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INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOBILITY IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

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INTRODUCTION

Australia and New Zealand differ significantly from most other Asia-Pacific countries with respect to their international migration experience. In particular, they have an extended history of an immigration program managed by government and which has focused for most of their history on the encouragement of permanent settlement of families. While there has long been provision for workers in specialised areas to enter on a temporary basis, this situation has changed in recent years with greater provision being made for non-permanent migration of workers in the immigration programs. They are among the few countries in the region, however, that have had, and are likely to continue to have, sustained official programs of attracting migrants to settle, albeit on a planned and selective basis.

Australia and New Zealand are one of the small group of so-called traditional migration countries (along with the United States and Canada), which drew the bulk of their immigrants from Europe in the three decades following World War II. Overwhelmingly the main type of international population movement was of more or less permanent migration involving settlement in the destination country. In the contemporary situation the drivers of international migration have changed and as a result the international population movement influencing Australia and New Zealand have changed. Non-permanent migrants are more significant and Asia and the Pacific have become important origins for both permanent and temporary migrants. As with other OECD countries, low fertility and ageing have begun to place pressures on the labour market and together with buoyant economic conditions in recent years have created shortages of skilled and unskilled labour. These shortages are likely to continue and intensify in the near future and the challenge of meeting them has become an important issue in both countries. Policies of increasing labour force participation rates, extending the retirement age and bringing groups with low engagement into the labour force are being initiated but immigration will continue to play a major role in meeting these shortages.

Few countries in the world have been as influenced by migration as Australia and New Zealand. Figure 1 shows that both countries figure prominently in the contemporary world with the largest numbers of immigrants and with the highest proportion of their national populations being made up of immigrants. In both countries half the population was either born in a foreign country or has a parent who was born overseas. Moreover both countries figure among the world's major countries of emigration as Table 1 indicates. In comparison with many low income countries New Zealand especially is ranked as the 24th largest country in terms of the ratio of its diaspora to its resident population, however when compared to higher income countries, New Zealand is unique in the OECD having the highest per capita rate of both immigration and emigration.

Australia and New Zealand have excellent international migration information with respect to both stock and flow information. The main source of stock data are the quinquennial population censuses, which contain a series of questions which relate to the overseas-born population of the nations and their descendants. The main source of flow data is derived from arrival and departure cards completed by all people entering and leaving Australia and New Zealand. The key point here is that both countries collect information on all people leaving the country as well as those arriving so they are among the very few countries that can accurately establish the scale and composition of emigration as well as immigration. Moreover the fact that both countries are islands means that they are able to control migration more easily than if there was a land border so levels of clandestine migration are extremely small.[1] Both countries also have national longitudinal surveys of settler arrivals which investigate among other things the labour market adjustment of recent settlers.

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[1] Although in both countries there are problems with overstayers who remain beyond their visa's eligibility date and others who enter as tourists but defy the conditions of their visas and work.

Figure 1: **Countries With the Largest International Migrant Stock and With the Highest Proportion of Population Migration (Countries With a Population of a Million or More)**

Source: United Nations 2006a; 2006 Population Censuses of Australia, Canada and New Zealand

Numbers

Country	Number of migrants (thousands)
United States of America	38,355
Russian Federation	12,080
Germany	10,144
Ukraine	6,833
France	6,471
Saudi Arabia	6,361
Canada	6,187
India	5,700
United Kingdom	5,408
Spain	4,790
Australia	4,416
Pakistan	3,254
United Arab Emirates	3,212
Hong Kong	2,999
Israel	2,661
Italy	2,519
Kazakhstan	2,502
Côte d'Ivoire	2,371
Jordan	2,225
Japan	2,048

Percentages

Country	Percent of Total Population
United Arab Emirates	71.4
Kuwait	62.1
Occupied Palestinian Territory	45.4
Singapore	42.6
Hong Kong	42.6
Israel	39.6
Jordan	39.0
Saudi Arabia	25.9
Oman	24.4
Australia	23.9
New Zealand	22.9
Switzerland	22.9
Canada	20.0
Latvia	19.5
Lebanon	18.4
Gabon	17.7
Kazakhstan	16.9
Gambia	15.3
Estonia	15.2
Austria	15.1

Table 1: **National Diasporas in Relation to Resident National Populations**
Source: US Census Bureau 2002a and b; Southern Cross 2002; Bedford 2001;
Ministry of External Affairs, India, http://indiandiaspora.nic.in, Naseem 1998;
Sahoo 2002, Iguchi 2004; Guitierrez 1999; Dimzon 2005; OECD database on
immigrants and expatriates; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/korean_diaspora;
Luconi 2006

USA:	7 million – 2.5 percent of national population
Australia:	900,000 – 4.3 percent of national population
New Zealand:	850,000 – 21.9 percent of national population
Philippines:	7.5 million – 9.0 percent of national population
India:	20 million – 1.9 percent of national population
Pakistan:	4 million – 2.8 percent of national population
China:	30 to 40 million – 2.9 percent of national population
Vietnam:	2.6 million – 3.2 percent of national population
Japan:	873,641 – 0.7 percent of national population
Mexico	19 million* – 19 percent of national population
South Korea:	6.4 million – 13.2 percent of national population
Niue:	5,884 – 294.2 percent of national population
Tokelau:	2,019 – 138.5 percent of national population
Samoa:	78,253 – 44.5 percent of national population
Fiji:	128,284 – 15.8 percent of national population
Italy:	29 million – 49.4 percent of national population

* Mexican diaspora in the U.S.

This paper begins with a discussion of the demographic and economic context of New Zealand and Australia which is so influential in shaping migration of labour. There is then a brief consideration of the historical evolution of international migration policy in the two countries. One of the features of both countries is the long history of immigration policy and the high level of micro management of immigration. In both countries however there have been two major shifts in immigration policy over the postwar period – the opening up of immigration to non-Europeans in the 1960s and 1970s and the development of substantial non-permanent immigration avenues in the 1990s. The next sections trace trends in first permanent immigration and then non-permanent movements. We then consider some of the major contemporary issues in labour migration facing the two countries. Finally some of the future migration challenges facing Australia and New Zealand are canvassed. This includes a

discussion of low skill migration and, not unconnected with low skill migration, possible future links with Melanesia.

Although individual nation states with quite separate and distinct immigration policies, Australia and New Zealand have had shared values with respect to international migration and their policies have followed, for the most part, similar paths. In addition they share a similar location on the south eastern edge of Asia and the south western edge of the Pacific. Moreover they enjoy a special bilateral international migration relationship which allows more or less free movement between the two nations so that New Zealand is a predominant destination and origin for emigrants from and immigrants to Australia and the reverse is true for Australia (Hugo 2004a). It has been argued in fact that for many purposes Australia and New Zealand constitute a single labour market. This is reflected in the fact that New Zealand immigrants in Australia more closely resemble Australian internal migrants than the immigrant population from other countries (Hugo 2004b). Hence while they have separate policies there are also some good reasons for examining them together when considering international migration in the APEC region.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Australia's population in mid 2007 was 21,017,200 representing 0.32 percent of the global population and Australia is currently the 54th largest country in the world. Australia's population is currently (2006-07) growing at a rate of 1.5 percent per annum – around the rate of global population growth and one of the fastest in OECD nations. Of the annual population growth of 315,734 persons, some 56 percent was attributable to net migration gain (ABS 2007a). New Zealand is significantly smaller with a population of 4,228,300 in 2007 and is growing at 1.04 percent per annum of which net migration makes up 24 percent.

In June 2006 (ABS 2006) it was announced that Australia's unemployment level had fallen below 5 percent for the first time since the current data collections on unemployment

began. This partly reflects the fact that Australia has experienced an extended period of economic growth since the recession of 1990-91. In recent years the mining boom fuelled by the industrial expansion of China has been an important element. However the tightening of the labour market is also partly a function of ageing of the Australian population. As Jean-Philippe Cotis (2005), the Chief Economist at the OECD, has said:

> 'Over the next couple of decades nothing will impact OECD economies more
>
> profoundly than demographic trends and, chief among them, ageing'.

In New Zealand the December 2007 quarter unemployment rate at 3.4% was at its lowest level since the Household Labour Force survey began in March 1986. The survey also recorded the highest number of people in employment and in the labour force, as well as the highest labour force participation rate (Statistics New Zealand 2007).

Table 2: Projections of Australia's Aged and Working Age Population
Source: ABS 2003 and 2004

Year	Number by Age				
	0-14	15-64	65+	Total	65+ as % 15-64[*]
2003	3,981,538	13,344,685	2,546,423	19,872,646	19.1
2011	3,840,000	14,532,900	3,155,600	21,524,200	21.7
2021	3,752,700	15,172,300	4,443,400	23,368,400	29.3
2031	3,826,400	15,348,100	5,741,000	24,915,500	37.4
	Annual Growth Rate (%)				
2003-11	-0.45	1.07	2.72	+1.00	
2011-21	-0.23	0.43	3.48	+0.83	
2021-31	+0.19	0.12	2.60	+0.64	

* The ratio of 65+ as % 15-64 for New Zealand in 2031 is projected to be 35%

Ageing of the workforce will not be as great in Australia and New Zealand as in many OECD nations and it will come somewhat later. This is due to the profound effect of the

baby boom on Australia's demography. In Australia baby boomers make up 27.5 percent of the adult population – a higher proportion than in most other nations. As a result, as they move into retirement, the low fertility of their children means that the net increase in the workforce will begin to reduce. Hence, Table 2 shows that Australia's population aged 15-64 will increase by only 2 million over the 2003-31 period while those aged 65+ will increase by 3.2 million. There has been increasing pressure bought to bear on the Australian and New Zealand governments to increase immigration in response to a perceived tightness in the labour market and reported shortages of workers in key areas.

DEVELOPMENTS IN IMMIGRATION POLICY

While both Australia and New Zealand have a long and sustained history of immigration it has been in the post-World War II period that immigration has been especially significant. This is especially evident in Australia as is evident in Figure 2. The post-war

Figure 2:   Australia: Annual Migration, 1850-2007
Source: Price 1979; Hugo 1986; ABS, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures,* various issues; DIAC, *Immigration* Update, various issues
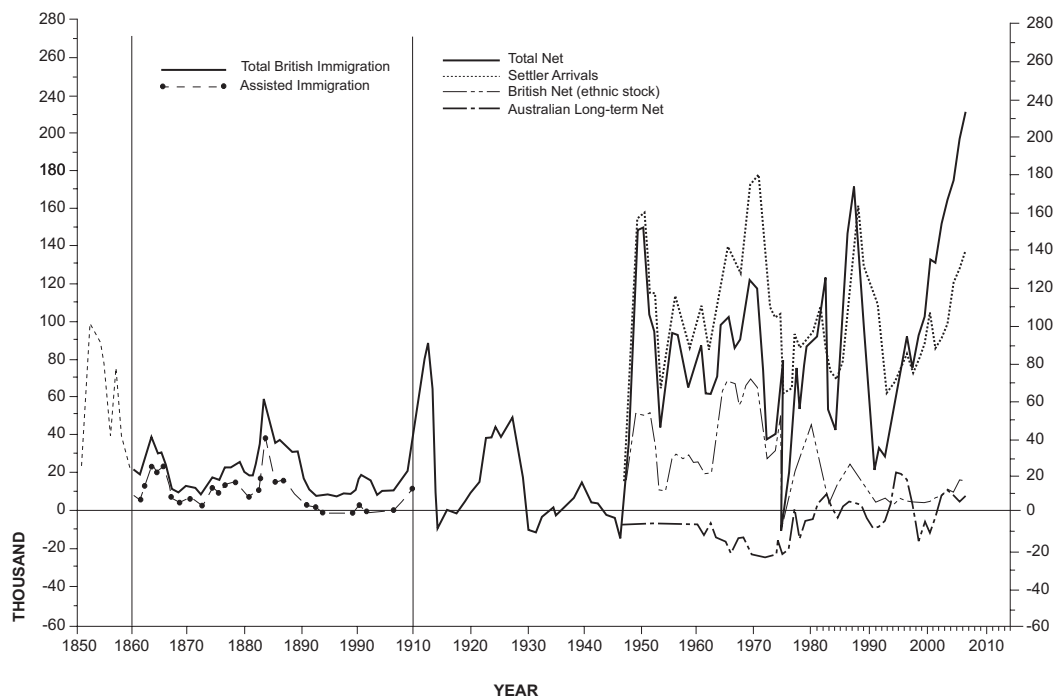
period clearly shows out as an exceptional era in Australia's immigration history in terms of its scale. However, it also saw for the first time in national history a large-scale in-movement of immigrants from outside the United Kingdom and Ireland. This is evident in Figure 3 which shows the breakdown of origin regions of post-war immigrants to Australia. The UK remained the main single source of immigrants but its share dwindled from being the overwhelming majority in the pre-war period until in some years of the 1990s it lost its place as the largest single source of immigrants. In fact for much of the post-war period the UK-Ireland remained the major underlying source of immigrants while there were a series of successive waves of immigrants from particular non-English speaking regions. The immediate post-war period saw the arrival of substantial numbers of displaced persons (DPs) from Eastern Europe. This was followed by waves from the Netherlands and Germany, Italy, Greece, the Middle East and finally in the late 1970s substantial flows from Asia commenced and still continue.

Figure 3: **Australia: Settler Arrivals by Region of Last Residence, 1947 to 2006**
Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics*, various issues; ABS, *Migration Australia*, various issues; DIAC, unpublished data
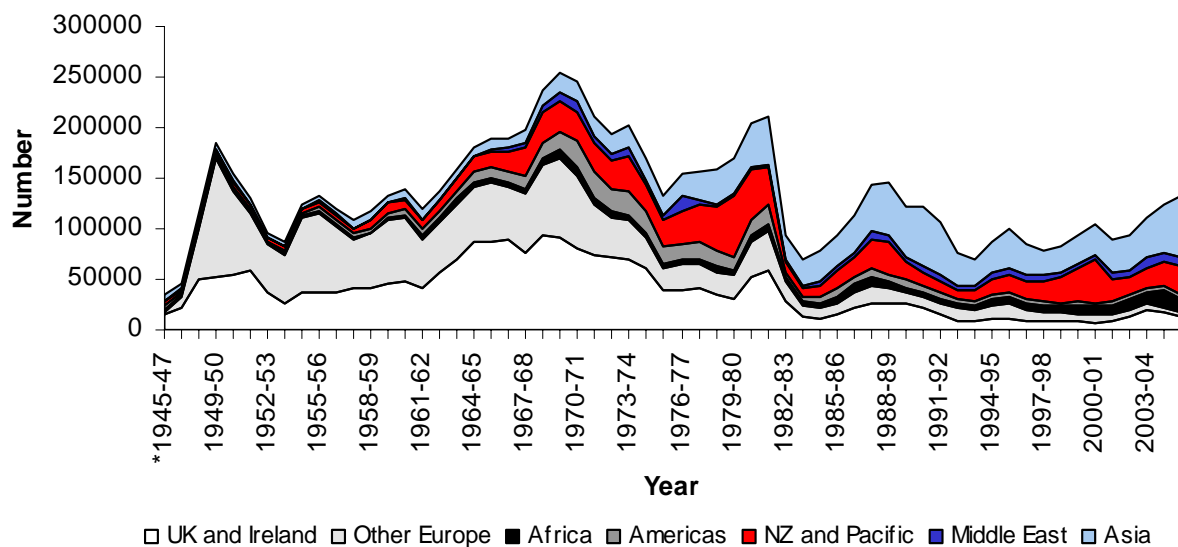
* July 1945 to June 1947

These patterns reflect some significant shifts in immigration policy over the last half-century. In the aftermath of World War II there were major labour shortages in the newly expanding manufacturing sector as well as in traditional areas like agriculture. This allied with some continuing notions of 'population or perish' associated with perceived threats of invasion from the north which were strengthened by the Pacific War saw government press to increase immigration. When this demand could not be met from traditional British sources, the government assisted over 300,000 Displaced Persons (DPs) from Eastern Europe to settle in Australia, breaking down a previous almost exclusive orientation on the UK and Ireland. The success of the DPs led to an extension of the immigration program to other parts of Europe.

The 1970s saw several major shifts in the immigration policy. Firstly, for the first time since World War II, Australia began to experience substantial levels of unemployment with structural change in the economy, the movement of manufacturing offshore and the entry of the baby boom cohorts into the labour force. This saw immigration policy move from an emphasis on the recruitment of semi-skilled and skilled workers for manufacturing to a more complex program containing the following components:

- Economic migration – attraction of people with skills in demand in Australia.

- Family migration – relatives of Australian residents – the specific regulations of this part of the program have changed over the subsequent years.

- Refugee and humanitarian migration.

- Special categories – the largest is New Zealanders who can move more or less freely across the Tasman Sea.

The government introduced a points system to assess applicants for economic migration. In the 1980s a system was introduced whereby each year the government sets the numbers of immigrants to be allowed into Australia. Over the years the numbers and balance

of the four categories has shifted with changes in government policy, the economy and the global situation.

The second major policy change in the 1970s was the removal of the final vestiges of the 'White Australia policy' which was one of the first initiatives of Australia's first national government in 1901. This effectively prevented non-Europeans from immigrating to Australia. With its removal Asians began to compete equally for places in the immigration program and Figure 3 shows that they made up an increasingly large share of the population. The influx of refugees from Indo-China was the first wave of a continuing in-movement from the region.

Another period of major policy change in Australian immigration occurred in the 1990s. The first was the introduction of a new set of visas which allowed temporary residents to work in Australia and these are considered below. A second shift however came in the mid 1990s and involved the introduction of the State Specific and Regional Migration (SSRM) Scheme as part of the permanent settlement program. In effect immigrants entering Australia under this category receive small discounts on the Points Assessment Test in exchange for settling in designated regional or economically lagging areas of the country. In most cases they are obliged to stay in those areas for the fist three years of settlement. This category now accounts for a fifth of settler intake and has significantly influenced the pattern of settlement of immigrants in Australia (Hugo 2008). Most of the categories of SSRM migrants are skilled.

New Zealand has engaged Pacific countries much more in the development of its migration policy than Australia. As the need for more unskilled labour increased in the 1960s and 1970s, immigration from some areas of the Pacific was sought after to fill labour shortages. A large number of migrants from the Pacific Islands, mainly Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau arrived in New Zealand during the late 1950s to 1970s to provide a valuable source of labour in the urban and manufacturing sector (Gibson 1983). In

1945 the Pacific population was just over 2,000 people, Samoans being the largest group. However since the 1960s the Pacific population had been rapidly increasing. In recent times, the population was 202,233 in 1996, rising to 231,801 in 2001 and increasing further to 265,974 in March 2006 (Callister and Didham 2007). The largest Pacific group recorded in the 2006 census were the Samoans.

A Treaty of Friendship was signed with the Samoan government in 1962, and the Western Samoan Quota scheme was established to facilitate migration from Samoa. The Quota provided residence to 1,100 Western Samoan citizens annually conditional to having definite employment in New Zealand (irrespective of skill or labour market needs), age (18-45 years) and standard health and character requirements.

