrants with employment offers outside of the Auckland region, and the implementation of a “talent visa” to make it easier for employers to recruit for the high skilled labour they require, and the most widely known Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme. The RSE scheme was developed to address shortages in the horticultural and viticulture industries in some of New Zealand’s rural areas which also contributed positively to development outcomes for our neighbours in the Pacific islands and their families and communities (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). The RSE Scheme is modelled around the Canadian temporary work programme developed in Canada for rural employers requiring low-skilled labour from the Caribbean and Mexico (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008).

Venture Southland’s scheme is another example of a policy developed to attract immigrants using the existing Skilled Migrant and Family Sponsorship streams with a focus on living and working in the South Island which has experienced net migration loss, particularly after the major Christchurch earthquakes in 2011. In West Auckland the Waitakere Employment and Skills Project (WESP), was developed as an initiative to address the demand for labour in small and medium sized business in the greater Auckland urban region (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008).

3.4 Migrants Coming to New Zealand

Skilled migrants who choose to leave their former social class system behind can find it difficult to transfer their level of social status, education and skills to their new life in a foreign country and so they face a new social class being labelled as a migrant. (Ressia et al., 2017). For migrants entering their new country armed with the right skills, employment is still not guaranteed. In fact, research has confirmed that labour market outcomes for skilled migrants from places where English is a second language such as the Pacific and Asia, some who hold university qualifications, are less likely to obtain jobs as quickly as local residents and those migrants from other English speaking countries such as the UK (Simon-Kumar, 2015). It is clear that skilled migration programs were developed to attract skilled migrants but they appear to favour applicants with a clear English-speaking background (Chiou, 2017). While migrants from the UK consistently dominates migration to New Zealand in the skilled migrant category, there is a definite rise in the percentage of Indian nationals migrating

to New Zealand under the skilled migrant category. Statistics show that in 2010/11, Indian nationals were the second largest category (13%) of the skilled migrant category (Department of Labour, 2011) and have continued to grow since then (Simon-Kumar, 2015).

3.5 Political influence

Major changes to the demographic make-up of New Zealand led to the creation of anti-immigration parties such as New Zealand First. The founder and current leader Winston Peters has voiced his opinions on immigration:

“We are not opposed to [immigration] but ... are working for an immigration policy that preserves New Zealand as a free and tolerant country ... [our] interest is in migrants who are prepared to assimilate our values and become productive loyal citizens (Peters 2005 as cited in Skilling, 2012).

Winston Peters also stated that he would ‘put a wall around this country to ensure that we do not have a flood of immigrants competing with us with respect to social services, education and health’ (Election special 2002 as cited in (Skilling, 2012, p.28). With well-known politicians lobbying for these types of issues, these arguments will impact on the way some New Zealanders view immigration and will ultimately affect the attitudes of some New Zealanders.

3.6 Migration trends

At the time the IAC’s were introduced migration trends in terms of net migration had increased in the 2012/13 period by 7,900 people. This increase was due to the increase in people coming in to New Zealand and decrease in those departing. This increase differs from the net migration loss during the 2011/12 period where migration went down by 3,200 people (MBIE, 2014). The number of temporary workers granted visa during this increased by 5% with the number of approvals under the Essential Skills Visa increasing by 2% (MBIE, 2014). The increase in Essential Skills visa was the first increase following the global financial crisis in 2018. India was largest source of skilled migrants with 18,156 people entering New Zealand under the Skilled Migrant Category (SMC) (MBIE, 2014). China was the largest source of approved applicants under the family sponsored migrant category with 11,291 people approved (MBIE,

2014). China was the largest group of permanent migrants at 15% closely followed by the UK and India both at 13% (MBIE, 2014).

Migration trends in New Zealand around the development and implementation of the Immigration Act 2009 showed that migrants from the United Kingdom (UK) were the highest group of migrants approved through the Skilled/Business and Uncapped Family Sponsored Streams, whereas China was the largest group of migrants with approvals via the Parent and Sibling/Adult Child classification (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment (MBIE), 2010).

During the 2009/10 period UK, India and China were the main source of temporary migrants for work. However, the rate of those migrants from the UK and China are decreasing due to lesser number of Essential Skills visas being approved for this group. The number of temporary workers from India is increasing, these increases are being seen under the 'study to work' programme. The top six source countries in the 2009/10 were UK (17%), China (13%), South Africa (12%), the Philippines (9%), India (8%) and Fiji (7%) (MBIE, 2010).

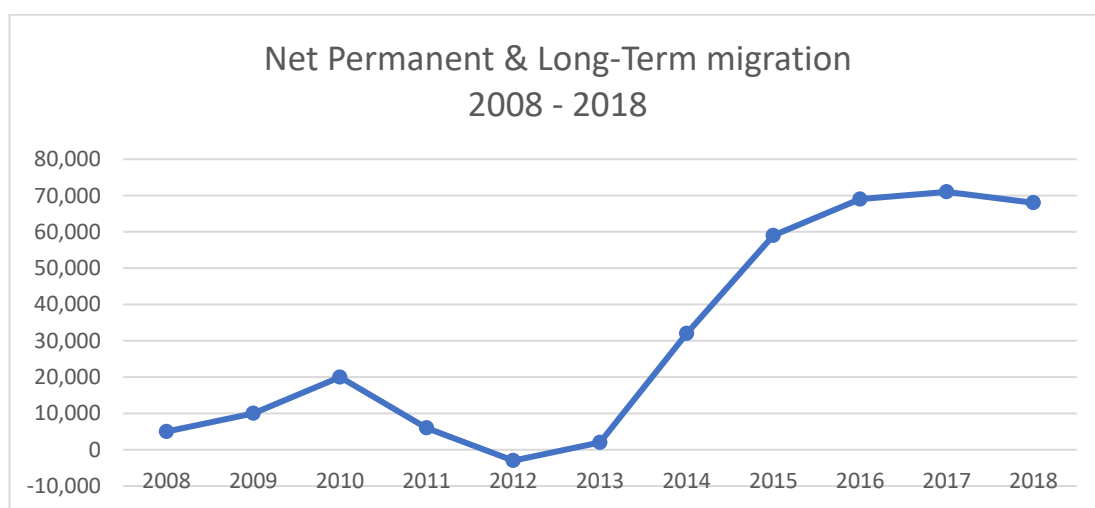
Net migration continued to increase during the period the Immigration Act 2009 was amended in 2015. During this time net migration was at 58,300 people, this is the biggest increase in net migration since records began (MBIE, 2016a). This was mostly due to less New Zealanders leaving, predominantly a major decrease in New Zealanders leaving New Zealand to head to Australia due to lack of jobs and opportunities in Australia because of a decline in the mining industry and Government policy changes which meant less rights and benefits for New Zealanders (MBIE, 2016a). During this period 170,814 people were granted work visas which was a 10 percent increase from 2013/14. Essential Visa approvals continued to increase and rose again in 2014/15 by 8% from the previous period. India remained the largest group of skilled migrant approvals and China also remained the largest group of approved family sponsored migrants (MBIE, 2016a).

Recently migration trends show that Net inward migration is continuing to increase with a 4.7% rise from 2015/16 to 2016/17 to 72,300 permanent and long-term migrants entering New Zealand. The number of temporary workers also continues to increase with a steady increase over the last seven years to 152,432 as of June 30, 2017 which was 8% higher than the 2016/17. Most migrants appear to stay on long

term in New Zealand with the retention rate increasing slightly from 79.6% to 89.1% for those granted residency in 2011/12 (MBIE, 2018).

The following graph Figure 1 presents the data on how many people have migrated to New Zealand long term or permanently from 2009 to 2018. The data shows a significant increase in migrants over this period with the number increasing steadily from below 10,000 in 2008 up to over six times that amount in 2018 to around 70,000 migrants. The impact on the increase of migrants coming to New Zealand long term or permanently is an indication of the number of jobs required by those incoming migrants and the impact this has had on New Zealanders in terms of employment and infrastructure. These are discussed further in the following chapters.

Figure 1: Net permanent & long-term migration 2008-2018



Permanent and long-term arrivals minus permanent and long-term departures.

Source: (Stats NZ, 2018)

3.7 Conclusion

In summary, New Zealand has seen a shift over the years in the way immigration is managed. Some of these shifts include a move from a purely European migrant drive to a focus on recruiting migrants from the Pacific and Asia, largely China and India. As well as a shift from ethnicity based to skills-based requirements. With constant changes, monitoring immigration law and policies that are required to make it work for New Zealanders and those migrants in search of a better way of life are important to consider ensuring that these policies are for the benefit for all those concerned.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter outlines how the interest for this research originated, the basis of the relativist ontological position, and the constructive epistemological view. This chapter also describes the interpretive paradigm and methodology and outlines the critical inquiry research approach and the methods used for data collection and analysis using interpretive policy analysis (Simon, 2018) and thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, Andrade, 2016).

