Language and Integration in New Zealand
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Executive Summary

1. This report considers the role of language in the integration outcomes of migrants in New Zealand. This issue is important because:
   - migrants are increasingly coming to New Zealand from countries where it is unlikely they will speak English as their first language
   - we need to help migrants integrate more effectively into New Zealand society and ensure that their skills are well utilised in the economy.

2. The report shows that the employment rates and earning capacity of migrants correlate with their English language ability.

3. Migrants from North Asia are more likely to face employment barriers because of their English language ability than migrants from other regions. This point is significant because of the emergence of China as the top source country for New Zealand’s migrants.

There is a wide range of factors affecting migrants’ English language acquisition

4. The report demonstrates that there is a wide range of disparate factors affecting the English language acquisition of migrants who do not speak English as their first language. While many of these factors may be beyond the control of migrants, there are a number of factors that are within their control. These include:
   - interacting with English speakers in work and social settings
   - speaking English in the home and family contexts
   - engaging with English language media
   - undertaking English language tuition in New Zealand.

5. In addition, positive attitudes of employers - and New Zealanders more generally - towards ethnic and linguistic diversity can encourage migrants to acquire proficiency in English. Migrants can only improve their English skills in a work or social context if they are given the opportunity to do so by employers, on the one hand, and members of communities other than their own, on the other.

6. The report further suggests that heritage language maintenance has the potential to contribute to positive integration outcomes. In the context of language and integration, proficiency in English and heritage language maintenance are both important.

7. The overriding challenge to the maintenance of heritage languages is the demand for migrants to acquire proficiency in English. Importantly, this demand affects migrants in different ways to their descendants born in New Zealand.

8. There is a negative correlation between the conditions that are favourable to English language acquisition and those that promote heritage language maintenance. Consequently, very few migrants or their descendants born in New Zealand will be able to read, write and speak proficiently in both English and their heritage language.
Conditions favourable to heritage language maintenance

9. The conditions that have a positive effect on heritage language maintenance include:
   - large communities that regularly interact socially, particularly within religious settings
   - the availability of community language schools
   - positive attitudes towards the country of origin and the heritage language
   - intra-ethnic marriage
   - the use of the heritage language in the home.

10. Migrants wishing to actively participate in society while maintaining their cultural heritage will need to carefully manage their approach to both English and their heritage language. A key consideration will be which language they choose to engage in at which times and in which domains. Importantly, informing migrants of the complex relationship between the conditions that assist English acquisition and promote heritage language maintenance will enable them to increase their chances of success.

Communities ought to design and lead their own language maintenance initiatives

11. It would be impractical to design a single approach to language maintenance that suited all of New Zealand’s ethnic communities. The characteristics of each community vary in terms of cultural practices, religious orientation and size, as well as the number of generations the community has resided in New Zealand. Each community ought to design and lead its own language maintenance initiatives, so it can cater to its own specific needs and characteristics.
Section 1: Introduction

12. This report examines the role of language in the integration outcomes\(^1\) of migrants in New Zealand, for the following reasons:

- immigration is part of the Government’s Business Growth Agenda
- we need to help migrants integrate more effectively into New Zealand society and ensure that their skills are well utilised in the economy
- migrants are increasingly coming from countries where it is unlikely they will speak English as their first language
- the employment outcomes of migrants are strongly related to their English language ability (see section two).

Immigration and the Business Growth Agenda

13. The focus on immigration in the Business Growth Agenda (BGA) is on attracting skilled migrants and investors, to contribute to building a more competitive and productive economy.\(^2\) The 2012 BGA Progress Report on Building Skilled and Safe Workplaces describes the current state of immigration as follows:

New Zealand has more inward and outward migration than most other developed countries...Our immigration system generally performs well in providing additional skills and potential investment capital. But the global market for skilled labour is increasingly competitive, and we need to do better in both [sic] attracting skilled labour, supporting them to settle – especially in Auckland – and ensuring that their skills are well utilised in the economy.\(^3\)

14. This BGA Progress Report not only underlines New Zealand’s current need for migrants, but the need to maximise their contribution to the economy, which will largely depend on how successfully they integrate overall. Accordingly, positive integration outcomes are desirable because they mutually benefit the migrant and New Zealand as a whole.\(^4\)

New Zealand’s inward migration patterns have changed

15. New Zealand’s inward migration patterns have changed in recent years. As the tables below indicate, migrants are increasingly coming from countries where it is unlikely they will speak English as their first language, and less so from the United Kingdom and South Africa. Migrants’ language skills will affect their employment outcomes and social well-being (see section two). This change is one of the reasons it is important to consider the role of language in integration outcomes.

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\(^1\) By integration outcomes, we are referring to the extent to which migrants have settled into the wider community and their capacity to participate in and contribute to New Zealand society.