In 1973 a major review of immigration policy was undertaken. The outcomes of the review were such that in 1974 unrestricted access of British immigrants was terminated. As a result of this review, everyone had to apply for residence through either the family, humanitarian, refugee or general categories. In addition to this, people from the Cook Islands, Tokelau and Niue were allowed free entry into New Zealand, and the Trans-Tasman Agreements between New Zealand and Australia allowed citizens of either country to live and work in the other without visas and permits (Bellamy 2008).

New Zealand's immigration policy was reviewed again in 1986. The main factors motivating this included a need to acknowledge New Zealand's location in the Asia-Pacific region in anticipation that immigration from within this region would encourage trade, attract investment, and increase cultural diversity (Burke 1986). The review also provided for immigration to be managed on the basis of four categories of potential migrant: occupational, business, family and humanitarian. This resulted in the 1987 Immigration Act which removed the traditional source country preference list and maintained a system of an occupational priority list (OPL) (Winkelmann 2001). With these newly introduced policy changes, migrants who applied for residence under the General Category, were required to

have skills contained in the OPL in order to be approved for residence. The purpose of the Business Immigration Programme (1986) was to allow the entry of migrants with proven business ability and investment capital. Both these policies were developed with the intention of being more responsive to labour market needs by selecting migrants that would help strengthen New Zealand's economy.

Given the above changes to New Zealand's immigration policy, flows of migrants from non-traditional source countries quickly developed such that in the mid 1980s most migrants were from Europe and North America. However a decade later there was a significant move in the source of migrants, as 60 percent of migrants from parts of Asia were approved for residence (Bedford and Lidgard 1997). The consequence of immigration from Asia to New Zealand led to a huge amount of negative attention and became a major media and political issue (Trlin *et al*. 1997), which resulted to some significant changes to policy for potential migrants from the Asia-Pacific, the main one being more stringent English language requirements (Farmer 1997; Trlin 1997).

In 1991 a working party was appointed to review immigration policy. The party found OPL to be 'inflexible and ineffective', and upon recommendations of the working party, the following new policies were implemented as part of the Immigration Amendment Act 1991:

- The introduction of an immigration target;
- A points-based selection process for residence;
- Structured appeals and
- Compliance procedures.

In 1995, skilled immigration policies were reviewed further to ensure that the policy was being responsive to the changing labour market needs. Therefore the General Category was replaced by the General Skills Category, which was also points-based system for recruiting skilled migrants (Bellamy 2008).

Further changes were made three years later with the introduction of the Immigration Amendment Act 1998. One of the changes included recognising qualifications held by international students. Also, international students with a qualification recognised under the GSC were exempt from the two-year work experience requirements.

The New Zealand Immigration Programme (NZIP) was established in October 2001, which included three residence streams:

- Skilled/Business Stream;

- Family Sponsored Stream and

- International/Humanitarian Stream.

A proportion of places are allocated to each stream in the NZIP.[2]

So far we have considered immigration policy in the two countries with respect to permanent settlement. Both countries eschewed temporary labour migration in the first four decades following World War II and emphasised settlement. However, in the mid 1990s attitudes changed in New Zealand and it was recognised that in the context of globalised labour markets it is necessary to have mechanisms to allow non-permanent entry of workers in some groups. Accordingly both countries have introduced a range of visa categories for temporary migrant workers. A major watershed in Australian post-war immigration policy occurred in 1995 when the Labour government received a report which recommended that the government:

> 'fundamentally deregulated the rules governing temporary work visas for skilled
> business persons and specialist workers (mainly professional and managerial level
> workers, though trade level workers are eligible too)' (Birrell 1998, 1).

As a result, in 1996 the new Coalition government put in effect most of the recommendations of the report:

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[2] 60% Skilled/Business stream, 30% Family Sponsored stream and 10% International/Humanitarian stream.

- Removal of previous restrictions governing the sponsoring of business persons and specialists.

- Abolition of previous requirements that sponsors establish that there are no resident Australian workers available to do the work.

- Abolition of the requirement that there would be some training benefit to Australian workers.

- Liberalisation of rules governing to sponsorship process.

- Establishment of a pre-sponsoring arrangement whereby employers can register themselves as sponsors if they meet minimal requirements. They then are allowed to sponsor any number of the new 457 Temporary Entry category.

- A two stage process was introduced for the entry of 457 workers:

  - the sponsor nominates the position;

  - if there is no objection from DIMA, the applicant can apply for a 457 visa.

The Temporary Business Visa category was introduced in 1996 and as DIMA (2000, 48) points out:

> The employer sponsored temporary business visas allow employers to fill skill shortages from overseas and assess new ideas, skills and technology. The visa holders tend to be highly skilled and have relatively high income levels and therefore able to contribute to economic growth through improved productivity and increased demand for goods and services. The entry of managers and skilled specialists under these categories can also enhance Australia's ability to compete in international markets.

There are several other categories of temporary residence visa that permit the holder to work in Australia. The largest are foreign students who are allowed to work 20 hours during term time and full time during semester breaks. The next largest are Working Holiday Makers (WHM) who are foreign nationals aged 18-30 from selected countries which

Australia has a reciprocal arrangement, who can work under certain conditions for up to 12 months. The only APEC countries included in this plan are Canada, South Korea and Japan. Other smaller temporary entry categories include educational visas (which are being replaced by 457s), International Relations, Medical and Socio-Cultural Visas.

A similar pattern has applied in New Zealand. The Work Permit policy allows employers to recruit temporary workers from overseas in order to meet specific labour market shortages that cannot be found in New Zealand. The Work to Residence policy was introduced in April 2002 which allowed potential migrants to obtain a work visa or permit with a view to eventual settlement. Three categories have included Talent (Accredited Employers), Talent (Arts, Culture and Sport) and Priority Occupation List. In July 2003 the Interim General Skills Category (IGSC), which required an individual to have a job offer in New Zealand as a prerequisite to making an application was introduced. The Skilled Migrant Category (SMC) was introduced in December 2003, which replaced the IGCS.

The SMC was instigated to ensure a better match of skills to New Zealand. It shifted skilled migration policy from the accepting residence applications to the recruitment of people with talents and skills to meet New Zealand's needs. Under the SMC, points are allocated for skilled employment, qualifications and work experience, especially in a future growth area. Bonus points are awarded for having a skilled job offer outside New Zealand's largest city, Auckland.

Virtually all of the categories of temporary migrants introduced in Australia and New Zealand have focused on skilled migrants. There have been considerable pressures from time to time in both countries to extend the temporary migration visas to unskilled and semi skilled workers. In Australia there have been a number of government enquiries and submissions from a range of industry groups. Previous Australian governments have strongly resisted opening Australia to unskilled temporary migration from less developed countries despite pressures from particular employers, especially the harvesting sector (Senate Standing

Committee on Employment, Workforce Relations and Employment 2006). Their opposition is based on the following arguments (Hugo 2005a):

- A significant unemployed population in Australia would suggest that employers are not paying adequate wages or providing appropriate conditions for Australian workers.

- The integrity of Australia's immigration program would be undermined because it involves unskilled workers. Moreover, if it is restricted to particular countries (e.g. Pacific nations) it would be discriminatory.

- It has been questioned whether the unskilled workers would gain from temporary migration because of the high costs of travel in relation to the amount of work available and the wages paid.

- The impact of the loss of human resources on the economies of home nations.

- Compliance concerns that the temporary workers would 'run away' from employers and settle permanently developing a large 'illegal' migrant population.

- The chequered history of guest worker programs which have seen exploitation of temporary labour migrants.

Moreover, in recent years the existing 457 program has come under attack because some unscrupulous employers have underpaid migrant workers and used them to replace Australian workers (Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson 2006; Kinnaird 2006).

Even if it is accepted that Australia does not have a contemporary shortage of unskilled and semi-skilled workers it would seem there will be shortages in the future. Moreover, in the context of the discourse on migration and development (World Bank 2006a; United Nations 2006b) there are some arguments which could be mounted to suggest that well managed, targeted and limited temporary and permanent migration programs involving unskilled and semi-skilled workers can produce significant positive developmental impacts in origin countries. There has been a particular focus on Pacific countries as a source of such workers (Maclellan and Mares 2006; World Bank 2007b).

In New Zealand already there is policy development and experimentation taking place in relation to temporary migration of horticultural workers with the Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme. In October 2006 the Government announced a new seasonal work programme, the Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme (RSE), to assist employers in particular industries to attract seasonal workers. The scheme allows for priority to be given to workers from the Pacific for seasonal work opportunities in the horticulture and viticulture industries in planting, maintaining, harvesting and packing crops where there are no New Zealand workers available. The initiative attempts to provide a mutually beneficial situation where New Zealand employers have a secure labour supply that they can utilise in successive years and for the Pacific to have access to the New Zealand labour market, thereby boosting the skills and economies of Pacific nations. The RSE scheme was officially launched on 30 April 2007, with the first employer achieving RSE status at the same time.

The RSE policy represents a substantial departure in immigration policy by Australia and New Zealand. Where no suitable New Zealanders are available as in the heavy seasonal demands for 20 to 30,000 workers in picking, pruning and packing in the production of fruit, vegetables and wine, employers can apply for RSE status. They can recruit firstly from the Pacific and if there are no suitable workers they can go to other countries. The employees from the Pacific can stay in New Zealand up to 7 months at a time (9 months if they are from Kiribati and Tuvalu in recognition of higher travel costs) and they can return in consecutive seasons. Employers are encouraged to build long term relationships with the Pacific Islands residents and to build their skills over time. There are plans to develop appropriate training for migrant workers at home and in New Zealand (Redden 2008). Initially the program allows for Samoan workers to come to New Zealand each year and has focused on the Pacific nations of Tuvalu, Tonga, Samoa, Vanuatu and Kiribati. Employers are obliged to:

- Pay half travel costs.

- Pay for an average 30 hours per week for the duration of employment.

- Provide pastoral care, ongoing accommodation, basic health care and local transport.

- Make a financial contribution to locating a worker who fails to return home at the end of their employment.

The introduction and progress of the Scheme is being watched closely in both New Zealand and Australia because it could be an important first stage for substantial programs of this type in the future.

TRENDS IN PERMANENT SETTLEMENT MIGRATION

Australia has an organised program for permanent settlement of immigrants. However people who enter Australia under its *Migration Program* are only one component of the contribution made by international migration to Australia's population growth. The other elements are:

- New Zealand migration, which refers to the arrival of New Zealanders under the Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement.

- Long-term visitors to the country.

- Emigration of residents.

- Category jumping from temporary and permanent residence.

The Migration Program operates within set levels and is made up of humanitarian and non-humanitarian programs. The composition of Australia's humanitarian program in recent years is shown in Table 3. This indicates that the total intake in 2006-07 was 14,158 slightly more than in the previous year (14,144) and the highest for 10 years.

The origins of the Australian refugee-humanitarian intake has varied considerably over time as is evident in Figure 4. A major change occurred in the late 1990s when Australia began to take substantial numbers of refugee-humanitarian migrants from the Horn of Africa, especially from Sudan but also Ethiopia and Eritrea. This was a significant change since hitherto Australia's immigration from Africa had been mainly from South Africa and

Zimbabwe and was predominantly of European ethnic origin. This has added a new layer of

heterogeneity to the Australian population and the new groups have faced many challenges in

adjusting to life in a quite different cultural context (Perrin and Dunn 2007). However it was

recently announced (DIAC 2007a) that Australia had adjusted the 'regional priorities' of its

Table 3: **Outcomes of Australia's Humanitarian Program by Component and Category from 1997-98 to 2006-07**

Source: Rizvi 2002, 29; 2003, 47; 2004, 42 and 2005, 37; Mills 2006, 41; DIAC 2008

Component	Category	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02	02-03	03-04	04-05	05-06	06-07
	Refugee	4,010	3,988	3,802	3,997	4,160	4,376	4,134	5,511	6,022	6,231
Offshore	SHP	4,636	4,348	3,051	3,116	4,258	7,280	7,668	6,585	6,736	6,016
	SAC	1,821	1,190	649	879	40	-	-			
Onshore		1,588	1,834	2,458	5,741	3,891	866	2,047**	1,082	1,386	1,911
Temporary Humanitarian					164	6	3	2			
Total		12,055	11,360	9,960*	13,773	12,349	12,525	13,851	13,178	14,144	14,158

* In this year there were 5,000 temporary safe haven visas to Kosovars offshore (4,000) and Timorese (1,900).
** Includes 1,228 Onshore SHP visas granted to East Timorese under ministerial intervention powers.

Figure 4: **Australia: Region of Birth of Humanitarian Settler Arrivals, 1996-97 to 2006-07**

Source: DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various issues
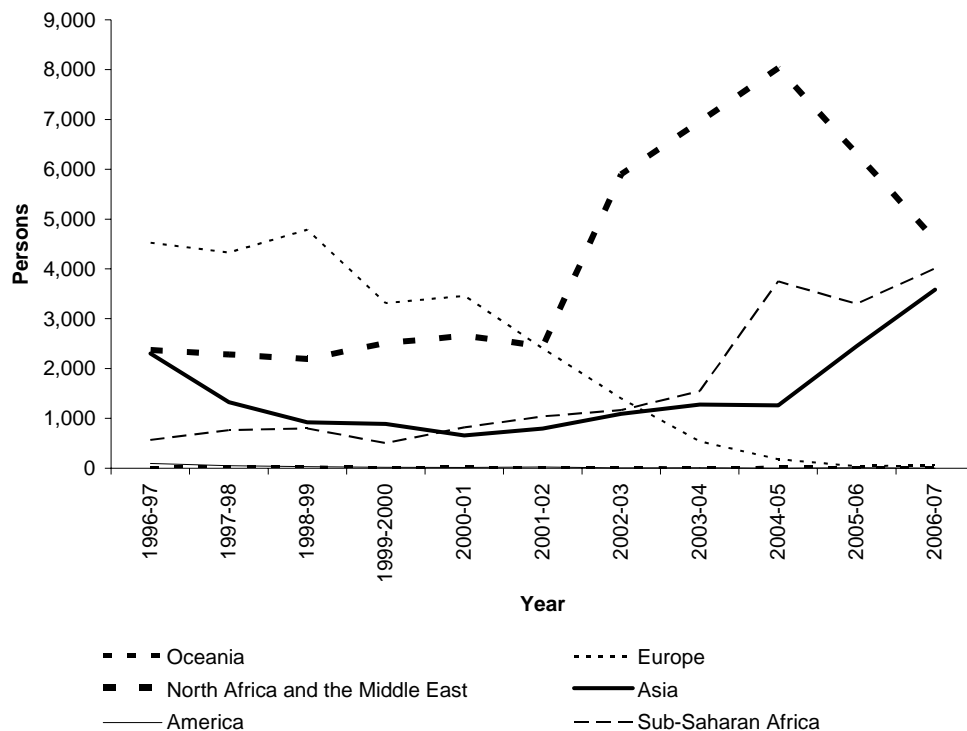
refugee-humanitarian program for 2007-08. The intake was to be maintained at 13,000 places but the African intake was reduced from 55.7 percent (70.2 percent in 2004-05) to 30 percent while those from Asia (mainly Burmese from Thailand and Bhutanese in Nepal) were increased from 10 to 35 percent. It is not apparent whether the new Rudd Labour government elected in November 2007 will change this balance.

While refugee-humanitarian migrants are not part of the economic migration program of Australia, they *do* have an impact on the labour market. Studies show that of all new migrants they experience the greatest difficulty in penetrating the Australian labour market due largely to language skill and education barriers (Richardson *et al*. 2001). However they are one of main groups of unskilled migrants and they are filling important niches in the labour market, for example in some regional areas they have helped meet important labour shortages in abattoirs, food processing and intensive agriculture.

The non-humanitarian part of the program in 2006-07 resulted in 147,830[3] non-humanitarian immigrants settling in Australia. This was the largest intake for over a decade and 7.3 percent larger than in 2005-06 (137,745). There are three main components of the non-humanitarian part of the program. As shown in Table 4 the two main components are skill and family. The Skill stream is capped at a level decided each year by the federal government in consultation with the main stakeholders (unions, employers, state and local government etc.). There is a Points Assessment Test which most applicants for Skill visas sit with an adjustable 'pass' level. The test involves receiving points for skills, age, work experience, English language ability etc. Family migration, on the other hand, is designed to facilitate reunion of close family members like spouses, children, parents and certain other extended family members. There has been a growing emphasis in the program of the skill component as is evident in Figure 5. Indeed in 2006-07 the number of skilled immigrants

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[3]   This excludes New Zealanders (28,307 compared with 23,781 in 2005-06) who have special access and Refugee-Humanitarian Arrivals (14,158).

coming to Australia reached a record 98,918 people – an 8.1 percent increase over the previous year. There has been considerable discourse in Australia about skill shortages with the unemployment level being at the lowest levels for many decades.

