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## **Migration, urbanisation and new diaspora: reflections on future migration patterns in the Pacific**

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Recently Auckland was ranked the third most liveable city in the world in the Mercer Quality of Living survey in 2011 (Reuters, 2011). New Zealand is widely recognised internationally as a great place to live if you have a job or income that can support a reasonable standard of living. It is not necessarily a great place to make lots of money unless you are from the Pacific Islands. The results from the latest General Social Survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2011a) show uniformly high levels of satisfaction with life in New Zealand across the major ethnic groups, notwithstanding the widening inequalities in incomes and increasing differences in housing quality and availability across groups. Where comparable data are readily available for recent immigrants, here is an even higher level of satisfaction with life in New Zealand, although a somewhat higher share reported they did not have sufficient income to support their lifestyle (Table 1).

**Table 1: Measures of wellbeing in New Zealand 2010 (%)**

| <b>Measure</b>        | <b>Maori</b> | <b>Pacific</b> | <b>Asian</b> | <b>European</b> | <b>LisNZ<sup>1</sup></b> |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Satisfied with life   | 83           | 88             | 88           | 88              | 92                       |
| Income +\$70,000      | 8            | 4              | 7            | 15              | n.a.                     |
| Not sufficient money  | 23           | 34             | 17           | 14              | 29                       |
| Problems with house   | 46           | 53             | 35           | 34              | n.a.                     |
| Safe in neighbourhood | 67           | 57             | 61           | 69              | 76                       |
| Support in crisis     | 96           | 93             | 90           | 97              | n.a.                     |

1. LisNZ -- Longitudinal Survey of Immigration, New Zealand, responses by Wave 3 respondents in 2008. Note: n.a. is 'not available'.

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2011a).

These reasonably positive indicators of overall satisfaction with life in New Zealand are somewhat at odds with the frequent media and political comment about the emigration of New Zealanders, especially the ‘trans-Tasman exodus’

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(Wade, 2011: A1). This preoccupation with the movement of New Zealanders disguises the fact that the 10 years ending March 2011 has seen the greatest overall net gains to New Zealand's population through permanent and long-term (PLT) migration during any decade for more than a century (Table 2). It is true that there has been a larger overall net loss of New Zealand citizens during this decade (-227,600) than any decade since separate New Zealand citizenship was created in 1947. But there have also been much larger net gains of citizens of other countries (394,300) during this decade than any since the 1870s. The overall net gain to the population of 166,700 between April 2001 and March 2011 is bigger than the net gains we received in the years of sponsored migration to New Zealand after the Second World War.

**Table 2: Net permanent and long-term migration (000's) (March years)**

| Period  | NZ citizens | Other citizens | Total |
|---------|-------------|----------------|-------|
| 1952-61 | -7.3        | 146.7          | 139.4 |
| 1962-71 | -51.1       | 154.3          | 101.2 |
| 1972-81 | -205.1      | 141.8          | -63.3 |
| 1982-91 | -185.6      | 107.2          | -78.4 |
| 1992-01 | -197.8      | 267.9          | 70.1  |
| 2002-11 | -227.6      | 394.3          | 166.7 |

Data source: Statistics New Zealand, March year data

If we calculate a crude measure of per capita PLT net migration (per 1,000 in the population) using average annual net gains/losses for New Zealand citizens and others and the mid-decade census populations as a measure of the country's total population, we see that the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has not had the highest levels of emigration of New Zealand citizens or the highest overall per capita net gains to New Zealand's population through PLT migration (Table 3). The average net loss of 5.65 New Zealand citizens per 1000 in the population between April 2001 and March 2011 is less than the average net losses of 6.55 in the 1970s and 5.69 in the 1980s.

**Table 3: Per capita PLT net migration (per 1,000 in the New Zealand population)**

| Period  | NZ citizens | Other citizens | Total |
|---------|-------------|----------------|-------|
| 1952-61 | -0.34       | 6.76           | 6.42  |
| 1962-71 | -1.91       | 5.77           | 3.86  |
| 1972-81 | -6.55       | 4.53           | -2.02 |
| 1982-91 | -5.69       | 3.28           | -2.40 |
| 1992-01 | -5.47       | 7.41           | 1.94  |
| 2002-11 | -5.65       | 9.79           | 4.14  |

In terms of net gains of citizens of other countries, the 9.79 per 1000 in the 2000s stands out well ahead of the 7.41 in the 1990s and the 6.76 in the 1950s. However, when overall average annual per capita net migration per decade is considered, the 1950s remain well ahead at 6.42 compared with the 4.14 for the 2000s (Table 3). Depending on which part of the migration system one focuses on, it is possible to get quite different, and at times, contradictory interpretations of the impact of migration on New Zealand’s population.

