CHAPTER 6

Inequality and Adolescent Migrants: Results from Youth2000 Survey

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Abstract Diversity in Aotearoa/New Zealand is increasing, and most rapidly among the youngest age groups. While existing research into young migrants has explored aspects of their lived experiences, there is little work that specifically investigates these from a perspective of inequality. Using data from a series of nation-wide surveys of secondary school students, we found the youth population in Aotearoa/New Zealand to be more diverse than ever before, with growing disparities among migrant groups in legal status in Aotearoa/New Zealand, experience of household, neighbourhood and school deprivation, social connectedness, ethnic discrimination

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and health. Governments that seek to make migration policy conducive only to labour market needs and ignore its long-term structural and intergenerational consequences will perpetuate ethnic inequalities.

Keywords First generation • Youth survey • Adolescent • Deprivation • Neighbourhood • School decile • Well-being

Introduction

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, as in many migrant-receiving countries, the youth population is among the most rapidly growing and diverse demographic segments of the population. According to the 2013 Census, children under the age of 18 comprise 24% of the New Zealand population; of this, around 10.4% fall within the ages 10–17 (Office of the Children's Commissioner 2018). The ethnic spread of New Zealand's young people (based on total response),[1] mirrors the diversity of the overall population—approximately 70% of young people aged 10–19 identify as Pākehā, 23% as Māori, 12% as Asian, 12% as Pacific Islanders and 1.3% as Middle Eastern and Latin American ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Migration is intrinsically tied to this profile of ethnic diversity. Census data point to the increasing proportion of 10- to 19-year-olds born overseas, from 15% in 2001 to 18% in 2013, with the largest increases coming from Asia (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Youth enter the country as dependants with their parents, a dependent student or independently for study or work. Between 2011/2012 and 2015/2016, youth aged 12–24 years comprised 16% of residence approvals, 6% of whom were aged 12–17 years (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment 2017).

Existing research on migrant young people in Aotearoa/New Zealand has explored aspects of their lived experiences, including discrimination (Di Cosmo et al. 2011a, b) and well-being disparities in relation to New Zealand-born youth (Ameratunga and Horner 2011). There is, however, little work that specifically investigates these from a perspective of inequality among migrant groups. Migrant groups represent some of the most- *and* least-advantaged groups, influenced by both pre-migration experiences and post-migration conditions they face. This gap amongst migrant groups has, by and large, been widening in Aotearoa/New Zealand given changing migration policy preferences (see Chap. 1,

[1] The New Zealand Census Ethnic Total Response Output allows for a student to be counted in each of the ethnic groups they report.

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Introduction). The impact of these policy changes for young migrant and ethnic populations remains to be investigated, particularly as these changes have the potential to impact on inequalities in adulthood, as well as on future generations. Against this background, this chapter is an analysis of inequality that goes beyond purely ethnic differences among youth. It examines inequality as a complex intersection between migration, ethnicity and socio-demographic characteristics, including country of origin.

Drawing specifically on data derived from a nation-wide survey of secondary school students, the Youth2000 survey series, our analysis maps inequality as beginning in the country of origin, augmented by immigration conditions at the time of arrival, and further by the length of time it takes to transition from temporary to permanent residence status or citizenship. Three waves of the survey have been carried out (in 2001, 2007 and 2012) covering key transitions in government: the 2001 Youth2000 survey corresponded with the early years of the Fifth Labour Government in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the 2007 and 2012 survey with the Fifth National Government. Thus, the data from the Youth2000 surveys, to a large extent, also reflect the period of key migration transitions of the last 20 years.

Overall, the data suggest that young people who came to Aotearoa/New Zealand before 2010 experienced less poverty than those who came later, and inequalities increased after 2010. Inequalities are further complicated by ethnic identifications; we see the persistence of inequalities for some ethnic communities, while others seek to improve mobility for their children through education. We make this argument through the analysis of three key data themes that are organised in successive chapter sections: first, the changing profile of migrant and ethnic youth in Aotearoa/New Zealand; second, a comparative analysis of inequality at the household, neighbourhood and school levels; and lastly, through an analysis of well-being indicators among ethnic and migrant youth. The analyses sections are preceded by an overview of the Youth2000 data set. A concluding section collates and discusses the key findings and the implications for migrant youth inequalities.