Table 4: **Program Management Structure (2006-07) Migration Program**
Source: DIMA 2007, p. 19

Skill	Family	Special Eligibility
Business Skills, ENS & Distinguished Talent	Spouses & Dependent Children	Can be capped
Demand driven	Demand driven	
State-Specific and Regional Migration	Exempt from capping	
Demand Driven	Fiancés & Interdependents	
Skilled Independent & Skilled Australian Sponsored	Can be capped subject to demand for spouse and dependent child places	
Generally points tested	Parents & Preferential/Other Family	
Planning level adjusted subject to demand in Business Skills, ENS and State-Specific and Regional Migration categories	Can be capped subject to demand in all other Family categories	

Figure 5: **Australia: Migration Program Outcomes by Stream, 1989-90 to 2006-07**
Source: DIMA, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues and DIAC, 2007b
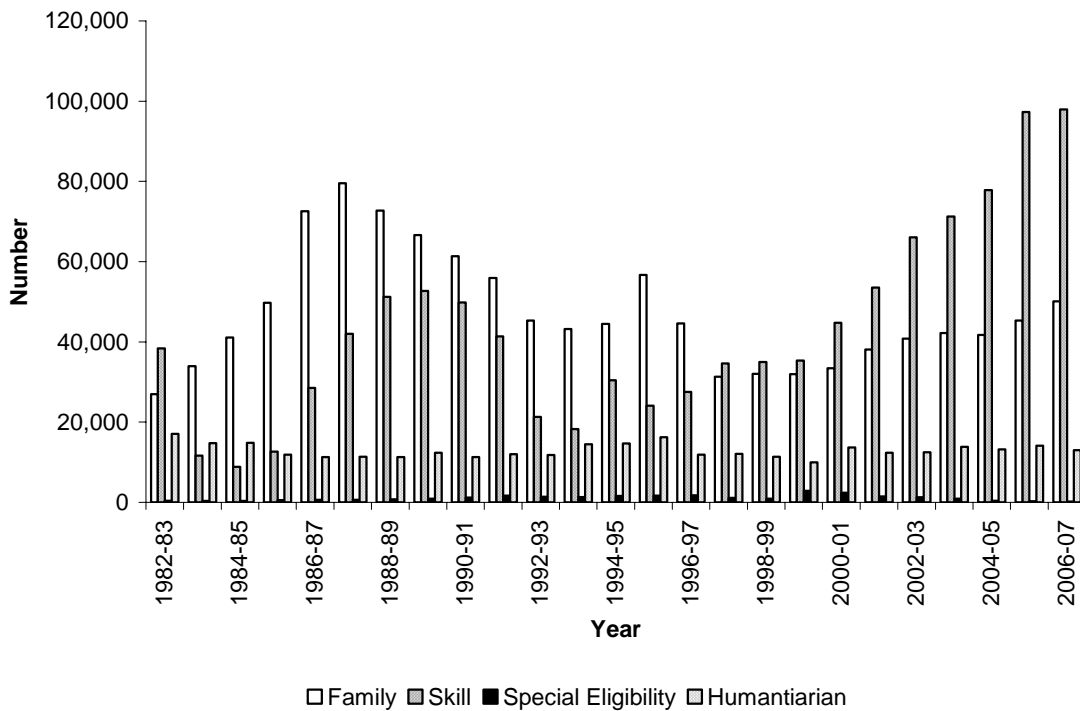
The switch over shown in Figure 5 from a predominance of family migrants in the non-humanitarian program to one dominated by skilled settlers is one of the major elements of change since the mid 1990s. The percentage of settlers in the skill categories increased from 29.1 percent in 1993-94 to 55.1 percent in 2006-07. This has been driven by a number of reports (e.g. Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson 2006; Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 2004) and a strong imperative within government for immigration to contribute toward the increasing skill profile of the national population and improving productivity. A recent Productivity Commission Report (2006), however, concludes that the impact of immigration on productivity was positive but relatively small and would only increase income per capita over 21 years by less than A$400. Nevertheless the policy has seen a considerable change in the skill profile of settlers arriving in Australia. This is evident when we compare the occupational profile of settler arrivals in 2006-07 with those arriving in 1992-93 in Table 5. The number of settlers working almost doubled but the percentage in the top three skilled occupation categories increased from 47.4 to 66 percent.

Table 5: **Australia: Occupation of Settler Arrivals 2006-07 and 1992-93**
Source: DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various issues

Occupation	2006-07 (%)	1992-03 (%)
Managers and Administrators	11.7	10.4
Professionals	40.9	30.2
Associate Professionals	13.4	7.0
Tradespersons	14.1	16.0
Advanced Clerical, Sales & Service	2.4	2.1
Intermediate Clerical, Sales & Service	11.2	
Intermediate Production & Transport	2.6	
Elementary Clerical Sales & Service	1.7	
Labourers and Related	1.9	5.3
Total	61,796	37,479

The numbers coming under the Family Migration category also have increased but much more slowly in recent years – increasing from 45,943 in 2005-06 to 48,769 in 2006-07.

This category however has become increasingly dominated by the spouses-fiancées component as is evident from Figure 6. This is partly a pattern of more and more Australians, especially young Australians, travelling overseas both on extended holidays and for working. Inevitably this is resulting in increasing international marriage. However there has also been a tightening of the regulations regarding other family members, especially aged parents.

Figure 6: **Australia: Family Stream Outcomes by Visa, 1982-83 to 2006-07**
Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics;* DIMA, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC, 2007b
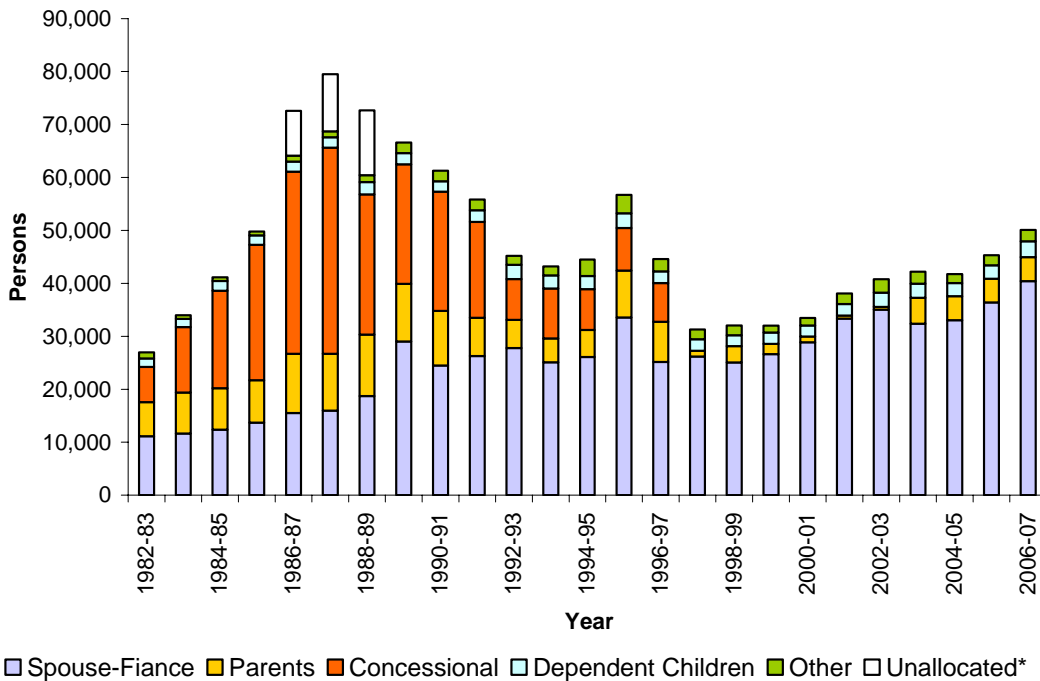
*Estimated GORS/PEPAE approvals. These figures are not attributed to sub-components until 1989/90
Note: Data prior to 1986-87 for off-shore only

A distinctive element in Australian immigration is the influx from New Zealand. Although there have been changes over the years there has been more or less unrestricted movement of Australians and New Zealanders across the Tasman (Carmichael (ed.) 1993; Bedford, *et al.* 2003). New Zealanders are granted a Special Category Visa upon arrival and this remains valid as long as they wish to stay in Australia. The stock of New Zealanders in Australia was 504,430 in mid 2007, a record number and an increase of 33,826 (7.2 percent)

over the previous year (DIAC 2008, 44). Figure 7 shows the permanent intake from New Zealand has fluctuated over the years with 28,307 arrivals in 2006-07 an increase of 4,526 over the previous year. It will be noted in the diagram, however, that the numbers of New Zealand citizens moving permanently to Australia is substantially larger than the number of New Zealand-born immigrants (18,990 in 2005-06). This has resulted in some suspicion in the Australian government of New Zealand as being intendedly used as a less difficult way to enter Australia since for many years their Points Assessment Test Score was not as high as that of Australia. This resulted Australia amending its regulations so that New Zealanders were not automatically eligible for social security payments in Australia (Bedford *et al.* 2003).

Figure 7: **Australia: Arrivals of New Zealand Citizens and New Zealand-Born Persons, 1981-82 to 2005-06**

Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics* and DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues
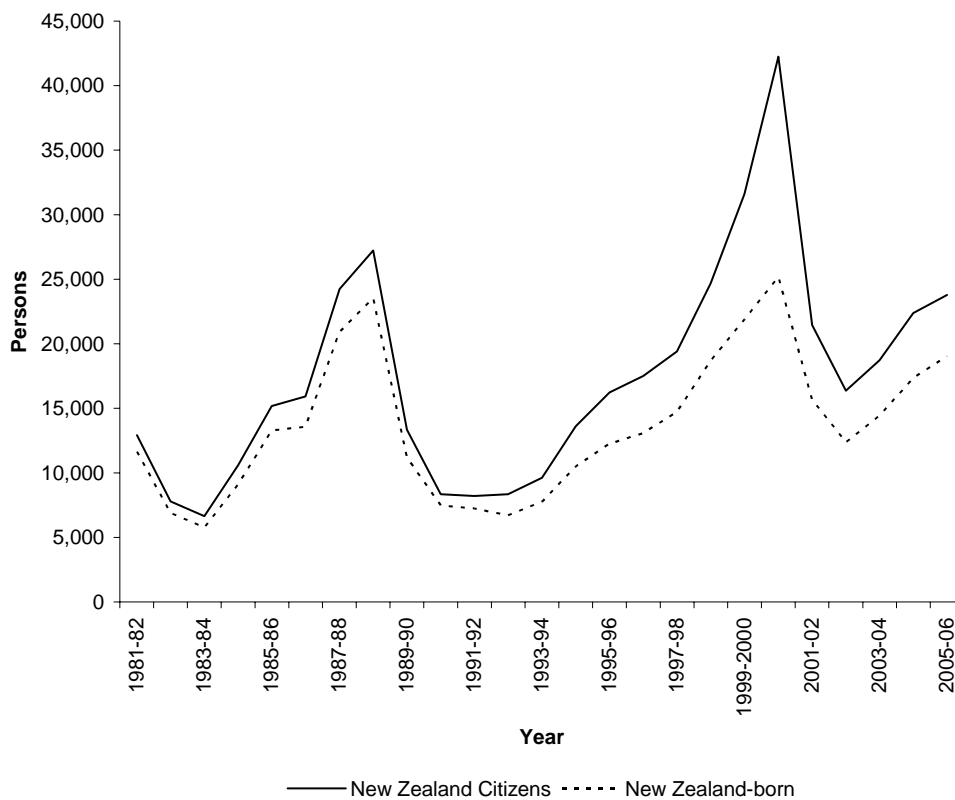
The high level of New Zealand migration to Australia has meant that in mid 2006 there were 470,602 New Zealand residents in Australia – equivalent to 11.7 percent of the population of New Zealand. Of these 346,404 (73.6 percent) were New Zealand-born.

Figure 8: **Australia: New Zealand Citizen Permanent and Long Term Arrivals and Departures, 1995-96 to 2005-06**
Source: DIMA 2007, p. 52
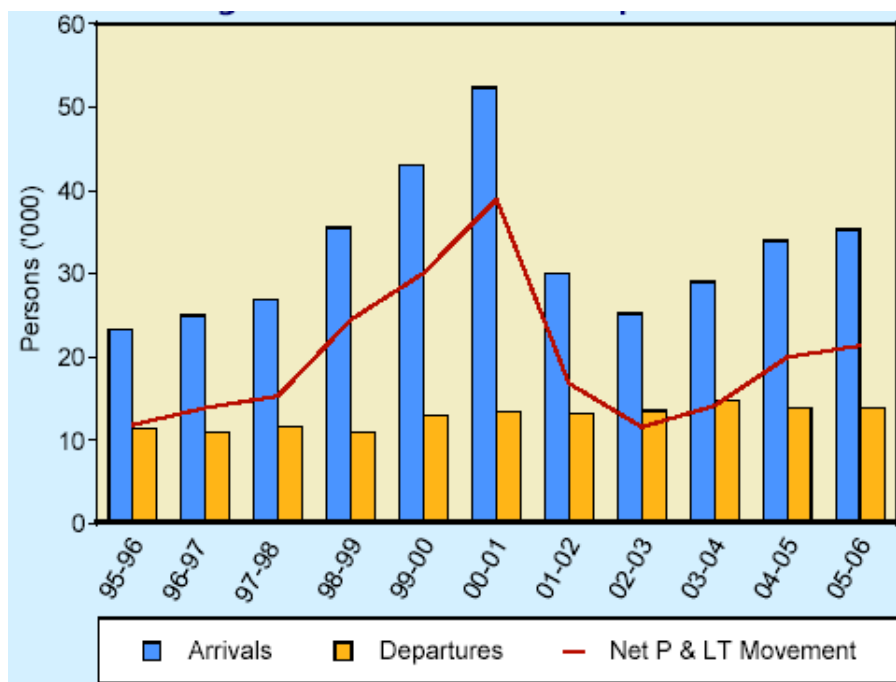
The permanent migration figures however are only the tip of the iceberg of Trans Tasman movement. In 2005-06 a total of 1,305,640 New Zealand citizens came to Australia. The number of permanent arrivals increased from 18,718 in 2003-04 to 22,379 in 2004-05 and 23,781 in 2005-06 and long term arrivals from 10,286 to 11,524 and 11,544. However it is apparent from Figure 8 that one of the distinctive characteristics of New Zealander migration to Australia is a substantial return migration. In 2005-06 there were 13,947 permanent and long term departures of New Zealanders from Australia.

One of the distinctive features of New Zealander migration to Australia is that once it is controlled for age there is little difference between the New Zealand citizen population in

Australia and the Australia-born (Hugo 2004b). This differentiates them from all other immigrant groups in the country. The New Zealand-born in Australia have a higher level of workforce participation (76.3 percent) compared with the Australia-born (68.2 percent) and a similar unemployment rate (4.7 percent) (DIMIA 2006, 51). Indeed international migration between Australia and New Zealand has more similarities with internal migration patterns within Australia (Bell and Hugo 2000) than it does with other international migration flows. This reflects the fact that despite Australia and New Zealand being separate nation states they largely form a single labour market.

It was demonstrated in Figure 3 that the birthplace composition of settlement migration to Australia has changed substantially over the post-war period. The interwar period in Australia was an era of predominantly British migration to Australia but there were two major breaks from this during the post-war era. The first was in the late 1940s when Australia agreed, during a time of significant labour shortage, for the first time to take a significant number (300,000) of non-British settlers – Displaced Persons from Eastern Europe. The success of these immigrants emboldened the government to subsequently attract waves of migrants from other non-English Speaking parts of Europe – Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Germany, etc., although the United Kingdom remained the predominant source of migrants. A second major shift came in the early 1970s when the last vestige of the White Australia Policy was removed and the first migrant settlers from Asia were welcomed. The flow began with refugees from Indochina but soon included substantial waves of Malaysians, Singaporeans, Filipinos and then East Asians. There has been a permanent settler migration of 496,992 Asians to Australia over the 1994-2007 period comprising 37.6 percent of the total 1.32 million settler arrivals over those thirteen years. Figure 9 shows that the numbers fluctuated between 25,339 in 1997-98 and 57,309 in 2006-07 but a general upward trajectory is evident in the last couple of years. The relative

Figure 9: **Australia: Asia-born Settler Arrivals by Region, 1994-95 to 2006-07**
Source: DIAC unpublished data
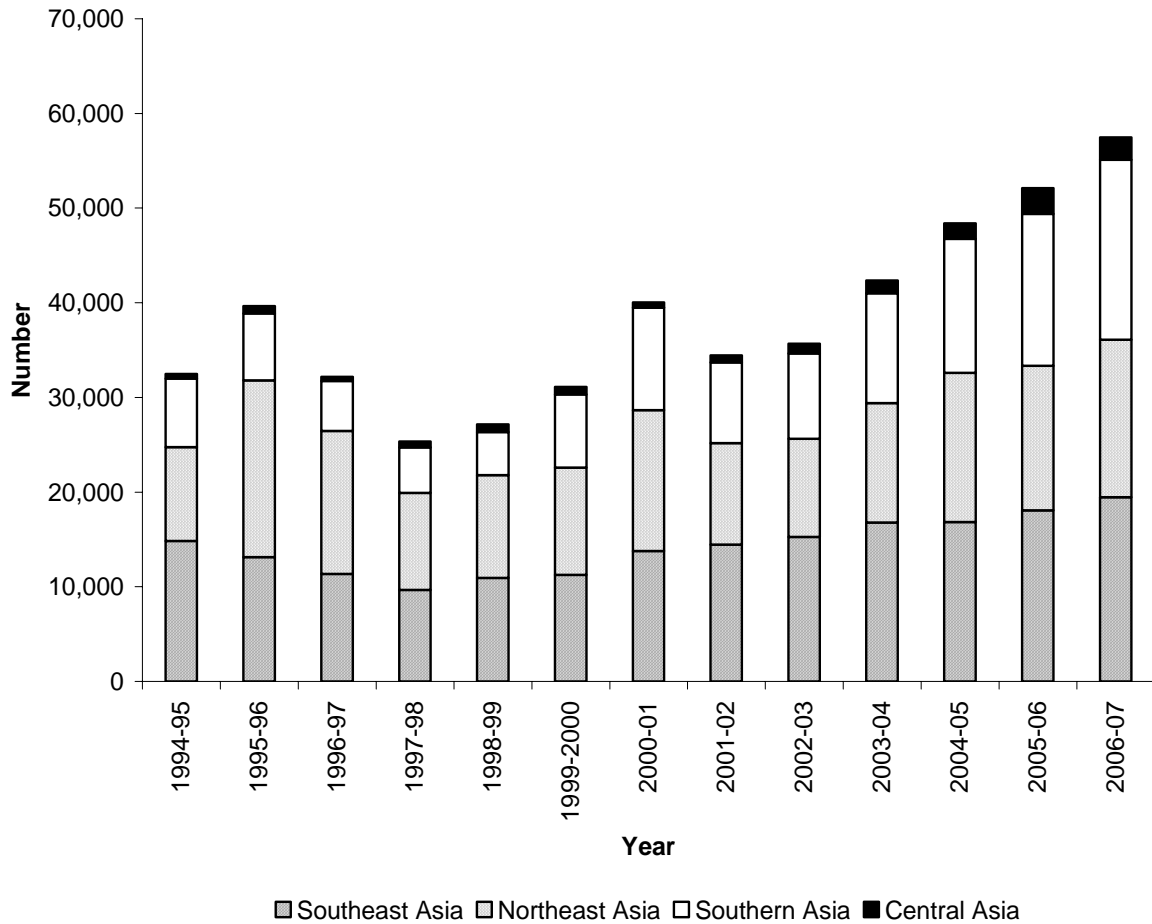
significance of the four Asian sub-regions has fluctuated with South Asians recording the most rapid increase in recent years. Asian countries account for seven of the ten top birthplace countries of migrant settlers over the 1994-2007 period with the largest numbers being from China (104,599), India (79,804), Philippines (47,361), Vietnam (33,917), Indonesia (31,146) and Hong Kong SAR (26,795). The increasing diversity of Australia's Asian population with each passing census is depicted in Figure 10. It is especially important to note the increasing significance of China and India in recent years.

Figure 10: **Australia: Birthplace of the Asian Population, 1861 to 2006 (Percent)**
Source: Price 1984 *et al.*; Australian Censuses 1986 to 2001 and ABS 2007b

The shift in the origin of immigrant settlers to Australia is evident in Table 6 which shows the top 10 origin countries over the last three decades. The following main points are evident in these patterns:

- Although Asian immigration had begun in 1976/77 the increasing dominance of Asian countries over the three decades is apparent.

- The continued dominance of the United Kingdom is seen as being the largest country of origin but its dominance has been lessened.

- The increasing significance of New Zealand.