A demographic context

Drawing on the experience of the 2000s, and looking ahead to the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is clear to us at least that New Zealand is going to continue to be perceived as a good place to live and raise a family, notwithstanding the surprisingly high incidence of child abuse, youth suicide, drug abuse and drug-related crime. Compared with many other parts of the world, where quality of life is deteriorating significantly, especially in large cities, New Zealand remains a relatively safe and peaceful place in an increasingly crowded urban world. In 2011 we have marked the passing of the 7 billion mark for the global population, heading for a total of over 9 billion by 2050 (Table 4). Over the 40 years 2010-2050 the World’s population is expected to increase by more than a third again.

**Table 4: Populations 2010 and 2050 (millions)**

| <b>Area</b>      | <b>2010</b> | <b>2050</b> | <b>% change</b> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Australia        | 22.3        | 31.4        | 40.8            |
| New Zealand      | 4.4         | 5.7         | 29.5            |
| Pacific          | 9.9         | 18.2        | 83.8            |
| <i>Melanesia</i> | 8.7         | 16.6        | 90.8            |
| World            | 6,895.90    | 9,306.10    | 35.0            |

Data source: UN Population Division (2011)

In our region, New Zealand’s population growth is projected to be the slowest of the major areas with the island countries of the western Pacific – Melanesia – experiencing population increases that are three times those projected for New Zealand (a 90 percent increase for Melanesia compared with a 29 percent increase for New Zealand). Australia’s population is projected to increase by over 40 percent – ahead of the world average and about half the level expected for the Pacific Islands as a whole (84 percent).

New Zealand will remain something of a haven for people who want a quieter, less competitive way of life, especially for those who can afford to support their desired standard of living in a relatively low wage economy by OECD standards. While many talented New Zealanders will continue to say “Goodbye NZ; hello \$100,000” (Wade, 2011: A1), and a chance to work in a much larger cities and corporate environments than can be found in Auckland, there will be tens of thousands of citizens of other countries saying “Goodbye crowded cities; hello quality lifestyle” and seeking residence in Australia and New Zealand. There is

no evidence in recent migration statistics to suggest this broad pattern will change with the inward flows exceeding the outward flows of long-term movers in most years of the decade.

What will stimulate this movement south during the next 40 years is the addition of at least 2.6 billion people to the current 3.7 billion people living in towns and cities (Table 5). According to the UN's Population Division's (2010) latest urban population forecasts the equivalent of the world's total population around 1950, or the world's total urban population in 1995, will be added to the current global urban population during the next four decades. This is urbanisation on an unprecedented scale and the cities that will emerge and evolve in those parts of the world that have low rates of urbanisation currently, such as the islands of the western Pacific, will be very different from the cities that currently rank highest in the league table based on liveability.

**Table 5: Urban populations, 2010 and 2050 (millions)**

| <b>Area</b>      | <b>2010</b> | <b>2050</b> | <b>% change</b> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Australia        | 19.2        | 26.9        | 40.1            |
| New Zealand      | 3.7         | 4.9         | 32.4            |
| Pacific          | 2.3         | 6.6         | 186.9           |
| <i>Melanesia</i> | 1.6         | 5.5         | 243.8           |
| World            | 3,687.30    | 6,286.0     | 70.5            |

Data source: UN Population Division (2010)

### Pacific urbanisation

In Oceania (the Pacific Islands plus Australia and New Zealand) the largest numerical urban growth (a further 9.7 million) is projected to be in Australia, followed by 3.9 million in Melanesia. The UN Population Division's projections suggest there could be a further 1.2 million living New Zealand's in towns and cities in 2050 compared with the situation in 2010 (Table 6). In terms of levels of increase in the urban populations, Melanesia's 244 percent increase is 3.5 times greater than the world average (70 percent) and six times greater than Australia's 40 percent. And even if this happens, and there remain a lot of planners, politicians and policy makers in the Pacific who believe Melanesians will remain essentially rural dwellers rather than urban dwellers, there will still only be 33 percent of Melanesia's total population living in towns and cities by 2050 – less than half the global average projected for that year (67 percent) (Table 6). The change in the percentage of the population that is urban in Melanesia between 2010 and 2050 (14.7 percent) is only slightly higher than percentage change forecast for the global population that is urban (14.0 percent). It is three times higher than the 4.7 percent change in the proportions urban in Australia and New Zealand where it is anticipated that over 90 percent of all residents could be living in towns and cities by 2050 compared with around 87 percent in 2010 (Table 6).

