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MIGRATION POLICIES, PRACTICES AND COOPERATION MECHANISMS IN THE PACIFIC [*]

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A. Migracion in the Pacific: A 21ST Century context

1. A region and its sub-regions

a. Defining the region

For the purposes of this paper, the Pacific is defined as the 22 independent states and dependent territories that comprise the sub-regions of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, plus the two Pacific rim countries of Australia and New Zealand. In any discussion of migration policies, practices and co-operation mechanisms in this part of the world it is essential to include the two metropolitan countries in the southern Pacific given both the history of colonial and post-colonial development in the islands, as well as the fact that these two countries are now home to more of the indigenous peoples of some Pacific island countries than the islands themselves. New Zealand's connections have been reinforced by the fact that its indigenous population, the Maori, are a Pacific people by ancestry.

In June 2007, the total population of the Pacific as defined above was estimated by the South Pacific Community's Statistics and Demography Division (www.spc.int/spd) to be around 34.5 million – a very small share of the estimated 6.7 billion population for the world as a whole (South Pacific Community, 2008). Within the region, the distribution was very uneven – Australia, with a population of 21 million, accounted for 60 percent of the total. The three Pacific island sub-regions of Melanesia (8.14 million), Micronesia (0.54 million) and Polynesia (0.65 million) between them had around around 9.33 million or 27 percent of the total. Within Melanesia, Papua New Guinea, with an estimated population of 6.33 million, accounted for just over two thirds of the island Pacific's total population of 9.33 million. Table 1 contains a summary of the region's population by country/territory and some key demographic indicators.

b. Sub-regional migration contexts

At a very general level, the current situation with regard to international migration in the region can be summarised briefly with reference to four distinctive migration contexts. The first relates to Australia and New Zealand, two of the most important destinations for migrants leaving Pacific Island countries and territories (PICTs) in Polynesia and parts of Melanesia. They are the homes now for around 440,000 people of Pacific Island descent (New Zealand, 270,000) or ancestry (Australia, 170,000), mainly Samoans, Tongans, Cook Island Maori, Niueans, Tuvaluans and Fijians. Australia and New Zealand are also sources of migrants for countries like Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau and Tuvalu, both people returning to their island countries of birth, or New Zealand and Australia born Pacific people going to live in the countries where there parents or grandparents were born. There is also considerable movement of Pacific peoples between New Zealand and Australia (Bedford, 2007). The other major destination on the Pacific rim for migrants from the region, especially Micronesians and Samoans, is the United States of America. The United States of America is not included

within the Pacific region for the purposes of this paper, however – its involvement in the current debates about international migration and development in the region is much less direct than is the case with Australia and New Zealand.

Within the islands, there are three different contexts for contemporary international migration. Except for New Caledonia, which remains an Overseas Territory of France, and Fiji, which has experienced extensive emigration of Fijians and Indians to Australia, New Zealand and North America, especially since 1987 following the first military coup d'etat, the Melanesian countries have had very little international migration to countries on the Pacific rim since the early 1900s. There was extensive migration of labour from Melanesia to Australia between 1860 and 1900, but this effectively ceased in 1906. Throughout the 20th century and into the first decade of the 21st century, Australia and New Zealand had no special provisions in immigration policy that would facilitate entry of Papua New Guineans, ni-Vanuatu and Solomon Islanders (Bedford et al. 2007). This has changed very recently with the introduction of seasonal migration policies that favour Pacific workers. The New Zealand Recognised Seasonal Employer policy came into effect in April 2007, and a pilot scheme, targeting workers for seasonal employment on orchards and in horticulture, will be introduced in Australia towards the end of 2008. These schemes are discussed later in the paper.

The very limited international migration opportunities for citizens of three of the five Melanesian countries are clearly illustrated in Figure 1 which shows the very low migration rates for Papua New Guinea, Solomons and Vanuatu by comparison with other parts of the island Pacific. To the north, Micronesia has very strong links with the United States, largely due to long-standing American military interests that were furthered during a period of colonial administration following the First World War. The exceptions are Kiribati and Nauru, the two Micronesian countries that stretch south of the equator, which have been strongly linked to the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. This link came about largely as a result of the now exhausted phosphate deposits on Nauru and Ocean Island (Banaba – an island in Kiribati) that were so important for the development of the Australian and New Zealand pastoral economies. Nearly all of the Micronesian countries and territories have some access to work and residence in at least one Pacific rim country.

Polynesia, to the east, has particularly strong links with New Zealand. Reference has already been made to the fact that New Zealand's indigenous people, the Maori, are a Polynesian people and this has been one of the foundations of New Zealand's strong identity as "part of the Pacific". New Zealand also had colonies in Polynesia and a legacy of this history is the New Zealand citizenship that all Cook Islanders, Niueans and Tokelauans have, as well as a special quota for Samoan migrants to New Zealand. In addition to the connections associated with colonial rule, New Zealand has had special migration programmes for Tongans and Tuvaluans, and these have contributed to the growth of sizeable transnational populations of Polynesians in New Zealand. Pacific Islanders who are by definition, or choose to become, New Zealand citizens are also eligible to enter and reside in Australia without qualifying for entry under the Australian immigration programme. The greater access that Polynesians have to international

migration outlets is clear in the much greater migration rates for Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu. The rates are even higher for the countries whose indigenous peoples are, by definition, New Zealand citizens,

c. International migration between PICTs and into the islands from Asia

While international migration between Australia and New Zealand is extensive, and facilitated by a special agreement (the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement), and there is extensive migration from some of the Pacific Island countries to countries on the Pacific rim, population movement between island countries tends to be quite tightly controlled. There is movement of students to regional tertiary institutions based in Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Samoa and French Polynesia, The University of the South Pacific in Fiji has satellite campuses throughout Polynesia and parts of Micronesia and Melanesia. Fiji's School of Medicine, and the teacher and technical training institutions in several countries attracts both trainees and provides some migrants with particular skills to other parts of the region (Voigt-Graf et al., 2007). There is also extensive movement of Pacific entrepreneurs between Pacific countries, as well as the circulation of ships crew and people in the travel industry. However, opportunities for employment in other Pacific countries are limited, especially for Pacific people without professional, clerical or business skills.

Shortages of unskilled and semi-skilled labour in countries that have experienced high rates of out-migration, such as Niue, Cook Islands and Samoa, have been met, at times, by policies to bring in people from other Pacific countries. An example was the movement of Tuvaluans to Niue to work on agricultural development programmes in the 1980s and 1990s. This type of international migration between the island countries, which used to be quite common during the years of colonial rule, is not favoured by most of the independent Pacific states.