Table 1.1 Residence Approvals and Top Source Countries, 2008/09 & 2012/13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of residence approvals</th>
<th>2008/09</th>
<th>2012/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46,097</td>
<td>38,961</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top source countries</th>
<th>2008/09</th>
<th>2012/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK 19%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China 15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa 12%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines 8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China 15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India 13%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK 13%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Philippines 8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>


16. Table 1.1 shows that the number of residence approvals declined between 2008/09 and 2012/13, and that China replaced the United Kingdom as the top source country for migrants. It also shows that the number of migrants from the United Kingdom and South Africa has decreased, while the number from India has increased. The following table shows a similar trend in the skilled migrant category during the same period.

Table 1.2 Skilled Migrant Category Approvals and Top Source Countries, 2008/09 & 2012/13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skilled migrant category (SMC) approvals</th>
<th>2008/09</th>
<th>2012/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27,011</td>
<td>18,156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| SMC % of total residence approvals     | 59      | 46      |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top source countries</th>
<th>2008/09</th>
<th>2012/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK 22%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa 18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China 14%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines 11%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India 19%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK 15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines 12%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China 9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


17. Table 1.2 shows that in 2012/13 the New Zealand government approved considerably fewer skilled migrants than in 2008/09. There may be several reasons for this, including the 2008 global financial crisis, which marked the beginning of a general trend of decline in migration flows in OECD countries. Consequently, the global market for skilled labour is becoming increasingly competitive (as noted above in the 2012 BGA Report on Building Skilled and Safe Workplaces).

18. Table 1.2 also shows that India replaced the United Kingdom as the top source country for New Zealand’s skilled migrants, while the number from South Africa and the United Kingdom decreased considerably.

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6 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Outline of this report

19. The report proceeds in the following steps:

- section two will demonstrate that the employment outcomes of migrants correlate with their English language ability
- section three will show that migrants from North Asia are more likely to face employment barriers because of their English language ability than migrants from other regions
- section four will show that there are numerous factors that affect a migrant’s ability to acquire proficiency in English, some of which are within their control
- section five will suggest that heritage language maintenance may also contribute to positive integration outcomes, and that migrants may need to carefully manage their approach to languages if they are to actively participate in New Zealand society while maintaining their cultural heritage.
Section 2: English proficiency and employment outcomes

20. This section presents a variety of evidence from New Zealand sources that there is a strong correlation between the English language ability of migrants and their employment outcomes, most notably, their earning power.

The Royal Society of New Zealand’s paper on languages in New Zealand

21. The Royal Society of New Zealand’s “Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand” highlights the necessity of proficiency in English for successful integration outcomes, including educational success. This uncontroversial statement by the Royal Society is particularly compelling because the paper focuses on the benefits of bilingualism and linguistic diversity.8

Refugee resettlement and English language proficiency

22. New Zealand studies of refugee resettlement explain the extent to which proficiency in English affects integration:

Proficiency in English is a key facilitator of refugee integration. It helps people to access paid work, education, higher incomes and wider personal relationships and provides a feeling of belonging. Not being able to speak the host language is not only a barrier to economic integration but also to social interaction and full participation in New Zealand society.9

23. In other words, proficiency in English affects the degree to which migrants can participate in and contribute to New Zealand society, from their earning capacity to their ability to socialise.

Employers’ views on the language ability of migrants

24. A number of international and New Zealand studies that surveyed and interviewed employers have identified poor national language skills as the main reason for not employing migrants (see Appendix B for a summary of Immigration New Zealand’s ‘Work Talk’, an online language resource for migrants and their employers).10

25. The following three graphs illustrate the link between the English language ability of migrants in New Zealand and their employment outcomes.

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Figure 2.1 Employment Rates of Migrants by Immigration Category and English Proficiency


26. Figure 2.1 shows that the employment rates of migrants correlate with their English language ability. The average employment rate of migrants (as shown by the 'All migrants' grouping on the far right) is 45.2 per cent for 'moderate/poor speakers', 69.1 per cent for 'very good/good' speakers, and 76.9 for those in the 'English as language spoken best' category. Even in the 'Skilled principal'12 grouping where the employment rates are high across all three categories of language ability, there is still a correlation between employment rate and English language ability (see Appendix A for a description of Immigration New Zealand’s English language requirements for skilled migrants).

27. *The Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand* provides the data for the following two graphs. The three waves represent the results of interviews of the same cohort of migrants taken at 6 months, 18 months and 36 months, between April 2007 and October 2009. While these findings show that the median annual income of migrants across all categories of language ability improves over time, we can see a clear decrease in annual income with each declining step in English language ability.

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12 Skilled principal refers to the principal applicant in the skilled migrant category. Skilled secondary refers to the partner and children of the principal applicant in the skilled migrant category.
Figure 2.2 Median Annual Income of All Migrants by English Proficiency

Source: The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, Labour Market Integration of Recent Migrants to New Zealand (2012).\(^{13}\)

28. We saw above that the employment rates of principal applicants in the skilled migrant category were significantly higher than those of migrants in other categories. Figure 2.3 below shows that even the earning capacity of principal skilled migrants is related to their English language ability.

**Figure 2.3 Median Annual Income of Skilled Principal Migrants by English Proficiency**

![Bar chart showing median annual income of skilled principal migrants by English proficiency.]