**Table 6: Percentage of population urban, 2010 and 2050**

| Area             | 2010 | 2050 | change |
|------------------|------|------|--------|
| Australia        | 89.1 | 93.8 | 4.7    |
| New Zealand      | 86.2 | 90.9 | 4.7    |
| Pacific          | 23.2 | 36.2 | 13.1   |
| <i>Melanesia</i> | 18.4 | 33.1 | 14.7   |
| World            | 53.5 | 67.5 | 14.0   |

There are quite marked differences in levels of urbanization amongst Pacific populations living in the islands. In 2010 the total population living in places classified as urban in the islands was around 2.3 million compared with just under 3.7 million in New Zealand (Table 7). The great majority (70 percent) of Pacific urban dwellers were in towns and cities in Melanesia – something that is not always appreciated because over 80 percent of Melanesia’s population actually live in rural places. Melanesia’s 1.6 million urban residents in 2010 were equivalent to around 43 percent of New Zealand’s 3.7 million. In Polynesia and Micronesia their total urban populations in 2010 were, in aggregate, each on either side of Christchurch city’s population of 376,000 before the earthquakes (Statistics New Zealand, 2011b).

**Table 7: Pacific urban populations (millions)**

| Area        | 2010   | 2050 | % change |
|-------------|--------|------|----------|
| Melanesia   | 1.61   | 5.45 | 238.5    |
| Micronesia  | 0.39   | 0.64 | 64.1     |
| Polynesia   | 0.30   | 0.50 | 66.6     |
| Pacific     | 2.30   | 6.59 | 186.5    |
| New Zealand | Mar-68 | 4.87 | 32.3     |

Data source: UN Population Division (2011)

By 2050 Melanesia’s population living in towns and cities is projected to reach 5.45 million and to be larger than New Zealand’s urban population of 4.87 million (Table 7). As already noted, urban population growth in the Pacific will be much faster than New Zealand’s urban population growth. The stand-out sub-region of the Pacific as far as urban population growth over the next 40 years is concerned is Melanesia (238 percent) with urban populations in the other two island regions projected to increased by between 64 (Micronesia) and 67 percent (Polynesia). With total urban populations of around 640,000 and 500,000 respectively, Micronesia and Polynesia in 2050 could have the equivalent each of around half of Auckland’s current population.

Despite the much greater urban population growth that is forecast for Melanesia, the share of this sub-region's population that is likely to be urban-resident in 2050 (36 percent) is much smaller than the current levels of urbanisation in Micronesia and Polynesia (Table 8). By 2010 it was estimated that over two-thirds of Micronesia's population were living in urban places compared with 18 percent of Melanesia's population. By 2050 Micronesia's level of urbanisation could be approaching 80 percent while 60 percent of Polynesians living in the islands could be town-based (Table 8). On the basis of the UN Population Division's (2010) projections, the change in share of the total population living in urban places is likely to be greatest in Polynesia, followed by Melanesia. This reflects in part the already high level of urbanisation in Micronesia.

**Table 8: Percentage of population urban, 2010 and 2050**

| Area        | 2010 | 2050 | change |
|-------------|------|------|--------|
| Melanesia   | 18.4 | 34.9 | 16.5   |
| Micronesia  | 68.1 | 80   | 11.9   |
| Polynesia   | 42.4 | 59.9 | 17.5   |
| Pacific     | 23.2 | 36.3 | 13.1   |
| New Zealand | 86.2 | 90.9 | 4.7    |

### Pacific diaspora

Pacific urban populations in the islands are only part of the story, however. There are substantial Pacific populations living overseas, mostly in towns and cities. In 2006 there were just under 245,000 people who had been born in Pacific Island countries living in New Zealand (138,500) and Australia (106,300) and just over half (51 percent) were Polynesia-born (Table 9). The great majority of Pacific-born in Australia were from Melanesia (75,800 or 71 percent) while Polynesia-born dominated this birthplace population in New Zealand (96,000 or 69 percent). There were very small numbers of people who had been born in Micronesia – mainly Nauru (Australia) and Kiribati (New Zealand).