The Youth2000 Survey Series

This chapter draws on data from large nationally representative surveys of adolescent health and well-being: the Youth2000 Secondary School survey series. The surveys were co-funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, Ministries of Youth Development, Social Development, Health, Education and Justice, the Department of Labour, the Families Commission, the Health Promotion Agency, Accident Compensation

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Corporation of New Zealand, Sport and Recreation New Zealand and the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand. The surveys were conducted by the multi-disciplinary Adolescent Health Research Group at the University of Auckland. Three surveys were carried out over an 11-year period—in 2001 (9567 students in 114 schools), 2007 (9107 in 96 schools) and 2012 (8500 in 91 schools)—enabling the collection of data from more than 27,000 students representing the diversity of ethnic and migrant experiences across Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The surveys used multistage clustered sample designs, with approximately one-third of secondary schools randomly selected from across Aotearoa/New Zealand, and approximately 18% of students randomly selected from their school rolls. Data were collected using self-administered surveys via multimedia computer-assisted self-interviewing technology on laptop computers (in 2001) or internet tablets (in 2007 and 2012) (Denny et al. 2008). The survey contains approximately 605 questions, although, due to the complex branching design incorporating screening items and skip patterns, all participants do not receive every single question. The questions in the last two waves (2007 and 2012) have largely remained the same. Details of the survey methodology have been published elsewhere (Ameratunga et al. 2003; Denny et al. 2008; Denny et al. 2011; Clark et al. 2013).

The Youth2000 series covers a wide range of issues and has been unique in its ability to describe issues cutting across the health, education and social sectors. The survey questions explored aspects of ethnicity (e.g. "Which ethnic group do you belong to?"), home (e.g. "Who do you live with in your main or only home?"), school (e.g. "How do you feel about school?") and neighbourhood environments (e.g. "Do you feel you really belong in your neighbourhood?"), as well as health and well-being indicators including emotional and sexual health, substance use, injuries and violence, nutrition and exercise, spirituality and so forth. In the current analysis, we explore socio-economic and health inequalities among ethnic groups as determined by pre-migration experiences (i.e. country of origin and income level of country of origin), government and accompanying migration policies at the time of migration and residency or citizenship status. We draw on the data to explore dimensions of inequalities in distinctive ways, including inequalities as *deprivation* at the level of the household, neighbourhood and school decile; inequalities in *access* to healthcare, welfare and education as a result of immigration status; inequalities as *disparities* in well-being, for example, social connections and belonging; inequalities in *discrimination*, for example, bullying and unfair treatment; and inequalities as *disparities* in health risk behaviours and health outcomes. Terms used in the analyses presented in this chapter are defined in Table 6.1.

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Table 6.1 Definition of terms used in this chapter

Term	*Definition*
Migration and ethnicity characteristics	
Youth/adolescents	Secondary school children aged between 12 and 18 years
Ethnicity	Categorised according to the New Zealand Census Ethnic Prioritisation method, which allows only one ethnicity per student, and prioritises ethnic identity for those reporting multiple ethnicities in the following order: Māori, Pacific, Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American or African, Other ethnicity, European
Student and parent country of birth	As reported by the student
First-generation migrant	Student was not born in Aotearoa/New Zealand
Second-generation migrant	Student was born in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but one or both parents were not born in Aotearoa/New Zealand
Refugee	Student reported coming to Aotearoa/New Zealand as a refugee
Government at the time of migration	Government in power at the year of arrival. Year of arrival calculated from age at arrival and number of years in Aotearoa/New Zealand
Income level of the student and parent country of birth	Based on annual World Bank classifications of low, lower-middle, upper-middle and high income using the Gross National Income per capita cut-offs in use for each calendar year: https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups
Dimensions of socio-economic inequality in Aotearoa/New Zealand	
Household deprivation	Derived from a principal components analysis of a composite of variables in the Youth2000 survey data, including ownership of assets, food security and housing stability
Neighbourhood deprivation	Neighbourhood level deprivation (New Zealand Dep) based on New Zealand Census data for 2006 and 2013, grouped into two bands (poorest 3 deciles, and 7 middle and highest deciles)
School decile	Based on Ministry of Education classifications, grouped into two bands (lowest 3 deciles, and 7 middle and highest deciles)
Health behaviours and outcomes	
Smoking	Student reported smoking weekly or more
Overweight or obesity	International Obesity Taskforce cut-offs for 2012 were used to define age- and sex-appropriate body mass index, and these were used to create a category for overweight or obesity
Depression	Symptoms of depression defined according to Reynolds Adolescent Depression Scale

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A brief note on our methodology—we used annual World Bank income level categories to create income bands for countries of origin, and further grouped these by regions (see Table 6.1). We divided the year of arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand into three groups to reflect the main government in power as a proxy for immigration policies during that time period. We looked at trends in household, neighbourhood and school deprivation over those government periods for each regional income group. For the most recent government period, we looked at how different dimensions of inequality varied for each regional income group. Data presented in this chapter are from the most recent surveys, in 2012 and 2007, and from first-generation migrants, unless stated otherwise. Data are percentages of students in different categories adjusted for sample weights (to account for unequal probabilities of being sampled).

Profiling Inequality Among Migrant Students

According to the Youth2000 survey, the ethnic profile of migrants has rapidly diversified since 2001. This section explores two dimensions of this diversification: in relation to their country of origin, and to the changing profiles of economic status in the country. Both dimensions reflect implications of changes in migration policy.