*Source: The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, Labour Market Integration of Recent Migrants to New Zealand (2012).*

**International studies are consistent with New Zealand findings**

29. Importantly, New Zealand findings on the correlation between language skills and migrant employment outcomes are consistent with those from international studies.\(^{14}\) Esser, for example, states:

> Comprehensive skills in the national language is [sic] extremely important for the labour market integration of immigrants. A lack of language skills clearly reduces their chances of finding work and attaining a higher position and is associated with significant reductions in income...Anyone who does not have a comprehensive command of the national language will be unable to make full use of their valuable occupational experience and knowledge.\(^{15}\)

30. Put succinctly, migrants with poor English language skills will face employment barriers, earn less and limit their capacity to contribute to the economy.

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Conclusion

31. In sum, these findings demonstrate that a lack of English language skills affects the degree to which migrants can participate in and contribute to New Zealand society. Informing migrants who speak English as a second language about this issue will increase their understanding of the economic and social consequences of weak English skills, which may then further motivate them to acquire proficiency in English.
Section 3: Migrants from North Asia

32. This section asserts that migrants from North Asia are more likely to face employment barriers because of their English language ability than migrants from other regions. This point is significant because of the emergence of China as the top source country for migrants.

33. Problems arising from English language proficiency are only relevant to specific ethnic groups. The following graph illustrates the English language skills of migrants by region of origin.

Figure 3.1 English Language Skills of Migrants by Region of Origin


34. Figure 3.1 illustrates that the North Asia region (depicted in the centre of the graph) has the highest percentage of migrants in the ‘moderate/poor English language ability’ category and the lowest percentage of migrants in the ‘English as a language spoken best’ category. Conversely, the employment rates of North Asian migrants are lower than those of migrants from other regions.\(^\text{16}\)

Table 3.1 Employment Rates of Migrants from North and South Asia\(^\text{17}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment rate of all migrants other than principal skilled migrants (%)</th>
<th>North Asia</th>
<th>South Asia</th>
<th>Overall average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>59.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate of principal skilled migrant (%)</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>93.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal skilled migrant employed in a skilled job (%)</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>86.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{16}\) Department of Labour, New Faces, New Futures: New Zealand (2009), 87, 90.

\(^{17}\) We have included a South Asia category in this table in order to provide a regional comparison, in addition to a comparison with the overall average. South Asia is the region with the second lowest migrant employment rates for “all migrants other than principal skilled migrants” and “principal skilled migrant employed in a skilled job”. South Asia has the third lowest employment rate for “principal skilled migrants”; perhaps surprisingly, North America has the second lowest (93.4 per cent).
35. Table 3.1 shows that the employment rates of migrants from North Asia across the three categories are significantly lower than the overall averages, and in all cases, lower than the employment rates of migrants from South Asia. The table also shows that there are a considerable percentage of principal skilled migrants from Asia, particularly North Asia, whose skills are under utilised in the economy because they are not employed in a job appropriate to their qualifications.

36. Given the correlation between English language ability and employment rates (see figure 2.1) and the English skills of North Asian migrants (see figure 3.1), we can reasonably assert that language barriers are one of the key reasons that North Asian migrants have lower employment rates than migrants from all other regions.

“Learning the Lingo: the Challenge of Gaining English Language Proficiency”

37. In May 2012, the Department of Labour published *Learning the Lingo: the Challenge of Gaining English Language Proficiency*, which focuses on the English language acquisition of New Zealand’s skilled migrants. The report shows that:

- skilled migrants from Asia reported lower levels of English language ability than skilled migrants from other regions
- skilled migrants from North Asia reported lower English language ability than other skilled migrants from Asia
- North Asian migrants were less likely to report improvement over time than migrants from other regions
- twenty seven per cent of North Asian skilled migrants reported a decline in their English language ability from ‘very good’, to ‘poor to good’ over a two and a half year period.

38. The report also investigates the reasons for the lack of improvement and decline in English language ability, which it identifies as:

- limited exposure to English prior to arrival in New Zealand
- an absence of immersion in English within educational, social and work interactions after arrival in New Zealand.

Conclusion

39. In sum, this section has identified migrants from North Asia as those most likely to face employment barriers because of their English language ability. Further, there are a considerable percentage of principal skilled migrants from North Asia whose skills are under utilised in the economy because they are not employed in a skilled job. Strikingly, over a quarter of North Asian migrants reported a decline in their English language ability since their arrival in New Zealand, which was largely a result of limited opportunities to use English in educational, social and work settings. These findings are significant because of the emergence of China as the top source country for migrants, and further, the need to ensure that the skills of migrants are well utilised in the economy.

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18 The report analyses data from “the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand” and the qualitative study “Five Years On”.

Section 4: Factors affecting English language acquisition

40. This section demonstrates that there is a wide range of factors affecting the English language acquisition of migrants who do not speak English as their first language. While many of these factors may be beyond the control of migrants, there are a number of factors that are within their control. These include:

- interacting with English speakers in work and social settings
- speaking English in the home and family contexts
- engaging with English language media
- undertaking English language tuition in New Zealand (see Appendix B for an overview of the resources available in New Zealand to help migrants improve their English skills).