**Table 9: Pacific populations in Australia and New Zealand 2006**

| Birthplace                              | New Zealand | Australia | ANZ     |
|---|-------------|-----------|---------|
| Melanesia                               | 41,200      | 75,800    | 117,000 |
| Micronesia                              | 1,200       | 1,100     | 2,300   |
| Polynesia                               | 96,000      | 29,500    | 125,500 |
| Pacific-born                            | 138,400     | 106,400   | 244,800 |
| Pacific ethnicity/ancestry <sup>1</sup> | 300,000     | 130,000   | 430,000 |

<sup>1</sup> Pacific ethnic populations (New Zealand) and Pacific ancestry populations (Australia)

Data source: Bedford and Hugo (2011)

Pacific populations defined on the basis of ethnicity/ancestry are larger than the birthplace populations, especially in New Zealand with its history of substantial immigration from Polynesia since the 1960s. In the 2006 censuses the Pacific ethnic (New Zealand) and ancestry (Australia) populations, counting Indians born in Fiji, were around 300,000 and 130,000 respectively (Table 9). If we add to the combined total of 430,000 in Australia and New Zealand the 230,000 people enumerated in the 2000 census of the United States that claimed some ancestry connection with indigenous Pacific groups, and make some allowance for growth in the US population between 2000 and 2006, it is not hard to find more than 700,000 people of Pacific ethnicities/ancestries living in these three Pacific rim countries in 2006 (Bedford and Hugo, 2011). This is more than the estimated total population of all of the island groups that comprise either Polynesia (664,000) or Micronesia (547,300) in 2010. Pacific diaspora, especially from parts of Polynesia, are sizeable and comprise an integral part of the contemporary Pacific island societies and economies.

The composition of Pacific diaspora in New Zealand and Australia is changing. In the case of New Zealand the dominant position of Polynesians (especially Samoans, Tongans and Cook Island Maori) is weakening (Table 10). The modern Pacific diaspora in New Zealand traces its origins to the Second World War when troop movements overseas created shortages of labour in food producing industries especially. Maori and Pacific Polynesian labour reserves were tapped to fill the gaps in the labour force and in the census in 1945 there were just over 3,000 Pacific-born in New Zealand. Over half were from Polynesia with the bulk of the remainder coming from Fiji. Labour migration from Polynesia especially accelerated through the 1950s and 1960s, and by the time of the 1971 census there were over 25,000 Pacific-born Polynesians in New Zealand. They comprised 82 percent of the total Pacific-born in that year (Table 10).

**Table 10: Pacific-born in New Zealand, 1945, 1971, 2006**

| <b>Birthplace</b> | <b>1945</b> | <b>1971</b> | <b>2006</b> |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Melanesia         | 1,280       | 5,730       | 41,180      |
| Micronesia        | 20          | ...         | 1,200       |
| Polynesia         | 1,730       | 25,170      | 96,040      |
| Pacific-born      | 3,030       | 30,900      | 138,420     |
| % Polynesia       | 57.3        | 81.5        | 69.4        |

Data source: Unpublished tables, Statistics New Zealand

Over the subsequent 35 years the Polynesia-born component more than trebled to reach 96,000 by 2006 while the Melanesia-born in New Zealand's population increased by almost 7 times from just under 6,000 in 1971 to over 41,000 by 2006 (Table 10). At the time of the 2006 census people born in Polynesia comprised 69 percent of New Zealand's Pacific-born population with those born

in Melanesia comprising nearly all of the remaining 31 percent. Migration of Indians born in Fiji, especially following successive coups in that country from 1987, has made a major contribution to growth of the Melanesia-born in New Zealand and Australia since the mid-1980s.

The Pacific-born in Australia were slightly more numerous immediately after the Second World War than in New Zealand. Over two-thirds of Australia's 4,730 Pacific-born at their census in 1947 had been born in Melanesia and Fiji and Papua New Guinea were the two main sources (Table 11). Between the late 1940s and 1971 Australia's Pacific-born population increased at about half the rate of New Zealand's, and it was mainly a movement from Melanesia – again, predominantly from Fiji and Papua New Guinea. By 1971 88 percent of Australia's Pacific-born were from Melanesia compared with 18 percent in the case of New Zealand (Table 11). As was the case in New Zealand, the situation changed significantly over the 35 years between 1971 and 2006 when Australia's Pacific-born population increased more than 6 times from 16,700 to 106,400. During this period the Polynesia-born became much more prominent and by 2006 they comprised 28 percent of Australia's Pacific-born (Table 11).