Table 6: **Australia: Settler Arrivals – Top 10 Source Countries of Birth**
Source: DIAC 2008, 27

	1976-77			1986-87	
Birthplace	No.	%	**Birthplace**	No.	%
United Kingdom	18 505	26.1	United Kingdom	20 235	17.8
Lebanon	12 186	17.2	New Zealand	13 584	12.0
New Zealand	4 842	6.8	Viet Nam	6 645	5.9
Cyprus	2 773	3.9	Philippines	6 409	5.6
Malaysia	1 777	2.5	South Africa	4 671	4.1
Chile	1 702	2.4	Malaysia	3 946	3.5
Philippines	1 681	2.4	Hong Kong	3 403	3.0
Yugoslavia	1 649	2.3	Lebanon	2 871	2.5
South Africa	1 592	2.2	Sri Lanka	2 795	2.5
Greece	1 525	2.2	China (excl Taiwan)	2 693	2.4
Sub Total	*48 232*	*68.0*	*Sub Total*	*67 252*	*59.2*
Other	22 684	32.0	Other	46 289	40.8
Total	70 916	100.0	**Total**	113 541	100.0

	1996-97			2004-05	
Birthplace	No.	%	**Birthplace**	No.	%
New Zealand	13 072	15.2	United Kingdom	18 220	14.8
United Kingdom	9 674	11.3	New Zealand	17 345	14.1
China (excl SARs & Taiwan)	7 761	9.1	China (excl SARs & Taiwan)	11 095	9.0
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	3 894	4.5	India	9 414	7.6
South Africa	3 211	3.7	Sudan	5 654	4.6
Viet Nam	2 966	3.5	South Africa	4 594	3.7
Philippines	2 808	3.3	Philippines	4 239	3.4
India	2 681	3.1	Singapore	3 036	2.5
Taiwan	2 180	2.5	Malaysia	2 936	2.4
Bosnia-Hezegovina	2 059	2.4	Sri Lanka	2 312	1.9
Sub Total	*50 306*	*58.7*	*Sub Total*	*78 845*	*63.9*
Other	35 446	41.3	Other	44 579	36.1
Total	85 752	100.0	**Total**	123 424	100.0

	2005-06			2006-07	
Birthplace	No.	%	**Birthplace**	No.	%
United Kingdom	23 290	17.7	New Zealand	23 906	17.1
New Zealand	19 033	14.5	United Kingdom	23 223	16.6
India	11 286	8.6	India	13 496	9.6
China (excl SARs & Taiwan)	10 581	8.0	China (excl SARs and Taiwan)	12 009	8.6
Philippines	4 871	3.7	Philippines	5 561	4.0
South Africa	3 953	3.0	South Africa	3 996	2.9
Sudan	3 783	2.9	Viet Nam	3 135	2.2
Malaysia	2 967	2.3	Malaysia	2 899	2.1
Singapore	2 685	2.0	Sri Lanka	2 721	1.9
Viet Nam	2 661	2.0	Sudan	2 513	1.8
Sub Total	*85 110*	*64.7*	*Sub Total*	*93 459*	*66.7*
Other	46 483	35.3	Other	46 689	33.3
Total	131 593	100.0	**Total**	140 148	100.0

- The shifts in the Asian countries that were main origins – initially the English Speaking origins of Malaysia and the Philippines, then the refugee-humanitarian flows from Vietnam, then Hong Kong and Taiwan and more recently the demographic giants of China and India have become significant.

- In recent years the horn of Africa country of Sudan becoming more significant.

One of the features of Australian immigration has been that over the last two decades women have outnumbered men in permanent migration to Australia. This is apparent in Figure 11 which shows the sex ratio of settler arrivals switched over from being male to female predominant in the early 1980s. Women have been especially evident in family migration but in recent years they have become more important in the skilled migration stream. In New Zealand too while immigration has traditionally been male however, women, especially women from Asia, are an important part of skilled migration (Badkar, *et al.* 2007).

Figure 11:   Australia: Sex Ratios of Settler Arrivals, 1959-2007
Source: DIAC, unpublished data
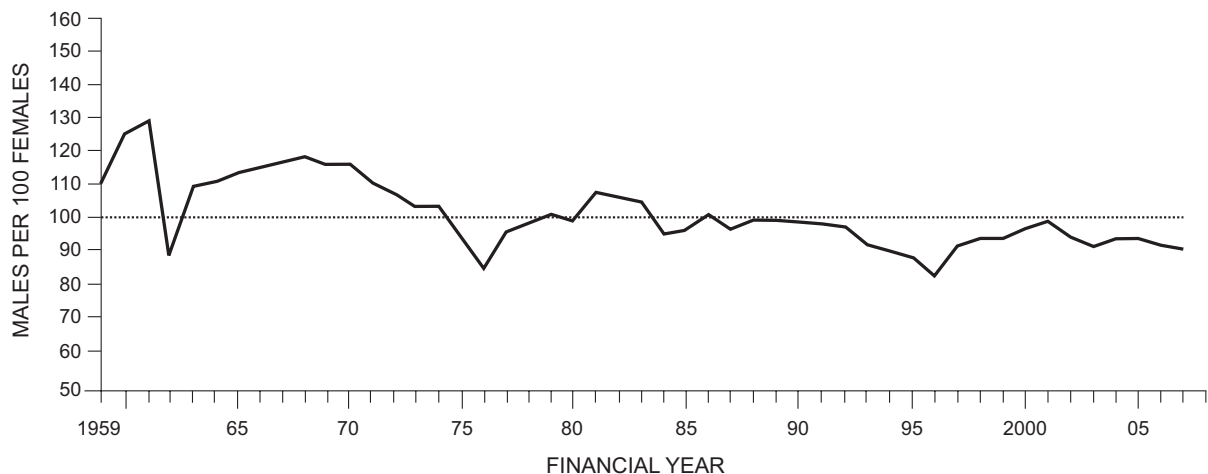
As in Australia, in New Zealand patterns of migration are characterised by strongly increasing Skilled/Business migration, with smaller growth in Family Sponsored and International/Humanitarian migration (Department of Labour 2006). As shown in Figure 12

and Table 7, the number of migrants entering New Zealand through the Skilled/Business stream increased from 12,837 in 1997/98 to almost 35,876 in 2001/02. Migrant flow dropped in 2003/04 and started to rise again such that 31,870 migrants were approved for residence in 2005/06. The number of approvals dropped slightly in 2006/07 to 28,140. Residence approvals through the Family Sponsored Stream have remained consistent for the last 10 years, with 13,526 approved in 1997/98 and 14,705 in 2006/07. Similarly, the number of approvals through the International/Humanitarian stream remained between 1997/98 to 2002/03. Approvals increased to 5,040 in 2004/05 and dropped slightly to 4,119 in 2006/07.

Figure 12: **Migrant Flows into New Zealand Through the Tree Residence Streams, 1997/98 to 2005/06 – Approvals**
Source: Department of Labour
http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/
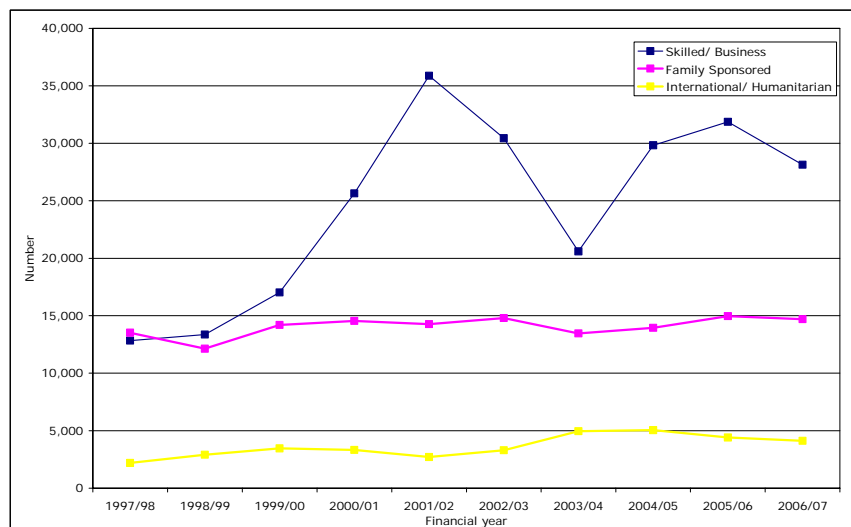
Table 8, Table 9 and Table 10 look at the top 10 source countries of nationalities approved for residence through the three residence streams from 1997/98 to 2006/07.

Table 8 shows that while there are strong year to year fluctuations in migrant source countries, migrants from Great Britain, China, South Africa, India and South Korea are the main nationalities that enter New Zealand through the Skilled/Business stream. However in 2006/07, the number of migrants from the Philippines granted residence has increased

significantly from the previous year, almost tripling from 872 in 2005/06 to 2,431 in 2006/07.
Migration from the Philippines is female dominated, with most women working in the
nursing and midwifery professions (Badkar *et al*. 2007). Also of interest is the decline of
migrants from South Korea. From 2001/02 to 2005/06, South Korean migrants were in the
top five source countries, however in 2006/07 the number of South Korean approvals halved
to 720. These changes in source are indicative of changing industry and labour needs in New
Zealand and warrant further monitoring.

Table 7:   **Migrant Flows into New Zealand Through the Three Residence Streams, 1997/98 to 2005/06 – Approvals**
Source: Department of Labour
               http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/

Stream	Skilled/ Business	Family Sponsored	International/ Humanitarian	Total
1997/98	12,837	13,526	2,187	28,550
1998/99	13,361	12,131	2,900	28,392
1999/00	17,034	14,194	3,458	34,686
2000/01	25,644	14,548	3,317	43,509
2001/02	35,876	14,276	2,704	52,856
2002/03	30,443	14,798	3,297	48,538
2003/04	20,596	13,462	4,959	39,017
2004/05	29,826	13,949	5,040	48,815
2005/06	31,870	14,967	4,399	51,236
2006/07	28,140	14,705	4,119	46,964

Table 8:   **People Approved for Residence, Skilled/Business Stream 1997/98 to 2007/07 (Tope 10 Source Countries as at 06/07)**
Source: Department of Labour
               http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/

Nationality	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07
Great Britain	2,766	2,373	3,095	3,674	4,666	4,340	5,652	12,552	11,882	9,741
China	832	787	1,179	3,040	6,260	5,894	3,027	2,784	4,067	3,326
South Africa	2,928	2,867	3,021	3,398	3,632	2,184	2,113	2,965	3,420	3,201
Philippines	421	327	466	808	1,078	1,058	516	585	872	2,431
India	1,329	1,840	2,207	4,101	7,379	6,253	1,738	1,962	1,705	1,619
Fiji	575	624	893	1,448	1,616	1,229	809	999	921	1,263
United States of America	363	460	375	475	579	597	468	1,052	1,237	933
South Korea	261	334	596	1,252	1,941	2,045	1,564	1,508	1,882	720
Germany	217	257	293	233	295	195	223	443	536	501
Malaysia	176	266	635	1,280	1,700	982	482	374	548	499
Other	2,969	3,226	4,909	5,935	6,730	5,666	4,004	4,602	4,800	3,906
Total	12,837	13,361	17,034	25,644	35,876	30,443	20,596	29,826	31,870	28,140

The demand for residence through the Family Sponsored Stream (FSS) remains high, especially through the partnership and parent categories. This policy allows family members of New Zealand residents and citizens to be granted residence. According to Hugo (2005b), marriage across borders is an increasingly important part of migration in many parts of the world, resulting in increased travel allowing the mixing of people from different countries. Table 9 shows that migrants from China, Great Britain, India, Fiji and Samoa are main sources of migrants through the FSS.

Table 9: **People Approved for Residence, Family Sponsored Stream 1997/98 to 2006/07 (Top 10 Source Countries as at 07/06)**

Source: Department of Labour
http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/

Nationality	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07
Great Britain	1,793	1,766	1,806	1,838	1,887	2,357	2,430	2,383	2,716	2,470
China	2,805	2,186	2,242	2,258	2,421	1,945	1,641	2,209	2,651	2,456
India	952	715	1,038	1,324	1,036	1,263	1,223	1,351	1,601	2,392
Fiji	920	916	1,051	1,474	1,327	1,278	1,146	1,245	1,053	837
Samoa	595	621	780	854	819	1,004	856	755	811	705
South Africa	405	507	578	600	659	441	477	431	580	511
United States of America	323	312	341	390	380	474	462	506	561	501
Tonga	664	795	738	576	532	917	826	549	429	390
South Korea	288	257	283	327	338	304	280	280	363	380
Philippines	276	314	389	337	289	359	305	301	371	338
Other	4,505	3,742	4,948	4,570	4,588	4,456	3,816	3,939	3,831	3,725
Grand Total	13,526	12,131	14,194	14,548	14,276	14,798	13,462	13,949	14,967	14,705

Recent research by Hugo examines the number of permanent arrivals from China who entered Australia through the skill category and family category. His research shows that there are almost two skilled migrants to every family migrant in the total intake. His research highlighted some significant variation in the nature of family flows by source country such that among Chinese migrants, there is only a small difference in numbers of the two types of migrants. For example, although more than half (53 percent) of permanent arrivals from China enter Australia through the skill category, a large proportion of Chinese migrants enter Australia through the family category (46 percent). This is significantly higher than that of

the total intake of family category migrants (27 percent). According to Hugo, simply focusing on individuals as if they have no family connections may not attract the people a country wants, and those who do migrate may not stay on if they are unable to re-create their family networks (Hugo 2007).

New Zealand is a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The International/Humanitarian stream provides for New Zealand to fulfil its international commitments regarding refugees through the Refugee Quota and its special relationship with some Pacific nations, through the Pacific Access Category and Samoan Quota. [4]

It is not surprising that the main source countries are Samoa, Tonga and Fiji, as these migrants enter New Zealand through the PAC and Samoan Quota. In 2006/07 the main nationalities coming to New Zealand through the Refugee Quota are from Myanmar, Zimbabwe and Afghanistan. This is quite different to the previous year, where the main source countries were Myanmar, Iran and the Congo (Department of Labour 2006).

Table 10:   **People Approved for Residence, International/Humanitarian Stream 1997/98 to 2006/07 in the Top 10 Countries in the 06/07 Financial Year**
Source: Department of Labour
               http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/

Nationality	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07
Samoa	961	1,073	1,123	1,349	1,093	652	1,327	1,595	1,368	1,103
Tonga	52	42	51	102	40	556	895	875	522	571
Fiji	16	16	46	75	24	95	352	650	392	471
Myanmar	1	1	136	208	19	22	13	9	307	379
Zimbabwe	2		1	12	4	41	97	65	501	319
Afghanistan	11	60	187	137	296	134	503	228	70	232
Kiribati	-	-	-	-	-	1	48	131	144	124
Tuvalu	-	1	12	17	7	37	165	97	120	102
China	16	42	21	45	69	151	141	68	55	64
Great Britain	29	74	67	57	40	32	83	110	76	62
Other	1,099	1,591	1,814	1,315	1,112	1,576	1,335	1,212	844	692
Grand Total	2,187	2,900	3,458	3,317	2,704	3,297	4,959	5,040	4,399	4,119

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[4]   Countries included in the PAC are Tonga, Tuvalu, Kiribati and Fiji.

TEMPORARY MIGRATION

Perhaps the most striking change in Australian immigration over the last decade has been the increased non-permanent immigration of workers. Hitherto, Australia's immigration policy had eschewed temporary worker migration in favour of an overwhelming focus on permanent settlement. However, in the globalising world in which transnationalism has replaced permanent settlement as the dominant international migration paradigm (Glick-Schiller, *et al.* 1995), Australia has quickly and effectively transformed its policy and now has a suite of visa categories in which migrant workers can gain temporary residence with the right to work (Hugo 1999).

The trends in the numbers of the main visa categories of temporary migrants with the right to work are shown in Figure 13. The Working Holiday Maker (WHM) program has reached record levels of 130,993 arrivals in 2006-07. The WHM program allows young people (aged 18-30 years) from 19 nations to have working holidays in Australia for periods of up to a year. The fact that WHMs fill some important niches in the labour market such as in harvesting, tourist activity, restaurants etc. has been recognised by recent legislation allowing WHMs to extend their stay in Australia if they work in particular areas of labour shortage.

One of the most important changes in Australian immigration policy was the introduction of skilled temporary residence visas. This has resulted in substantial flow of long term and short term skilled entrants to work in Australia. Long term (457) visas (up to 4 years) reached a record 71,150 in 2005-06 (a 42 percent increase over the previous year) and reached 104,038 in 2006-07. Short stay (less than 1 year) business visitors numbered 377,541 in 2005-06.

Figure 13: **Temporary Migration to Australia by Category, 1986 to 2007**
Source: DIMA *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues

Overseas Students

Working Holiday Makers

Temporary Business Entrants

Total
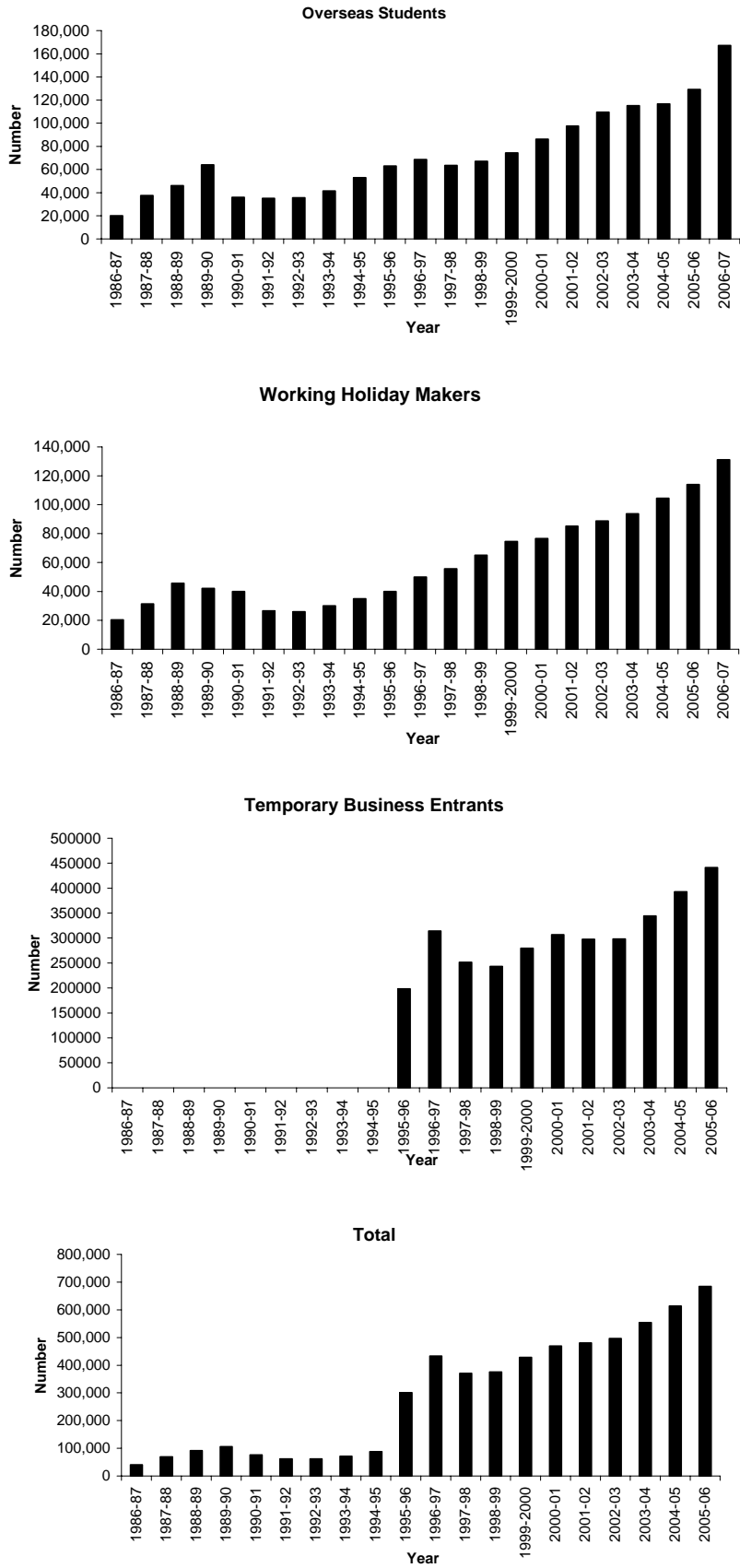
The Temporary Business Entry Visa (457) is similar to the HIB visa in the United States, is initiated by employers and is not capped. It is even more focussed on skill than the permanent migration program and recent research has shown it has been generally quite successful (Khoo, McDonald and Hugo 2007). However, the 457 program has come under intense scrutiny in recent times with some employers being accused of misusing the scheme to displace Australian workers, especially in some regional areas. Union movement (Australian Manufacturing Workers Union 2006) have raised issues of migrant workers being ready to settle for lower wages as well as occupational health and safety issues covered by lack of ability to speak English. A Parliamentary Inquiry (Joint Standing Committee on Migration 2007, 2) has made a number of recommendations to improve procedures associated with the program.