4.1 Research Rationale and Significance

The interest in conducting this research was developed out of reading newspaper articles such as “New Zealanders are too lazy to work” and “Migrants taking low skilled work away from New Zealanders” (Hickey, 2016). A need was identified to see if there was any substance to these claims. Also to explore whether using migrants for work was a way in which employers could get away with paying less and offering lower working conditions than the average New Zealander would expect (Ryan, 2017). The aim is to address the research question *“How does media report on changes to immigration law and policy and how does media portray migrant workers in New Zealand”* to analyse media portrayals of changes to immigration law and policy in relation to migrant workers during the period of 2008 to 2017, by exploring more specific questions such as, How does media report on the impact of changes to immigration policy? and What are the key messages that media generates about migrant workers?

4.2 Research Design

This research is based on a relativist ontology where knowledge can be challenged or disputed by discovering new and different perspectives to contradict or oppose what is already known (Morgan, 2014). This is appropriate for this research because the focus is on media portrayals of immigration and migrant workers and this is data that can be understood differently depending on the social context (Morgan, 2014). This research uses a constructivist epistemology which purports that through interaction with different information, meanings and data, different people may attribute different meanings and in different ways. This means individuals may construct differing

meanings for the same event (Crotty, 1998). This is pertinent to this research because the aim is to uncover what the public perception of these immigration policy changes as portrayed by the media are. An interpretive paradigm is the core of this research design and is applicable to this research where meaning is constructed based on an individual's interaction between what they believe and what knowledge they find through accessing media content, that means that migration is not necessarily a negative issue but is dependent on what it has been labelled or portrayed as by the media. Interpretive methodology is used based on an individual's perspective following interactions with the media. This means how do they interpret what they consume in the media and how does this affect their perceptions on migration and migrants (Scotland, 2012).

A critical inquiry approach using unobtrusive and secondary data is applied to this research. Critical inquiry is the critical form of research which investigates and questions what our current values and assumptions are and challenges conventional social structures and stereotypical attitudes (Gray, 2014). This is appropriate for the research question as it will facilitate exploration of how people respond and understand changes to immigration and employment following policy changes through media portrayals.

4.3 Data Collection

Data was collected and analysed in two parts. Part one is the collection of data in the form of official government policy announcements and documentation relating to the three key policy and law changes. This data was sourced from the official New Zealand government website www.immigration.govt.nz which publishes official information regarding immigration policy and law changes (MBIE, 2016b). Interpretive Policy Analysis (Bastian, 2011) was utilised to review the three key policy changes.

Table 3: Three Key Policy and Law Changes

Year	Policy Change number	Policy Change	Government
2008	Policy change 1	Internal Administration Circulars	National
2009 / 2015	Policy change 2 & 2a	NZ Immigration Act 2009 & 2015 Amendment	National
2017	Policy Change 3	Essential Skills Visa	National

Sources: (Immigration New Zealand, 2012); Immigration New Zealand, 2015; Immigration New Zealand, 2017b)

Part two data is collected from two major media outlets with different ownership and geographic locations, one of the media outlets is The New Zealand Herald which is based in Auckland, New Zealand and is owned by New Zealand Media and Entertainment (NZME) whose parent company is APN News & Media which is based in Sydney, Australia (NZME, 2019). The other media outlet is Stuff, they have a head office in Wellington, New Zealand and are owned by Fairfax New Zealand Ltd which is a subsidiary of the Australian company Fairfax Media Ltd (Stuff, 2019). These media sources provide a wide range of readership with its varied geographic locations and different ways in which they approach media reporting. Both media platforms publish in regional publications such as the Northland Age, Bay of Plenty Times, Dominion Post and the Southland Times. These two media outlets also provide differing issues that they cover for example issues surrounding the Auckland housing crisis which may be a focus for Auckland based New Zealand Herald which is different to issues focused on in Wellington by Stuff. Both media outlets have online formats which allows for greater accessibility for more readers, including those that traditionally would not purchase hard copies of the newspaper such as those in the 'Millennial' and 'Generation Z' groups. The online platform also allows for historical data searches.

Table 4: Key search terms used to source relevant articles

Key search terms used:	
Immigration and employment NZ	Immigration and the labour market NZ
Migration trends	NZ Immigration Act 2009
Internal Administration Circulars	NZ Immigration Act 2009, 2015 amendments
Essential Skills Visa	Immigration policy changes
Attitudes regarding immigration	Perceptions around immigration

These key terms are used with search parameters around the major policy changes over the period 2008-2017. The data collected from the New Zealand Herald and Stuff was analysed based on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and using Nvivo® (Andrade, 2016) to code the data collected.

4.4 Analysis Part One: Policy Analysis

Analysis of the policy changes implemented is the first step in reviewing the data collected regarding the three key law and policy changes. Policy analysis was conducted using government policy documents which outline the purpose of these changes, who they are likely to impact, and so on. Policy analysis primarily looks at the policy alternatives that are expected to produce solutions to benefit and meet the needs of people (Simon, 2018). Policy analysis looks at how social, economic, and political conditions change and how policies which impact on the public must be developed to address the changing needs as societies change (Simon, 2018).

Policy analysis is used to outline the purpose of a proposed policy, identifying expected outcomes and comparing the proposed policies with the existing policies to ensure its viability and sustainability. Policies are aimed at resolving current and future problems (Simon, 2018). Archival analysis is particularly important in public policy analysis. The focus is on how meaning is found from the interaction between those driving change and society in everyday situations (Wolf, 2018)

The interpretive approach to policy analysis is used based on the idea that there can be different ways of viewing and understanding the world versus absolute objective truth (Bastian, 2011). Policies designed to help can also create problems in some ways through the types of solutions they offer (Bastian, 2011). This is relevant for this research because the immigration law and policies that are developed and introduced may offer solutions to some parts of society, but may also create problems for others (Bastian, 2011).

The three key immigration law and policy changes are summarised in Table 5 below. The introduction of the Internal Administration Circulars is of interest because the focus is to ensure the monitoring and detection of fraudulent migration activities is acted upon to eradicate any loopholes that allow unwanted immigration behaviours both from New Zealand based employers and potential migrants. This is important

because fraudulent immigration action by employers and potential migrants also impacts on the labour market in New Zealand (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). The development and implementation of the Immigration Act 2009, appeared to have a focus on clarity around visa requirements for companies and had clear consequences for any type of breach, that created a way to streamline the immigration process to allow for better monitoring and prosecution for breaches or fraudulent entry into New Zealand. This is important because those that are entering New Zealand unlawfully are seemingly taking employment that could otherwise be done by a New Zealander, so it is important that these practices are identified and dealt with adequately. Changes to the Essential Skills Work Visa category was of interest because it had major impacts for those potential migrants and their families, which will also impact New Zealanders. This will affect low skill migrants and their families; however, this may allow for opportunities arising for New Zealanders.

Table 5: Summary of policy changes

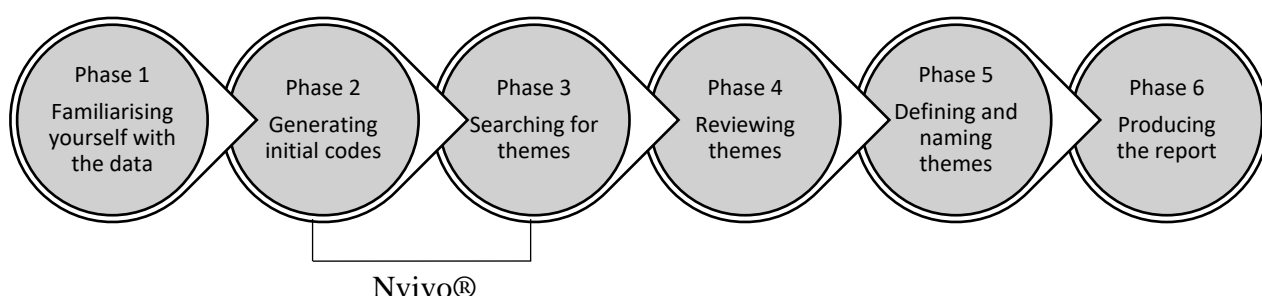
Year	Policy	Summary	Documents reviewed
2008	Internal Amendment Circulars	Internal Amendment Circulars (IAC) are intended to ensure immigration staff are kept up to date with changes to immigration law and policy changes. These are important for assessing immigration applications and for monitoring individuals for breaches of the immigration laws and policies.	2
2009 / 2015	NZ Immigration Act 2009, Amendment	The purpose of the immigration act 2009 was to manage immigration that considers both national interest and needs, and the rights of individuals such as New Zealanders and potential migrants. The subsequent amendment in 2015 was to enhance the effect of the act and to update the impact changes in technology and global pressures that have occurred.	4
2017	Essential Skills Visa	The Essential skills visa was first introduced in 2008. Subsequent changes in 2017 were implemented to change the skill level of migrants that are approved to work in New Zealand. These changes include remuneration caps, changes to eligibility of family migrating with suitably skilled individuals and changes to the time frames temporary work visas are valid for.	4