More common sources of labour for primary industries (agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining) in the late 20th and early 21st centuries are in Asia – Chinese and Filipinos especially. Flows of skilled as well as unskilled labour from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan. Philippines and Malaysia, into the Pacific Islands have increased significantly over the past three decades. As Ron Crocombe (2007) demonstrates in his recent book "Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West", there has been a significant shift in the balance of power of foreign nations in the region following the attainment of political independence by Pacific states. Competition is strong between Asian states for access to marine, mineral and forestry resources, for investment opportunities in land and industry, and for the votes of island nations in international agencies where numbers of countries, rather than population size, count for votes.

d. Regional co-operation

Regional approaches to economic, social and political development in the Pacific have a long history. The South Pacific Commission, set up in the 1940s by the colonial

administrations to provide them with technical advice and support, spawned several influential regional organizations, including the Pacific Islands Forum with its secretariat in Fiji (Graham, 2008). The Forum brings together annually the Heads of State of all of the independent countries in the region, including Australia and New Zealand, as well as representatives of countries that still have colonies in the region (France, the United Kingdom and the United States) and, in recent years, some of the Asian Pacific rim countries. It has developed a Pacific Plan which seeks to address a number of challenges facing the future development of the region that were identified in an inquiry by several prominent Pacific leaders in 2004 (Chan et al., 2004; Spillane, 2008).

At a special Leaders' Retreat, associated with the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in Auckland in April 2004, the following Vision was adopted to guide the Forum's actions and policies:

> Leaders believe the Pacific region can, should and will be a region of peace, harmony, security and economic prosperity, so that all its people can lead free and worthwhile lives. We treasure the diversity of the Pacific and seek a future in which its cultures, traditions and religious beliefs are valued, honoured and developed. We seek a Pacific region that is respected for the quality of its governance, the sustainable management of its resources, and the full observance of democratic values, and for its defence and promotion of human rights. We seek partnerships with our neighbours and beyond to develop our knowledge, to improve our communications and to ensure a sustainable economic existence for all (Chan et al., 2004: 8).

Between 2004 and 2008 the Forum has had to grapple with more major challenges to "peace, harmony, security and economic prosperity" in the Pacific than at any other time since its foundation in 1971, including another military coup in Fiji and destructive riots in the capitals of the Solomons and Tonga during 2006. The fourth coup d'etat in Fiji and the devastation casued by the riots in Honiara and Nuku'alofa have contributed, collectively, to a significant shift in thinking about prospects for "development" in island countries of the Pacific. Throughout the Pacific region there has been significant political and academic debate about how to develop what Hon. Tuilaepa Sailele Aiono Malielegao (2006: vii) termed "a deeper level of regional co-operation which might lead us to a more effective degree of real integration" that can enhance economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security.

The question about how to contribute effectively to the development of Pacific Island states has become one of the major concerns for governments in Australia and New Zealand in the early 21st century. Contributing to the complexity of these debates has been the heightened concerns over security in the region since the events of September 11 2001 – concerns that have been exacerbated by the increasing interest that businesses and governments in Asia have shown in investment opportunities in Pacific resources, as well as the political stances of Pacific governments. The production and transport of drugs, money laundering, and undocumented migration have added to

concerns in Australia and New Zealand about some recent problems in the region (Moriarty, 2007).

For their part, the leaders of many Pacific states have challenged Australia and New Zealand to open up their economies and societies to greater labour migration from the islands. In this regard they have stressed the need for their southern neighbours to: "Listen to the needs and aspirations of the burgeoning population of young people in the region, and recognize the impact of bigger and more youthful populations on the resources required for education and vocational training, healthcare, and job opportunities" (Chan et al., 2004: 13).

In the next section contemporary migration between different parts of the Pacific and Australia and New Zealand is examined in the context of what is arguably one of the major policy challenges facing governments throughout the region as they seek common ground for a multilateral approach to meeting the "aspirations of the burgeoning population of young people in the region". This challenge is the quite different immigration policies the two countries have had in the region, especially since the 1950s (Bedford et al. 2007).

1. The policy challenge

a. Migration between Pacific countries and Australia and New Zealand

It is perhaps rather ironic that the greatest differences in immigration policy between Australia and New Zealand in the early 21st century relate to the migration of people from their neighbouring Pacific countries. That this difference has emerged is made more surprising by the fact that mobility of Australian and New Zealand citizens between their two countries is not constrained by specific immigration policy requirements. The Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement (TTTA) allows citizens of both countries effective free entry to the other – a situation that has existed since European settlement in this part of the world from the late 18th century.

As noted above, during the second half of the 19th century Australia drew very heavily on the islands of the western Pacific for labour and over 60,000 Melanesians went to work in the sugar industry in Queensland. During the 20th century both Australia and New Zealand had colonies in the Pacific, but from the mid 20th century Australia effectively ceased any special relationships it had with the island countries as far as immigration is concerned. New Zealand, on the other hand, has become a very significant destination for indigenous peoples of the eastern Pacific islands (Polynesia), largely as a result of a decision taken to extend New Zealand citizenship, or some other special concessions related to access to work and residence in New Zealand, to the populations of its colonies.

As New Zealand's population of Pacific peoples has grown, increasing numbers of the latter who have obtained New Zealand citizenship have taken advantage of the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement to move to Australia. This has resulted in quite

extensive growth in Australia's Pacific population – via New Zealand – a source, at times, of some tension between the two governments and for the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement (Bedford et al., 2003). Notwithstanding this growth in its Pacific population, Australia has been unwilling until 2008 to establish special migration relationships with Pacific countries, given its strong and consistent policy position that citizens of all countries except New Zealand are equal under Australia's immigration policy. New Zealand, for its part, has not been prepared to trade off its long-standing migration relationships with countries like Samoa and Tonga, and its more recent small, but symbolic immigration policy links with countries like Kiribati, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu, in any more broadly-based multilateral response to development issues in the Pacific (Bedford et al., 2007).

The different approaches to immigration from countries in the Pacific region have resulted in quite different populations of Pacific peoples in Australia and New Zealand. The total Pacific-born populations in Australia (103,943) and New Zealand (134,187) at the time of their 2006 censuses were quite similar, but if the ethnic/ancestry definition of Pacific peoples is used, Australia's Pacific ancestry population (170,000) is around 60 percent the size New Zealand's ethnic Pacific population (270,000). Just over half of the latter had been born in New Zealand; the Pacific peoples in countries on the Pacific rim are no longer predominantly a first generation immigrant population.

b. Approvals for residence in Australia and New Zealand, 2003-2007

The movements of Pacific peoples into and out of New Zealand and Australia involve a complex mix of short-term visits to see family members, for education and medical treatment, for business reasons, as well as long-term moves for work, residence, return to the islands, or re-migration across the Tasman or on to North America and, less frequently, to countries in Europe and Asia. It is not possible to review all of these types of movement in this paper, but some comparative information on approvals for residence of citizens of Pacific countries in New Zealand and Australia between July 2003 and June 2007, under the skilled migrant, family, and humanitarian/other selection policies, are summarised in Tables 2-5. These tables show the volume of residential migration into Australia and New Zealand from different parts of the region, the role that citizens from a small number of countries plays in this residential mobility, and the importance of New Zealand as a destination for the larger share of most of the flows in the three broad visa approval categories.