Overall, by 2012, almost half of New Zealand adolescents were either first- or second-generation migrants. Among adolescents in Aotearoa/New Zealand who were surveyed in 2012, 22% were born overseas (first-generation migrants), an increase from 17% in 2001. A further 24% had at least one parent born overseas (second-generation migrants) in 2012, compared with 21% in 2001. The proportion of first-generation migrant students with one or both parents from a low- or lower-middle-income country (LMIC) was 34%. For second-generation migrants, this was 62%. This has changed dramatically over time: 45% of those migrating before 2001 had one or both parents from an LMIC, compared with only 17% of those who migrated between 2010 and 2012. This may partly be a reflection of changing immigration policies, as well as the fact that China and other Asian countries (apart from India, Sri Lanka and Indonesia) were all classified as upper-middle-income or high-income countries, and accounted for a larger part of the migrant population after 2010.

Based on the Youth2000 survey data collected, students born overseas are categorised as being from Australia, Europe, Pacific, Asia, Africa, Middle East, North America, South America and Other. As shown in Table 6.2, the

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Table 6.2 Region or country of birth for survey participants for each wave of the Youth2000 survey

Region/country of birth	*2001* n *(%)*	*2007* n *(%)*	*2012* n *(%)*	*Total* n *(%)*
Total	9567	9107	8500	27,174
Born in Aotearoa/New Zealand	7978 (83.4)	6933 (76.1)	6618 (77.9)	21,529 (79.2)
Not a migrant	*6006 (62.8)*	*4991 (54.8)*	*4543 (53.5)*	*15,540 (57.2)*
Second generation	*1972 (20.6)*	*1942 (21.3)*	*2075 (24.4)*	*5989 (22.0)*
Born overseas (First generation)	1588 (16.6)	2141 (23.5)	1872 (22.0)	5601 (20.6)
Of those born overseas				
Australia	222 (14.0)	229 (10.7)	164 (8.8)	615 (11.0)
Europe	223 (14.0)	396 (18.5)	322 (17.2)	941 (16.8)
United Kingdom	*164 (10.3)*	*269 (12.6)*	*211 (11.3)*	*644 (11.5)*
Other Europe	*59 (3.7)*	*127 (5.9)*	*111 (5.9)*	*297 (5.3)*
Pacific	293 (18.5)	226 (10.6)	362 (19.3)	881 (15.7)
Cook Islands	*26 (1.6)*	*29 (1.4)*	*31 (1.7)*	*86 (1.5)*
Fiji	*59 (3.7)*	*81 (3.8)*	*112 (6.0)*	*252 (4.5)*
Niue	*17 (1.1)*	*8 (0.4)*	*7 (0.4)*	*32 (0.6)*
Samoa	*128 (8.1)*	*75 (3.5)*	*151 (8.1)*	*354 (6.3)*
Tonga	*63 (4.0)*	*33 (1.5)*	*61 (3.3)*	*157 (2.8)*
Asia	300 (18.9)	632 (29.5)	451 (24.1)	1383 (24.7)
China	*95 (6.0)*	*166 (7.8)*	*133 (7.1)*	*394 (7.0)*
Hong Kong	*57 (3.4)*	*61 (2.9)*	*20 (1.1)*	*138 (2.5)*
India	*54 (3.4)*	*132 (6.2)*	*99 (5.3)*	*285 (5.1)*
Indonesia	*7 (0.4)*	*8 (0.4)*	*7 (0.4)*	*22 (0.4)*
Japan	*31 (2.0)*	*45 (2.1)*	*36 (1.9)*	*112 (2.0)*
Korea	–	*158 (7.4)*	*113 (6.0)*	*271 (4.8)*
Malaysia	*40 (2.5)*	*35 (1.6)*	*24 (1.3)*	*99 (1.8)*
Sri Lanka	*16 (1.0)*	*27 (1.3)*	*19 (1.0)*	*62 (1.1)*
Africa	141 (8.9)	240 (11.2)	171 (9.1)	552 (9.9)
South Africa	*106 (6.7)*	*168 (7.9)*	*107 (5.7)*	*381 (6.8)*
Other Africa	*35 (2.2)*	*72 (3.4)*	*64 (3.4)*	*171 (3.1)*
Middle East	26 (1.6)	44 (2.0)	35 (1.9)	105 (1.9)
North America	58 (3.7)	46 (2.2)	44 (2.4)	148 (2.6)
South America	11 (0.7)	23 (1.1)	16 (0.9)	50 (0.9)
Other countries	314 (19.8)	305 (14.3)	307 (16.4)	926 (16.5)

largest number of first-generation migrants were born in Asian countries (24%), with large numbers also coming from Pacific Island countries (19%), Europe (17%), Australia (9%) and Africa (9%). Overall, China (7%) and India (5%) accounted for the largest numbers of Asian migrants, while Samoa (8%) and Fiji (6%) accounted for the largest numbers of Pacific migrants. Most European migrants were from the United Kingdom (11%),

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with 6% from other European countries. South Africa (6%), Korea (6%) and Tonga (3%) accounted for smaller but significant numbers from specific countries. There were also a large number of students grouped under Other countries (17%). We might assume that these are likely to be mainly from Asia and the Pacific, since the other source regions from which there were high numbers (such as Europe and Africa) had both a general category and an option for naming specific countries (e.g. the United Kingdom, South Africa) as a response option in the survey, while Asia and the Pacific regions did not have this option.