Figure 14: **Overseas Students in Australian Universities, 1983 to 2006**
Source: DEST *Selected Higher Education Student Statistics*, various issues
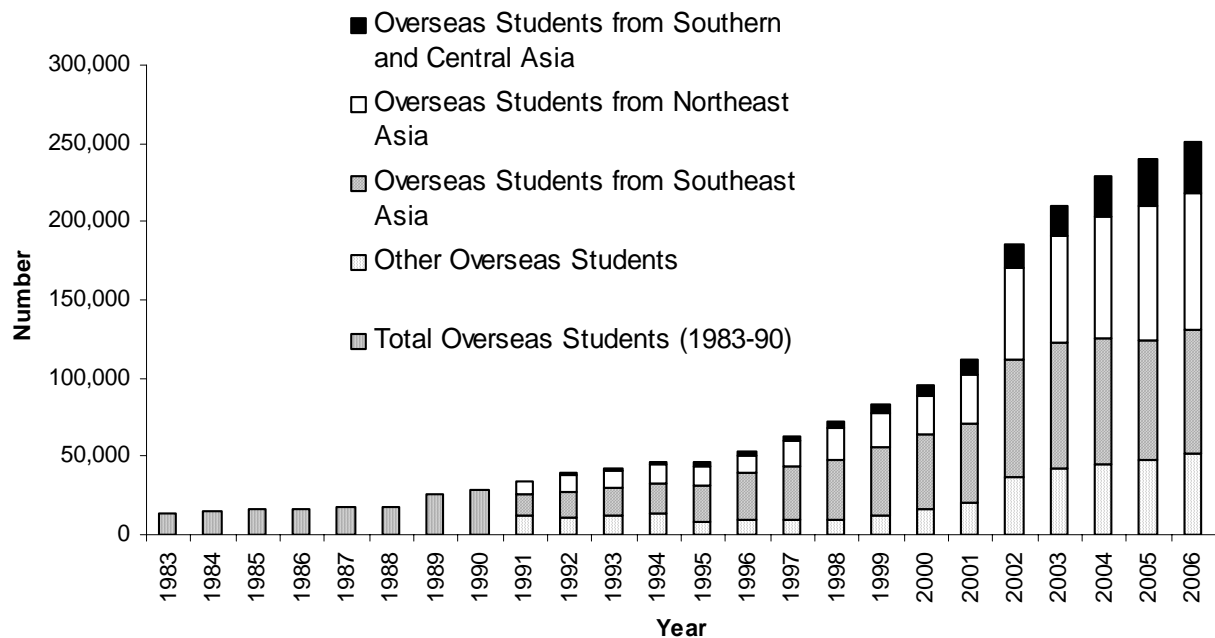
One of the largest categories of temporary residents with the right to work are foreign students and Figure 14 shows that there has been a rapid increase in the number of foreigners

moving to Australia to study and Asians have made up around three quarters of them. On 30 June 2006 there were 208,038 people on student visas in Australia and in the year 2005-06, 190,674 visas were issued to overseas students – both record levels (DIMA 2007, 66). Of the largest six countries of origin, five are Asian – China (12 percent), Korea and India (12 percent each) Japan (4 percent) and Malaysia (5 percent).

In mid 2006 there were a stock of 630,513 persons present in Australia on a temporary visa (DIMA 2007, 76) over half (52.4 percent) of whom were from Asia. Hugo (2006a) has shown that temporarily resident workers now make up around 4 percent of the national workforce and are strongly concentrated in particular niches of the labour market. At present the temporary worker visa categories are restricted to the four most skilled occupational categories but there is pressure from some groups to allow semi-skilled and unskilled workers to be included in the program but this has been resisted by the government.

In New Zealand, 1.5 million people were granted a temporary visitor, student or work permit on arrival in 2005/06. Temporary migrants (mainly workers and students) generate significant benefits for New Zealand's labour market as they possess skills and experience needed by New Zealand employers (Department of Labour 2006).

Almost 100,000 individuals were issued with work permits in 2005/06. The largest source country was the UK followed by China (Table 11). Migrants from China who have been granted work permits have increased considerably from 3,156 in 2001/02 to 11,954 in 2005/06. This can be attributed to the introduction of work permit policies for international students who have completed their studies in New Zealand (Department of Labour 2006).[5]

Table 12 looks at the number people that were granted a labour market tested work permits that were granted from 1999/00 to 2005/06. The aim of labour market tested work permits is to fill skill shortages in New Zealand where no New Zealand citizens or residents are available to do the work. In 2005/06, labour market tested work permits were issued to

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5 Chinese students make up the bulk of international full-fee paying students in New Zealand.

29,503 people, of which one-fifth were granted to migrants from the UK. The most common

occupational group of the labour market tested work permit holders was Professional (19

percent), and Service and sales workers (17 percent) (Department of Labour 2006).

Table 11: **Principal Applicants Granted Work Permits in the Top Twelve Countries Since 1999/00***

Source: Department of Labour (2006) Migration Trends 05/06.

Nationality	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2005/06 %
Great Britain	8,785	12,475	15,114	17,473	19,185	19,346	18,659	19%
China	1,120	1,955	3,156	3,618	4,023	6,953	11,954	12%
USA	2,621	2,803	3,201	3,990	4,504	5,146	6,327	6%
Germany	725	1,116	1,923	2,601	3,530	3,971	6,241	6%
Japan	5,545	6,074	6,716	7,664	6,957	6,664	6,142	6%
India	1,281	2,233	3,639	3,450	3,659	4,473	4,889	5%
South Korea	694	1,431	2,587	2,768	3,311	3,615	4,063	4%
South Africa	1,278	1,632	2,509	2,861	3,062	3,314	3,420	3%
Fiji	798	1,410	1,779	1,534	1,680	2,214	3,278	3%
Canada	1,367	1,422	1,812	2,121	2,427	2,619	3,042	3%
Ireland	761	1,235	1,543	2,403	2,609	2,833	2,921	3%
Philippines	473	636	805	812	913	1,175	2,176	2%
Others	8,627	12,180	14,364	15,532	17,727	20,174	26,562	27%
Total	34,075	46,602	59,148	66,827	73,587	82,497	99,674	100%

* This table analyses individuals rather than the number of permits issued. If a person had been issued with more than one work permit in any year, they are counted only once.

Table 12: **Principal Applicants Granted Labour Market Tested Work Permits Since 1999/00***

Source: Department of Labour (2006) Migration Trends 05/06.

Nationality	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2005/06 %
UK	3,218	3,590	4,015	4,807	6,081	6345	5545	19%
China	257	564	795	1,078	1,933	3355	3087	10%
South Africa	1,032	1,046	1,399	1,702	1,787	1885	1916	6%
India	599	888	1,174	1,492	1,655	2051	1866	6%
USA	1,101	1,074	1,198	1,964	2,129	1931	1682	6%
South Korea	213	286	383	779	1,426	1663	1654	6%
Fiji	483	656	774	638	667	931	1457	5%
Brazil	24	33	64	129	280	424	1381	5%
Japan	1,992	2,415	2,430	2,721	2,409	1313	1002	3%
Malaysia	333	328	364	373	548	483	831	3%
Philippines	263	330	349	386	413	503	757	3%
Germany	309	468	525	526	600	629	721	2%
Others	3,762	4,247	5,161	6,605	7,498	6,804	7,604	26%
Total	13,586	15,925	18,631	23,200	27,426	28,317	29,503	100%

* This table analyses individuals rather than the number of permits issued. If a person had been issued with more than one work permit in any year, they are counted only once.

International students contribute to New Zealand through foreign exchange earnings

and by promoting international links. At the end of their studies, international students are

able to participate in the labour force because they can offer employers New Zealand qualifications (Merwood 2007).

Table 13 looks at the number of principal applicants granted a student permit from 1999/00 to 2005/06. The number of international students granted student permits increased sharply from 28,545 in 1999/00 to 87,075 in 2003/04, with main source countries being China and South Korea. In recent years there has been a decline in the number of international students, with only 69,223 students granted permits in 2005/06, a decease of 21 percent from 2002/03 (Department of Labour 2006).

Table 13: **Principal Applicants Granted Student Permits Since 1999/06***
Source: Department of Labour (2006) Migration Trends 05/06.

Nationality	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2005/06 %
China	5,566	14,655	32,424	41,598	40,748	34,070	26,661	39%
South Korea	3,892	7,216	12,510	15,590	13,729	11,346	10,091	15%
Japan	3,586	4,060	4,529	4,770	4,608	4,297	3,955	6%
USA	1,151	1,360	1,657	2,211	2,740	2,858	2,662	4%
Germany	666	1,007	1,180	1,483	1,953	2,057	2,421	3%
India	256	727	1,834	2,076	2,174	2,208	2,370	3%
UK	543	681	961	1,499	2,330	2,714	2,103	3%
Malaysia	1,363	1,250	1,194	1,230	1,350	1,494	1,745	3%
Thailand	1,569	2,076	2,475	2,474	2,256	1,947	1,708	2%
Fiji	766	1,167	1,254	1,117	1,142	1,298	1,702	2%
Taiwan	1,476	1,656	1,832	1,672	1,493	1,356	1,308	2%
South Africa	506	583	843	966	1,114	1,181	1,137	2%
Others	7,205	9,381	10,830	11,152	11,438	10,737	11,360	16%
Total	28,545	45,819	73,523	87,838	87,075	77,563	69,223	100%

* This table analyses individuals rather than the number of permits issued.

The recent decline in the number of international students is mainly due to the drop in students from China. Through this period, students from China make up the largest proportion. However in recent years, there has been a significant decline in overall international student intake. In 2002/03, 41,598 student permits were issued to Chinese students, compared to 26,661 in 2005/06. There could be several reasons for this drop, the main ones being uncertainty over immigration policy, increased competition from Canada, Australia and the UK, high exchange rates making it more expensive to study in New Zealand, negative media reports, and issues around safety and student protection (Ho *et al.*

2007). Although the numbers of Chinese students have declined, they still remain the largest source of international students in New Zealand.

MIGRANT TRANSITIONS

Thus far we have considered permanent migrations into Australia and New Zealand separately but there is an increasing amount of blurring of permanent and temporary migrants globally (King 2002). Both in terms of temporary migrants transferring to permanent residency and immigrants deciding to leave Australia and New Zealand there is significant category jumping. We are especially however concerned with the transitioning from temporary to permanent residence given the substantial increase in temporary worker migration which was documented in the previous section. The pattern of settlers being increasingly drawn from the pool of temporary migrant workers and students already resident in a country has been designated '*designer migrants*' by Simmons (1999) in Canada. This refers to a situation whereby potential migrants prove that they can be successful in local labour and housing markets before they are approved as migrants. In Australia Figure 15 shows that this part of the migration programme has increased each year and in 2005-06 there were 48,214 'onshore additions' to the population – 26.8 percent of the intake while in 2006-07 there were 51,759 onshore additions (27.0 percent of the total). Asians made up a higher proportion of onshore migrants (52.2 percent) than of offshore arrivals (39.6 percent). Hence, as Australia moves more toward a system whereby a large proportion of settlers initially enter the country as temporary migrants of one kind or another (as is already the case in New Zealand and the United States) this new pattern is stronger among Asians than among immigrants from other regions. Over the 6 years up to mid 2006, 24.5 percent of all permanent additions to the Australian population were onshore settlers (31.8 percent of those from Asia between 2002-03 and 2004-05). It is also important to point out that skilled

Figure 15: **Australia: Onshore Residence Visa Grants, 1989-90 to 2005-06**
Source: DIMA, *Population Flows: Immigration As*pects, various issues
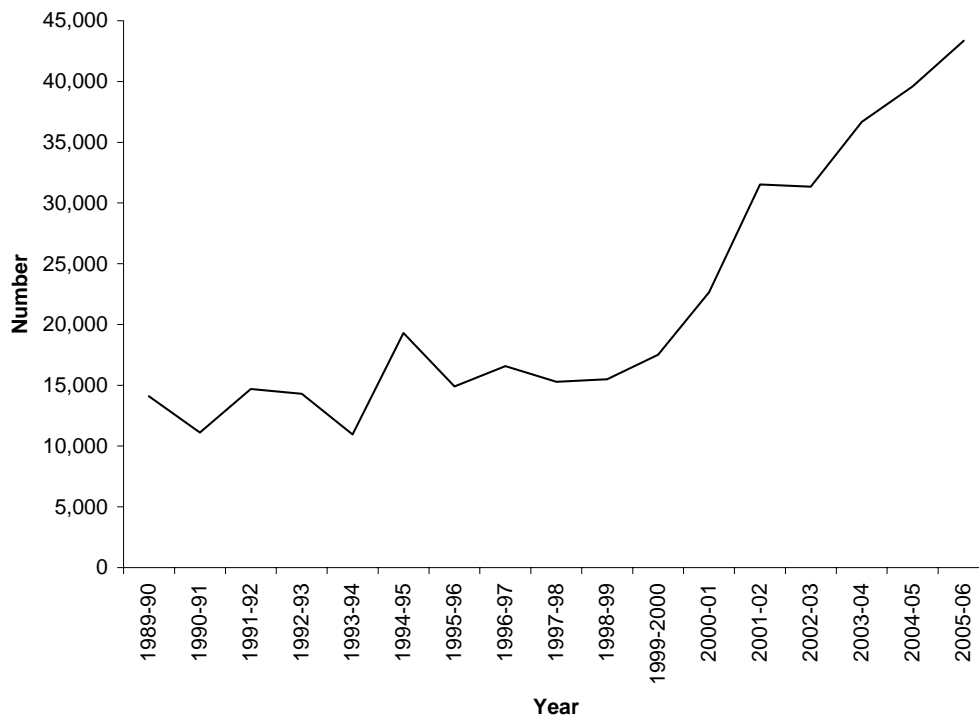
Table 14: **Australia: Visa Category of Permanent Additions, 2000-01 to 2006-07**
Source: DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various issues

Visa Category	Onshore		Offshore		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Skill	163,800	60.6	335,178	42.1	498,978	46.8
Family	85,424	31.6	206,194	25.9	291,618	27.3
Refugee-Humanitarian	15,269	5.6	71,871	9.0	87,140	8.2
Other	5,794	2.1	183,692	23.0	189,486	17.8
Total	270,287	100.0	796,935	100.0	1,067,222	100.0

migrants are more prominent among Asian onshore settlers than they are among the 'offshore' settler arrivals. Table 14 shows that over the 2000-01 to 2005-06 period skilled migrants made up 60.6 percent of onshore migrants compared with 42.1 percent of the offshore permanent arrivals. Hence, the growing onshore component of Australian migration is even more skill focussed than the longstanding offshore settlement part.

The increasing significance of 'onshore' migration is of course a corollary of the increasing scale of non-permanent worker migration to Australia discussed earlier. However, it also reflects a change in Australian migration policy making which sees considerable benefit in increasing the balance of offshore migrants since they are more likely to adjust to Australian conditions, especially the labour market, than their offshore counterparts. This is a function of the fact that they are more likely to have Australian qualifications and have a greater knowledge of, and experience in, the Australia labour market and conditions in Australia generally. Hence, since 1999 a number of changes in regulations have favoured temporary migrants changing their status to permanent residence. This has included regulations which have made it possible for some foreigners on student visas to gain permanent residence without returning to their origin country. Hence, in 2005-06 some 17,896 students in Australia changed their status to permanent residence, 89.6 percent were from Asia and Figure 16 shows the dominance of the origin countries of this group. The nexus between student migration and eventual permanent settlement is becoming an increasingly important process in skilled migration, not only in Australia but throughout the OECD region.