In terms of total approvals for residence between July 2003 and June 2007, the largest flow into the two countries was from Melanesia (18,204), but almost all of this (91 percent) was from one country – Fiji (Table 2). For Australia, Melanesia was the source of 89 percent of its Pacific citizen residence approvals over the four years, with Fiji accounting for 74 percent of the total approvals (8,757). In the case of New Zealand, the Polynesian countries of Samoa and Tonga were the source of most of their 25,497 residence approvals for Pacific citizens during the period (57 percent), and the intended destination of 74 percent of Pacific nationals seeking residence in the two countries.

The pattern for those in the skilled migrant category is rather different, especially for New Zealand. Melanesia, essentially Fiji, is the source of over 90 percent of approvals in the skilled migrant category in both countries (Table 3), and New Zealand is the intended place of residence for just over half (53 percent) of those approved under the skilled migrant category in both countries. Micronesia and Polynesia were the sources of very small numbers of skilled migrants, with only 264 or 6 percent of New Zealand's 4,377 approvals in this category coming from its long-standing Polynesian immigrant sources.

New Zealand's share of the skilled migrant intake from the Pacific (53 percent) is much smaller than its share of all citizens from countries in the region approved for residence (74 percent, Table 2). This reflects more the importance of New Zealand as a destination for Pacific citizens entering under the family and other categories of residence approval, rather than the fact that Australia is the preferred destination for all Pacific skilled migrants. Australia was certainly the more important intended destination for the very small number of citizens of Kiribati (45 in total) approved for entry as skilled migrants, but in the case of Polynesia, New Zealand remained the destination for most of the skilled migrants approved from Samoa and Tonga (Table 3).

In the case of approvals for residence under the family reunion (Australia) or family sponsorship (New Zealand) categories, the pattern is different again. Flows into both countries from Polynesia were much more significant than they had been for skilled migrants, especially into New Zealand (Table 4). Fiji remained the largest single country source of migrants approved for entry on family criteria indicating the importance of flows into New Zealand and Australia of Fiji Indians as well as indigenous Fijians after the civilian and military coups of 2000 and 2006 respectively. Papua New Guinea (PNG) – Australia's former Pacific colony -- was the source of only a small number of citizens admitted for entry on family reunion grounds (554) by comparison with the numbers admitted from Fiji (2,962). New Zealand had approved only 54 applicants for entry under family sponsorship from PNG – a trivial flow from a country that now has a resident population of over 6.5 million.

The much larger numbers from Samoa and Tonga admitted for residence in New Zealand in the family sponsorship category are a reflection of the long-established movement of citizens from these countries and the sizeable communities of Samoans and Tongans in New Zealand. The great majority (91 percent) of Polynesians who gained approval under the family categories were heading for New Zealand, as were just over three quarters of the small number of Kiribati citizens (83) approved for residence on the basis of family connections in the two countries (Table 4).

The final table in the residence approval series shows the number of Pacific citizens who were approved under humanitarian and special programme criteria, such as New Zealand's long-standing Samoan Quota (up to 1,100 approvals a year for employment if Samoan applicants can prove they have a job) and the more recent Pacific Access Category (PAC) that allows for small quotas of citizens from Samoa, Tonga, Kiribati and Tuvalu (as well as Fiji before the 2006 military coup), selected through a

lottery system, to be approved for residence in New Zealand. The operation of the Samoan Quota and the PAC have been described in Bedford et al. (2005 and 2007).

It is clear from Table 5 that New Zealand approves far more Pacific citizens for entry under these "other categories" than Australia allows in outside of the skilled migrant and family reunion categories, except for the small number of people entering from PNG. Indeed, New Zealand had a larger number of approvals during the period under "other categories" (11,102) than it did under family sponsorship (10,018) or the skilled migrant category (4,377) (Tables 3-5). Polynesia was by far the most significant source of "other category" approvals in New Zealand – only 17 percent were citizens of Melanesian countries, and almost all were from Fiji (Table 6). The 460 approved from Micronesia (almost all from Kiribati) dwarfed the very small numbers admitted in the skilled migrant and family categories (94 in total), a clear indication of the importance of the Pacific Access Category for residence approvals from this part of the Pacific. The Kiribati approvals for residence in New Zealand exceeded any single country approvals for residence in Australia under the "other categories" (Table 6). It is around the special provisions New Zealand has made for entry of Pacific citizens from a selected number of countries that we find the differences in immigration policy in Australia and New Zealand relating to the Pacific reflected most clearly.

c. Towards policy convergence

In October 2006, at the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in Fiji, New Zealand's Prime Minister announced that a new seasonal labour migration scheme, prioritising recruitment of workers from Pacific Islands Forum members, would be introduced in 2007. In April 2007 the Recognised Seasonal Employer policy was implemented and over the subsequent 12 months more than 5,000 workers were recruited to work in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries, mainly from Pacific countries. Five countries were selected for facilitating the scheme in its early stages: Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu in Polynesia, Vanuatu in Melanesia and Kiribati in Micronesia. The design and implementation of this policy are discussed in greater detail in the next section, but its origins lie in the evolving debate about the difficulties of providing employment in many Pacific countries for their burgeoning youthful populations.

The World Bank (2006: 44), in an influential report "At Home and Away: Expanding Job Opportunities for Pacific Islanders through Labour Mobility", had examined both the population projections and the estimates of formal sector employment growth in many of the Pacific countries. They concluded:

> The results of these projections should be the least surprising but the most worrying for the Melanesian and Micronesian countries. Fertility rates are high and appear to be coming down only slowly, contributing to projected population growth of as much as 2.5 percent per annum. We have also simulated faster declines in fertility on the basis of experience elsewhere … However, even with such accelerated declines, significant population growth will continue for many years because of the population momentum

that has been built up in the Micronesian and Melanesian countries because their fertility rates have remained high while mortality rates have declined.

Formal sector employment is very low and, except for Fiji, is projected to grow very slowly. Those countries with high fertility rates and low formal sector employment will generate the most excess labour and have the greatest demand for overseas employment [Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomons, Vanuatu, Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati]. The high projected levels of excess supply of labour for the formal sector indicate the enormous challenge that the Papua New Guinea and Pacific island country governments have in front of them. The other side of this coin is that in the Pacific Region there will be an increasingly larger pool of young people from which those countries with ageing populations will be able to draw.

These pessimistic assumptions about formal sector employment growth, especially in countries like Papua New Guinea, the Solomons and Vanuatu, reflect another basic characteristic of the populations of large parts of the Pacific region – the comparatively low levels of urbanisation. In Papua New Guinea, the Solomons and Vanuatu, where urban populations are growing rapidly, the great majority of people (over 80 percent in these three countries) still live in rural areas.

United Nations forecasts of population growth suggest that Melanesia's population could reach 14 million by 2050, more than double the 6.48 million estimated to be in the sub-region in 2000 (Bedford, 2005). Growth in Melanesia's population over the 50 years (an estimated increase of 7.62 million) could exceed growth in the Australian population (the increase is estimated to be 7.36 million between 2000 and 2050) even though Australia's resident population was three times the size of that in Melanesia in 2000. The populations of Micronesia and Polynesia will also increase significantly (from around 516,000 to 1,080,000 in the case of Micronesia, and from 590,000 to 890,000 in Polynesia) but it is the Melanesian "explosion" that is going to pose the major dilemma for politicians and planners, largely because Papua New Guinea, Solomons and Vanuatu have no migration outlets.