Migrant youth who prioritised Māori ethnicity were predominantly born in Australia, and one or both of their parents were likely to be returning New Zealanders. These 'diasporic migrants' have an ambiguous status, since they will have some similarities with the resident New Zealand Māori population and some similarities with other migrants from Australia.

Students' country of birth largely followed a pattern similar to ethnicity, though there are some important intersections between ethnicity and country of birth that reflect historical migration journeys that started prior to coming to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Around 6% of those born in the Pacific and around 20% of Fijians identified with Asian ethnicity. Additionally, 10% of South Africans, 27% of Middle Eastern, 14% of North Americans and 56% of those whose birth country was classified as Other identified as Asian. Only just over half of those whose birth region was Africa identified as having African ethnicity, and around one in six of those with African ethnicity were not born in Africa.

When we looked at year of arrival based on Youth2012 and Youth2007 survey data, migration trends over time varied by country of origin, with the number of years migrant youth had been living in Aotearoa/New Zealand ranging from 18 (i.e. most of their lifetime) to less than one (see Fig. 6.1). Overall this profile highlights three key trends in relation to the increasing diversity based on country of origin of immigrant adolescents in Aotearoa/New Zealand. First, young people coming from countries not in the current classification of countries of origin have increased, reflecting greater diversification. The increase in the cluster of 'Others'—Other Asian, Other Europeans and Others—implies a wider spread of migrant countries of origin over the periods of the surveys. Second, and relatedly, among these clusters, there is especially a notable spike in the category Other Asian group. Thirdly, and in contrast to other ethnicities, there is a decline in adolescent migrants from India, especially after 2009.

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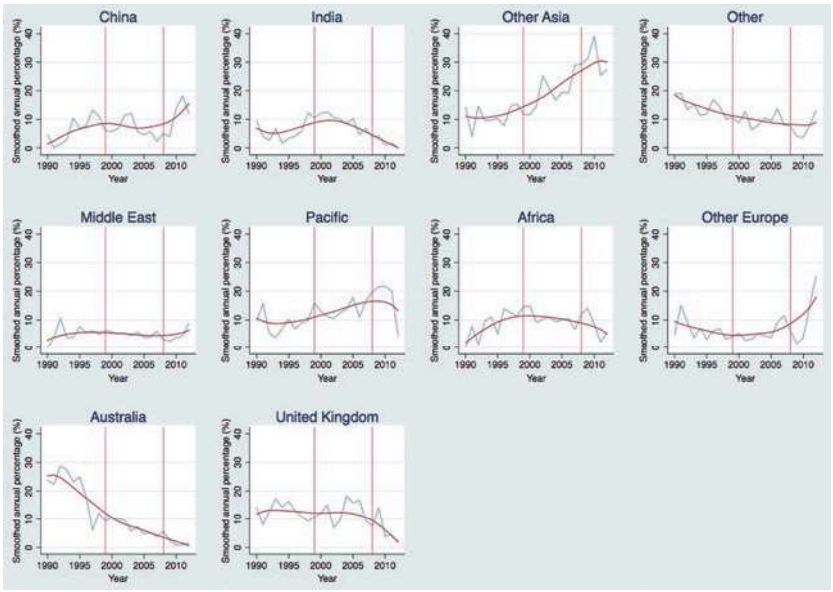

Fig. 6.1 Migration over time by student birth country/region and government period. Note: Blue trend lines show actual annual data for percentage of migrants from specific regions. Red trend lines show running average using LOWESS. Vertical red lines divide each graph panel into the three government periods

The characteristics of this profile, we argue, are direct reflections of changes in migration policies and global economic transitions during this period. During the years between 1990 and 2012, many countries in Asia experienced rapid economic development, moving up one or two World Bank income level categories. In particular, China moved from being a low-income country in 1990 to an upper-middle-income country by 2012, making it possible to meet the requirements for immigration to Aotearoa/New Zealand in skilled or business categories or to afford to send their children to school overseas (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment 2017). The rise in the Other Asian category also probably reflects the increase in arrival of Asian international students from countries like Korea and Japan (Ministry of Education 2014; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2017). The tripling in the proportion of students who "are not living with their parents or extended family" in these groups in the Youth2000 surveys further supports the idea that the increasing arrivals are international

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fee-paying students (Ministry of Education 2014). Meanwhile, the decline in Indian students reflects the other side of these policy adjustments. After 2009, there has been a rise in migration from India, but this period reflects the rise of temporary work visas that attracted international tertiary students (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2018), younger workers or solo migrants, coming without their children, hollowing out the Indian migrant youth cohort.