The link between studying in Australia and eventually permanent settlement is not confined to students seeking permanent residence immediately after completing their studies. The Australian Points Assessment Scheme for selection of skilled settlers now gives extra points for having an Australian qualification so large numbers of former students who studied in Australia and then returned to their origin country have subsequently come back to Australia as settlers. Accordingly, Rizvi (2004, 17) showed that in 2003-04 some 55 percent of skilled immigrant settlers had an Australian qualification in 2003-04. In 2004-05 some 15,719 new arrivals had an Australian qualification and Figure 17 shows that among this group Asians are again dominant accounting for 88.9 percent of arrivals.
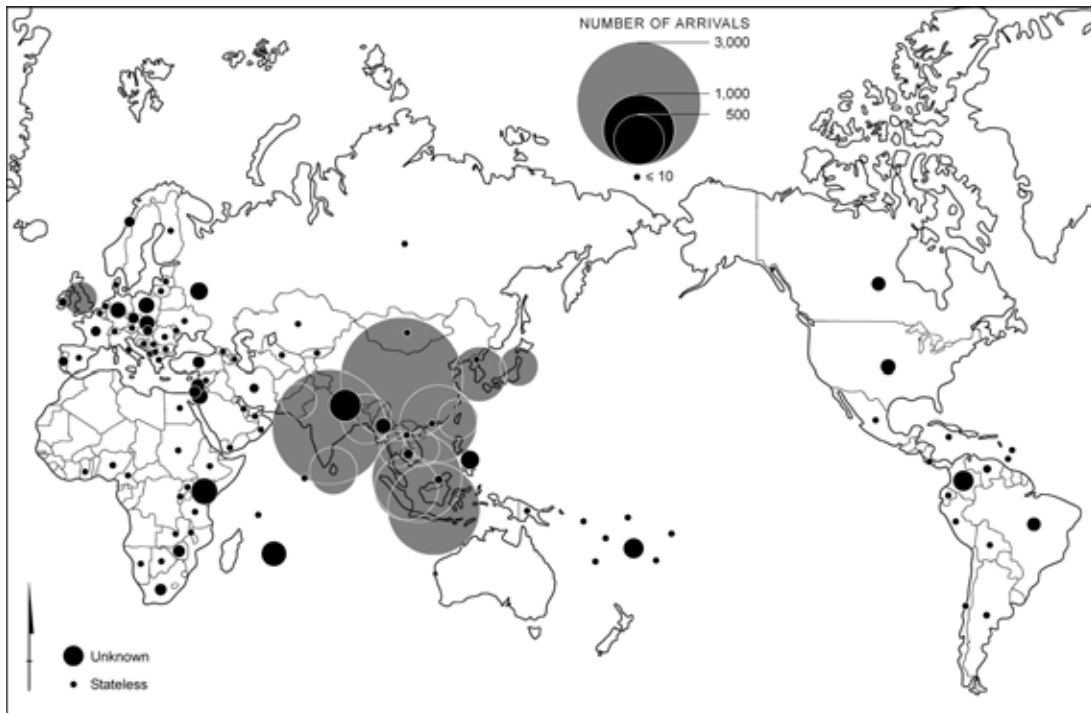
Figure 16:   Australia: Overseas Students Transferring to Permanent Residence by Country of Citizenship, 2005-06
Source: DIAC unpublished data
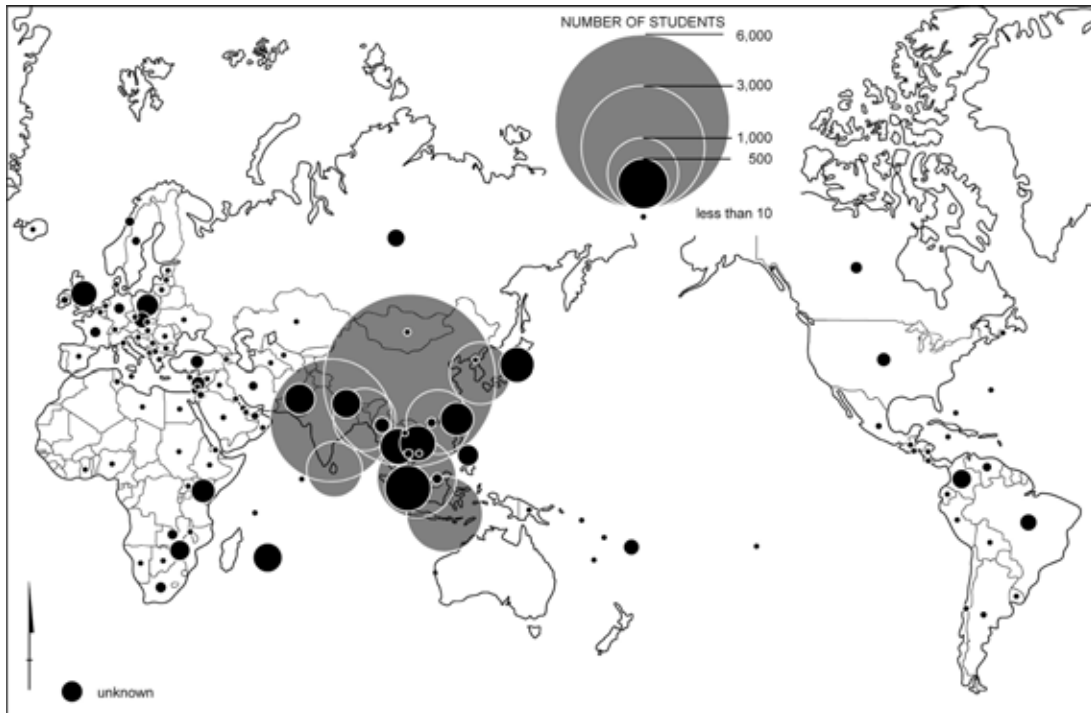
Figure 17:   Australia: Number of Skilled Stream Outcome Principles with Points for Australian Qualification by Citizenship, 2004-05
Source: Unpublished data supplied by DIAC

In New Zealand in 2005/06, 87 percent of migrants who were approved for permanent residence had previously held a visitor, study or work permit (Department of Labour 2006). In fact linking temporary immigration policy with residency policy can be beneficial to both migrants and New Zealand. A New Zealand Department of Labour study has shown that migrants who have worked in New Zealand prior to gaining permanent residence have positive employment outcomes after gaining residence (Dunstan *et al.* 2004).

Recent New Zealand research looking at the pathways international students take through the New Zealand education system to work or permanent residence shows that between 1999/00 to 2000/01, 27 percent transitioned to work or permanent residence. This study showed that for Chinese students the most common route to permanent residence was through the Skilled/Business stream following a study pathway that included English language and tertiary studies, while students from South Korea, Japan and the USA were more likely to gain permanent residence directly from school (Merwood 2007).

EMIGRATION, DIASPORA AND DIASPORA POLICY

There is a tendency for Australia and New Zealand to be categorised as purely immigration countries but, in fact, they also have experienced significant emigration and over recent years departures on a permanent or long term basis have been very substantial. Figure 18 shows that in Australia in 2001-02 permanent departures numbered 48,241 compared with an average of 30,539 over the previous 14 years. In 2002-03 there was a further 4.6 percent increase in outflow, which reached 50,463 persons. In 2003-04 there was an even greater increase of 17 percent to 59,078 and in 2004-05 by a further 6 percent to 62,606. In 2005-06 it increased by 8 percent to 67,853 and in 2006-07 by 6 percent to 72,103. Moreover, the proportion of the departures made up of Australia-born persons has increased more rapidly than the total outflow. The numbers of Australia-born leaving permanently doubled in the five years and in 2005-06 they made up 50.5 percent of permanent departures. A similar

pattern is evident in long term emigration especially that of Australian residents out of

Australia as Figure 18 shows. Australian data rely on persons leaving the country indicating

Figure 18 **Permanent and Long Term Departures of Residents from Australia, 1959-60 to 2006-07**

Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics* and DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues

Permanent Departures of Residents from Australia

■ Australia-born □ Overseas-born

Australian Resident Long Term Departures from Australia
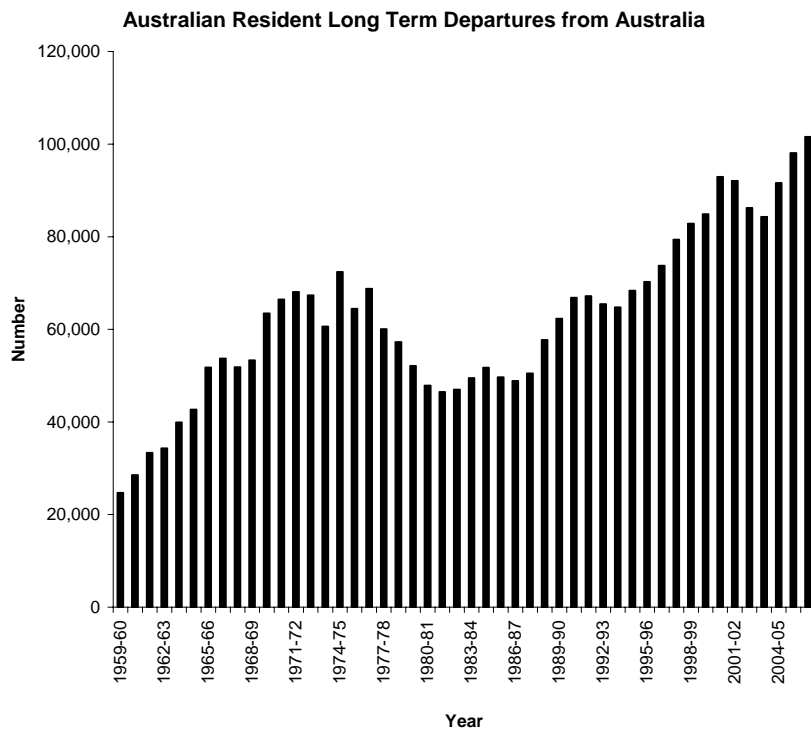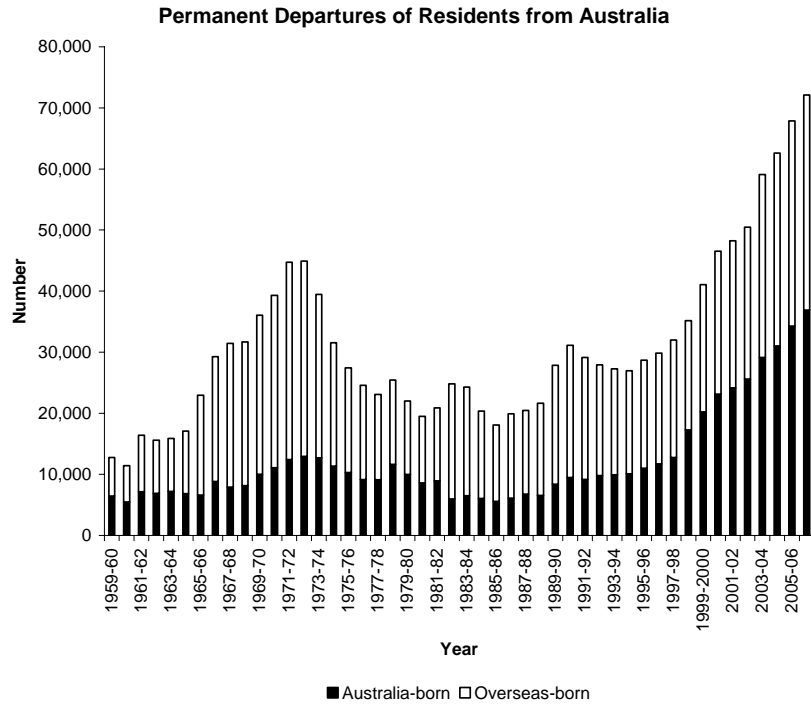
their intentions as to whether they would return and when. There are problems associated with the reference to 'intentions' as the key element in the definition of emigration, because there are no guarantees that intentions will become reality. Indeed, research into migration intentions indicates that this is often the case. For example, a study by DIMIA of residents leaving Australia 'permanently' in 1998-99 found by mid-2003 that 24 percent had returned (Osborne 2004). Of course this is counterbalanced to some extent by those who indicate they are leaving Australia on a long term basis but in fact never return.

Figure 19:   Australia: Total Permanent Departures, 1993 to 2006
Source: DIAC, *Immigration update*, various issues
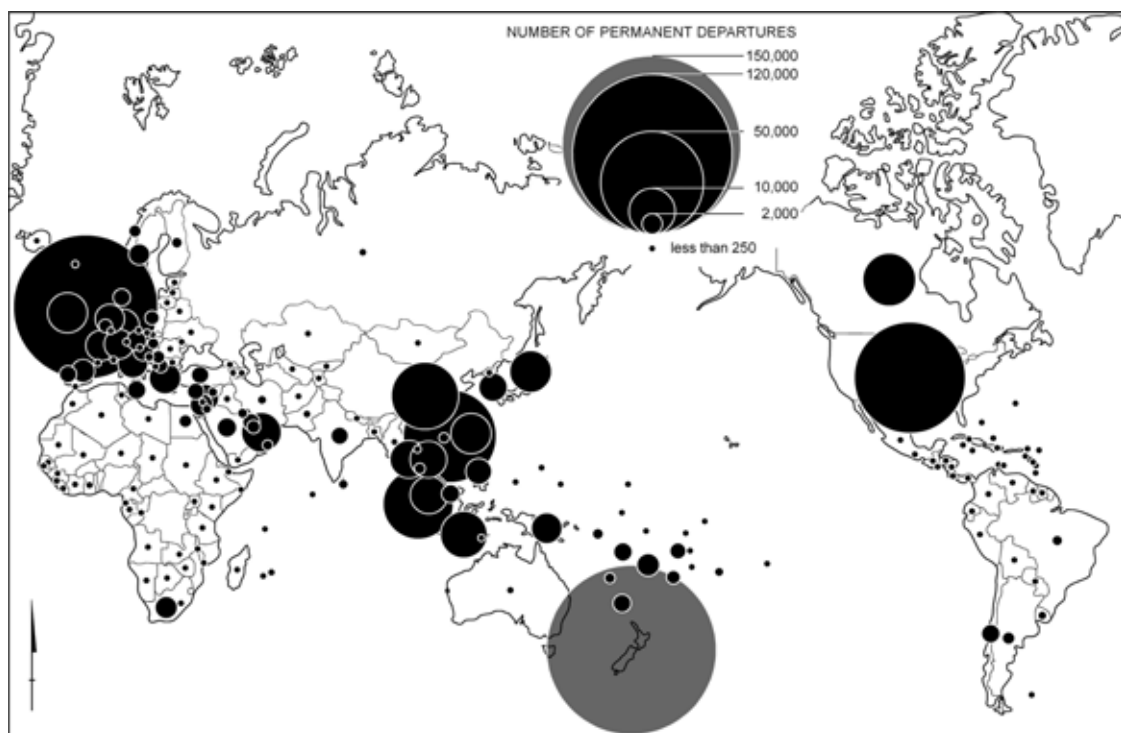
The destinations of recent permanent departures are depicted in Figure 19 and it is apparent that the dominant destinations are other developed nations including the following:

- The largest flow is to neighbouring New Zealand with which Australia has a special arrangement which allows more or less free mobility between the nations (Bedford, *et al.* 2003).

- The second largest flow is to the United Kingdom which partly reflects longstanding linkages having their origins in colonial times as well as the new role of London as a global city attracting highly skilled Australians (2005c).

- The third largest flow is to the United States and this is the fastest growing emigrant flow associated with the central role of the destination in the global economy especially the cities of New York and Los Angeles.

- There is a substantial movement to Continental European nations. This is partly return migration of former settlers but is increasingly involving the Australia-born – especially the second generation children of former settlers, many of whom have become dual citizens. Again the movement is overwhelmingly to large cities in Europe.

- There is a substantial flow to Asia but it is overwhelmingly directed toward the high income rapid growth city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore but increasingly too to rapidly growing China. The Asian movement is almost totally to the megacities of the region.

It is apparent that global cities are a key component in the Australian diaspora indeed virtually all emigrants move to major cities. To take the example of the United Kingdom, the 2001 census detected 107,866 Australia-born residents and of these 41,486 (38.5 percent) lived in the London region.

As the scale of emigration from Australia has increased, there has been increased attention devoted to the whole concept of diaspora and diaspora policy. The increased scale of the exodus was significant enough to warrant an Australian Senate 'Inquiry Into Australian Expatriates' in 2003 with the following terms of reference:

- The extent of the Australian diaspora.

- The variety of factors driving more Australians to live overseas.

- The costs, benefits and opportunities presented by the phenomenon.

- The needs and concerns of overseas Australians.

- The measures taken by comparable countries to respond to the needs of expatriates.

- Ways in which Australia can better use its expatriates to promote economic, social and cultural interests.

The Senate Committee brought down its report in March 2005 (Australian Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee 2005). It made 16 recommendations including:

- Measures to improve better provision of information to expatriates.

- Establishing a policy unit on expatriates within DFAT.

- Improve statistical information on expatriates.

- Revise consular role of missions to better engage expatriates.

- Improved registration of expatriates in missions.

- Amend Citizenship Act in a number of ways including to enable children of former Australian citizens to apply for Australian citizenship.

- Enable some expatriates to remain on Electoral enrolment.

- Encourage non-profit organisations to pursue philanthropic contributions from expatriate Australians.

Of the 16 specific recommendations (none concerned with return migration) 8 were accepted by the Federal government.

New Zealand has a similar scale outflow as does Australia but this makes it larger in relation to the resident population and concerns, sometimes under media headlines such as 'brain drain', are frequently expressed about these flows. Diaspora is an important issue for New Zealand and Australia individually, but Australia is central in relation to New Zealand's diaspora. In New Zealand, Gamlen (2007) notes the problems of counting the number of New

Zealanders living overseas and points to a range of estimates from 459,322 (Bryant and Law 2004), 528,597 (Migration DRC 2007), 600,000 (Bedford 2001) and 850,000 (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2003). Gamlen comments that estimates of 1 million or more also regularly appear in the media. In part, the differences in estimates relate to whether individuals are counted or whether whole family units, a significant number of whom are not New Zealand born and/or are not New Zealand citizens, are counted (KEA 2006). A further complicating factor in counting, but also in relation to diaspora policy, is that a significant number of New Zealand citizens living overseas also have citizenship of another country.[6] However, what is clear is that New Zealand's diaspora is at the high end of industrialised countries with, depending on which estimate is used, between about a tenth or a fifth of the total New Zealand population, and perhaps up to quarter of its tertiary qualified workforce, living overseas at any one point in time (Gamlen 2007). While New Zealanders have been identified as living in over 150 countries around the world (KEA 2006), the key location is Australia with, according to Bedford (2006), over 400,000 New Zealand citizens living in Australia. But there are also important populations in the UK, Canada and the US (Bryant and Law 2004).[7] Of particular note are the large numbers of Maori living in Australia[8.] Hamer (2007) estimates that in 2006, one in seven Maori lived in Australia.

New Zealand's diaspora prompts concerns with these worries regularly highlighted in the media (e.g. Davis and Thomas 2005, and specifically in relation to Australia, Toevai and Kiong 2007). This is despite research suggesting that 1) with high levels of both inward and

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[6] The KEA (2006) survey, Every One Counts, showed that one-third of expatriate New Zealand citizens surveyed also had citizenship of a second country, over half of their spouses or partners were not New Zealand citizen and, if they had children, over two-thirds of their children either did not have New Zealand citizenship or had another citizenship as well.

[7] Bryant and Law (2004) make the point that while that New Zealand's diaspora is spread over many countries, overall the diaspora is more concentrated in particular countries when compared with the countries that New Zealand's overseas born population come from. In terms of forging trade and investment links into overseas markets, Bryant and Law suggest that focussing on the overseas born population living in New Zealand may be more successful than trying to use New Zealand's diaspora as 'overseas ambassadors'.

[8] Maori are the indigenous population of New Zealand.

outward migration, these flows can be better portrayed as 'brain exchange' (Glass and Choy 2001),[9] 2) a significant number of New Zealanders living overseas return to New Zealand, often bringing back with them higher levels of skills as well as investment capital.