**Table 11: Pacific-born in Australia, 1947, 1971, 2006**

| <b>Birthplace</b> | <b>1947</b> | <b>1971</b> | <b>2006</b> |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Melanesia         | 3,200       | 14,700      | 75,800      |
| Micronesia        | 30          | 500         | 1,100       |
| Polynesia         | 1,400       | 1,500       | 29,500      |
| Pacific-born      | 4,730       | 16,700      | 106,400     |
| % Melanesia       | 67.6        | 88.0        | 70.9        |

Data source: Unpublished tables, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Over a third of the Pacific-born migrants from Polynesia had entered Australia as New Zealand citizens (Table 12). Using data from Australia's 2006 census, and the quarterly updates of the New Zealand citizen population in Australia maintained by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship it is possible to establish approximately what share of Australia's Pacific born were New Zealand citizens around the time of the census. The Australian censuses are held during the month of August, and quarterly updates of the New Zealand citizen population, by birthplace, are available for March, June, September and December. In Table 12, data on the numbers of New Zealand citizens living in Australia in September 2006, who had been born in countries in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, are compared with the total number of Pacific born in Australia at the time of the 2006 census. Very small shares of Melanesia-born (2 percent) and Micronesia-born (0.9 percent) in Australia in 2006 were citizens of New Zealand. By far the majority of Pacific-born in Australia who were New Zealand citizens had been born in Polynesia (38 percent of Australia's 29,500 Polynesia-born, and 88 percent of the 12,610 Pacific-born New Zealand citizens).

Overall, New Zealand citizens accounted for just under 12 percent (12,610) of Australia’s Pacific-born population of 106,400 in 2006 (Table 12). To date trans-Tasman migration has played a relatively minor role in the changing composition of Pacific diaspora in both of these Pacific rim countries.

**Table 12: Pacific-born NZ citizens in Australia, 2006**

| Birthplace   | Pacific-born in Australia |             | % NZ citiz |
|--------------|---------------------------|-------------|------------|
|              | All Pac-born              | NZ citizens |            |
| Melanesia    | 75,800                    | 1,500       | 2.0        |
| Micronesia   | 1,100                     | 10          | 0.9        |
| Polynesia    | 29,500                    | 11,100      | 37.6       |
| Pacific-born | 106,400                   | 12,610      | 11.9       |
| % Polynesia  | 27.7                      | 88.0        | ...        |

Data sources: Unpublished tables, Australian Bureau of Statistics and Department of Citizenship and Immigration

#### Futures for Pacific migration

In our recent report to the Department of Labour and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship we argued that “the key driver of contemporary international migration in the Pacific is the growing imbalance on the one hand between the rising demand for and limited supply of work which generates a monetary return in the islands with their small manufacturing and service sectors and, on the other hand, between the rising demand for and limited supply of labour that will undertake a wide range of manual jobs in the countries on the Pacific rim with their heavily urbanized and industrialized rapidly ageing workforces” (Bedford and Hugo, 2011: 11). The wages paid for quite menial work in the main Pacific rim destinations tend to be much higher than those paid for high-status skilled work in the island countries.

A combination of demographic and economic factors, and a trend towards widening disparities in opportunities to derive livelihoods that are perceived to be satisfactory both for the present as well as future needs and aspirations of children, have contributed to political pressure from the leaders in several Pacific countries on Australia, New Zealand and the United States to open up their labour markets to Pacific workers across the skill spectrum. While there are shortages of skilled labour in many Pacific countries, especially in the specialised health, education and trades occupations, the demand tends to be small and patchy. Only a small proportion of the rapidly growing working age populations in most countries in the region can be absorbed into the formal labour force in any kind of regular, paid employment because of the slow pace of economic growth and development in most of these countries.

In the annual meetings of the Pacific Islands Forum since the early 2000s Pacific leaders have been stressing that member countries must “listen to the needs and aspirations of the burgeoning population of young people in the region, and

recognise 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: 8). Migration issues have been discussed at successive meetings of the Forum with particular reference to access to labour markets in Australia and New Zealand, as well as with reference to the challenging issue of migration as a response to environmental degradation associated with changes in sea levels and in the frequency, intensity and distribution of tropical cyclones and drought.

The three ‘big questions’ surrounding Pacific migration futures, excluding the possible impacts of climate-induced environmental change, relate to:

- 1) A ‘youth bulge’ and a ‘demographic dividend’ – futures for islands experiencing significant social and structural change in their populations;
- 2) Urbanisation without industrialisation – futures for families in towns without much formal sector employment growth;
- 3) Education for what sorts of work – futures for educated islanders in local and overseas towns.