Alongside the migration increases from high-income Asian countries, the data also show differences among migrant groups based on citizenship or permanent residency status. While more than three-quarters (76%) of migrant secondary school students were permanent residents or New Zealand citizens, the distribution of these varied by region of birth and length of time spent in Aotearoa/New Zealand. A clear majority (90%) of those who had lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand for ten years or more were citizens or permanent residents, compared with 53% of those who had been in Aotearoa/New Zealand for less than five years. This division by time was complicated further by country of origin. Adolescents from Pacific Island countries were least likely to be permanent residents or citizens even when they had been living in Aotearoa/New Zealand for ten or more years. Those from Asia (particularly high-income countries like Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia and China) and North and South America were least likely to be permanent residents or citizens if they had been living in Aotearoa/New Zealand for less than five years but had amongst the highest levels of permanent residency if they had been living in Aotearoa/New Zealand for ten years or more.

Both the country of origin and the changing profiles of legal status in the country reflect the changes in migration policies in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Unlike tertiary students, who often use educational pathways to gain employment and permanent residence (and are therefore likely to include migrants from diverse income backgrounds), the shifting profile of secondary school students towards higher numbers from select Asian countries demonstrates the consequences of government policies that have progressively been veering towards high-income or highly skilled source countries. Meanwhile, many recent Pacific migrants have been arriving on temporary and highly restrictive seasonal work opportunities in the horticultural sector, and this long-term lack of security is likely to be associated with difficulties accessing tertiary educational opportunities, social and welfare support and so on. This, in turn, perpetuates insecurity, hindering opportunities for the next generation, as we show later.

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Dimensions of Migrant Deprivation

Alongside diversification, we compared five overarching dimensions of inequality among migrants—socio-economic inequalities, access, social connectedness, discrimination and health—in a 'heat' table (see Table 6.3). The heat table presents percentages of students who experienced indicator variables of interest (e.g. socio-economic inequalities, discrimination, health inequalities) in colour coding, enabling us to compare student experiences by regional income groups of source countries. Columns are coloured using a graduated scale, with green representing higher levels of positive experiences or affluence, and red representing higher levels of negative experiences or deprivation.

We grouped migrants into seven main groups based on the income level of country of birth. Students from high-income Western countries were mainly from the United Kingdom and Australia. Students from high- or upper-middle-income Asian countries were predominantly from China and Korea. While Indian students dominated the numbers from low- or lower-middle-income Asian countries, Samoan, Fijian and Tongan students dominated those from lower-middle-income Pacific countries. Middle Eastern students accounted for two-thirds of the Middle Eastern and Latin American category. This analysis focuses mainly on migrants arriving after 2008, during the Fifth National Government period, but we also look at how socio-economic inequalities between and within groups have changed over time (between 1990 and 2012).

Socio-economic Inequalities

We explored three different dimensions of socio-economic inequality and deprivation: (a) household deprivation, (b) neighbourhood deprivation and (c) school decile (for definitions of these indicators, see Table 6.1). At the household level, first-generation migrants were more likely to be deprived (23%) than non-migrants (16%), and second-generation migrants fared slightly worse (25%). Inequalities between migrant groups were evident, with Pacific migrants experiencing the highest levels of household deprivation (51%), while migrants from Europe (8%) and South Africa (7%) experienced the least household deprivation. Migrants from Asia (23%), Africa (21%), South America (31%) and the Middle East (21%), were in between these levels. Among Pacific migrants, those from Niue (73%), Samoa (69%) and Tonga (62%) were the most deprived, and those

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Table 6.3 Dimension of inequality by region and income level of birth for recent migrants (arriving after 2008)

	Income level of country of origin	Socio-economic inequalities			Access		Feelings of connectedness and belonging					Discrimination		Health inequalities		
	(ranked in order of income level)	Household deprivation	Neighbourhood deprivation	Low school decile	Citizenship or permanent residency after 10 years or more	Unable to access healthcare	Like school	People at school care a lot	Sense of belonging at school	Sense of belonging in NZ	Feel settled in NZ	Bullied at school	Experience of racial discrimination	Weekly smoking	Overweight or obese	Symptoms of depression
Western (United Kingdom, Europe, Australia, South Africa, North America)	High	10.1	12.3	9.0	90.1	16.1	93.0	24.1	85.1	44.0	76.9	3.0	25.7	8.1	33.2	9.2
Asian (China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Other Asia)	High and upper middle	32.4	39.0	7.0	92.8	13.7	95.4	24.1	78.5	43.7	75.1	1.8	19.4	1.2	22.4	15.4
Middle East and Latin America	Lower and upper middle	14.3	28.6	0.0	100.0	18.6	100.0	42.8	85.7	42.9	71.4	0.0	16.7	0.0	14.3	16.7
Pacific (Samoa, Fiji, Tonga and other Pacific Island countries)	Lower middle	65.2	82.2	73.4	84.7	24.9	100.0	52.0	96.0	72.0	85.4	1.4	23.0	0.0	61.6	18.5
Asian (India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia)	Low and lower middle	59.1	24.5	3.7	92.5	15.1	91.8	36.4	91.8	59.1	91.8	0.0	37.7	0.0	30.9	39.1
Africa	Low and lower middle	30.4	51.4	18.2	95.1	16.9	93.9	30.4	87.8	54.7	81.8	6.1	18.8	0.0	36.4	6.3
Other	Mixed	37.4	46.0	18.7	88.4	18.7	100.0	37.3	81.4	56.0	74.1	3.9	8.0	4.0	29.2	6.8
Total		33.3	40.7	20.6	90.4	16.8	95.9	31.0	84.4	50.7	78.1	2.3	21.3	2.8	33.3	14.0