4.5 Analysis Part Two: Thematic Analysis

To explore the affect these changes have on New Zealanders as well as others attitudes towards immigration, thematic analysis is used to analyse the data collected from New Zealand Herald and Stuff media content. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method that is based on identifying themes or patterns in the data collected (Braun &

Clarke, 2006). Identifying themes is an important aspect to this research method. A theme is developed from important ideas and views found in the data. This can be through a pattern in what the media is reporting, or it can be the prevalence of words or language used in the reporting of issues and changes to New Zealand immigration law and policy. However, more instances of ideas in the data does not always mean it is an important measure to consider and may not be a valid theme. There is no right or wrong method for determining prevalence (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Figure 2: Braun & Clarke, 2006 six phases of thematic analysis including Nvivo®



Source: (Braun & Clarke, 2006)) & (Andrade, 2016))

As shown in Figure 2, this part of the analysis uses the six phases of Braun & Clarke, (2006) in conjunction with the Nvivo® analysis software program used by Andrade (2016). The Nvivo® approach is used for phase two and three of Braun & Clarke, (2006) for generating initial codes and searching for themes. Nvivo® analysis software is used for these two phases because it has a systematic and methodical approach to coding the data and for developing themes that emerge from the key words taken from the data collected from the articles as shown in Figure 3 below. Nvivo® analysis software is also less time consuming than other manual approaches of analysing data and Nvivo® analysis software also has the capacity to create other useful resources such as mind maps and word clouds which are useful for documenting data and results.

Phase one, familiarising yourself with the data involves researching, collecting and reviewing articles collected, using the key search terms in Table 4 on page 36 that relate to the design, implementation and perception of the three key policy and law changes. This data is then uploaded into the Nvivo® software program to allow for the information collected to be sorted into different nodes so they can be classified under different categories. This step reinforces that your initial reading and re-reading the

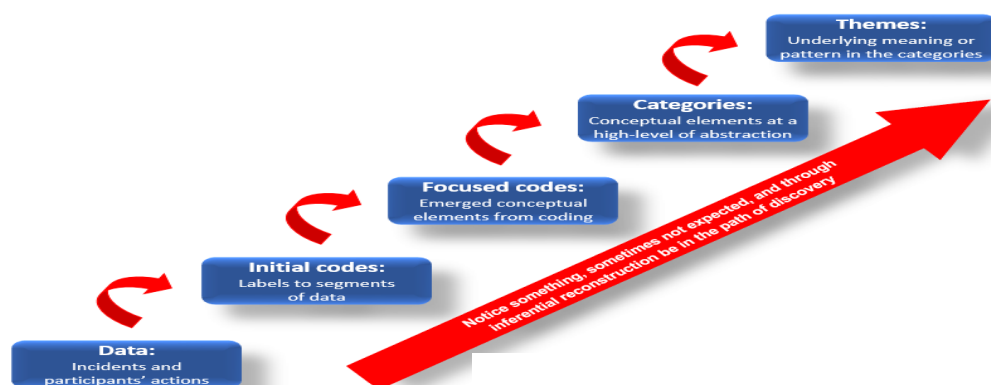
data collected is important, as this is the foundation for the next phase of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase two, generating initial codes requires sorting the data collected from the articles and coding this to search for themes. The coding process is an essential element for thematic analysis of the data. Coding data is a systematic way of working with the data and is a way to explain the steps that were taken to code and analyse the data. This assists to identify where the themes have come from in terms of who is offering their opinions, how the article is being reported and who is reporting this via media channels and provides evidence as to how the conclusions are reached in the research (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Each theme produced, can point to instances in the data that relate to it, this type of coding can be used to develop theory and is known as theoretical coding (Urquhart, Lehmann, & Myers, 2010).

Initial coding is very closely linked to the data, the codes should reflect action, for example this should identify an act of saying something to the media or something the media has stated in their articles (Charmaz, 2006). Focused coding is the second phase in coding. These codes show up more frequently within your initial codes or have more significance than other codes as well as showing relationships between data which is similar but given different initial codes (Charmaz, 2006).

The following diagram describes the process for developing theory using the Nvivo® approach which was used by Dr Antonio Diaz Andrade in a presentation in 2016:

Figure 3: Nvivo® Data coding



Source: (Andrade, 2016)

To code the data, the full media article is uploaded in Microsoft word or PDF format into the project set up in Nvivo®. For each sentence or collection of words these are coded based on the key concepts in the sentence and each concept was assigned a 'node'. For example "Record migration levels have been praised as a sign of economic growth, but there are fears about how the influx of people will put pressure on public services and infrastructure" (Sachdeva, 2017) this has been coded as "reasons for change". This process is repeated for all data collected. This phase is the initial coding phase. Once all the current data is loaded and coded a report can be downloaded to analyse which nodes were common and what initial key concepts arise. Then the process will go on to group the initial codes into focused codes based on how closely related each initial code is, this continues until the key theme or themes are identified (Andrade, 2016).

Searching for themes is phase three. This is developed from the initial coding which contributes to an understanding of the relationships between the themes that have emerged (Urquhart et al., 2010). Once the data is coded patterns start to emerge of statements, opinions, facts and figures which begin to highlight what is being said about these three key changes (Andrade, 2016). For example, language used to describe the political impacts "governments failing to address the strain on Auckland and elsewhere by turning down the tap at a time of high demand" (Sachdeva, 2017). These types of statements highlight the negative viewpoints in the minds of readers. This phase continues until you have reached data saturation, saturation occurs when there are no more instances of the theme in the data or until no newer concepts or relationships emerge from obtaining more data (Urquhart et al). After identifying some key themes, the next phase is reviewing those themes to refine them further.

Reviewing involves reading the collated extracts to identify each theme and determine if a coherent pattern is found. Then the second level of this phase is to refine the themes by moving them into more suitable categories, renaming the category that they fit within or removing them all together if they are no longer valid or useful. (Braun & Clarke, 2006). By the end of phase , the different themes are evident and it is clear how the themes fit together with the other themes and the purpose of this research and an overall story is developed from the analysed data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Table 6 below summarises what codes were identified including a definition and example of each code.

Table 6: Sample Data-Sourced Codes, Definitions and Examples

Code	Description	Example
Reasons for change	This describes what those key people who are being interviewed for these articles, their views on why changes to immigration law and policy are needed	“record migration levels have been praised as a sign of economic growth, but there are fears about how the influx of people will put pressure on public services and infrastructure”
Political impacts	How are politics impacting decision making on policy and law changes	“governments failing to address the strain on Auckland and elsewhere by “turning down the tap” at a time of high demand”
Suggested changes	This describes what those key people who are being interviewed for these articles, their views on what changes are required to improve the current state	“Someone eligible for a temporary “essential skills” work visa who earns less than the median income can still work here, but only for a maximum of three years”
Immigrants coming to work in New Zealand	This section looks at the reasons why immigrants are coming to NZ for work	“A lack of people with the skills to do the job. The panel beaters, I know they are bringing people in from the Philippines to do the work”
Implications of changes	Implications of these changes impact different groups of people. This looks at the difference impact these changes have had on various stakeholders.	“The restrictions also meant low-skilled migrants’ partners and children had to meet visa conditions in their own right, making it harder for farm workers to bring family with them”
Labour market impacts	The Labour market is impacted greatly by the different levels and classes of immigration	“Even if eventually we see more Kiwi’s applying for roles, it will not address looming shortfalls due to our rapidly ageing population”
Implications of immigration	Implications of immigration looks at who and what is impacted by immigration	“We need to move away from importing labour as the default setting”
Statistics	Includes all relevant statistics	“New Zealanders make up 56 per cent of the kiwifruit orchard and pack house workforce compared
Language / Semantics	Analysis of the language used and its possible effects on readers	“Employers warn of a looming crisis if New Zealanders continue to turn their nose up at available work”
Differences / Similarity between publications	Highlights differences and similarities in opinions and language used regarding the same policy change	“migrants kicked out” Stuff “force out migrants” NZH

Phase five, defining and naming themes is the next phase to identify and outline the 'essence' of what each theme means and how they interrelate with the other themes to develop an overall representation of what the data sourced from media outlets report around changes to immigration law and policy and how migrants are portrayed in these media articles (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Appendix B: Nvivo coding structure presents the themes developed using Nvivo to identify themes and patterns in the data collected from media content.