For over a decade researchers have been highlighting an increasing problem of youth and adult unemployment and underemployment in many Pacific states, especially in Melanesia and Micronesia (Callick 1993; Gannicott 1993; Curtain 2006). Despite some considerable potential for diversification of domestic economies, especially in the large islands comprising Papua New Guinea, Solomons, Vanuatu and Fiji, all of the recent reports on economic prospects for the Pacific highlight the problem of under- and unemployment of young people, and the potential for social unrest as a "youth bulge" increases in size and disaffection with the status quo (Ware 2005; AusAID 2006; Booth et al. 2006; Dobell 2006).

The World Bank (2006: 139) recognised the potential for some easing of the employment crisis in parts of the island Pacific if the Australian and New Zealand governments sought to ease their chronic shortages of labour in the agricultural sector by seeking seasonal workers in the Pacific:

> Seasonal employment programs for Pacific Islanders to work in Australia [and New Zealand] horticulture are not a panacea for the challenges of employment and unemployment in Forum member countries. Nor will such schemes transform the economic development prospects of small island states. Nevertheless, a seasonal labour program does have the potential to make a material difference to the well-being of significant numbers of Pacific Island workers and their families and communities, especially those living in rural areas and outer islands. It also has the potential to significantly ease the seasonal labour shortages that hold back the horticultural industries in Australia and New Zealand, and to add symbolic value as a gesture of goodwill by the region's two major powers towards their Pacific neighbours.

The Australian Prime Minister of the day (John Howard) was unwilling to consider a seasonal labour migration scheme targeting Pacific workers in 2006 and 2007, but with a change in government came a significant shift in policy during 2008. Just before the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in Niue in August 2008, the Australian Prime Minister (Kevin Rudd) announced that Australia would introduce a pilot seasonal employment scheme with selected Pacific states (Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Kiribati and Tonga), modelled on New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer policy. The Forum Communique (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2008: 2) notes, with regard to labour migration in the region:

> Leaders welcomed New Zealand's provision of seasonal work opportunities for Pacific Island countries and welcomed Australia's announcement of a pilot scheme as a means to greater economic integration and development. Recognising the crucial significance of remittances to many Pacific island economies, Leaders welcomed the work currently underway, and encouraged further work, aimed at reducing the costs to individuals of sending money home to Pacific Island countries.

The decision to introduce such a scheme in Australia, even on a very modest scale, marks a very significant shift in Australia's approach to immigration policy and the beginning of a multilateral approach to migration and development in the Pacific region. In the next section the major features of New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer policy are outlined in the wider context of the debate about regional approaches to the management of migration that was stimulated by the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in September 2006 (United Nations, 2006).

B. REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF MIGRATION

1. International migration and development in the Pacific

a. Seeking the elusive triple wins of migration and development

New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) policy is the first significant attempt to develop an international migration policy that explicitly seeks to achieve the triple wins for migrants and their countries of origin and destination that have come to dominate the discourse about international migration and development in the 21st century. The Government's decision to develop such a scheme in October 2006 came very soon after the High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in the United Nations General Assembly in September 2006 where there was widespread acknowledgement of the potential for policies regulating international migration flows to make major contributions to promoting co-development or "the coordinated or concerted improvement of economic conditions in both areas of origin and areas of destination based on the complementarities between them" (United Nations, 2006: 1).

New Zealand's delegation to the UN High-Level Dialogue supported initiatives that would facilitate short-term circular migration of workers, where there were clear benefits to the workers and the sending and receiving countries. Such labour circulation could help meet seasonal labour demands at the destination, provide remittance flows back to the sources of the workers, and had potential for promoting skill development and knowledge transfer amongst migrants who returned home. It was acknowledged that while New Zealand was facing shortages of both skilled and unskilled labour, there were economic and social risks to origin countries through short-term labour migration, including loss of skills needed in the domestic economy as well as gender issues and the impact of family separation (Banks 2006: 2).

The development and management of any temporary migration scheme that fostered circulation of workers between New Zealand and their countries of origin, in the context of achieving triple-wins, would need extensive consultation and collaboration at several levels. These levels included the governments in the sending and receiving countries in the context of their commitments to policies that contribute to achieving desired national development objectives while at the same time fostering wider international development goals; the industries seeking temporary workers and the agencies responsible for overseeing employment conditions and labour supply at both the source and the destination; and the government and non-government agencies in sending and receiving countries that have particular mandates for ensuring the well-being and development of workers, their families and communities.

The RSE policy is, thus, a deliberate response to both industry-specific labour demand as well as a broader foreign policy objective of contributing to economic development and security in the Pacific region. The industry-specific issues that prompted the search for a more sustainable solution to the seasonal labour shortages faced by horticulture and viticulture farmers are not discussed here – they are reviewed in

Sankar et al. (2008). The Government's concerns for foreign policy initiatives that will contribute to achieving the development goals of members of the Pacific Islands Forum, especially the growing demand for access to employment opportunities in New Zealand, are summarised below before considering the specific objectives of the RSE policy and its piloting and implementation in 2007 as an example of immigration policy, practice and co-operation in the Pacific.

b. The Pacific connection: a regional perspective on
migration and development

The Pacific region engages a substantial proportion of New Zealand's diplomatic, defence and development assistance resources, has been a source of a significant proportion of the country's immigrants for more than 30 years, and is an important market for New Zealand's goods and services. At different times since the mid-1970s temporary work schemes have been a feature of New Zealand's relations with Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Kiribati and Tuvalu, and in 2002 all of these countries were included in a new scheme that allowed for small numbers of their citizens to be balloted each year for residence in New Zealand under specified conditions. The Pacific Access Category (PAC) replaced a number of existing arrangements with these countries (such as the visa-waiver privileges that had been extended to citizens of Kiribati and Tuvalu in 1986, and the temporary work permit schemes they had had since 1992), and continued a long tradition of "special arrangements" with selected countries in the region.

In 2000 a civilian coup d'etat in Fiji and widespread civil unrest in the Solomon Islands strengthened perceptions in New Zealand and Australia that the potential for serious social and political instability in the larger countries of the western Pacific was increasing. Awareness of the very different demographic situations prevailing in the island countries of the western and eastern Pacific, and the absence of any migration outlets for Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu, was becoming more widespread amongst policy agencies in New Zealand, especially as leaders from these three countries were becoming more vocal at meetings of the Pacific Islands Forum about the widening disparities between growth in their labour forces, and growth in opportunities for employment outside of the village economy.