Columns are coloured using a graduated scale, with green representing higher levels of positive experiences or affluence and red representing higher levels of negative experiences or deprivation

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from Fiji the least (27%), with Fiji Indians (19%) faring better than those with Pacific ethnicity (30%).

At the neighbourhood level, first-generation migrants were not more likely to live in deprived areas (27%) than non-migrants (26%), but second-generation migrants were more likely to live in deprived areas (37%). Again, Pacific migrants experienced the highest levels of neighbourhood deprivation (82%), while those from the United Kingdom (7%), Other European countries (10%) and Australia (17%) experienced the lowest levels. Those from China (46%), Other Asian countries (36%), Africa (33%) and the Middle East (28%) were in between these levels.

There was no difference between migrant generations in terms of the likelihood of attending low-decile schools. However, children from Pacific countries were much more likely to attend the lowest-decile schools (69%), while very few migrants from the United Kingdom (5%), Other European countries (7%), Asia (3%), Africa (8%), North America (9%) or South America (0%) attended these schools. Among Pacific migrants, fewer students from Fiji lived in the most-deprived areas (50%) or attended the lowest-decile schools (52%). Those from China (76%), Japan (69%), Korea (76%) and Malaysia (75%) were most likely to attend the highest-decile schools.

Migrants from high-income Western countries experienced low levels of deprivation across all three measures (household, neighbourhood and school) (Table 6.3), and these levels remained low over time (Fig. 6.2). Migrants from high- and upper-middle-income Asian countries (e.g. China) experienced slightly higher levels of household and neighbourhood deprivation, which increased *slightly* over time, particularly in post-2008; however, this was not accompanied by increasing numbers of students attending low-decile schools. Migrants from low- and lower-middle-income Asian countries (e.g. India, Sri Lanka) had higher levels of household deprivation than those from higher-income Asian countries (China, Korea), and this increased *substantially* over time. Despite this, levels of neighbourhood deprivation did not increase, and attendance in low-decile schools continued to be low. Migrants from the Middle East and Latin America had low levels of household and neighbourhood deprivation, and few students attended low-decile schools. Migrants from low- and lower-middle-income African countries had intermediate levels of household and neighbourhood deprivation that increased over time, but low levels of attendance at low-decile schools and this has not increased over time.

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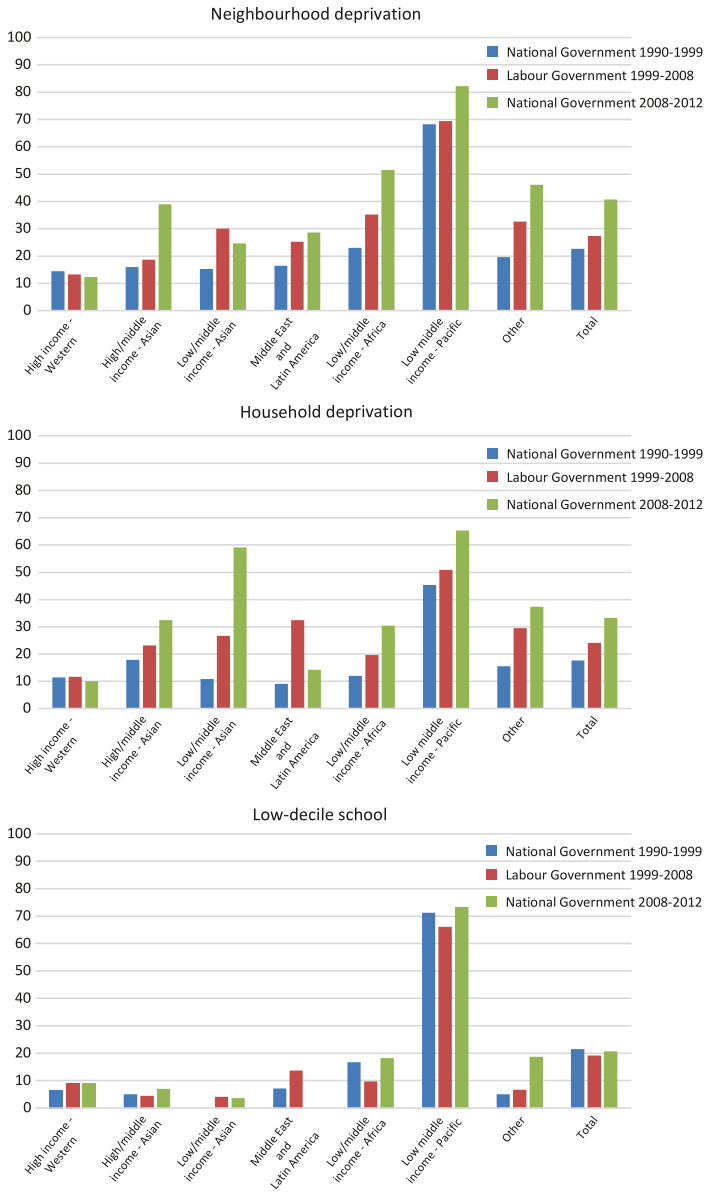