The final phase is writing up the findings of the thematic analysis. This is designed to outline the findings and validate the outcomes of these findings based on the analysis conducted. This report highlighting significant areas from the data in terms of the way media reports immigration and law policy changes and how they report issues regarding migrants. These findings provide evidence from the data that substantiates the prevalence of the themes, based on the data collected (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Research direction, Ontological and Epistemological view, paradigm, methodology, research approach, data collection, methods for analysing data – Policy Analysis and Thematic Analysis are used to generate meaningful findings, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.6 Conclusion

The methodology is based on research designed around relativist ontology to challenge what is already known about media and the impact on people's perspectives on immigration. A constructivist epistemology is useful for this research to create meaning from interaction with data that can attribute different meanings for different people. Interpretive paradigm using a critical inquiry approach with secondary data from the New Zealand Herald and Stuff media platforms as well as government department databases, is utilised as the core information to analyse and summarise the results in two parts, 1: policy and law changes and 2: data sourced from key media outlets NZ Herald and Stuff.

Chapter 5: Findings

The findings were derived from interpretative policy analysis of the three key policies, and thematic analysis of the media articles collected. There are two sections in this chapter. The first section analyses the three key policy changes 1: Internal Administration Circulars 2008, 2: Immigration Act 2009 and subsequent amendments in 2015 and 3: Essential Skills Visa 2017. Key findings from this analysis show that important changes to these policies were developed to address gaps or issues with the labour supply in New Zealand and to establish policies aimed at ensuring proper processes are followed when recruiting migrants. The second section presents thematic analysis of the media content and outlines the policy changes, the stakeholders and the way these changes were reported in the media. Some of the key findings focus on the language used in reporting on immigration and migrants across both publications, New Zealand Herald and Stuff. In particular, media content portrayed immigration law and policy changes negatively between 2008 and 2018.

5.1 Interpretative Policy Analysis

This section outlines the findings of the policy analysis. Policy analysis was used to understand the purpose of each of the policy changes, identifying expected outcomes and comparing proposed policies with existing policies. The first of these policy changes was the introduction of the Internal Administration Circulars (IAC) which were developed to ensure immigration staff are kept up to date with changes to immigration law and policy changes. These are important for assessing immigration applications and for monitoring individuals for breaches of immigration laws and policies

The purpose of the Immigration Act 2009 was to manage immigration that considers both national interests including the needs, and rights of individuals such as New Zealanders and potential migrants. These needs include business growth for New Zealand organisations as well as employment opportunities for migrants, and ensuring measures are in place to recruit New Zealanders where possible before looking to recruit migrants. The subsequent amendment in 2015 was to enhance the effect of the Act and to update the impact changes in technology and global pressures that have developed over time since 2009. The Essential Skills Visa was first introduced in 2008.

Subsequent changes in 2017 were implemented to change the requirements for those applying for an Essential Skills Visa which are outlined further in section 5.1.3.

5.1.1 Internal Administration Circulars (2008)

Prior to the implementation of the IACs in 2008, communication of changes were not clear to New Zealand Immigration staff when changes were implemented this led to incorrect decisions being made regarding visa approvals, compliance and consequences for breaches of the New Zealand immigration law (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). Internal Administration Circulars (IAC) were introduced in 2008. These were introduced to provide practice guidelines that are easily updated. This was a more flexible way of approaching policy change, rather changing law and policies completely. Instead, they serve as a reminder to immigration staff about how law and policies need to be applied to each individual visa application and current visa holders.

IACs are used to keep immigration staff updated on procedures and processes as changes arise. The intention is to ensure clarity of the instructions which are outlined in the New Zealand Immigration Operations Manual, this is the manual used by New Zealand immigration staff to assess and monitor immigration applications and applicants (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). IAC documents do not form an official part of the New Zealand Operation manual, they are read in conjunction with the manual (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). The expectations for creating the IACs is to ensure that all immigration staff members are aware of the current operations' manual instructions, so they have updated information to hand when they are making decisions regarding individual immigration cases i.e. visa applications, deportation cases and so on (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). The following Table 7 presents the information given to New Zealand immigration staff to communicate changes to New Zealand immigration law and policy, this is known as the IAC. This is where immigration staff look to find updates and reminders of updates.

Table 7: Sample of how IAC updates are communicated

Date	IAC#	Purpose
September 2017	IAC 17-03	Advice to staff about assessing requests from people to correct their identity information.
March 2017	IAC 17-02	Update to confirm the prioritisation of residence categories within 2016/2018 NZ Residence Programme
November 2016	IAC 16-04	Guidelines and procedures for processing fee payments and refund requests updated.

Source: (Immigration New Zealand, 2018)

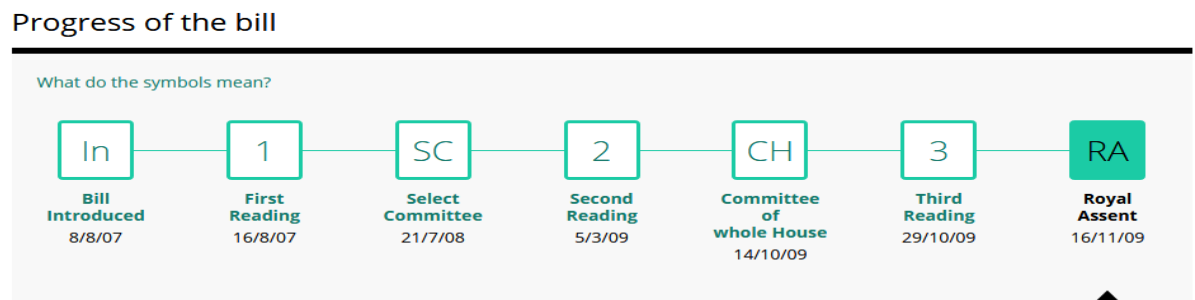
The stakeholders affected by the implementation of the IACs are primarily New Zealand Immigration staff and, prospective migrants to New Zealand, and those migrants who are current visa holders. This impacts on prospective migrants as they need to ensure that they are truthful and meet the criteria to be granted the required visa to enter New Zealand and this impacts current visa holders in terms of better monitoring of the immigration process to identify those who are in breach of the law (Immigration New Zealand, 2015).

Using the search criteria to source media content for this research there was limited content available around changes to the IACs which could indicate less public interest and was therefore not reported in the media as much as the other changes were. There was very little reported in the media regarding the implementation of IACs, this is because the change affected immigration staff primarily and there was limited public interest in this matter, due to the lack of knowledge around IAC's as the target audience for this information was mainly New Zealand immigration staff. The change is still key to allow transparency, so the public can see what processes and procedures are in place for monitoring and administering immigration policies. Analysis for this dissertation found that IACs did not have as much public interest as other issues such as the changes to the Essential Skills Visa or the Implementation of the Immigration Act 2009.

5.1.2 Immigration Act 2009 and subsequent amendments in 2015

Figure 4 illustrates a brief overview of the Government process taken to approve and implement the Immigration Act 2009. Including important dates such as, when the Bill was introduced, and the Royal Assent or when the Act came into effect. This shows that it took over two years for this bill to be passed in parliament from, 2007 to 2009 and highlights the time it can take to make changes to policies.

Figure 4: Progress of the Bill (Immigration Act 2009)



Source: (Pāremata Aotearoa, 2010)

The Immigration Act 2009 (the Act) Section 3 subsection (1) states that “The purpose of this Act is to manage immigration in a way that balances the national interest, as determined by the Crown, and the rights of the individuals” (New Zealand Legislation, 2009, p.22). The key drivers for making this change include greater movement of people globally, and increased competition for skills, talent and labour (MBIE, 2016b) . The Act was designed to define the visa requirements of those who travel to New Zealand for all purposes including work, vacation, visiting family and friends. The Act sets out the rules and criteria for granting these visas. The Act also outlines the consequences of breaching these visa requirements and identifies grounds for deportation and other punishments relating to these breaches. The Act also provides an independent tribunal that is responsible for hearing residence appeals, refugee and protection appeals, and appeals against deportation (Immigration New Zealand, 2015, Immigration law para.2). The previous act, Immigration Act 1987 was implemented in 1987, changes since then to the global environment and the priorities of New Zealand and its people created the need for modern legislation to accommodate these changes (MBIE, 2016b).