In 2006 two events furthered this appreciation of an intensifying problem relating to employment in the region amongst policy makers in New Zealand's Department of Labour. The first was the major study, already mentioned, by the World Bank (2006) on population change, labour markets and migration in the Pacific and the second, following closely on the release of the World Bank's report, was a conference on the future of Pacific labour markets organised by New Zealand's Pacific Cooperation Foundation in Wellington (Plimmer, 2007). Both the World Bank report and the Pacific labour markets conference placed considerable emphasis on the challenges posed by population growth in Melanesia as well as parts of Micronesia and Polynesia and on the potential for greater access to temporary work in Australia and New Zealand to make positive contributions to development in Pacific countries. Participation by senior New Zealand immigration policy managers in the UN High Level Dialogue on International Migration and

Development in New York in September 2006 also reinforced an appreciation of the positive role migration could play in the development of both migrant sending and receiving countries.

At the meeting of the Pacific Islands Forum in Fiji in October 2006 Helen Clark announced that New Zealand was developing a new temporary labour migration policy that would prioritise access by Pacific workers to seasonal employment in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries. As noted earlier, this policy would allow for up to 5,000 workers to be employed at any one time. Six countries were initially selected for facilitating the development of Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) policy – Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu in Polynesia, Kiribati in Micronesia, and Fiji and Vanuatu in Melanesia. Following the military coup d'etat in Fiji in December 2006, Fiji was removed from the list of countries that were eligible to send workers to New Zealand under the proposed RSE policy as part of the sanctions against the military regime. The five remaining countries, where the RSE policy would be facilitated during its establishment and trialling, were subsequently termed the "kick-start" states. From the outset collaboration with the World Bank was evident, both in the implementation of the pilot scheme involving a group of around 200 ni Vanuatu workers on vineyards in Central Otago early in 2007, as well as in the development of the research programme for evaluating the impact of the scheme on workers and their communities in Vanuatu, Tonga and Samoa.

2. The Recognised Seasonal Employer policy

a. The RSE – a unique policy initiative

The RSE is unique in New Zealand's immigration policy initiatives in that from the outset it has involved three core Government agencies sharing the responsibility for delivering the programme. These are the Ministry of Social Development (which includes Work and Income New Zealand, the agency responsible for assessing employment outcomes and benefits), the Department of Labour (which is responsible for immigration) and NZAID, which manages New Zealand's official overseas aid programme. NZAID is responsible for assisting with the negotiation of the appropriate Inter-Agency Understandings (IAUs) with governments in the Pacific that cover arrangements for recruiting workers, and ensuring that those selected meet the requirements for a Seasonal Work Visa (see below). NZAID is also monitoring the outcomes of the scheme in the islands in the context of its primary development objective which, in the words of New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, is: "first and foremost it will help alleviate poverty directly by providing jobs for rural and outer island workers who often lack income-generating work" (Peters, 2006).

The Ministry of Social Development (MSD) is charged with registering the employers and ensuring there is a genuine need to recruit overseas labour to work in the areas where the recruits will work. The onus is on employers to prove that there are no New Zealanders available to do the required tasks, and Work and Income New Zealand checks the employer's claims carefully against their records of potential labour in the

region. Obtaining permission to recruit is not automatic – there is a clear "New Zealand first" dimension to the programme to ensure that local people are not denied opportunities to pick up available work on orchards and in vineyards.

To achieve accreditation as a recognised seasonal employer, the applicant has to meet several criteria relating to good work practice. These include: the ability to pay workers the minimum wage for at least 30 hours work per week, provision of accommodation and pastoral care (food, clothing, transport to and from work, access to banking facilities, necessary translation support, and opportunities for recreation and religious observance), and to meet the usual health and safety requirements. In addition, employers have to agree to pay half of the return airfare for the workers and to ensure the return tickets are acquired at the time the workers are recruited.

Once an employer is granted RSE status, which is valid for two years, they then need to apply for an Agreement to Recruit (ATR) from the Department of Labour. The ATR contains details of the numbers of workers they require, where these workers will be sourced, and further details around the terms and conditions offered to workers as well as their responsibilities as employers. Employers are required to submit applications for ATRs every season, and to advise MSD of these labour requirements. If suitable New Zealand labour becomes available in a subsequent season, then employers have to incorporate these workers into their labour forces before they can recruit offshore again.

When the ATR has been signed off, the employer can initiate a recruitment programme. This may involve sending someone from their enterprise to the Pacific country from which they wish to select their recruits, or using an agent in New Zealand to recruit on their behalf. In Central Otago, for example, a company, Seasonal Solutions, has been set up to obtain the labour required in the local orchards and vineyards, and this company recruits ni Vanuatu for work in New Zealand. If an employer had an existing arrangement to recruit low-skilled workers from a particular country that pre-dated the introduction of the RSE they were able to continue with this arrangement. New ATRs, however, prioritised Pacific Islands Forum countries, especially the five "kick start" countries where the Department of Labour was facilitating the RSE programme through the development of pre-departure training and the setting up of work-ready pools of labourers.

Workers in the islands, who were selected for employment in New Zealand under an approved ATR, had to apply for a Seasonal Work Visa. To obtain this they needed a valid passport, a temporary entry chest x-ray certificate (screening for tuberculosis), a medical certificate, police clearance and a return air ticket (employers are required to pay the cost of half of the return airfare in advance). Workers are also required to attend a pre-departure orientation workshop before leaving for New Zealand at which topics such as climate, clothing and footwear requirements, taxation, insurance, remitting and budgeting were discussed. The scheme allows for the return of workers in subsequent seasons if an employer wishes to recruit them again – there is no restriction on the number of times a worker can be engaged under the RSE policy.

Following the launch of RSE policy in April 2007, a transitional policy was put in place (TRSE) to provide an opportunity for employers (including contractors) to shift to RSE status over a two year period. The Transitional Recognised Seasonal Employer (TRSE) Policy came into effect in November 2007 and is available until 2009. It allows horticulture and viticulture employers (including contractors), committed to working towards attaining RSE status, to recruit people already in New Zealand to undertake seasonal work, if it is confirmed that there are no suitable and available New Zealanders to fill these positions. This is done through Variation of Conditions (VoC) for visitors to work for up to six weeks in shortage areas, and an extra three month stay for working holidaymakers who work three months in the seasonal industries. Also regional RSE Transition Facilitators have been funded to assist these employers. Even though the Seasonal Labour Strategy aims to achieve longer periods of employment available for New Zealanders, and less need for peak seasonal workers, it is recognised that there will always be short-term periods of peak labour demand. For this reason the VoC is an ongoing policy. TRSE policy, however, is time-limited and will expire in late 2009 following a review of industry labour needs to ensure that TRSE workers can be replaced from other sources.

b. Pacific facilitation measures

Support is being provided to the five Pacific kick-start states to help to facilitate effective recruitment and to prepare workers to adjust to New Zealand conditions quickly, including identifying the pastoral care needs of workers during their time in New Zealand. Inter-Agency Understandings (IAUs) have been signed between the Department of Labour and government agencies in each of these Pacific states. The IAUs provide a high level description of the roles and responsibilities of the New Zealand Department of Labour, and the respective agencies in each of the Pacific states.
Key outcomes have also been identified for each agency. The New Zealand Department of Labour's outcomes focus on:

- Achieving the objectives of the RSE policy;

- Avoiding overstaying and exploitation of workers, displacement of New Zealand's workforce, and suppression of wage growth in the horticulture and viticulture industries;

- Securing at least 50% of the available RSE places over the first five years from eligible Forum Island Countries;

- Contributing to the development objectives in Pacific countries by fostering economic growth and regional integration.