Fig. 6.2 Level of student's household deprivation, neighbourhood deprivation and school decile by region/country of birth for different New Zealand governments (Youth2007 and Youth2012 data). NB: The Fifth National Government was in power between 2008 and 2017, but the data only cover the period 2008–2012

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In contrast to all these groups, the trajectory of inequality among secondary students from Pacific Island countries is striking. As seen in Fig. 6.2, migrants from Pacific Island countries experienced much *higher* levels of deprivation than the other groups across all three measures—household, neighbourhood and schooling—with household and neighbourhood deprivation increasing over the period 1990–2012, and most vividly post-2008. Pacific Islanders were the only migrant group with large numbers of students attending low-decile schools (about 70% of school students in 2012), a notable increase from the 2007 levels of around 65%. The contrast from other migrant groups and the consistency of the deprivation over the period of time under study tell a story of abject inequality among Pacific migrant school students. Given also their low representation as permanent residents or citizens (86% of sampled students), these results suggest enduring potential barriers to social mobility, with strong prospects for an intergenerational persistence of poverty. Immigration segregation based on ethnicity and poverty is linked to negative educational outcomes including academic underperformance, increased levels of violence and high school drop-out rates (Orfield and Lee 2006). Additionally, large socio-economic and health inequalities have been reported for Māori and Pacific ethnic populations in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Crengle et al. 2013; Fa'alili-Fidow et al. 2016).

In contrast, the attendance of higher-decile schools by students from Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa, despite medium levels of household and neighbourhood deprivation, may reflect higher educational aspirations, especially given the likelihood of their parents' background as skilled or professional migrants. This pattern, alongside higher levels of permanent residency and citizenship, may result in greater potential for intergenerational social mobility among this population group, in contrast to what was evident for young Pacific migrants.

Furthermore, the data show significant inequalities between migrants who arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand during different government periods. Overall, those who arrived during the 2008–2017 National Government were more likely to live in deprived households and deprived neighbourhoods, though there was less of a temporal trend for those who arrived earlier attending the lowest-decile schools (see Fig. 6.2). This pattern was particularly evident for migrants from LMICs in the Pacific, Asia and Africa, high-income Asian countries and Other countries.

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Feelings of Connectedness and Belonging

We also analysed feelings of connectedness (feeling settled/felt they belonged in Aotearoa/New Zealand and school connectedness) and experiences of bullying and ethnic discrimination as measures of well-being. The results of these data are presented in Table 6.3. Despite their poorer socio-economic circumstances, migrants from poorer countries of origin were more likely to say they felt settled and belonged in Aotearoa/New Zealand than migrants from higher-income countries. Migrants from Pacific Island countries were the most likely to say they liked school (100%), that people at school cared a lot about them (52%) and that they felt they belonged there (96%), even though they were the most likely to attend low-decile schools. Pacific secondary school students who feel accepted are more likely to do well at school and have lower risk of suicide compared with those not feeling accepted (Mila-Schaaf 2010).

On the face of it, the positive levels of connectedness appear as an anomaly, given the consistent patterns of deprivation experienced by Pacific youth in all the measures we examined. One explanation for these apparently paradoxical findings may be that Pacific youth benefit from the higher ethnic density and social congruity for Pacific Island students attending low-decile schools, compared with the opposite scenario for Asian students from high-income countries attending high-decile schools (Friesen 2015; Ishizawa and Arunachalam 2014). Students from lower-income countries in South Asia were more likely to say they felt settled and experienced the feeling of belongingness than those from higher-income Asian countries such as China. This may be influenced by higher levels of English language competencies and feelings of commonality between Commonwealth countries. There may also be differences in longer-term migration intentions, particularly given the fact that higher proportions of students from high-income Asian countries were international fee-paying students and therefore perhaps not planning on long-term stay in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Furthermore, this may also be influenced by the fee-paying international students not living with their parents. Recent migrant youth are two to three times more likely to live outside their family unit as compared with their New Zealand-born counterparts (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2017).

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Of concern, compared with other migrants, students from Africa were three times more likely to report that they were bullied at school, and students from lower-income Asian countries were almost twice as likely to say they experienced ethnic discrimination, highlighting significant inequalities in well-being.