The changes introduced by the Act were designed to amend the previous immigration system and modernise the way immigration service was delivered, by adopting new ideas and methods of administering immigration processes and procedures. These new ideas led to changes based on three core principles, 1: Developing a strong legislative

foundation, to ensure that New Zealanders can be “confident of the security of our border”, 2: Implementing a new business model so that “New Zealand has the skills, talent and labour it needs”, for future generations, and 3: Repositioning the policy framework such as assisting “Migrants and refugees settle well and integrate into communities” (MBIE, 2016).

The Immigration Amendment Act (No 2) 2015 amended the 2009 Act. The foundation of the Immigration Act 2009 remained the same, however changes were made to ensure the Act is more effective. For example, the Act did have provision for settlement of migrants and their protection, however individuals were finding ways around obtaining visas legitimately, such as using student visas to gain entry and then working more than the 20 hours allowed for students, illegally for rogue employers, which meant that the presence of migrant exploitation was still evident (Appendix A: H14). Also with constant advances in technology changes were needed to keep up with the ways technology can be utilised as a tool to monitor, manage and administer the immigration system (Immigration New Zealand, 2015). Changes in technology also made it easier for fraudulent behaviour such as passport fraud (Appendix A: S01) The Immigration Amendment Act 2015 had some significant changes, but these changes did not amend the overall purpose of the Act.

5.1.3 Essential Skills Visa (2017)

The Essential Skills Visa was first introduced in July 2008, this replaced the General Work Policy (2002) which was in place at the time. The General Work Policy was developed to standardise the way New Zealand employers recruit temporary workers from other countries to meet shortages in New Zealand industries such as horticulture. The General Work Policy also had clear protections for recruiting New Zealand citizens and residents before employing overseas workers. The original intent of the Essential Skills Policy 2008 was to ensure there are no New Zealanders available to take on roles before an employer can look for workers from overseas. In 2017 a review was conducted to update this policy as the previous policy had not changed since 2008, therefore, major changes to the Essential Skills Visa were implemented in November 2017 (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). These changes include introduction of remuneration bands (see Table 8 which classifies an individual role as either High, Medium or Low Skilled), as well as changes to the maximum duration for low skilled

workers to three years with a 12 month stand down period required in between these three-year periods. In addition, partners and children are no longer automatically granted low-skilled visa's and they must now meet the eligibility requirements themselves or apply for a different type of visa (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b).

Table 8: Remuneration Bands

Remuneration	ANZSCO 1-3	ANZSCO 4-5
\$32.54+ per hour	High	High
\$19.97 - \$35.24	Mid	Low
Less than \$19.97 per hour	Low	Low

Source: (Immigration New Zealand, 2017a)

Remuneration band levels were introduced to assess skill levels of individuals who are applying for a work visa. ANZSCO is the Australia and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations. ANZSCO provides the standard collection, analysis and distribution of occupation data from New Zealand and Australia and is managed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and Statistics New Zealand. The data collected by ANZSCO represents the most comprehensive occupation information available which is why it is used for this classification. There are some limitations to using this system such as it does not always classify a role correctly. For example, the role “retail manager” could potentially cover someone in a management position in a large national retail chain such as the Warehouse with multiple responsibilities and authorities and could also refer to a manager of a small, local store with a team of two employees, and no other responsibilities for a example the local dairy. Both roles will require a different skill level. These two roles will also have different levels of remuneration and will therefore be classified differently based on remuneration. The increase in wage levels required to be earned is aimed at attracting migrants who would benefit New Zealand economically and to improve the skill levels of those in the Skilled Migrant Category.

To define whether a person fits within the different ANZSCO levels there are several criteria which need to be considered to identify which Skill level each individual is eligible for. Table 9 outlines the criteria required for each of the ANZSCO levels to

help classify whether the individual qualifies for a High, Medium, or Low skilled visa. Applicants must meet these criteria completely to qualify and be considered for a work visa. Individuals who fall within the high skilled category and are in roles on the Skill shortage list should find it much easier to obtain a work visa versus a low skilled individual in a role that is not on the skill shortage list. This is because high skilled individuals can fill gaps where New Zealand is experiencing skills shortages, such as construction and information technology.

Table 9: ANZSCO Skill Levels

ANZSCO Skill Level criteria	
ANZSCO Skill Level 1-3	Relevant recognised qualification OR
	Relevant work experience that may substitute for a formal qualification OR
	The occupation is on the Long-Term Skill Shortage list e.g. Project Builder, Chef, Physiotherapist
ANZSCO Skill Level 4 or 5 Includes if the occupation does not have a corresponding description in ANZSCO	Relevant recognised qualification at or above level four on the New Zealand Qualifications Framework OR
	A level three qualification included in the List of Qualifications exempt from assessment OR
	At least three years of relevant work experience

Source: (Immigration New Zealand, 2017a)

ANZSCO Skill Level 1-3 requires a relevant recognised qualification which could include Certificate in Customer service or food handling and relevant work experience may be previous work in a retail store or fast food restaurant. ANZSCO Level 4 or 5 requires a relevant recognised qualification at level 4 or above and could include a Diploma in Travel and Tourism or a Bachelor of Business or Bachelor of Nursing or relevant work experience for the role, such as hospitality and tourism roles across most levels in hotels and restaurants or enough nursing experience.

The purpose of these changes was to allow employers to continue employing temporary migrant workers where there are shortages such as in the caregiver sector, construction and teaching (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). Removing eligibility for work visas to partners of lower-skilled workers may open up opportunities for New

Zealanders to take on those roles (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). Historically partners and children of low skilled individuals who were eligible for an essential skills visa would automatically receive the same visa status. With the changes all individuals seeking an Essential Skills Visa will need to be eligible in their own right (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). This creates a barrier for low skilled migrants who want to bring their families with them to New Zealand. The changes also mean businesses cannot recruit migrants continuously on a year by year contract because they are limited to a three-year maximum. This means that industries such as horticulture will need to train their overseas employees and can only keep them for a maximum of three years before needing to recruit and train new employees to replace these experience migrants. This could be very costly for a business and could impact on the cost of goods these horticulture businesses produce. The conditions of the low skill visa cannot be changed and therefore, no matter how long a temporary worker has been employed they are bound by the conditions of the low skill visa. However low skilled workers can apply for a skilled visa which does not have the same limitations, however this will not benefit businesses who employ low skill workers and the skilled visa requires a different set of criteria as outlined in Table 9 on page 49.

5.2 Media content analysis

Mass media platforms such as the New Zealand Herald and Stuff can have a major influence in shaping public attitudes and perceptions of immigration, and policy reform (Salahshour, 2016). These media platforms are a key source of immigration information relating to government legislation for many people (Bailey & McCrossin, 2016; Gillespie et al., 2014). Access to news via a wider range of media platforms increases the interaction individuals have with media and this impacts how people consume news and the ways journalism can influence those readers (Lee, Lindsey, & Kim, 2017). This highlights the fact that the language used by the media to disseminate information about immigration has the potential to influence perceptions and attitudes about immigration to a wide range of people, including migrants, New Zealanders, potential migrants, investors, politicians and local businesses (Bailey & McCrossin, 2016; Gillespie et al., 2014). The level of influence is important to note because there may be a certain level of bias in the reporting based on who the publication is being funded by and also political influence which can lead to an over-representation of negative angles (Gillespie et al., 2014).

Over 150 articles were identified in the initial phase of data collection from the key search terms: immigration and employment NZ, immigration and the labour market NZ, migration trends, NZ immigration Act 2009, Internal Amendment Circulars, NZ Immigration Act 2009, 2015 amendments, essential skills work visa, immigration policy changes, attitudes regarding immigration, perceptions around immigration. After preliminary analysis, the articles were then classified according to themes that were developed and 40 articles met the search criteria, primarily within the period of six months prior to and after each key policy change over the period between 2008 – 2017. The search generated some results outside of the time period and were included because they closely matched the search criteria and some change periods spanned across several years, such as the Immigration Act 2009 which took two years from inception to implementation. Data taken from media articles have been referenced with an analysis code itemised in Appendix A: Article list.