These are not new questions in the Pacific –they all surfaced in the 1960s in the context of rapid population growth in Polynesia. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the focus is much more on Melanesia’s population aged under 24 years which accounted for more than 56 percent of the total for that sub-region in 2010 (Table 13). This compares with shares of the population in the youthful category of 41 percent in New Zealand and 44 percent in Australia.

**Table 13: Pacific youthful populations, 2010 (%)**

| <b>Area</b> | <b>0-14</b> | <b>15-24</b> | <b>0-24</b> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Melanesia   | 36.7        | 19.6         | 56.3        |
| Micronesia  | 31.1        | 19.1         | 50.2        |
| Polynesia   | 31.4        | 19.5         | 50.9        |
| Pacific     | 24.5        | 16.3         | 40.8        |
| New Zealand | 26.6        | 17.8         | 44.4        |

Data source: UN Population Division (2011)

By 2050 it is estimated that Melanesia could have around 42 percent of its population in the 0-24 age group – not too dissimilar to the proportions found in New Zealand and Australia in 2010 (Table 14). The shares of younger people in the populations of Micronesia and Polynesia could fall to around a third, while Australia’s share could be as low as 25 percent according to the UN Population Division’s medium variant projections – 20 percent lower than in 2010. This is a much more dramatic change in population structure than is forecast for New Zealand (a 10 percent decline from 40 to 30 percent of the population aged 0-14 years). The smaller decline in New Zealand’s share of the population that is aged under 25 years reflects the much greater impact on overall population change in that country of the sizeable Maori and Pacific Island components with their higher fertility and younger age structures.

**Table 14: Pacific youthful populations, 2050 (%)**

| Area        | 0-14 | 15-24 | 0-24 |
|-------------|------|-------|------|
| Melanesia   | 26.0 | 16.6  | 42.4 |
| Micronesia  | 19.8 | 13.8  | 33.6 |
| Polynesia   | 21.9 | 14.9  | 36.8 |
| Pacific     | 18.2 | 11.9  | 30.1 |
| New Zealand | 15.1 | 9.7   | 24.8 |

Data source: UN Population Division (2011)

Perhaps more significant than the current share of people aged under 24 years is projected the growth between 2010 and 2050 in numbers in the youthful population of working ages between 15-24 (Table 15). The UN Population Division's projections for Oceania suggest that the population aged 15-24 could be 1.67 million larger in 2050 than it was in 2010. This is equivalent to the total youth population in Melanesia in 2010. Of this change, 66 percent (1.1 million) will be in Melanesia, dwarfing the 31 percent share for Australia (524,000) despite the much larger population base in the latter (Table 15). The change in numbers of youth aged 15-24 in Micronesia and Polynesia between 2010 and 2050 are very small – 4,000 and 3,000 respectively, while New Zealand's 41,000 is less than the current annual immigration approvals of between 45,000 and 50,000. Without doubt, the 'youth challenge' in the Pacific over the next 40 years is a Melanesia challenge – something which has been recognised in recent reports on youth in the region (Noble et al., 2011; UNICEF, 2011).

**Table 15: Youthful population aged 15-24 years (000's)**

| Area        | 2010  | 2050  | Difference |
|-------------|-------|-------|------------|
| Melanesia   | 1,658 | 2,757 | 1,099      |
| Micronesia  | 96    | 100   | 4          |
| Polynesia   | 126   | 129   | 3          |
| New Zealand | 628   | 679   | 41         |
| Australia   | 3,147 | 3,671 | 524        |

Data source: UN Population Division (2011)

At the Pacific Forum meeting in Auckland in September 2011, John Key (2011a) argued that: "We need to work harder to get kids into school in the Pacific region, and teach them skills they need to succeed and contribute to the economy. We also need to help adults learn new skills". He went on to add that: "It is vital that we have a skilled workforce to help us grow our economies". The unspoken question here is: skills to succeed where? Skills and aspirations for work in villages? In Pacific towns? Overseas?

There is a very long history of aspirations for education off-shore in Polynesia, especially in Samoa in the 1960s and 1970s. Contemporary seasonal workers from the Pacific taking up employment opportunities in New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme, or Australia's Pacific Seasonal Work Pilot often state that they are earning money to contribute to the cost of their children's education, both back in the islands as well as off-shore. Where will they find work once they have this education – in village agriculture or in the region's towns and cities? It is widely known that employment opportunities in the towns are regularly well below the annual numbers of new entrants to the labour market. In the Pacific, as in all other parts of the world, increasing education and the growth in urban populations have tended to proceed in tandem. In turn, urbanisation has been accompanied by very significant international migration.