Health Inequalities

Although there are large health inequalities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, with Māori and Pacific students and those from poorer backgrounds experiencing higher levels of substance use, being overweight and having symptoms of depression (Denny et al. 2016), health inequalities among migrant youth in Aotearoa/New Zealand did not follow a clear socio-economic gradient. As shown in Table 6.3, smoking patterns followed an inverse socio-economic gradient, with those from high-income Western countries being more than three times more likely (8.2%) to smoke than the average for migrants (2.8%), particularly those from lower-income countries (0.0%). This may reflect a continuation of health behaviours in their country of origin but may also be partly explained by higher levels of emotional stress through feelings of social incongruity, reflected by the lower levels of feelings of connectedness and belonging.

Table 6.3 also shows that there was no obvious socio-economic gradient for the variable 'overweight or obesity' among students from different regions (aside from Pacific Island communities) or for 'symptoms of depression', suggesting that socio-economic inequality alone is not the sole marker of disparity that exists among migrant young people. While weight distribution among students from other regions was more or less even, migrant adolescents from Pacific Island countries were twice as likely to be overweight or obese (62%) compared with other migrants. The high levels of body weight may reflect a continuation of health behaviours in their country of origin, as levels of obesity in Pacific Island countries are amongst the highest in the world (Kessaram et al. 2015). It is unclear, however, if the levels of overweight or obesity in migrant adolescents from Pacific Islands is better or worse than those living in their countries of origin.

Students from both the highest-income Western and the lowest-income African countries had the lowest levels of depression. Conversely, depressive symptoms were highest among students from low- and lower-middle-income Asian countries. This effect may be mediated by

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high levels of household deprivation and experiences of high levels of discrimination. Experiences of discrimination have been previously found to be a mediating factor in the relationship between ethnicity and depression (Crengle et al. 2012).

Conclusion

Drawing on data from the Youth2000 survey series, this chapter offered a quantitative analysis of inequalities among first-generation young migrants, primarily of ethnic minority background. The focus on this group is significant, in part because their experiences foreshadow the lifelong trajectories of structural constraints and potential opportunities of future generations as they transition into adulthood and the workforce, but also because young first-generation ethnic migrants, as dependants, mirror current formations of disadvantages experienced by adult migrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand. What is unique about the analysis here is the focus on disparities among migrant groups, reinforcing ideas of ethnicity as a complex heterogeneous category, and of inequality as an intersection of multi-faceted socio-demographic factors and policy design, both local and global. We also note migration and ethnicity as structural determinants that influence the conditions of access and opportunity as well-being outcomes.

Our key findings demonstrate diverse expressions of inequality when applying an intersectional lens. First, the data clearly showed increasing ethnic diversity among migrant students with each successive survey, and more so after 2007. The increasing diversity is not arbitrary but rather closely shaped by migration policies that restrict permanent residency and citizenship to highly skilled or high-income migrants, while offering a suite of temporary visa conditions for lower-skilled migrants. These changes are reflected in migrant student profiles, with increasing numbers from high-income Asian countries, and a decline in students from mid- to low-income Asian countries. Second, there are inequalities in ability to gain permanent residency or citizenship; here, established migrants (10+ years) and high-income migrants were more likely to gain permanent residency or citizenship. Third, the data also highlighted deprivation as a tiered concept—household, neighbourhood and school—and the contrasts in inequalities among migrant groups in relation to each of these. Asian and Middle Eastern students, regardless of their country of origin, were likely to experience intermediate to high levels of household and neighbourhood deprivation; despite this, students from these groups

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were likely to be enroled in high-decile schools. On the other hand, Pacific youth were consistently exposed to conditions of high deprivation in the household, neighbourhood and school. Indeed, as we noted, Pacific migrant youth experienced consistent and enduring inequality in a range of areas in comparison with other migrant youth. Finally, the analysis pointed to continuities and discontinuities between structural disparities and inequality of well-being outcomes. Paradoxically, the group most affected by structural inequalities—Pacific migrant youth—reported the most positive well-being outcomes.

Overall, the analysis signals lessons for inequality and migration, and the distinctive merits of taking an intersectional approach to examining the links between them. While there is a significant association between ethnicity and youth inequality, the links between the two have their antecedents in a set of complex structural factors and deliberate migration policy design. These dynamic linkages need to be better understood if we are to address the roots of inequality within the migrant youth population. As we have shown, there is no one causative factor and there is no one expression of inequality; rather, different migration priorities and personal histories impact different populations differently, in some instances reinforcing already-existing disparities, or creating new ones or removing them altogether. Our analysis also showed that while income inequality is an important marker of disparity, it is not the sole determinant. An intersectional approach that focuses on complex causes and effects is required to understand deeply rooted inequalities among migrant youth. Finally, we also aimed to highlight growing disparities *among* ethnic and migrant youth. Successive recent governments that have sought to make migration policy conducive only to labour market needs have entirely ignored its long-term structural and intergenerational consequences. Future research and policy work with adolescent migrants needs to acknowledge this complexity rather than seeking to develop generic analyses and solutions.

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