Analysis of the media content identified that the changes reported and discussed in the media focussed on areas such as: the lack of skills and abilities of New Zealanders; the need to recruit from overseas to bring in the right skills; and the need to match these skills to industries and roles where there are shortages. Changes to immigration law and policy were reported in the media for various reasons including labour shortages, a need to manage low skilled migrant numbers and to increase the numbers of highly skilled migrants in areas where New Zealand has shortages in areas such as hospitals and construction.

Media reported that New Zealand had a reliance on migrant workers, which had led to an increase in migrants looking for work and created issues such as a ‘backdoor’ pathway for unskilled students to get work in New Zealand (Appendix A: H21). In some cases, individuals attempted to bypass the usual requirements to obtain a visa to work in New Zealand. These included instances of immigration fraud, that leads to less opportunity for unskilled or lower skilled New Zealanders obtaining the same work, a higher incidence of exploitation, and the impression that this has led to wage suppression as employers believe they can offer lower wages and benefits to migrants, far lower than a New Zealander may expect (Appendix A: H21).

The increase in migrants taking on low skilled work has also led to the assumption New Zealanders are lazy and do not want to do the more unskilled occupations (Appendix A: H28). This is because migrants are willing to do undesirable jobs for little remuneration and benefits because they have no access to social support from the

New Zealand government in terms of financial assistance, if unemployed, such as the unemployment benefit, emergency food grants and accommodation. However, a New Zealander may not see any benefit in taking on these roles. The reported influx of migrants has also raised questions regarding the impact on infrastructure such as housing, hospitals and schools to cope with the number of migrants needed (Sachdeva, 2017).

In the articles analysed in this research, the frequency of negative words and phrases was high and was not limited to one publication. This indicates that there is a negative stereotype in New Zealand surrounding immigration and migrants increasing the chance these articles will create negative perceptions and attitudes towards immigration. Two key themes overall were identified. Firstly, New Zealand and New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants; secondly, migration and migrants are portrayed as negative and therefore they are perceived to have a negative impact in their new country of residence. The key finding is that the use of strong negative words to report on migrants and migration creates a negative portrayal of migration and migrants. Language use can reflect negative attitudes (Bailey & McCrossin, 2016).

The following are examples of the language used from the media content collected. Each quote in this section is referenced with an analysis code itemised in Appendix A: Article List.

Figure 5: Theme One - New Zealand and New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants

“ <u>More migrants</u> would also mean more workers available and a <u>higher unemployment rate</u> ” (S06)
“Kiwis as <u>first priority</u> ” (H28)
“Each case of <u>fraud cost</u> the department at least <u>\$28,550</u> ” (S01)
“growth in international student numbers potentially <u>pushed out</u> New Zealand workers and <u>suppressed wages</u> ” (H21)

The key finding for theme one is that New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants. For example, “more migrants” and “higher unemployment rate” implies that

an increase in migrants means that they are taking jobs away from New Zealanders who are actively looking for work. In contrast, there seems to be very limited reporting on the possible benefits of hiring migrant workers to counter the various negative stereotypes of migrant workers. Also, reports of New Zealanders being “pushed out” and “supressed wages” suggest that New Zealanders who are currently looking for employment are not being employed in cases where international students with low skills are taking low skilled roles. This is because the level of wages and working conditions these types of jobs offer are low wage and minimal work conditions such as leave provisions and casual contracts with unstable work hours and so on. The average New Zealander may not want to work for such conditions and the rising living costs in New Zealand make it harder to survive on low or minimum wages, for example in 2019 the living wage is calculated as \$21.15. "A living wage is the income necessary to provide workers and their families with the basic necessities of life. A living wage will enable workers to live with dignity and to participate as active citizens in society" (Living Wage Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019, Home para. 1). Offering the living wage is something an employer can choose to do. However, they are only legally obligated to pay the minimum wage. The minimum wage is set at \$17.70, over \$3 less than the living wage. Minimum wage roles can also offer poor working conditions and are precarious in terms of not getting guaranteed regular hours on a regular basis. Therefore, it has been suggested in the media that migrants, and their willingness to work for lower wages than local workers, could drive down wages (Appendix A: H21).

Theme one also includes the cost of tackling fraudulent behaviour and when costs are reported as high as \$28,550 per fraud investigation case, which is funded by the New Zealand tax payer. Therefore, portraying migrants as negative based on the actions of those who use fraudulent strategies to gain work visas. This affects New Zealanders who are having to pay for the services required to address this fraud, when their tax could be used for other needs such as healthcare and education. Also, statements such as “Kiwis as first priority” may dissuade potential migrants from coming to New Zealand for work as it appears, they are less likely to be employed if a kiwi were to be applying for the same job. This could be negative for New Zealanders who are in businesses where they need skills that potential migrants can offer, because the skilled migrants are going to other countries such as Australia.

Figure 6: Theme 2 - Immigration, migration and migrants are negative

“A <u>crackdown on immigration</u> laws could see <u>migrants kicked out</u> ” (S03)
“ <u>Illegal immigrants</u> have been <u>warned</u> they can still <u>face removal</u> from this country even if they have New Zealand-born children” (H07)
“Protecting migrants against <u>fraudulent, corrupt, unethical</u> immigration advisers” (H02)
“The <u>arrested pair</u> are accused of providing <u>false and misleading Immigration Information</u> ” (H08)
“Government <u>failing</u> to address the <u>strain</u> on Auckland and elsewhere by “ <u>turning down the tap</u> ” at a time of high demand” (S09)

Theme two illustrates how reports in the media portray immigration, migrants, and migration. “illegal immigrants” “fraudulent, corrupt, unethical” are used in media articles and the prevalence of media content around illegal tactics that potential migrants use to obtain work visas in New Zealand is evident. The number of articles that report on these cheat tactics indicates that this is a problem with people trying to use fraudulent pathways to obtain work visas. This portrays migrants as negative because these tactics including identity and passport fraud lead to denying a New Zealander of available work. Unfortunately, for those who obtain visas illegitimately, can also face obstacles which can lead to vulnerability and being forced into situations where they are exploited.

Migrants are portrayed as negative in reports of “turning down the tap” which indicates that there are too many migrants and New Zealand should start to introduce restrictions on migrants gaining work visas. This also portrays migrants as negative because it appears there are too many migrants, and this will also discourage potential migrants from coming to New Zealand if they believe this is what New Zealand intends to do.

Figure 7: Key finding - the use of strong negative words to report on migrants and migration creates a negative portrayal of migration and migrants

“You guys are <u>foreigners</u> , you shouldn’t be here, <u>go back</u> to your country” (S07)
“ <u>distraught</u> her family would be <u>broken apart</u> [if she was deported]” (S08)
“ <u>taking migrants money</u> , using their skills and then telling them to <u>bugger off</u> ” (H06)
“More than 30 staff at the agency have been <u>investigated for misconduct</u> , including <u>fraud</u> and <u>corruption</u> this year and at least seven officials have been <u>sacked</u> ” (H10)
" <u>Organised crime</u> groups and <u>illegal migrants</u> are increasingly using identity and <u>passport fraud</u> to <u>evade</u> detection" (S01)

These examples highlight the use of negative words such as “misconduct”, “organised crime”; “foreigners” or “distraught” which have been used across different articles in different publications which indicates that there are some common themes in the way migration is reported in the media. The use of these words can influence the readers’ perception of migration and with the number of times these negative words have been used can influence the reader and may lead to a New Zealander developing a negative attitude towards migrants. It may also lead to potential migrants not choosing to migrate to New Zealand because of the negative way migrants are being portrayed.

5.3 Conclusion

Overall analyses of the policies and media content identified that in different parts of New Zealand, such as Auckland and Christchurch and in some industries including construction, healthcare and horticulture. Labour shortages are a big issue and impacts on a wide variety of individuals, businesses and politics; and that changes to immigration law and policy are needed to manage these issues (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Changes to immigration law and policy were developed to benefit the Government through increased productivity, benefit businesses in terms of sustainability and growth and benefit individuals by offering employment opportunities for a wide range of individuals with varied skill levels. Therefore, print

and digital news media has a crucial role in shaping perceptions and attitudes towards immigration, as coverage helps inform policy-makers and the public about information, issues, and benefits of immigration (Gillespie et al., 2014, Bailey & McCrossin, 2016, Salahshour, 2016). However, media can be seen as over-representing negative aspects and not focussing on some of the positive sides to immigration (Gillespie et al., 2014). Another negative impact is that migrants with the required skills where New Zealanders cannot meet these needs, may be deterred from coming to New Zealand because of the negative way immigration is portrayed in the media. Having better immigration opportunities is not only better for migrants but can also benefit New Zealanders too. Therefore, what is needed is an immigration system that works best for New Zealanders first and foremost and meets global agreements and needs such as providing employment for those in need and for those with skills defined on the skills shortage list according the Essential Skills Visa requirements.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The previous chapter presented the key findings of this dissertation in two parts: interpretive policy analysis and secondly, thematic analysis of media representations of The New Zealand Herald and Stuff news publications. The interpretive policy analysis found that key changes to the policies were developed to address issues with the labour supply in New Zealand in times where there was increasing competition globally to attract and retain the best and brightest employees with the skills required (Chiou, 2017). Policies are changed as the needs of a country and its economy change and that is why the subject of selection, admission, settlement and deportation of foreign citizens is important for New Zealand and why there is a need to regularly review policies relating to immigration (Bjerre et al., 2015).