Sources

41. Apart from *Learning the Lingo: the Challenge of Gaining English Proficiency*,\(^\text{20}\) there is a dearth of recent studies of the factors affecting the English language acquisition of migrants in New Zealand. Consequently, we draw largely on Hartmut Esser’s *Migration, Language and Integration* (2006), particularly Chapter 3, “Migration and Language Acquisition”.\(^\text{21}\) Esser’s conclusions are based on a meta-analysis of stable data gathered from studies conducted in Australia, USA, Canada, Israel and Germany. The stability, consistency and breadth of the data compared by Esser allow us to reasonably assume that the factors presented below are relevant to New Zealand’s migrants.

Outline of this section

42. While relying largely on international findings, this section presents an overview of the factors most applicable to migrants in New Zealand.\(^\text{22}\) The aim is to show that there is a wide range of disparate factors at play. These are categorised as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>individual migration factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linguistic factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opportunities and exposure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individual migration factors

43. Migrants in New Zealand seeking to acquire proficiency in English are affected by the characteristics of their individual “migration story”. These include their age at migration, their educational attainment, and whether they plan to migrate temporarily or permanently.

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\(^{22}\) We refer to English instead of “second language”, and to “heritage language” instead of “first language” or “mother tongue”.

13
44. Migrants who plan to stay in New Zealand on a long-term/permanent basis are more likely to achieve proficiency in English than those who plan a temporary stay. A more decisive factor, however, is a migrant’s age at the time of migration. Migrants who arrive in New Zealand at 14 years of age or younger are far more likely to achieve a high level of English language proficiency than older migrants. A migrant’s ability to acquire proficiency in English will decrease as his or her age at migration increases.23

45. The educational attainment of migrants correlates with their ability to acquire proficiency in English. For example, a migrant with a university degree will be more likely to acquire proficiency in English than a migrant who has only a secondary school qualification. There are three factors relating to educational attainment that have an effect on English language acquisition: the level of education attained by the individual in the country of origin; the educational attainment of the migrant’s parents; and if applicable, the level of education attained by the individual in New Zealand. The latter has the strongest influence on the acquisition of English.24

Linguistic factors

46. The ability of migrants in New Zealand to acquire proficiency in English is affected by the characteristics of their heritage language and its linguistic relationship to English. The factors here include:

- the Q-value25 of the heritage language, which affects a migrant’s motivation to attain proficiency in English
- the linguistic distance26 between the heritage language and English, which signals the degree of difficulty migrants may face leaning English on account of their prior knowledge of language.

47. The motivation of migrants in New Zealand to acquire proficiency in English should not be negatively affected by the Q-value of their heritage language, even if it is significantly high. English has a higher Q-value than all other languages, and English is the language of New Zealand’s labour market. In other words, migrants in New Zealand should reasonably understand the value of English and feel accordingly motivated to acquire strong English language skills.

48. The linguistic distance between the migrant’s heritage language and English, on the other hand, will have a strong effect on their ability to acquire proficiency in English.27 For example, migrants who speak French or Dutch as their first language will face less difficulty learning English than migrants who speak Arabic or Mandarin, due to the proximity of the languages to English in terms of vocabulary and grammar. This factor could in part explain why North Asian migrants have generally weaker English skills than other migrants in New Zealand (see section three).

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24 Ibid., 24, 34.
25 Q-value measures the communicative value of the language defined on the basis of the number of speakers of this language throughout the world. English has the highest Q-value.
26 Linguistic distance measures the differences between two languages. The linguistic distance between English and Mandarin is far greater than the linguistic distance between English and French, for example.
Cultural factors

49. Certain cultural characteristics of New Zealand will affect the ability of migrants to attain proficiency in English. These include:

- the cultural distance\(^{28}\) between the country of origin and New Zealand
- levels of discrimination and attitudes towards ethnic diversity in New Zealand
- the amount of interaction migrants have with people outside their own ethnic group
- the degree of ethnic diversity in the migrant’s residential area.

50. The cultural distance between a migrant’s country of origin and New Zealand will affect English acquisition in a similar way to linguistic distance.\(^{29}\) This can influence a migrant’s ability to adapt to the New Zealand way of life, make friends outside of their own ethnic group, and generally feel as though they fit in. Ultimately, these things will play a role in determining a migrant’s sense of belonging in New Zealand, which will affect the motivation of a migrant to acquire strong English language skills.

51. Similarly, a tolerant, cohesive and welcoming society has a positive effect on a migrant’s motivation to acquire proficiency in English.\(^{30}\) This can influence the amount of contact a migrant has with members of communities other than their own. Migrants who regularly interact with people who do not speak their heritage language are more likely to attain better English skills than migrants who only interact with members of their own ethnic group.\(^{31}\)

52. The ethnic composition of the residential area in which migrants reside also affects English language acquisition. Areas that are ethnically diverse will have a positive effect on English acquisition, whereas migrants who live in an area that has a high concentration of people from the same ethnicity are likely to use their heritage language more often, thus reducing the time they will be immersed in an English language setting.\(^{32}\)

Opportunities and exposure

53. Opportunities for migrants to learn, and their exposure to English, will affect their ability to acquire proficiency in the language. Important factors include:

- prior exposure to English in the migrant’s country of origin
- engaging with English language media
- the use of English in the home
- the availability of English language tuition in New Zealand.