There are both push and pull factors in New Zealand's diaspora. Some of these can be illustrated in relation to movements to Australia. Long-term data suggests that there have been significant flows of people between New Zealand and Australia since the late 1880s (Poot and Sanderson 2007). The overall direction of the flows can be linked to relative economic performance of Australia and New Zealand's economies and, ultimately, the performance of their labour markets. Poot and Sanderson demonstrate that from the late 1880s through to the early 1960s there were periods where there were more Australian citizens living in New Zealand than New Zealand citizens living in Australia, but since this time the balance has tipped strongly towards Australia. Yet, when they calculate these populations as percentages relative to the total population of each country, with Australia having a population about five times that of New Zealand, the proportion of Australians living in New Zealand and New Zealander living in Australia are similar. However, macro-economic growth and income data suggest an overall income gap has developed in favour of Australia. Yet, Grimes (2004) suggests that it is more appropriate to consider New Zealand as a 'region' of Australia, and examines income differences and labour flows on a regional based. He demonstrates that real GDP per capita growth per annum between 1990-2003 in New Zealand was 1.6%, but that it was higher in New South Wales (2.0%), Queensland (2.2%), Victoria (1.9%) and Western Australia (2.2%). In comparison growth was lower in South Australia (1.5%) and Tasmania (1.2%). Grimes notes that aggregate employment growth in New Zealand was negatively affected by job shedding during the mid 1980s to early 1900s but even since the mid-1990s growth has not been faster than in Australia.

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[9]   There remains a question of whether migration policy should aim for a 'brain gain' rather than simply an 'exchange' and, if so, whether this goal in a small middle income country such as New Zealand would be achievable.

Grimes also shows that when industries are considered NZ structure has bigger share of agriculture, forestry and fishing as well as related processing, and less employment in often high-income areas such as investment sectors and business and financial services. Some of the industries within these sectors, such as investment banking and advertising, are tending to concentrate in large regional cities, so are more likely to locate in Sydney or Melbourne in Australia, rather than Wellington or Auckland in New Zealand.

The flows of New Zealanders to Australia also provide and illustration of the mobility of labour and how concepts of permanent versus temporary migration are increasingly outdated. Poot and Sanderson (2007) show that amongst 'permanent' Kiwi settlers to Australia, one third re-migrates within three years. However, they note that New Zealand citizens living in Australia, but born outside NZ, are less likely to remigrate to New Zealand.

Gamlen (2007) argues that New Zealand's diaspora deserves higher policy attention than it currently receives, and this policy focus needs to be more coherent, holistic and long-term. He argues such an approach may help the state to reduce the downside of emigration and the diaspora, including the recurrent political exposure to the charge of causing or allowing a 'brain drain. He argues a first requirement of such an approach is to acknowledge that New Zealand's population is transnational and to re-conceptualise the role of the state within it.

CASE STUDY – MIGRATION OF DOCTORS

This case study illustrates four main of issues: 1) the growth in the number of doctors working in Australia and New Zealand who are foreign born. 2) the increasing 'feminisation' of the medical practitioner workforce, including those doctors who migrate internationally; 3) how people of Asian ethnicity are an important component of the medical workforce; and 4) how labour markets, marriage markets and location are all important when considering

labour mobility for medical practitioners. We will focus first on New Zealand and then make some remarks about Australia.[10]

In line with other industrialised countries demand for health services has been increasing in New Zealand and is predicted to continue to grow (Cox and Hope 2006). Concerns about medical practitioner shortages have prompted a number of reviews of New Zealand's health workforce and one consistent theme is an overall shortage of doctors as indicated by the use of locums and reliance on overseas-trained doctors (Workforce Taskforce 2007). Recently, the New Zealand media have also focussed on number of foreign doctors working in New Zealand hospitals with, for example, Chisholm (2007) noting that an estimated 41 percent of doctors working in hospitals were trained overseas, with a significant number coming from Asia. This is high by OECD standards. The reviews, along with other studies, indicate that many of New Zealand's economy-wide labour mobility issues can be seen in the microcosm of the medical labour market.

Like other skilled workers, a significant number of doctors leave New Zealand to seek opportunities overseas, including in Australia. But equally doctors from other countries, including Australia, seek opportunities in New Zealand. In both migration movements, some of jobs are seen as temporary placements, some long term. While in the overall worldwide medical migration some doctors are moving between industrialised countries, in a number of industrialised countries concern has been expressed about attracting doctors from areas of high need, yet low doctor density, such as sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia (Labonte *et al.* 2006). This has relevance to both New Zealand and Australia.

Internal migration is also a concern in relation to New Zealand's (and Australia's) medical workforce. There is also an external migration dimension to this. Internationally, a

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[10] The New Zealand case study draws on: Callister, P., Didham, R., and Badkar, J. (forthcoming) Gender, migration and assortative mating: doctors as a case study, paper prepared for the *Integration of overseas medical practitioners into the New Zealand workforce Symposium.*

number of drivers are working to concentrate both medical services and associated human capital in large urban areas. For instance, in the US, Mare and Schwartz (2006) have shown that over the past 40 years in the US the similarity of husbands' and wives' educational attainments has increased markedly. This may influence the ability to attract doctors to rural areas or smaller urban locations. If doctors' partners are increasingly well educated, and seeking careers, then they will contribute to the trend of well educated 'power couples' increasingly seeking out large urban areas to live in (Costa and Kahn 2000). Rural areas, small cities and even small countries such as New Zealand, may experience reduced inflows of human capital relative to the past and thus face development and service delivery difficulties. As with a number of countries, New Zealand has endeavoured to attract foreign doctors to these rural areas and small towns. For example, in 1999 the New Zealand government announced a policy which aimed to give the immigrant doctors training and registration in return for accepting remote GP postings (Jobsletter 1999).

In additional, there is also a gender dimension to international migration of doctors with this showing up clearly in New Zealand. In most industrialised countries there has been a significant rise in the number of women undertaking medical training (Callister and Newell 2006; Goldin 2006). Now in most areas of health training in New Zealand there are more women graduating than men. Female doctors migrate out of New Zealand and, as will be shown, form a significant part of those migrating to New Zealand.

While migration is seen as one way of meeting labour demand, local training can be seen as a way of reducing doctor shortages. But a number of studies indicate that, with high levels of migration, defining 'local' is becoming more complex. For instance in an Australian context, Hawthorne, Hawthorne and Crotty 2007, (drawing on the work of Dobson and Birrell 2005) note that first generation migrants and refugees are now well-represented in Australian medical courses. By the mid 1990s a quarter of all 'domestic' students were in fact Asia-born (six times their representation in the overall population). By 2004, they note that

close to a third of Australian medical students were overseas-born. While a significant proportion were born in Asian, this group includes students who were born in New Zealand. In addition, increasingly 'foreign' students can become 'local' through migration policies seen in places like New Zealand that allow student to stay on in the host country after training (Docquier and Bhargava (2007). This means there are at least five types of doctor working in New Zealand: New Zealand born domestic school-leaver and graduate entry medical students, overseas born domestic school-leaver and graduate entry medical students international graduates with New Zealand medical degrees, permanent resident overseas trained doctors, and temporary resident overseas trained doctors. Case studies illustrate even more the complexity of these movements, with a study of Victorian rural doctors providing an example of a doctor who was born in South Asia, worked in South Africa, moved to the UK, Canada, then New Zealand and finally shifted to Australia (Hawthorne, Hawthorne and Crotty 2007).

Figure 20: **New Zealand: Sex and Country of Birth Changes for Doctors, 1986-2006**
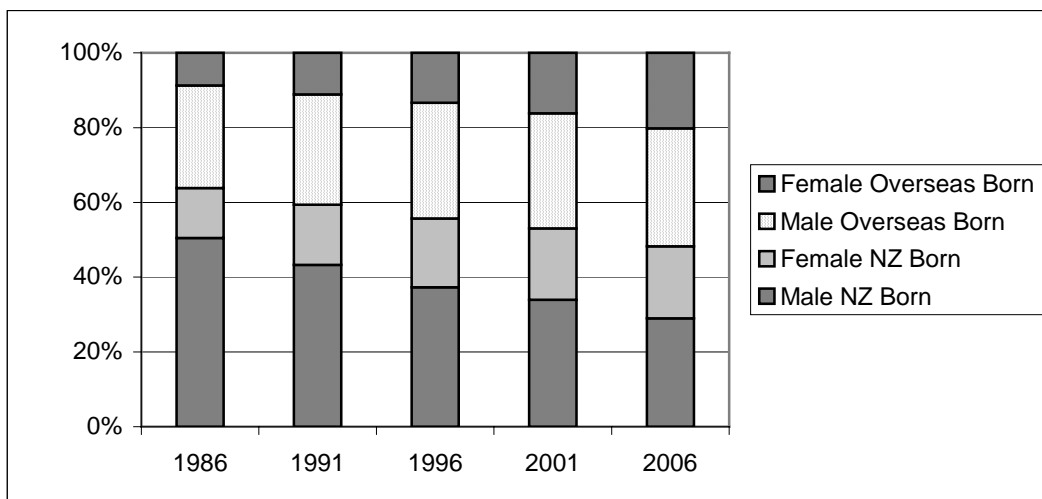Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure 20 shows the changing mix of doctors in New Zealand by both sex and country of birth. It shows changes in both dimensions over the time period 1986 to 2006, with a net result in a decrease in the proportion of New Zealand born male doctors. In total, women as a

proportion of all doctors rose from 22 percent in 1986 to 40 percent in 2006. Equally, in total foreign born doctors rose from 36 percent in 1986 to 52 percent in 2006.

Table 15 breaks down further the growth of female doctors. As indicated, women as a proportion of total doctors increased from 22 percent to 40 percent in 2006. As a proportion of all GPs, the rise was from 20 percent to 41 percent. For 'Other doctors' the increase in the proportion of women was very similar, from 24 percent to 39 percent.[11]

Table 15: **New Zealand: Women as a Percentage of Doctors, 1986 to 2006**
Source: Statistics New Zealand

	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006
NZ born GPs	17	24	32	37	41
Overseas born GPs	24	27	33	37	40
NZ born other doctors	24	30	33	35	39
Overseas born other doctors	24	28	28	34	39
Total	22	27	32	35	40

Other data sources confirm female doctors coming to New Zealand as migrants (Badkar, Callister and Krishnan 2006). Between 2003/04 and 2005/06 females made up between 37 percent and 44 percent of health professionals (excluding nurses) migrating to New Zealand. Reinforcing the idea that there can be major differences in the composition of the flows from various countries, there are some differences in the gender balance by country of origin. In relation to the largest suppliers of these professionals in the period 2003/04 to 2005/06, the highest ratios of females to male health professional migrants was from Great Britain (48 percent female), while lower ratios within country specific streams were seen from South Africa (34 percent female), United States (32 percent female) and India (19 percent female).

Figure 21 shows the main birthplaces of doctors working in New Zealand as at 2006. After New Zealand, the main birthplace is the United Kingdom and Ireland. This is followed

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[11]   This group is made up of specialists, many of whom work in hospital settings.

by Asia and then South Africa. However, the figure does show that New Zealand has attracted a small number of doctors from areas considered to be in need of retaining their own doctors, such as sub-Saharan Africa.

Figure 21: **New Zealand: Place of Birth of Doctors, 2006**
Source: Statistics New Zealand
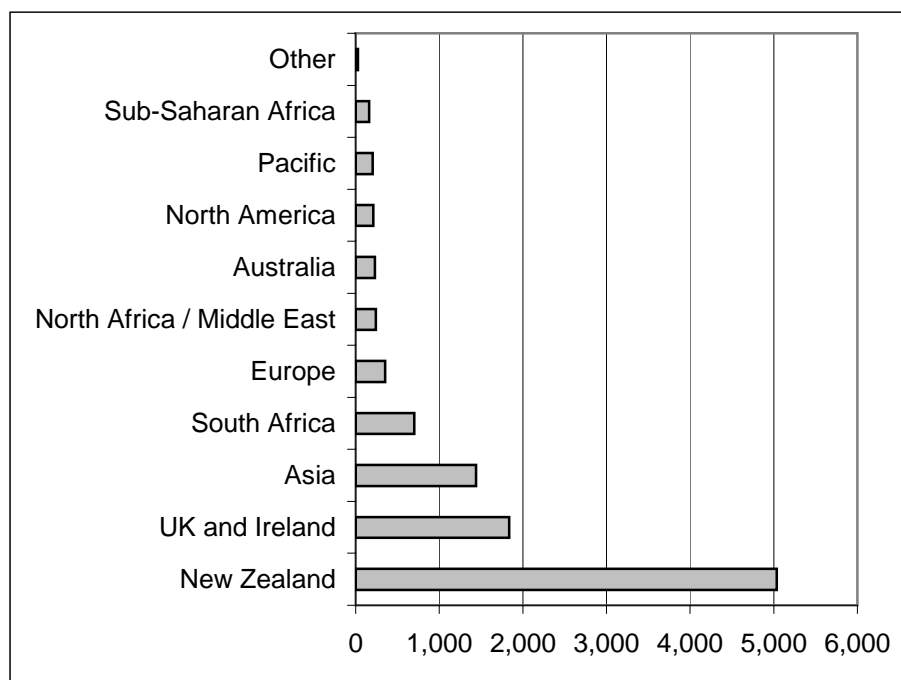
A small number of doctors working in New Zealand were born in Australia. Australian data shows that inn 2001 there were 588 NZ born GPs working in Australia and 454 specialists (Hawthorne, Hawthorne and Crotty 2007, 8). In comparison, the New Zealand 2006 census shows 162 Australian born GPs working in New Zealand and 72 specialists. In total numbers the flows are in favour of New Zealand doctors going to Australia, but when relative population sizes are considered the flows are more even.

In New Zealand research and public policy, ethnicity is a key variable. A variety of data shows that Maori and Pacific populations are under-represented in terms of doctor numbers, but Asians are over-represented, and measures have been put in place to increase

the numbers from these groups (Callister 2007). The 2006 indicate that 18 percent of doctors working in New Zealand recorded an Asian ethnicity as at least one of their ethnic groups. But are these mainly immigrants from Asia or locally born Asians. The data again illustrate the complexity of international migration. A number of New Zealand studies indicate that country of birth does not always correlate with the ethnicity that may be expected from that area. In particular, it is known that a significant number of professionals migrating from the Pacific record Asian ethnicities. These are generally people migrating from Fiji, but there is also migration of people recording Asian from other areas of the Pacific. Table 9 shows that Asians make up 18 percent of New Zealand doctors. For those born in New Zealand, this figure is 5 percent, but for those born in the Pacific it is just under half. Of particular interest is that nearly a fifth of doctors from Sub-Saharan African record Asian ethnicity. Some of these will be doctors who are the children of an earlier Asian migration to Africa.

Table 16:   **Percent of Doctors Born in Each Main Area Who Recorded Asian Ethnicity, Total Counts, 2006**
Source: Statistics New Zealand

Born in	Percent Asian
New Zealand	5
Australia	4
Pacific	49
UK and Ireland	3
Europe	1
Asia	94
North America	4
North Africa	4
South Africa	9
Sub-Saharan	19
Total	18
Total Asians n=	1,884

Hugo (2005b) has suggested that often migration decisions are being made not just by individuals but also in a family context. For doctors, there are at least two dimensions to this. One is that the doctor may have a partner, but also that the partner may also be a doctor or

other health professional. In parallel with the changes in the number of doctors who are female, there have been dramatic changes in the proportion of female doctors who are partnered. New Zealand census data shows that while for male doctors there has been little change with the rate are partnered at 82 percent in 1986 and 84 percent in 2006, for female doctors the rise has been dramatic. Of the 22 percent of doctors who were female in 1986, only 18 percent of them were partnered. By 2006, of the 40 percent of doctors who are female, 70 percent are partnered.

In 2006 a significant proportion of male and female doctors had a partner who was working as a doctor. For males it is 16 percent and for females 29 percent. Some of these doctors will have partnered in New Zealand, some overseas. Hugo (2005b) shows that marriage across borders is an increasingly important part of migration within many areas of the world. Of those doctors who were partnered and their partner was also a doctor, 30 percent were both born in New Zealand, for 15 percent the male was New Zealand born and the female overseas born, and for 10 percent it was the opposite pattern. But the largest group, 45 percent, had both partners born overseas.

When qualifications of partners of doctors are considered, the 2006 New Zealand census data indicate that female doctors were more likely than male doctors to have a well qualified partner. Overall, 61 percent of male doctors had a partner who had gained a university degree or higher qualification, but this rises to 81 percent for female doctors. But when location in New Zealand is considered, 63 percent of male doctors in main urban areas had a partner with a degree or higher qualification, but only 48 percent if they lived in a rural area. For female doctors the figures were 81 percent and 60 percent. The data on education levels of couples lends some support to the hypothesis that well qualified couples have a greater propensity to live in main urban areas. This suggests that location decisions of doctors nationally, and perhaps internationally, may increasingly be being made by well qualified couples seeking dual careers rather than just an individual seeking a job for themselves. This

could make it increasingly difficult to fill rural medical positions in New Zealand as well as internationally. If well qualified couples are seeking highly specialised positions, it may be even difficult to recruit them to the relatively small cities that make up the urban landscape of New Zealand.