#### Melanesia's arrival cities

Doug Saunders (2010: 1), in a provocative book on migration and development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, has argued that: "What will be remembered about the 21<sup>st</sup> century, more than anything else except perhaps the effects of a changing climate, is the great and final shift of populations out of rural, agricultural life and into cities. This movement engages an unprecedented number of people – two to three billion persons [almost the equivalent of the current global urban population] – and will affect almost everyone in tangible ways." He goes on to suggest that the places where migrants first end up when they move from the countryside to the city – the 'arrival cities' – are the places where the next great economic and cultural boom will occur. These will be the places of employment, innovation and enterprise for millions of people – places which currently are often condemned as being slums and places of despair.

It is interesting to speculate what 21<sup>st</sup> century Pacific cities with populations of over one million residents might look like. There could be at least two millionaire cities in Melanesia, both probably in Papua New Guinea, if the western Pacific sub-region is to have over five million people living in towns and cities by 2050 as the UN Population Division's (2010) urban projections suggest. These will not be cities like those in Australia and New Zealand. Already the majority of residents in most of the Pacific's urban places live in 'informal' settlements of one kind or another. What will be the urban economies in these countries? Except for Papua New Guinea it is unlikely to be in secondary and tertiary industries of the kind we know Australia and New Zealand's contemporary urban places.

It has long been argued that urbanisation is frequently accompanied by increasing levels of international migration (Zelinsky, 1971). The urbanisation of Europe was accompanied by the overseas migration of millions of Europeans including those who contributed to the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand and the numerous island groups in the Pacific. The urbanisation of Polynesia and Micronesia has been accompanied by significant international migration to cities on the Pacific rim. Will the urbanisation of Melanesia follow the same pathway? It seems inevitable that increasing levels of education and

the broadening of the skills base for Pacific populations generally, and Melanesian populations in particular, will generate increasing international mobility.

Since the 1960s major arrival cities on the Pacific rim for Polynesians as well as Fijians and Fiji Indians have been Auckland, Honolulu, Los Angeles and Sydney. Over the next four decades it is likely that Brisbane, Townsville, Cairns, Sydney and Auckland will become important destinations for Melanesians from Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu as the populations of these countries continue to grow and urbanise. Initially it is likely to be increasing numbers of short-term visitors, students and seasonal workers who arrive and, for the most part, return to the islands. Longer-term it will be migrants with skills in demand in Australia and New Zealand, accompanied by their families, coming to live.

#### Recent Pacific migration to New Zealand

There is evidence of this already in the permanent and long-term migration and residence approval data for New Zealand. Between April 2002 and March 2011 there were just over 54,000 PLT arrivals of citizens of Pacific Island countries in New Zealand (Table 16). Half of these were from Melanesia – slightly more than the number from Polynesia. The net gain to New Zealand’s population through the movement of the citizens of countries in Melanesia (mainly Fiji) (18,990) was double that of citizens of countries in Polynesia (9,020). Citizens of countries in Melanesia accounted for just over two thirds of the net gain from PLT migration of Pacific citizens between 2002 and 2011 (Table 16).

**Table 16: PLT migration of Pacific citizens to and from New Zealand, 2002-2011 (March years)**

| <b>Area</b> | <b>Arrivals</b> | <b>Departures</b> | <b>Net migration</b> |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Melanesia   | 27,160          | 8,120             | 18,990               |
| Micronesia  | 630             | 410               | 1,200                |
| Polynesia   | 26,230          | 17,210            | 9,020                |
| New Zealand | 54,020          | 25,790            | 28,230               |
| % Melanesia | 50.3            | 31.7              | 67.3                 |

Data source: Statistics New Zealand

In the case of the 61,460 residence approvals for citizens of Pacific Island countries between July 2001 and June 2011, the share from Melanesia increased in the second half of the decade following the latest Fiji military coup in December 2006 (Table 17). Numbers approved from Polynesia declined in this period, by contrast. Between July 2006 and June 2011 just under 50 percent of the residence approvals were for people from Melanesia.