54. Opportunities to undertake English language tuition in the country of origin and in New Zealand have a positive effect on English acquisition.\(^{33}\) There is no shortage of opportunities to do so in New Zealand (see Appendix B).

\(^{28}\) Cultural distance refers to the gap between two different groups, for example, the gap between rural and urban societies. In this context of this report, culture refers to the general cultural characteristics of a country.

\(^{29}\) Esser (2006), 27.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 29.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 28-29; Learning the Lingo (2012).

\(^{32}\) Esser (2006), 33.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., 29-30; Learning the Lingo (2012).
55. The most significant factor affecting English acquisition in this category is the use of English in the home and family contexts. Further, the language skills of the parents and everyday English language use in the family will have a positive effect on the English acquisition of migrant children.\(^\text{34}\) Engaging with media in English rather than in the heritage language will also have a positive effect on English acquisition.\(^\text{35}\)

**Conclusion**

56. In sum, there is a wide variety of factors affecting migrants' acquisition of English. Many of these factors can be beyond the control of migrants, which means that a low standard of English may not result from a lack of effort or ability. For example, older migrants with little education, who live in an area that has a high concentration of people of the same ethnic group, and who speak a language such as Arabic or Mandarin, are likely to face significant difficulties attaining proficiency in English. The case may be the same for refugees who experienced traumatic events prior to their arrival in New Zealand.

57. Importantly, there are a number of factors affecting the acquisition of English that migrants can control. These include interacting with English speakers in work and social settings, speaking English in the home and family contexts,\(^\text{36}\) engaging with English language media, and undertaking English language tuition in New Zealand. Positive attitudes of employers - and New Zealanders more generally - towards ethnic and linguistic diversity can further encourage migrants to acquire proficiency in English. Migrants can only improve their English skills in a work or social context if they are given the opportunity to do so by employers, on the one hand, and members of communities other than their own, on the other.

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34 Esser (2006), 30-36.
36 Learning the Lingo (2012).
Section 5: Heritage language maintenance and integration

58. Section two showed that the English language ability of New Zealand’s migrants affects their ability to participate in and contribute to New Zealand society. This section suggests that heritage language maintenance can also play a positive role in the integration outcomes of migrants. However, due to the complex relationship between English acquisition and heritage language maintenance, migrants wishing to develop and maintain their skills in both languages will need to carefully consider their approach to this task. Finally, we recommend that language maintenance initiatives ought to be designed and driven by the community itself in order to be effective.

Outline of this section

59. To support these claims, this section demonstrates that:

- positive integration outcomes occur more frequently when migrants participate in wider society and maintain their heritage culture
- there is a strong connection between cultural maintenance and heritage language maintenance
- there is a negative correlation between acquiring English language proficiency and heritage language maintenance
- migrant families typically shift completely to English within three generations
- the conditions that are favourable to heritage language maintenance include the size of the community, the use of the heritage language in the home, and to a lesser extent, the availability of community language schools.

Cultural maintenance and integration outcomes

60. There are consistent international and New Zealand findings that show the most positive integration outcomes occur when migrants both actively participate in wider society and maintain their heritage cultural identity. John Berry refers to this approach as “double engagement”. In the case of Chinese migrants in New Zealand, for example, the migrants would be “double engaged” by identifying as New Zealanders while also maintaining their Chinese identity. The New Zealand Settlement Strategy supports this approach, within the context of affirming that positive integration outcomes are desirable because they mutually benefit the migrant and New Zealand as a whole.

61. In her study of language maintenance in New Zealand, Mary Roberts argues that there is a strong connection between cultural maintenance and language maintenance, observing that they “rarely exist in isolation from one another.” In other words, language maintenance can meet important cultural objectives.


38 Berry (2006).


62. The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs’ “Pacific Languages Framework” is based on this assumption. In addition to underlining the connection between language maintenance and cultural maintenance, the Pacific Languages Framework highlights the role that language maintenance plays in cultivating strong families and communities.41

63. If heritage language maintenance, as an important component of cultural maintenance, has the potential to contribute to positive integration outcomes, then in the context of language and integration, proficiency in English and heritage language maintenance will both be important. As we will see below, however, the relationship between acquiring proficiency in English and heritage language maintenance is problematic and complex.

The demand for English proficiency is problematic for heritage language maintenance

64. Put simply, the overriding challenge to the maintenance of heritage languages is the demand for migrants to acquire proficiency in English. Importantly, this demand affects migrants in different ways to their descendants born in New Zealand.

65. In section three we looked at the factors affecting a migrant’s ability to acquire proficiency in English, using four categories: individual migration factors (age at migration and educational attainment); linguistic factors (the Q-value of the language and linguistic distance); cultural factors (cultural distance); and opportunities and exposure (language use in the home). This combination of factors is equally applicable to the ability of migrants to retain their heritage language.