While there are some differences between individual states, the outcomes for Pacific states' public service agencies typically relate to:

- Maintaining the integrity of the RSE policy;

- Developing and maintaining a reputation as a reliable source of seasonal labour;

- Securing a fair portion of seasonal work opportunities for their citizens;

- Enabling their citizens to generate savings and relevant experience.

Facilitative arrangements are identified in the IAUs covering: recruitment (including pre-selection and screening of potential workers); pre-departure orientation; visa processing; pastoral care and compliance. The provision of pastoral care is primarily an employer responsibility, with assistance being provided by representatives of each of the kick-start states as appropriate. The IAUs also confirm each agency's commitment to participating in the ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the RSE policy. Each IAU will be reviewed annually.

It will be clear from this brief outline of the RSE policy that its objectives reflect the multiple interests of the New Zealand government, together with the interests of a range of other stakeholders including Pacific states, industry, employers and workers. Added to this complexity are the unique organizational arrangements made within and between the New Zealand agencies especially the Department of Labour, the Ministry of Social Development, NZAID, Pacific partners and industry. To meet the accountability and learning needs of various stakeholders a comprehensive evaluation and research programme has been put in place by the Department of Labour. The focus of this work is primarily on describing and assessing the implementation of the RSE policy, its short-term outcomes and risks. Separately, the Department is also partnering with external institutions to identify the economic and social impacts of RSE in the kick start states. This research and evaluation strategy is outlined in Sankar et al. (2008).

c. Early experiences with the RSE

Late in 2007 the first batches of workers recruited from Tonga and Vanuatu under the RSE policy announced in April began to arrive in New Zealand, and by February 2008 workers from all five of the kick-start states were employment in New Zealand. By June 14 2008 5,079 RSE workers were in New Zealand employed in 12 regions. These workers represented 73 percent of a total of 6,969 people who had been approved to that date on ATRs. The great majority (91 percent) were working in three regions: Hawke's Bay (1,874 workers) and Bay of Plenty (1,802 workers) in the North Island, and Nelson/Marlborough (952 workers) in the South Island. Seventy-five clients had been granted ATRs, and the average number of workers per ATR was 33. In just over 12 months the RSE had filled its quota of workers and there was a general sense in the industry and in the government agencies responsible for delivering the programme that the policy was working reasonably well (Courntey 2008).

Nic Maclellan (2008:2), an Australian journalist with a strong interest in temporary employment schemes, has cautioned in a recent assessment of the RSE policy, that "there are a number of areas where a lack of engagement with unions, the community sector and Pacific diaspora communities has led to significant problems." At the other end in Vanuatu, John Hammond and John Connell (2008: 14), reporting on field work on Tanna, noted that "there have at least been clear income gains, though it is not yet possible to indicate what these have been used for, but they appear to be focused on a

development agenda." Hammond and Connell (2008: 15) concluded that: "for the moment [the RSE] appears to be a success and perhaps a model both for Australia to introduce a scheme and for the scheme to be expanded."

It is very early days to be drawing conclusions about the success or failure of New Zealand's most ambitious temporary work programme in the Pacific. The RSE policy has been developed over a period of two years, drawing on experience with earlier policies designed to attract temporary workers from Pacific countries. There has been very considerable consultation between representatives of government agencies in New Zealand and the Pacific and with different industry groups. There has also been consultation with Pacific communities in New Zealand, although representatives of these groups are currently amongst the most critical of the policy and the way it has been implemented (see, for example, Maclellan 2008).

The New Zealand Department of Labour is under no illusions about the challenges that they face in ensuring the RSE policy achieves the triple wins for development that are the ultimate goal of the current generation of temporary work programmes. There are some significant areas of potential conflict between various parties, but the initial signs seem positive and the collaboration between industry, the various New Zealand government agencies, and the Pacific states remains strong. The various stakeholders, together with the World Bank that is supporting on-going research into the achievement of desired development outcomes in the participating Pacific countries, remain cautiously optimistic as the RSE policy enters its second year of operation.

3. Towards a multilateral approach to migration and development?

a. Policy convergence in Australia and New Zealand

The decision by the Australian Government to pilot a seasonal employment scheme in 2008-2009 is a much more significant policy initiative than the small scale of the scheme (2,500 workers) suggests. This is the first step towards greater convergence in Australia's and New Zealand's immigration policies relating to the Pacific. Such policy convergence is an essential step if there is to be any progress towards a genuinely multilateral approach to international migration and development in the Pacific region.

The Pacific Islands Forum's repeated request since the 2004 Review for greater access for Pacific peoples to the labour markets in Australia and New Zealand requires a multilateral approach to avoid complications in the relationship between New Zealand and Australia that is enshrined in the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement. Earlier attempts to develop a common customs and immigration border for Australia and New Zealand founded on the differences between the two countries in aspects of their immigration policies (Bedford and Lidgard, 1997). Yet despite the quite marked differences in experiences of and support for immigration from parts of the Pacific, there is a considerable number of major similarities and continuities in the migration policies and relationships of the two countries.

Both Australia and New Zealand have similar policies relating to skilled migration and both favour transitions to residence whether from temporary work or from study visas. Both also allow similar transitions for selected groups of semi-skilled workers – their occupation priority and skill shortage lists are regularly amended to reflect real shortages in the domestic labour markets. Both have substantial Working Holiday Schemes, with opportunities for young visitors to earn some money working in low-skilled jobs while on holiday. Transition to residence from these schemes is also possible under certain conditions. Both countries have shortages of low-skilled labour in their primary production industries – industries that remain very significant in the economies of the two countries. Both Governments have similar security concerns about the stability and geo-political orientation of their Pacific neighbours. Both Governments have long recognized their critical roles as both beneficiaries from as well as contributors to the development of the Pacific region's human and material resources.

These multidimensional connections between Australia and New Zealand, both in immigration policy as well as in links with and concerns about the Pacific Islands, suggest that a multilateral response to the call for greater access to their labour markets is highly desirable. This response has to be made in the context of strong commitments from governments in both the sending and the receiving countries to ensuring that flows of low-skilled labour are managed in the interests of the migrants first and foremost, as well as in the interests of the employers who want labour, and the communities seeking access to wage-earning opportunities.

b. Pacific perspectives on international migration

There are three perspectives on international migration that are having an impact on the development of policy relating to the movement of people into and out of Pacific countries. The first is that there are serious shortages in skilled labour in many countries, and these shortages are having detrimental effects on the development of services and industries in the Pacific. Voigt-Graf (2003, 2006) and Voigt-Graf et al. (2007) address these with reference to the movements of teachers between countries in the region, as well as some other forms of migration of professionals, including military personnel. Connell (2004, 2007) has examined the movements of health workers within and beyond the island states, while Rokoduru (2002) has reviewed the movement of nurses from Fiji to the Marshall Islands. Voigt-Graf (2007, 204-205) sums up the contemporary situation well with regard to the movement of labour with a wide range of skills when she observes:

> Generally PIC (Pacific Island Country) labour markets are characterized by a shortage of adequately trained professional, technical and managerial workers and an excess supply of unskilled workers. There is a chronic excess of demand for skilled manual, supervisory, technical, managerial and professional labour in the private sector. Some PICs are critically short of all types of skilled labour. Skill shortages are caused by migration and the low quality of school and technical and vocational education and training systems. The scale of the skill shortage in the

various PICs depends on a variety of national factors, including emigration rates of skilled workers, training opportunities, the quality of training and the scale of modern economic activities. Even Fiji with the most diverse economy and the most developed skill base in the region has a demand for adequately skilled workers from hairdressers to information and communications technology specialists.