**Table 17: Residence approvals of Pacific citizens in New Zealand, 2002-2011 (June years)**

| Area        | 2002-06 | 2007-11 | % change |
|-------------|---------|---------|----------|
| Melanesia   | 13,136  | 15,054  | 14.3     |
| Micronesia  | 482     | 682     | 41.5     |
| Polynesia   | 17,714  | 14,394  | -18.7    |
| New Zealand | 31,332  | 30,130  | -3.8     |
| % Melanesia | 41.9    | 49.9    | 8.0      |

Data source: Department of Labour

Looking ahead, it seems inevitable that the share of New Zealand's Pacific population that was born in Melanesia must continue to increase. In 1986 just over 11 percent of the 72,700 Pacific-born were from countries in Melanesia (Table 18). By 2006, just under 30 percent of the 138,400 Pacific-born were from Melanesia. If the trends observed between 1986 and 2006 for growth in numbers born in the three sub-regions persist for a further 20 years then by 2026 almost 50 percent of the estimated 255,700 Pacific-born in New Zealand are likely to have birthplaces in Melanesia. Just as the on-going urbanisation of Melanesia's population is inevitable, so to is the growth in Melanesia-born populations in Australia and New Zealand. It is not a question of 'will it happen'; rather it is a question of 'how soon and how fast will it happen'.

**Table 18: Pacific-born in New Zealand, 1986, 2006, 2026**

| Area        | 1986   | 2006    | 2026    |
|-------------|--------|---------|---------|
| Melanesia   | 8,400  | 41,200  | 121,200 |
| Micronesia  | 200    | 1,200   | 4,100   |
| Polynesia   | 64,100 | 96,000  | 130,400 |
| New Zealand | 72,700 | 138,400 | 255,700 |
| % Melanesia | 11.5   | 29.6    | 47.4    |

### A proposal

In our research to date we have focussed deliberately on some the contemporary and potential future drivers of international migration in the region, with particular reference to demographic trends and issues. While we have not attempted to forecast future levels of international migration, much of our discussion is couched in terms of trends that might be associated with forecasts of the growth and redistribution of island populations. These are some of the 'more certain' mega-trends or long-term driving forces that influence everything at all levels of society (de Haas et al., 2010).

There are also a lot of uncertainties surrounding technological, economic, social, political and environmental change in the region, and the links between these and the

demographic developments that are the focus of this report. A methodology is needed to explore these uncertainties, and the International Migration Institute (IMI) in the University of Oxford's Department of International Development is currently carrying out some innovative research, using a scenario-building approach, on the futures of migration in North Africa and Europe that has particular relevance for the analysis of futures for the Pacific migration system (International Migration Institute, 2010a and b, and 2011a-d).

In developing further our understandings of prospects for migration in the Pacific it is recommended that the Department of Labour and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, in association with the Auckland City Council, the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO, the New Zealand Futures Trust, the Integration of Immigrants Programme, the National Centre for Lifecourse Research, and the National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis, consider sponsoring a workshop on the future of migration in the Pacific during the second half of 2012. The International Migration Institute's key research staff would be invited to present their scenario methodology for studying the regional migration system that encompasses North Africa and Europe at this workshop, and assist with scoping and developing a similar sort of analysis of migration in our region. As the IMI researchers note in their Policy Briefings (IMI, 2011c: 1) "Existing research on the future of international migration tends to focus on relative 'certainties', such as demographic change, [as our analysis does], and ignores key migration drivers which are more difficult to predict. The very purpose of the scenario methodology is to expand current thinking about future developments by creating scenarios around key uncertainties. Scenario-building exercises identify which factors deserve the most attention when examining future migration patterns and trends and appropriate policy responses".

The scenario-building method, in fact, is one that has similarities to the approach adopted by the Department of Labour when it was exploring the impediments to improving productivity in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries in the early 2000s – the research on complex systems that led ultimately to the development of the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) work policy (Whatman et al., 2005; Whatman, 2007; Hill et al. 2007). As the IMI (2010a: 1) points out: "One of the components of scenario methodology is the active involvement of stakeholders in migration such as entrepreneurs, policy-makers, community leaders, labour organisations, scholars, and migrants and their associations. IMI has engaged with these stakeholders by making them active contributors to the production of knowledge through interviews and participation in key events." This is the approach that would greatly enrich analysis of the wider contextual environment within which migration flows between countries in Oceania is likely to play out.

The proposed workshop would make a significant contribution to the activities that Prime Minister Key has in mind for New Zealand's year as Chair of the Pacific Forum. It would certainly deliver "new ideas and new ways of doing things" and demonstrate that there is a willingness to "be creative, innovative and open to new ways of approaching old problems" with a view to helping to "make our home – the Pacific region – an even better place to live, work and raise a family" (Key, 2011b).

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