66. Strikingly, a large number of factors that have a positive effect on English language acquisition have a negative effect on heritage language maintenance. As Esser puts it: “The conditions that promote second language acquisition are usually detrimental to the retention and command of the language of origin and vice versa.”42

67. Whereas young age at the time of migration, regularly interacting with people who do not speak the same heritage language, engaging with English language media, and speaking English in the home and family contexts have a positive effect on the acquisition of English, these factors all have a negative effect on the retention of heritage languages. There is a negative correlation between acquiring English language proficiency and heritage language maintenance. Few migrants will be able to read, write and speak proficiently in both English and their heritage language.43

68. Accordingly, migrant communities that give priority to acquiring proficiency in English in order to maximise their integration outcomes will find it difficult to retain proficiency in their heritage language. This situation instigates a process by which the preference for English continues to increase from generation to generation, and similarly, heritage language skills continue to decline.

42 Esser (2006), ii.
43 Ibid., 55-57.
Language shift to English usually occurs within three generations

69. The children of migrants generally have significantly better English language skills than their parents. Further, there is an extremely consistent international finding that migrant communities usually cease maintaining their heritage language within three generations, sometimes as soon as within two, at which point they shift completely to the majority language of their new country. Socio-linguists refer to this as 'language shift'.

70. To use the example of language shift in Asian migrant communities in the USA, the first generation generally acquires enough English to meet their daily needs, but retains proficiency in their heritage language; the second generation acquires a high level of proficiency in English and their use of the heritage language is largely confined to the home and family contexts; and the third generation are, by and large, monolingual English speakers.

71. The results of New Zealand studies are consistent with international findings on language shift. Statistics New Zealand’s Concerning Language contains some statistical evidence of language shift in New Zealand. For example, those aged 0-24 are less likely to speak a heritage language than their counterparts aged 50 and over. Additionally, those born overseas in the 10-24 year age group display a significant decline in heritage language retention over a longer period of residence in New Zealand. These findings show that migration at a young age, along with longer periods of immersion in New Zealand society, affects the propensity for individuals to develop or retain the use of their heritage language.

The process that contributes to language shift

72. Fishman describes the process of language shift in the following steps:

- migrants increasingly interact in more social settings or domains that are dominated by mainstream groups, requiring them to use English at the expense of their heritage language
- an increase in the number of domains in which English is spoken by migrants is likely to increase the time spent using English, resulting in proficiency in English
- proficiency in English leads to better employment and educational outcomes
- the experience of successful employment and educational outcomes motivates migrants to increasingly seek the rewards provided by proficiency in English in favour of the community and cultural rewards given by heritage language maintenance.

44 Ibid., 38.
45 Ibid.
73. However, as migrant communities become aware of the consequences of language shift, they often take measures to revitalise their heritage language. Given the strong connection between cultural maintenance and language maintenance, these efforts by communities to revive their heritage language are likely, at least to an extent, to be motivated by the desire to prevent the erosion of their heritage cultural identity.

Conditions favourable to heritage language maintenance

74. The conditions that have a positive effect on heritage language maintenance include:
   - large communities that regularly interact socially, particularly within religious settings
   - the availability of community language schools
   - positive attitudes towards the country of origin and the heritage language
   - intra-ethnic marriage
   - the use of the heritage language in the home.

Large communities that regularly interact

75. Large communities, particularly those residing in the same area and/or religiously oriented, offer more opportunities to interact socially and are thus more likely to foster heritage language retention than smaller communities. Conversely, small communities that lack a unifying community organisation, religious or otherwise, will need to recognise the disadvantage they face and create regular opportunities to interact socially in order to compensate for their size.

Community language schools

76. While the availability of community language schools is an important factor, Fishman et al. admit that they “make the most modest contribution” to heritage language maintenance. Holmes et al. argue that these schools can, however, complement the use of the heritage language in the home and in other social domains.

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50 J. Holmes et al. (2001), 49-50.
52 Esser (2006), 33; J. Holmes et al (2001), 62-65; Fishman (1985). The findings in Concerning Language show that people who reported a religious affiliation were more likely to speak a heritage language than those who did not (Chinese are the exception).
54 J. Holmes et al. (2001), 64.
Positive attitudes

77. Communities that have a collective positive attitude towards their country of origin and heritage language, as well as conceive of their heritage language as inextricably connected to their ethnicity, are more likely to maintain their heritage language. However, as Mary Roberts contends, the attitudes of both migrants and the host society shape the outcomes of heritage language maintenance. If migrants are to increase the likelihood of retaining their heritage language, then migrant and “mainstream” communities need to have a positive attitude towards the cultural heritage, including the heritage language, of migrant communities.

78. A positive attitude from wider society towards migrant communities and their heritage language has a positive effect on both the English language acquisition of migrants and the retention of their heritage language.

Intra-ethnic marriage

79. Inter-ethnic marriage contributes to a faster shift to English, especially when the female does not speak the heritage language. The findings in Concerning Language support this point: New Zealand-born children living with a mother who was able to speak English, were less likely to speak a heritage language than those children living with a mother who could not. It is likely that this factor is related, to an extent, to the positive effect that the use of the heritage language in the home has on heritage language maintenance. As Concerning Language also reported, the proportion of children speaking a heritage language increased with the number of adults able to speak the child’s heritage language residing in the household.