Notwithstanding these shortages of skills at home, Pacific governments have not sought to try to curb the loss of labour to other countries, especially to countries on the Pacific rim. As Voigt-Graf (2007) notes in her introduction to a special issue of the "Asia Pacific Migration Journal" on the migration of Pacific Islanders, the governments are unlikely to intervene in emigration given the financial benefits from remittances. The only policy that has been used to try and retain qualified people is bonding of students who study on government scholarships, but invariably this is just for a temporary period. Voigt-Graf (2007, 150) goes on to point out that "most countries have sought to provide tertiary training within the country or region thus discouraging international migration at formative ages".

The second perspective that is common across most countries in the region is that international migration of skilled and unskilled labour is essential to build remittance flows that are essential for sustaining the material livelihoods of Pacific peoples in the 21st century. There tends to be a positive perspective on remittances within official circles in Pacific governments, even if there is often debate amongst economists and others about the contributions remittances make to development per se. Rajeshwar Singh (2007: 62-63), Chair of the South Pacific and Oceanic Council of Trade Unions, emphasized this positive perspective on remittances when he observed, quoting the Secretary-General of the Pacific Islands Forum, that:

> Access to temporary work abroad can help build the domestic economy by supplying governments with a valuable source of foreign exchange. … The Forum estimates that if Pacific Island countries took up 1 percent of unskilled jobs in Australia and New Zealand, their remittances would pour $1.2 billion annually into the region's economy.

There is strong support across the Pacific Island Forum members for much greater access to work for unskilled migrants – migrants that can gain greater experience in disciplined, organised workplace environments, thus providing valuable training that will be of benefit for them when they return to work in their own countries (Nadile, 2007).

The third perspective on international migration that is common in many Pacific countries, and has implications for settlement by immigrants from other places, is that the rights and entitlements of indigenous peoples, especially rights to land, are protected and defended vigorously. It is not easy for Pacific Island immigrants to become "citizens" of other Pacific countries, except perhaps through routes such as marriage. It is also not easy for second and third generation Pacific peoples born overseas to gain rights to

citizenship "back home". The Tongan Government, for example, has been debating changes in its citizenship laws to make it easier for members of its transnational community to remain closely linked to Tonga as citizens of the country. These tensions have an impact on migration into Pacific countries, especially where the intention on the part of the migrant is to settle in the country.

The relevance of these three perspectives for the discussion about multilateral approaches to international migration and development is that they indicate a convergence of views about the desirability of accessing employment opportunities for their labour in the Pacific rim countries especially. There are reservations about encouraging much intra-regional labour mobility, except where this is skilled labour. Where there have been movements of unskilled labour to meet demands in other Pacific countries (such as the Tuvaluans who went to live on Niue where they had agricultural work) there has been a reluctance to give them full rights of local citizenship. Movement to the "developed" neighbouring countries is seen to be a more attractive option.

b. A concluding comment

This paper on migration policies, practices and co-operation mechanisms in the Pacific has focused mainly on policies that emanate from two countries on southern Pacific rim, rather than the policies of the many island countries themselves. This has been deliberate because a consensus that has emerged in the major regional organization (The Pacific Islands Forum), that is attempting to foster a more co-ordinated, multilateral approach to several critical development issues, is that Australia and New Zealand need to open up their labour markets to a rapidly increasing supply of Pacific workers who cannot find adequate employment at home. This issue, and the challenges posed by global warming for several Pacific countries, have become prominent themes in the annual meetings of Pacific leaders.

There is no question that the Pacific has assumed much greater importance in the official dialogue about Australia's and New Zealand's regional agendas in recent years. The Pacific Plan, adopted by the Forum Leaders at their October 2005 meeting in Port Moresby, is one indication of this. In the words of the former Secretary-General of the Forum's Secretariat, Greg Unwin (2007: 14-16), the Pacific Plan "it is a new response, in its way, a quite far-sighted attempt to meet some of our common challenges in practical terms. … [including] some general understandings as to the movement of people around our region … which recognise the inter-dependence of our communities."

Unwin's (2007: 17) remarks are highly appropriate in the context of a drive for a more obvious multilateral response to migration and development issues in the Pacific, especially when he says that what we need more than anything else is:

> a final recognition by New Zealand and Australia that for them the Pacific region is special and like no other and that it is not some kind of unavoidable responsibility, but a community of which they are a part, and which their own destines are intimately bound up with. When I say this,

incidentally, I do not, for a moment, imply that New Zealand and Australia stand in the same position in relation to the Pacific region. By almost any demonstrable measure, New Zealand has accepted, to a much greater extent than Australia, that it is actually a part of the region. Given the difference between the two countries, perhaps that will always be the case and perhaps there may be advantages for all of us in that. But for both, and even if in different ways, it is a principle which needs to be etched in stone.

The Chairs of the Independent Task Force of distinguished Australians, convened by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute to consider future directions in Australia's Pacific Islands policy, essentially agreed when they stated: "Australia has a new government. New issues, such as climate change and labour mobility, are emerging on the regional agenda. The time seems right for Australia to reconsider the way it interacts with its Pacific Island neighbours in Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia with the aim of achieving positive outcomes on all sides" (Abigail and Sinclair in Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2008).

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Table 1: Populations in the Pacific Region, 2007: selected demographic characteristics

Country	Population est. 2007	Crude Birth Rate (/00)	Crude Death Rate (/00)	Crude Mig. Rate (/00)	Annual pop. growth (%)
Melanesia	*8,137,000*	*31.0*	*9.3*	*-1.0*	*2.1*
Fiji	831,600	23.3	7.0	-10.9	0.5
New Caledonia	241,700	16.9	5.4	4.0	1.6
Papua New Guinea	6,332,750	32.2	10.0	0.0	2.2
Solomons	503,900	34.5	7.7	0.0	2.7
Vanuatu	227,100	31.2	5.6	0.0	2.6
Micronesia	*545,900*	*24.2*	*5.9*	*-2.3*	*1.6*
Federated States (FSM)	110,600	26.6	5.6	-16.2	0.5
Guam	172,300	19.5	5.4	4.7	1.9
Kiribati	95,500	27.3	8.5	0.0	1.9
Marshall Islands	52,700	32.7	6.3	-16.2	1.0
Nauru	9,900	32.6	9.1	0.0	2.3
Northern Mariana Islands	84,700	23.5	3.1	6.6	2.7
Palau	20,000	13.1	7.6	0.0	0.6
Polynesia	*649,650*	*22.9*	*5.4*	*-9.8*	*0.8*
American Samoa	65,000	26.8	4.5	-5.6	1.7
Cook Islands	13,500	19.9	7.6	-27.5	-1.5
French Polynesia	261,400	17.7	5	0.3	1.3
Niue	1,600	16.0	8.9	-31.1	-2.4
Pitciarn Islands	50	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Samoa	179,500	26.1	4.8	-20.1	0.1
Tokelau	1,200	24.7	7.4	-17.1	0.0
Tonga	102,300	29.0	7.0	-18.0	0.4
Tuvalu	9,700	22.1	9.6	-9.6	0.3
Wallis and Futuna	15,400	18.3	5.3	-6.2	0.7
Australia	21,000,000	12.4	7.1	4.8	1.0
New Zealand	4,183,700	13.7	7.1	2.4	0.9