Table 17:   Australia: Selected Health Professionals by Birthplace, 2001-06

Occupation	Overseas-Born 2001		Overseas-Born 2006		Average Annual Growth 2001-06	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Australia-Born	Overseas-Born
All Occupations	1,958,845	24.5	2,218,542	25.3	1.6	2.5
All Health Occupations	82,824	29.2	106,274	32.3	2.2	5.1
General Medical Practitioners	14,542	45.9	17,809	51.0	-0.1	4.1
Special Medical Practitioners	5,852	37.1	8,150	42.6	2.1	6.8
Dental Practitioners	3,484	43.0	4,269	48.0	0.0	4.1
Registered Nurses	36,153	25.8	46,263	29.0	1.7	5.1
Mental Health Nurses	2,207	34.4	2,721	36.0	2.8	4.3
Medical Imaging Professionals	2,572	31.1	3,055	30.4	4.2	3.5
Pharmacists	4,114	29.8	5,428	35.9	0.0	5.7

Turning briefly to Australia, Table 17 shows the importance and increasing representation of the foreign-born among Australia's health and medical workforce. In 2006 the overseas-born made up just over a quarter of Australia's total workforce (25.3 percent) but almost a third (32.3 percent) of health and medical workers. Moreover while the Australia-born group were growing at 2.2 percent per annum the foreign-born health and medical workers were growing more than twice as fast (5.1 percent per annum). The trends are even stronger for the important general and specialist medical practitioners categories in which the overseas-born grew at 4.1 and 6.8 percent per annum respectively compared with -0.1 and 2.1 percent for the Australia-born. The fact that more than half of GPs were now overseas-born is significant and includes an especially large number of doctors on temporary visas (usually 457s) in rural and remote areas. Figure 22 shows that there has been a significant increase in the numbers of doctors coming to Australia, both on a permanent,

and

Figure 22: **Australia: Settler and Long Term Arrivals and Permanent and Long Term Departures of Doctors, 1993-94 to 2006-07**

Source: DIAC, Overseas Arrivals Departures Data
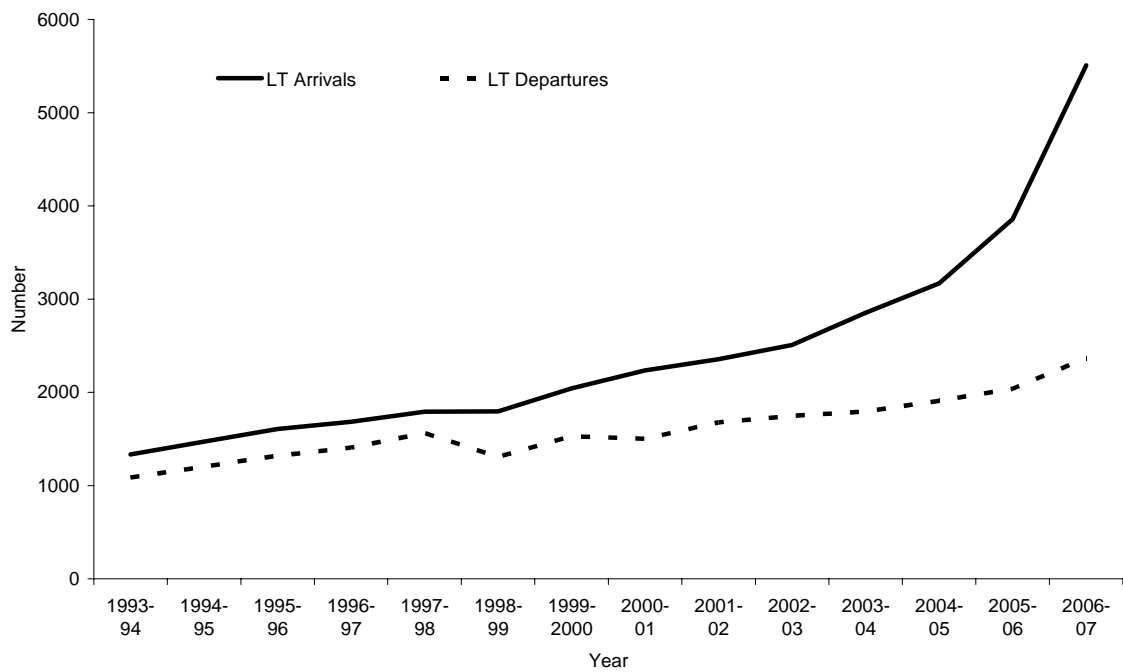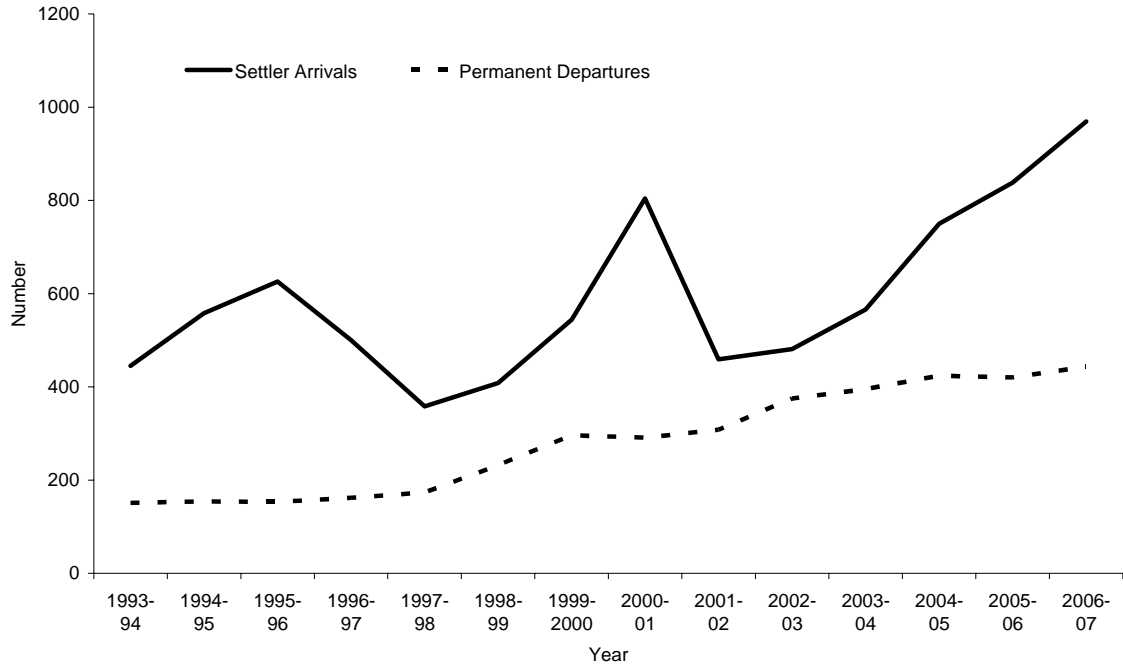
a long term, basis. It is noticeable that there has been a steep increase in the number of long term[12] doctor arrivals, doubling to almost 6,000 between 2004 and 2007. This reflects the increasing tendency to recruit overseas doctors on 457 visas. It is notable that there are 6 temporary migrant doctors for every permanent settler arrival.

There has been some debate in Australia because Table 18 shows that while there is a degree of circularity in the flows, the net gain to Australia is strong in the Asia and African movements while that with the UK and Europe is more circular. It is interesting that there is a net loss of permanent migrant doctors to North America. Many of the doctors and nurses from Asia and Africa go to rural and remote areas in Australia where there is an overall shortage of medical personnel (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2006). It was recently reported[13] that there was a shortage of 14,000 health workers in rural Australia, including 1,000 doctors and 5,000 nurses.

Table 18:   Australia: Arrivals and Departures of Skilled Health Workers, 1993-2006
Source: DIAC, unpublished data

| | Doctors | | | | | |
	Settler Arrivals	Permanent Departures	Net	Long Term Arrivals	Long Term Departures	Net
Africa	340	28	312	1702	824	878
Asia	2812	989	1823	9376	6254	3122
New Zealand	1788	773	1015	1631	950	681
Other Oceania	106	43	63	531	638	-107
Europe & UK	1491	1097	394	11608	8224	3384
N America	215	437	-222	2547	2378	169
S America	72	22	50	194	139	55
	Nurses					
	Settler Arrivals	Permanent Departures	Net	Long Term Arrivals	Long Term Departures	Net
Africa (not incl N Africa)	892	80	812	2560	975	1585
Asia	3758	825	2933	7041	5897	1144
New Zealand	4104	2799	1305	3392	2333	1059
Other Oceania	372	225	147	630	1123	-493
Europe & UK	5861	3792	2069	23904	18458	5446
North America	576	1690	-1114	3982	2980	1003
South America	47	58	-11	192	254	-62

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[12]   Temporary Residence but intending to stay a year or more.

[13]   ABC News, 19 February 2008.

The net gain of doctors from poorer countries has led to a debate in Australia about the ethics of such mobility and raising such issues as:

- Developing a code of conduct for ethical recruitment

- The possible reimbursement of the sending country for costs incurred in training of personnel

- The need for more training of health workers in Australia

- Selectively limiting proactive recruitment of skilled health professionals

- Better supporting health care training systems in less developed countries

- Encouraging the return of these doctors after they complete a period in Australia.

(Reid 2002; Scott *et al.* 2004)

It has been argued by some doctors in Australia that a more ethical approach to recruitment of health workers needs to be adopted (Scott *et al*. 2004). However Australia, like other OECD nations, has through its contemporary immigration policies, encouraged the flow of skilled personnel from less developed nations such as many of those in Africa. Under the Colombo Plan and other later programs to train students from Asia and Africa in Australia, students were compelled to return to their homeland for at least 2 years following completion of their studies. This is no longer the case and indeed in recent years Australia has facilitated completing students in some skill areas to gain permanent residence in Australia without returning home. Moreover the increased skill focus in the migration program has encouraged the outflow of skilled workers from less developed nations.

LOW SKILLED MIGRATION

Most recent policy concern in Australia and New Zealand has centred in shortages of high skill labour. However, strong economic growth since the mid 1990s has translated into strong employment growth, including in recent years among the unskilled/low skilled. Some of the industries that have grown the fastest are highly labour intensive and use a large

number of low-skilled workers. Sectors that have contributed to growth include construction and services such as tourism, health, education, wholesale trade and retail trade, and some parts of the horticultural industry. This has already resulted in shortages of low-skill workers in some of these industries and this constrains growth.

Looking ahead, there are indications that, alongside the on-going demand for high skill workers, there will continue to be demand for low skilled workers in these types of industries, including caregivers in institutional settings to support an ageing population. But there is also potential for growth in demand for domestic workers. In many areas of Europe, the United States, and in high income regions within Asia and the Middle-East relatively low-skilled immigrants, from countries such as the Philippines, Turkey or Mexico are over-represented amongst those who are employed by high-earning families to provide services in jobs such as nannies, gardeners, and house cleaners and, for older people, home care workers. In New Zealand, this has not taken place to any major degree. There are a number of reasons for this. One is that the government, though both funding and regulation, has ensured that the out-of-home childcare sector offers high quality childcare, provided by tertiary trained teachers, at relatively low cost to parents. However, other important reasons are: 1) given its geographic isolation, illegal migration is difficult; 2) government has severely restricted low skill migration.

Immigration is able to play a key role in alleviating current and future shortage of unskilled labour in Australia and New Zealand as there is a virtually unlimited supply of unskilled labour available worldwide, including from some non-traditional sources of labour such as Melanesia. Low-income workers can be brought to high-income countries, often on a temporary basis, and sometimes illegally, to undertake low skilled work. While employers are likely to push for more low skilled migration in key industries, government could also be under increasing pressure to change its policy stance with regards to unskilled workers.

A number of important policy questions need to be considered in relation to the possible expansion of low skill migration. These include:

- Does the use of immigration to fill vacancies take away the incentive to innovate and find alternative, perhaps technologically based, solutions and should industries that depend on low skill labour be supported or should they be squeezed out of the economy?

- Alternatively, are certain labour intensive sectors, such as care giving, providing essential services and will become increasingly important as the population ages and by their nature are unable to substitute technology for labour? Do we support these sectors through immigration or constrain them until they improve wages and working conditions?

- Does the nature of many types of unskilled work (e.g. seasonal work) make immigrants vulnerable to spells of unemployment and the need for benefits? Does this vulnerability create the opportunity for employers to exploit unskilled immigrants? Is there the possibility of developing a large group of workers who have fewer rights than Australian and New Zealand citizens?

- If unskilled immigrants are from countries with low living standards is there a risk of non-compliance with permits, especially with regard to returning home after the expiry of the permit.

- Is there a potential for strongly gendered migration, for example, it would be mainly women filling caregiver jobs. How do should we be thinking about individual versus family migration in relation to low skill workers?

- How do we select low skill migrants? Do we give preference people from particular countries?

- How will low skill migration impact on managing diversity in Australia and New Zealand, especially considering many low skill migrants will come from areas with

different religious beliefs and cultural practices to that of mainstream New Zealand and Australia?

- Is there a need for Australia and New Zealand to consider low skill migration in tandem with each other, given that there are not only common issues but also that there is free movement across the Tasman? Historically Australia has been concerned about 'back door' migration from New Zealand to Australia.

A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PACIFIC?

Population growth is strong in Melanesia, the population is young, poor and mainly rurally based. Currently, unlike many other Pacific nations, the main countries of Melanesia have no outlets, including New Zealand, for low skilled migration. The World Bank (2006b) has argued that greater labour mobility would expand the employment options available to those living in the Pacific, particularly in Melanesia. But currently such mobility is limited and favours skilled workers. Bedford (2007) has suggested that 'the most contentious demographic issue confronting Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific in the Pacific during the next half century will be how to cope with pressure for an emigration outlet from Melanesia.' He suggests that long term development in Melanesia will depend heavily on opportunities for young people to travel overseas for training and employment.

It has been shown above that New Zealand has entered into special migration relationships with the Pacific, albeit in a limited way, than Australia. There is a 'Pacific Access Category' which provides limited access to migrants from Tonga, Kiribati, Tuvalu and Fiji, the Samoan quota category and the new Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme. There is an increasing debate in Australia, however, on the possibility of having a special migration relationship with the Pacific. Understandably this has been strongly influenced by the growing international discourse on migration and development (GCIM 2005; World Bank 2006a; United Nations 2006b). The focus in the migration and development literature is

largely on what Less Developed origin countries can do to enhance the contribution of their expatriates to economic and social development at home. However, since OECD nations like Australia espouse a wish to encourage and facilitate the progress of less developed nations, it is important to ask whether in destination countries there are some policies and programs relating to migration and the diaspora which can facilitate and enhance their positive developmental impacts in origin areas. There are two particular barriers to destination nations like Australia becoming more 'development friendly' in their immigration policy:

- A strong tradition of immigration policy being conceived in relatively narrow national interest terms.

- The siloization of government policy making and practice which separates immigration and development assistance activities.

Nevertheless in line with the increasing global significance of migration and development discussions, the issue has been raised in Australia. The following issues have been especially prominent (Hugo 2005a):

- Whether Australia should consider modification of its immigration policy and allow temporary migration of particular groups of *unskilled* migrants. Such programs to be focused on neighbouring countries where it has been shown that remittances can and do have significant positive effects (especially the Pacific and East Timor).

- Whether the impacts of climate change effects on low lying countries needs to be factored into immigration policy. In particular with Pacific nations like Tuvalu being increasingly influenced by rises in sea level, should Australia have a program to relocate Pacific Islanders displaced by the effects of climate change?

It has been suggested that it may be that injecting a 'development friendly' component into immigration decision making discussions could have 'win-win' results for both origin and destination country. This debate in Australia has been limited thus far but has increased following the UN High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development in August 2006.

SOME CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Population issues have not been more prominent in Australia during the postwar period than they are at present. We will concentrate here on Australia but there are equivalents in most cases in New Zealand. Nationally there have been a number of reports (e.g. Costello 2002; 2004; Productivity Commission 2006; Department of Treasury 2007) that have defined the outlook for ageing of the Australian population. A baby bonus of $3,000 ($4,000 after 1 July 2006 and $5,000 from 1 July 2008) was introduced and a raft of policy interventions to encourage baby boomers to stay in, and hitherto disengaged groups to participate in, the workforce have been made. Moreover several states (Government of South Australia 2004; State of Victoria 2004) have introduced comprehensive population policies. In all of this discussion immigration issues have loomed large and these will be briefly mentioned below:

- With the tightening of the labour market, especially for skilled workers, there is pressure from employers to increase the immigration quota (Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson 2006). Others have argued that there is a need to invest more in training and education to meet the skill needs. Gaining a judicious short term/medium-long term solution to the skills shortage is a constant issue.

- Australia has hitherto been able to compete effectively with other OECD (and increasingly more developed non OECD countries like Singapore) countries with respect to skilled migrants. Asia has been the most significant source of skilled migrants (Hugo 2006b), increasingly China and India. However it has been suggested that increasing competition from within Asia as well as other OECD countries means that Australia's competitive edge is not assured indefinitely into the future (Hugo 2006b).

- There has been in recent times some concern about workers being bought to Australia under the 457 (long term temporary business) program at the expense of Australian workers. The 457 program is restricted to the four highest skilled ASCO categories and has a minimum wage to ensure that it is restricted to skilled workers. The 457 process is a very quick labour market-driven migration program as opposed to the slower government quota settlement program and is increasingly being used by employers to get workers (Khoo, *et al.* 2003). However the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and others are voicing concerns that such workers are being used as an alternative to available Australian workers.

- Some groups (e.g. Australian Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee 2005) have argued that Australia should relax its policy on allowing temporary immigration of unskilled groups especially from the Pacific. Protagonists here are mainly employers in sectors suffering unskilled labour shortages especially in regional areas but also include lobby groups who point to the beneficial effects of remittances on the 'MIRAB' economies of the Pacific. The government has resisted this pressure and maintains that there is still a significant amount of Australian labour to be soaked up and that there is a need to improve the wages and conditions being offered in such labour-short sectors as harvesting, abattoir workers etc.

- The reduction in significance of family migration and the restrictions placed on family reunion, especially of parents, has been criticised in some places. Indeed the presence of the family reunion program in the past has been a factor in skilled immigrants coming to Australia and then assisting relatives to come.

- Refugee policy is constantly being discussed. The major issue has been over Australia's policies of offshore processing of asylum seekers ('The Pacific Solution') and detention of onshore asylum seekers. The proposal for all asylum seekers to be processed offshore has been intensively debated in 2006.

- The growing nexus between foreign student migration and permanent settlement of skilled migrants has a number of dimensions which are under scrutiny. Australia is second only to Switzerland in the proportion of its university students who are fee paying foreigners (Abella 2006) and those fees make up an increasing part of the budgets of Australian universities. One major report (Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson 2006) indicated that foreign students granted permanent Australian residence on completion of their studies were experiencing difficulty in the labour market. Hence language requirements have been increased and an initial probationary period has been introduced.

- Issues of social cohesion have waxed and waned in Australian discourse. The Sydney riots between Lebanese and Australian youth being the most recent demonstration that such tensions still exist (Betts and Healy 2006; Barclay and West 2006).

- DIAC constantly is fine tuning the immigration system in order to place greater emphasis on skills and attributes such as ability to speak English and having an Australian qualification which are associated with labour market success. The changing selection criteria and pass level of the Points Assessment System and the proliferation of visa categories are testament to this. This has meant that the labour market performance of Australian migrants has been improving while that in countries like Canada (Ruddick 2003) and the United States (Martin 2004b) have declined. However some commentators have been critical of the 'micro management' of migrant selection. Withers (2006) points out that no current Australian Federal Parliamentarian would pass the Points Assessment Test for immigration.

- In 2005 the Australian Senate (2005) released its report on Australian expatriates recommending a range of policy developments to engage the Australian diaspora. There is no doubt that Australia's intake of skilled immigrants considerably outweighs the exodus of young skilled Australians. However some argue that

Australia could benefit from engaging that diaspora in a range of ways as well as encouraging return migration (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2003).

- Some States (e.g. South Australia) are constantly lobbying the national government to develop new strategies to direct immigrants to settling in 'regional' areas away from the major centres of immigrant settlement on the east coast and in Perth. There has been opposition from some states (notably Western Australia and Queensland) that South Australia has an unfair advantage in attracting migrants through the SSRM scheme. Nevertheless it is apparent that states are likely to play an increasing role in Australian immigration and settlement.

- After many decades of increasing concentration in the nation's major cities, especially the global city of Sydney, there are strong indications of increasing immigrant settlement outside of major cities. This is driven partly by economic growth in these areas associated with mining, tourism, retirement and other development but also ageing. These communities often have not been as influenced in the past by immigration as the rest of the country so that the new immigration raises a number of issues. While there have been incidents of culture clash it has generally been the case that non-metropolitan communities have been very welcoming to the newcomers (Hugo 2007). Nevertheless, challenges of lack of settlement services in such areas remain.

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