Previous literature on policy changes has identified that when policies are developed, having a plan to enforce these laws and policies is crucial to ensuring these policies have the desired effect, which is based on the intention or purpose of the policy (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017). As well, the number of unauthorised immigrants tends to decline when effective enforcement processes are in place (Bandyopadhyay & Pinto, 2017).

Overall, the thematic analysis found the use of strong negative words by media when reporting on migration and migrants creates a negative perception of these topics (Figure 7). Within this, two subthemes emerged 1: New Zealand and New Zealanders are negatively impacted by migrants (Figure 5); and 2: immigration, migration and migrants are negative (Figure 6).

This chapter discusses those themes in relation to the existing literature. It then presents the implications and limitations of this research before providing concluding comments on the dissertation. The themes from the media are discussed in the following sections, addressing each change in policy separately, IACs 2008, Immigration Act 2009 and amendment (2) 2015 and then Essential Skills Visa 2017.

6.1 IACs and the media

The introduction of the IACs in 2008 led to streamlining to standardise the operating procedures for administering immigration requirements to ensure correct processes are

followed and monitoring of these processes is clear, concise and efficient. The key drivers for implementing IACs were to develop a way to keep immigration staff informed of changes to law and policy and a way to remind immigration staff of standard operating procedures. This was an effective way to monitor and enforce the laws and policies of the New Zealand Government. This means that there are processes in place so that the needs of businesses are met by legitimately recruiting from a pool of workers, both local and from overseas, and provides employment opportunities for those actively seeking employment and for those who have the skills these businesses need for sustainability and growth. The IACs were designed to meet the needs of both businesses and potential employees, making it easier to employ individuals with the needed skills from overseas to help businesses succeed and grow. As found by Morales et al., (2015) it is important for policy makers to consider the connection between immigration policies and public preferences and not always focus on the needs of business and wealthy individuals that invest in political parties when they are campaigning (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016; Morales et al., 2015).

Media plays a large part in influencing public perception and attitudes, the findings of this dissertation and past research confirm that because media has a large influence in people's perceptions and media reaches a large audience, the use of negative words is likely to have an impact on people's attitudes and perceptions around immigration and migrants (Salahshour, 2016). Media platforms, [Stuff and New Zealand Herald] used in this dissertation are a key source of immigration information relating to government legislation for many people. This highlights the fact that the language used by the media to disseminate information about immigration has the potential to influence perceptions and attitudes about immigration to a wide range of people. The power of media is important to consider as well as the idea that different stakeholders will form views based on their own values and beliefs or their social and cultural positions (Morales et al., 2015).

At the time the IACs were introduced media publications included in their reports statements such as "protecting migrants against fraudulent, corrupt unethical Immigration Advisers" (Appendix A: H06). This suggests that fraudulent tactics are being used to obtain work visas in New Zealand and highlights the importance of IACs to monitor and identify fraudulent behaviour. The use of negative language in this article also has the potential to have an impact on how readers perceive immigration with the use of words such as "corrupt". This suggests the portrayal of migrants as

negative because of illegal ways some use to gain working visas, therefore denying a New Zealander or legitimate migrant of the work available. These representations also overlook the vulnerability of illegal immigrants.

6.2 Immigration Act 2009 and the media

When developing new legislation such as the Immigration Act 2009 (the Act), research indicates that policy makers need to pay more attention to the issues New Zealanders care about and should be more responsive when developing or making changes to immigration policies (Morales et al., 2015). This is needed to actively meet the needs of locals who are impacted by these policies which includes infrastructure and social needs being met (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Sachdeva, 2017). Pressure from business can influence policy-making decisions too. This is because some businesses have the power and financial backing to lobby for rules to make it easier to employ people for as little as possible to achieve financial gain (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Morales et al., 2015).

The development of the Immigration Act 2009 was in line with global pressures to meet the needs of both New Zealanders and migrants searching for new opportunities and for businesses attracting sought after skills globally to ease labour market pressures (MBIE, 2016). This was required to meet the needs of employers for growth and sustainability of their businesses and provide opportunities for migrants in search of better outcomes than their home countries can offer. This meant looking for overseas workers if there were not enough local individuals in New Zealand who were willing and able to take on the work available to meet labour market needs and address skill gaps.

The key reasons for developing the Immigration Act 2009 were greater movement of people globally, and increased competition for skills, talent, labour and NZ economy (MBIE, 2016). The media, politics and labour market activities impact on policy makers in making immigration policy decisions (Morales et al., 2015). Around the time the Act was developed and implemented, media publications included reports of "Organised crime groups and illegal migrants are increasingly using identity and passport fraud to evade detection," (Appendix A: S01). Using strong negative words when reporting on immigration portray migrants as negative to New Zealanders as they associate words such as fraud and migrants, which leads readers to think migrants

are negative. However, such media attention could act as a warning to possible illegal migrants to show that New Zealand does have processes in place to monitor and manage immigration closely because this is important to eliminate for New Zealanders.

6.3 Essential Skills Visa and the media

Changes to the Essential Skills visa include remuneration caps, changes to eligibility of family migrating with suitably skilled individuals and changes to the time frames temporary work visas are valid for. The changes to the Essentials Skills visa meant that temporary migrant workers are only granted a maximum three-year temporary working visa after which time they would have to leave New Zealand for a minimum of 12 months before they could apply for another temporary working visa. Media coverage around the time of the changes to the Essential Skills Visa includes articles that report “given the depth of labour shortages in rural areas this will only force out migrants” (Appendix A: H19). This suggests that the media is making this change appear less favourable and could impact on both a current and prospective migrants’ decision to come to New Zealand for work. This could also have a negative effect on labour shortages, if New Zealand industries such as horticulture cannot recruit and retain skilled staff on a regular basis, if there are shortages in locals who are willing and able to work for them.

Blewden et al., 2010 that found that ongoing temporary workers were better for business in terms of saving money and increasing productivity, and benefits temporary workers as they would know if they would have a job in the next season. This is supported by other research into casual [temporary] labour pools which substantiates that recruiting and retaining temporary migrants is an important solution to labour shortages (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). Research identified that the cost benefit of investing in temporary workers may only be realised if these temporary workers are secured for a returning season and become a regular, yet temporary labour supply (Blewden et al., 2010).

An increase in the remuneration bands for skilled and low skilled visa’s meant that a better balance was expected between what New Zealanders in the same positions as those roles skilled migrants were seeking, because an individual is required to meet this wage thresholds, for example someone employed as a retail manager in a corner

dairy needs to earn as much as a retail manager in a large chain store such as the Warehouse. This is to ensure people are not being employed under the skilled migrant category and being paid less than a New Zealander in the same role. This is important to avoid incidences of individuals being recruited into roles on the skill shortage list and then paying them less than the market rate for that role.

Another change to the Essential Skills visa meant removing eligibility for work visas for partners and children of lower-skilled workers (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). So partners and children of those individuals who were historically eligible for an essential skills visa; will need to be eligible for a visa using their own credentials and not based on their partners or parents eligibility (Immigration New Zealand, 2017b). Spoonley and Bedford, 2008 have researched areas where New Zealand have used family friendly policies such as the Venture Southland's scheme which was a scheme developed to attract immigrants using the existing Skilled Migrant and Family Sponsorship streams. (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). This indicates that historically policies were developed to attract required skills to New Zealand and as a bonus they could bring their families with them and their families would have the same benefits as those skilled visa holders. This meant that families were not a barrier to individuals seeking skilled working visa's and they were free to bring their partners and children with them if they were granted a temporary skilled work visa and the partner would automatically be granted a temporary work visa too. This was consistent with research that shows that lack of family sponsorship can be a barrier to skilled workers coming to New Zealand to fill Skilled shortages (Spoonley & Bedford, 2008). This makes it much harder for those skilled workers to come to New Zealand with their family, if their partner cannot be granted a visa to allow them stay in New Zealand with their partner who is eligible for a temporary work visa.