Source: South Pacific Community (2007) Pacific Island Populations, 2007, www.spc.int/spd/

Table 2: Approvals for residence in Australia and New Zealand, Pacific citizens, July 2003-June 2007: a) All approvals

Sub-region	Australia	NZ	Total ANZ	% NZ
Melanesia	*7,835*	*10,369*	*18,204*	*57.0*
Fiji	6,466	10,138	16,604	61.1
PNG	1,086	84	1,170	7.7
Micronesia	*77*	*554*	*631*	*94.5*
Kiribati	19	521	540	96.5
Polynesia	*845*	*14,574*	*15,419*	*94.5*
Samoa	369	8,584	8,953	95.9
Tonga	432	5,230	5,662	92.4
Pacific	*8,757*	*25,497*	*34,254*	*74.4*
% Melanesia	89.4	40.7	53.1	

Source of data: Unpublished tables, DIAC (Australia) and DoL (NZ)

Table 3: Approvals for residence in Australia and New Zealand, Pacific citizens, July 2003-June 2007: b) Skilled migrant categories

Sub-region	Australia	NZ	Total ANZ	% NZ
Melanesia	*3,738*	*4,098*	*7,836*	*52.4*
Fiji	3,275	3,992	7,267	54.9
PNG	382	20	402	5.0
Micronesia	*28*	*15*	*45*	*33.3*
Kiribati	0	10	10	100.0
Polynesia	*74*	*264*	*338*	*78.1*
Samoa	20	63	83	76.8
Tonga	40	173	213	81.2
Pacific	*3,840*	*4,377*	*8,219*	*53.3*
% Melanesia	97.3	93.6	85.3	

Source of data: Unpublished tables, DIAC (Australia) and DoL (NZ)

Table 4: Approvals for residence in Australia and New Zealand, Pacific citizens, July 2003-June 2007: c) Family categories

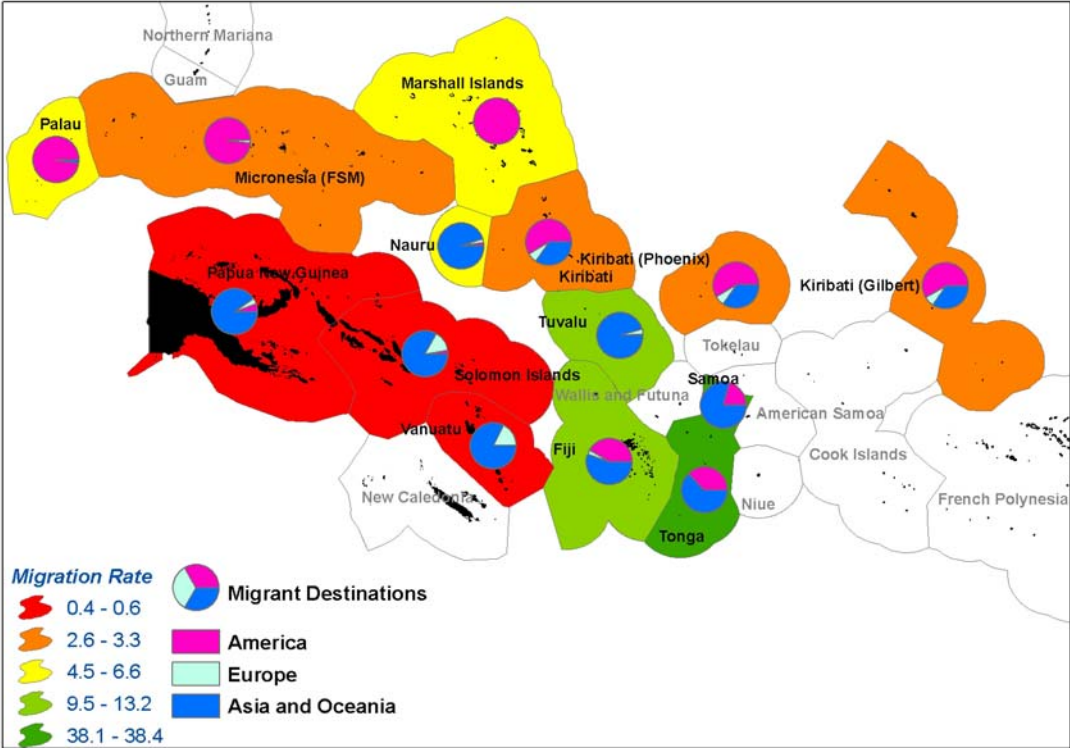| Sub-region	Australia	NZ	Total ANZ	% NZ
Melanesia	*3,683*	*4,390*	*8,073*	*54.3*
Fiji	2,962	4,281	7,243	59.1
PNG	554	54	608	8.9
Micronesia	*40*	*79*	*119*	*66.4*
Kiribati	19	64	83	77.1
Polynesia	*501*	*5,549*	*6,050*	*91.7*
Samoa	130	3,127	3,257	96.0
Tonga	364	2,194	2,558	85.8
Pacific	*4,224*	*10,018*	*14,242*	*70.3*
% Melanesia	87.2	43.8	56.7	

Source of data: Unpublished tables, DIAC (Australia) and DoL (NZ)

Table 5: Approvals for residence in Australia and New Zealand, Pacific citizens, July 2003-June 2007: d) Other categories

Sub-region	Australia	NZ	Total ANZ	% NZ
Melanesia	*414*	*1,881*	*2,295*	*82.0*
Fiji	229	1,865	2,094	80.5
PNG	149	10	159	6.3
Micronesia	*9*	*460*	*469*	*98.1*
Kiribati	0	447	447	100.0
Polynesia	*270*	*8,761*	*9,031*	*97.0*
Samoa	219	5,394	5,613	96.1
Tonga	28	2,863	2,891	99.0
Pacific	*693*	*11,102*	*11,795*	*94.1*
% Melanesia	59.7	16.9	19.5	

Source of data: Unpublished tables, DIAC (Australia) and DoL (NZ)

Figure 1: Pacific migration rates around 2006 and major destinations for migrants

Source: Gibson and Nero (2007).