The use of the heritage language in the home

80. The home is a key domain for both acquiring proficiency in English and heritage language maintenance. This means that migrants will need to carefully consider whether they use only English or their heritage language at home, or a combination of both.

Conclusion

81. This section has shown that heritage language maintenance can play a positive role in the integration outcomes of migrants. However, due to the complex dynamics of English language acquisition and heritage language maintenance, migrants wishing to actively participate in New Zealand society while maintaining their cultural heritage will need to carefully consider their approach to both languages.

60 Esser (2006), 34; J. Holmes et al (2001), 61; Fishman (1985). Statistics New Zealand’s Concerning Language shows that the proportion of children speaking a heritage language increased with the number of adults able to speak the child’s heritage language residing in the household.
82. This might include the way migrant parents approach the language education of their children. Several key considerations might be: which language (English or heritage language) they choose to speak at which times and in which domains (the choice of language in the home will be important here); the extent to which they situate heritage language maintenance in their community’s broader cultural maintenance activities; and the degree of fluency in the heritage language they wish to achieve. Importantly, informing migrants about the relationship between English acquisition and heritage language maintenance will enable them to develop initiatives that may increase their chances of success.

83. Finally, there is evidence that heritage language initiatives are more successful when they are led and driven by their respective community. The Pacific Languages Framework encourages this approach. It would be impractical to formulate a uniform approach to language maintenance that suited all of New Zealand’s ethnic communities. The characteristics of each community vary in terms of cultural practices, religious orientation and size, as well as the number of generations the community has resided in New Zealand. Each community ought to design its own language maintenance initiatives, so it can cater to its own specific needs and characteristics.

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Section 6: Conclusion

84. This report has contributed to our understanding of the impact that the language skills of migrants has on their ability to participate in and contribute to New Zealand society, which ultimately affects New Zealand’s capacity to build a more competitive and productive economy. Just as positive integration outcomes mutually benefit migrants and New Zealand society as a whole, migrants and wider society both have their roles to play in achieving positive integration outcomes.

85. Section two has shown that the employment rates and earning power of migrants strongly correlate with their English language ability. Further, a lack of English skills affects the ability of migrants to socialise and cultivate a sense of belonging in New Zealand. Informing migrants who speak English as a second language of these issues may increase their understanding of the economic and social consequences of weak English skills, and motivate them to acquire greater proficiency in English.

86. Section three identified migrants from North Asia as those most likely to face employment barriers because of their English language ability. Further, there are a considerable number of principal skilled migrants from North Asia whose skills are under utilised in the economy because they are not employed in a job appropriate to their qualifications. Strikingly, over a quarter of North Asian migrants reported a decline in their English language ability since their arrival in New Zealand, which was largely a result of limited opportunities to use English in educational, social and work settings. These findings are significant because of the emergence of China as the top source country for New Zealand’s migrants, and further, the need to ensure that the skills of migrants are well utilised in the economy.

87. Section four demonstrated that there is a wide range of disparate factors affecting the English language acquisition of migrants. While many of these factors may be beyond the control of migrants, there are a number of factors that are within their control. These include:

- interacting with English speakers in work and social settings
- speaking English in the home and family contexts
- engaging with English language media
- undertaking English language tuition in New Zealand.

88. In addition, positive attitudes from employers and others towards ethnic and linguistic diversity can further encourage migrants to acquire proficiency in English. Migrants can only improve their English skills in a work or social context if they are given the opportunity to do so by employers, on the one hand, and members of communities other than their own, on the other.

89. Section five suggested that heritage language maintenance has the potential to contribute to positive integration outcomes. In the context of language and integration, proficiency in English and heritage language maintenance are therefore both important.

90. However, we saw that the situation is complicated because the overriding challenge to the retention of heritage languages is the demand for migrants to acquire proficiency in English.

91. There is a negative correlation between acquiring English language proficiency and heritage language maintenance. Further, New Zealand and international studies consistently show that language shift to English usually occurs within three generations. Consequently, few migrants or their descendants born in New Zealand will achieve true bilingualism.
92. However, as migrant communities become aware of the consequences of language shift, they often take measures to revitalise their heritage language. We presented the conditions that are favourable to heritage language maintenance as follows:

- large communities that regularly interact socially, particularly within religious settings
- the availability of community language schools
- positive attitudes towards the country of origin and the heritage language
- intra-ethnic marriage
- the use of the heritage language in the home.

93. Additionally, positive attitudes from wider society towards migrant communities and their heritage language can have a positive effect on both the English language acquisition of migrants and the retention of their heritage language.

94. Importantly, due to the complex dynamics of English acquisition and heritage language maintenance, migrants wishing to actively participate in wider society while maintaining their cultural heritage will need to carefully develop their skills in both languages.

95. Migrant parents may need to consider their approach to the language education of their children, including: which language (English or heritage language) they choose to engage in at which times and in which domains (the choice of language in the home will be important here); the extent to which they situate heritage language maintenance in the context of their community’s broader cultural maintenance activities; and the degree of fluency in the heritage language they wish to achieve. Importantly, informing migrants of the complicated relationship between English acquisition and language maintenance will enable them to develop informed initiatives that may increase their chances of success.