6.4 Limitations of the Research

This research has limitations that suggest future research in this area. Limitations were the limited period allowed for search queries, meant that analysing media content outside this period was not conducted to see if media reporting in terms of language and content remained consistent outside of the search period. Another limitation is that further analysis on immigration fraud and exploitation was not possible and was not within scope of this research, however these topics became evident during the research

process for this dissertation. There was also a lack of positive information found in the media particularly content which highlights the benefits of immigration for New Zealand. Future research could investigate the impact of immigration policy and identify through analysis of immigration data, if labour market issues are addressed for example skills shortages are being met and the right outcomes for migrants too.

6.5 Discussion and concluding comments

This dissertation has highlighted the ways in which policy makers approach policy changes and how the media can influence their audience through the way they publish articles and reports relating to these changes. This dissertation has found that policy makers do not always consider research findings when developing policies or making changes. This was seen with changes to the Essential Skills Visa changes around ongoing, [temporary] recruitment of migrants to meet the needs of those in the horticulture industry. Research found it is beneficial to businesses financially if they invest in temporary workers, for a returning season and became regular, temporary labour resources (Blewden et al., 2010). This adds to research that found that those driving the change do not always consider the effect of the policy changes and in this case did not acknowledge the benefits identified from research that would be beneficial to both migrants, business owners and ultimately the New Zealand economy (Blewden et al., 2010; Ward & Masgoret, 2008; Wolf, 2018). This dissertation also found that skills shortages are evident in New Zealand, one practical recommendation to address the skills shortage could be upskilling New Zealanders to meet these needs rather than a reliance on migrant workers to fill these skills gaps, as suggested by Ward & Masgoret (2008).

For parts of New Zealand and some industries experiencing labour shortages immigration law and policy plays a big part and impacts on a wide variety of individuals, businesses and politics (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Following the changes to New Zealand immigration law and policy benefits were realised, however regular monitoring and review of policies is required to keep up with changes in the labour market, skills gap, technology and government ideologies.

This dissertation also adds to the theory by supporting research around the idea that media is a powerful tool for influencing how people's attitudes and behaviour can be impacted by the way articles are published by media platforms such as Stuff and New

Zealand Herald (Bailey & McCrossin, 2016; Morales et al., 2015; Salahshour, 2016). This showed that media in New Zealand portrayed migrants, and migration in a negative light. Given research that shows media and popular opinion has a significant impact on immigration policy, it is necessary to consider how migrants can be portrayed in more positive light so that popular perceptions and policy changes are not influenced by negative views of migration. This could encourage government policy development that considers the needs of all stakeholders, rather than pandering to popular misinformation and stereotypes. Such an approach would have a positive impact on New Zealand and on immigrants to New Zealand.

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<https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2018.1437972>

Appendix

Appendix A: Article List

Appendix B: Nvivo coding structure

Appendix A: Article List

#	Article Title	Article Author	Publication	Date	Theme
H01	No plot to play race card	Sue Eden	NZH	4/04/2008	Three
H02	Immigration agency faces 'impossible' job	Lincoln Tan	NZH	6/05/2008	Two
H03	Integrate or stay away, migrants told	Lincoln Tan	NZH	29/09/2008	One
H04	Record numbers leaving for Australia	Lincoln Tan	NZH	23/10/2008	One
H05	Language a massive barrier for new NZ immigrants: Report	NZPA	NZH	21/04/2009	Two
H06	Immigrants deceived, says support group	Lincoln Tan	NZH	29/06/2009	Three
H07	Having NZ children, no bar to overstayers being kicked out	Lincoln Tan	NZH	23/05/2010	Two, Three
H08	Training centre workers remanded on fraud charges	Elizabeth Binning	NZH	28/07/2010	One, Two
S01	Fingerprint-sharing begins with Aussie on migrant fraudsters	Tom Pullar-Strecker	Stuff	17/08/2010	Two, Three
H09	Immigrants feel less happy longer they live here: Study	Lincoln Tan	NZH	28/09/2010	Two
H10	Immigration NZ moves to reduce chance of corruption	Lincoln Tan	NZH	24/10/2010	Three
S02	Immigration Act: Key Changes	Mike Mika	Stuff	9/11/2010	One
S03	Immigration regulations being enforced	Scot McKay	Stuff	1/05/2011	Two
H11	Parents taking advantage of immigration loophole	Lincoln Tan	NZH	18/08/2011	Two
S04	Immigration policy not SME-friendly	Chris Bell	Stuff	13/09/2012	Three
H12	\$9m bill for deportations	Lincoln Tan	NZH	27/02/2013	Two
H13	Fraudster's debt to NZ hits \$150k	Jared Savage	NZH	13/03/2013	Two
H14	Overstaying boss vows to fight on	Lincoln Tan	NZH	14/03/2013	Two
S05	Immigration: Nice people, tough rules	Reader Report	Stuff	27/05/2013	Three
H15	Call to change NZ immigration laws to protect students	NZME	NZH	1/12/2014	Two
S06	NZ migration boom nears 60,000 a year, as Indians and returning Kiwis flood in	James Weir and Catherine Harris	Stuff	21/08/2015	One
S07	Taxi drivers tell of abuse, racism and building a new life in a strange land	Nikki McDonald	Stuff	31/10/2015	Three
S08	Kiwi kids don't want their mum deported	Dave Nicoll	Stuff	11/06/2016	Three
H16	Record migration sees New Zealand Population record largest ever increase	Simon Maude	NZH	12/08/2016	One
H17	Student Visa fraud: 'It's not about education	Andrew Laxon	NZH	5/12/2016	Two

H18	Immigration changes slammed as ‘tinkering’ by New Zealand First, Labour	Nicholas Jones	NZH	19/04/2017	Three
S09	Explainer What do the Governments immigration changes mean	Sam Sachdeva	Stuff	20/04/2017	Two, Three
S10	Pathway to residency for low skilled migrant workers in South Canterbury	Ryan Dunlop	Stuff	28/04/2017	One
H19	Business happy but farmers disappointed with Govt immigration changes	Claire Trevett	NZH	27/07/2017	One, Two
S11	Our way or the highway: Kiwis and their attitudes towards immigration	Leith Huffadine	Stuff	14/08/2017	One
H20	Migrant workers vital to aged care	Simon Wallace	NZH	17/08/2017	One
H21	National requested urgent meeting on immigration during NZ First Talks	Nicholas Jones	NZH	15/12/2017	One
S12	Migrant family denied visa despite living in NZ for almost 10 years	Andrew Marshall	Stuff	26/12/2017	Three
H21	Govt want to close the ‘back door’ path from international student to resident	Derek Cheng	NZH	29/01/2018	One, Two
H23	Net migration slows, but still at historic highs	NZME	NZH	21/03/2018	One
H24	Immigration restrictions fail to dampen numbers as NZ hits record net migration gains	Lincoln Tan	NZH	29/03/2018	Three
H25	Changes to skilled migration requirements made former student think outside the square in bid for residency	Lincoln Tan	NZH	29/03/2018	One
H26	Christchurch employer fined for employing an illegal worker	NZH	NZH	12/06/2018	Two
H27	Immigration minister declines to intervene in Kaitia caregiver case	Northland Age	NZH	31/07/2018	Three
H28	Employers warn of crisis in struggle to find New Zealand workers	Kiri Gillespie	NZH	10/08/2018	One, three

KEY: S = Stuff
H= New Zealand Herald (NZH)

Appendix B: Nvivo Coding structure

Negative impacts of immigration for New Zealanders			Perception of migrants and migration			Language patterns			
Themes									
Implications	Impacts	Immigrants coming to work in NZ	Reasons for change	Suggested changes	Statistics	Language used	Difference between publications		
Stakeholders (Who and What is affected)			Why and What is change needed		Facts and how these are reported in the media				
Categories									
Implications of changes	Implications of immigration	Labour market impacts	Political Impacts	Reasons for change	Suggested changes				
Implications		Impacts		Changes		Immigrants coming to work in NZ	Statistics	Language / Semantics	Difference between publications
Focused Codes									
Immigrants coming to work in NZ	Implications of changes	Implications of immigration	Labour market impacts	Political impacts	Reasons for change	Statistics	Suggested changes	Language / Semantics	Differences between publications
Initial Codes									