96. It would be impractical to design a single approach to language maintenance for all of New Zealand’s ethnic communities. The characteristics of each community vary in terms of cultural practices, religious orientation and size, as well as the number of generations the community has resided in New Zealand. Each community ought to design and lead its own language maintenance initiatives, so it can cater to its own specific needs and characteristics.
Appendix A: English language requirements for skilled migrants

1. People who wish to enter New Zealand through the Skilled Migrant Category (SMC) need to meet Immigration New Zealand’s (INZ) English language requirements. These requirements are different for the principal applicant and his/her partner and children.62

**Principal applicant**

2. The principal applicant (the person making the application) must have an ‘International English Language Testing System’ (IELTS) certificate, with a score of at least six and a half (see below for an explanation). The certificate must be less than two years old.

3. However, principal applicants may not need an IELTS certificate if they have a recognised qualification from a course taught entirely in English, or ongoing skilled employment in New Zealand for at least the last 12 months. In this instance, applicants will need an IELTS score of at least five. INZ will also consider other forms of evidence.

**Partners and children (SMC)**

4. Any partner or child (aged 16 and over) included in the SMC application must also meet INZ’s English language requirements. An IELTS score of at least five is one of several ways to meet this requirement. Another accepted form of meeting the requirement is a recognised qualification from a course taught entirely in English.

5. A partner or child aged 16 or over who does not meet INZ’s English language requirements can still meet the requirements by paying for English language tuition in New Zealand.

**International English Language Testing System**

6. IELTS provides students with a score ranging from ‘band 1’ (non-user) to ‘band 9’ (expert user).63 The descriptions from ‘band 4’ to ‘band 7’ are as follows:

- **Band 7** - Good user: an operational command of the language, though with occasional inaccuracies and misunderstandings in some situations. Generally handles complex language well and understands detailed reasoning.

- **Band 6** - Competent user: a generally effective command of the language despite some inaccuracies and misunderstandings. Can use and understand fairly complex language, particularly in familiar situations.

- **Band 5** - Modest user: partial command of the language, coping with overall meaning in most situations, though is likely to make many mistakes. Should be able to handle basic communication in familiar contexts.

- **Band 4** - Limited user: basic competence, which is limited to familiar situations. Frequent problems in understanding and expression and unable to use complex language.

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Appendix B: Key language resources for migrants and refugees in New Zealand

Language Line

1. Language Line is a telephone interpreting service operated by the Office of Ethnic Affairs. It provides clients of participating agencies free interpreting services in 44 languages. There are more than 90 participating agencies, which use interpreters for a vast range of services, from arranging an appointment, to registering a birth.64

The Translation Service

2. The Translation Service of the Department of Internal Affairs provides professional translation services in over 70 languages to business, central and local government, education providers and individuals. They offer a comprehensive range of translation services, specialising in technical, medical, legal and commercial documents.65

English Language Courses for Migrants in New Zealand

3. The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) administers the “English for Migrants” programme, which helps connect migrants with providers of English language courses throughout New Zealand.

4. As a part of their residency requirements, some migrants are required to pay English language tuition fees to Immigration New Zealand before arriving in New Zealand. This is known as ‘pre-purchased tuition’, which can only be used at approved organisations.

5. TEC publishes a resource called “English for Migrants”, which presents a list of the approved schools providing English language tuition, with a description of each course. The courses range from beginners to advanced levels, and there are courses that specialise in English for employment and academic purposes, as well as one-on-one courses that are tailored to meet the needs of the individual. There are editions of “English for Migrants” available for the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch regions, as well as “Other Regions”.66

6. There are 27 schools in the Auckland region, seven in the Wellington region, and ten in the Christchurch region. There are also schools in 19 towns throughout the country. If migrants who require tuition to improve their English proficiency are not undertaking an English language course, then it is almost certainly for reasons other than a lack of supply.

English Language Partners New Zealand

7. English Language Partners New Zealand (ELPNZ) is a not-for-profit organisation and the largest provider of English language tuition for migrants and refugees in New Zealand. ELPNZ provides tuition in 23 locations throughout the country and had 6,512 registered learners in 2012. Of this figure, 86 per cent were eligible for services funded by TEC.67

66 The PDF for each resource is available at the following link: http://www.tec.govt.nz/Funding/Fund-finder/English-for-Migrants/Learner-resources/ (date accessed 21 October 2013).
Work Talk

8. Work Talk is an interactive online resource for migrants and their employers. Users can watch scenarios and then test themselves on the best response for either the worker or the employer in specific situations. The resource was developed by Immigration New Zealand in collaboration with the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.68

The Centre for Refugee Education

9. Auckland University of Technology’s (AUT) Centre for Refugee Education provides a six week education programme for refugees once they arrive in New Zealand. The Ministry of Education funds the Centre for Refugee Education, which is situated at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre. All teachers are qualified to teach English as an additional language. The Centre for Refugee Education is part of the AUT School of Language and Culture.69