

*Myra Haplan*

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# **The New Zealand Population: Contemporary Trends and Issues**

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**Population Monitoring Group**

**New Zealand Planning Council Monitoring Report**

# The New Zealand Population: Contemporary Trends and Issues

The Planning Council  
New Zealand Planning Council  
WELLINGTON

Dear Mr Douglas,

I have pleasure in forwarding to you the transmission of the  
Planning Council's report of the Population Monitoring  
Group.

The Monitoring Group is charged with the responsibility of  
integrating demographic considerations into the process of  
planning and policy formulation and keeping the Council  
informed on demographic issues.

## POPULATION MONITORING GROUP REPORT NO. 2

The report is divided into four sections. Section 1 discusses the  
structure, ethnic composition and geographical distribution of the  
population. Section 2 discusses major population issues, focusing  
on the labour force, international migration and fertility as  
issues of current importance. Finally, Section 4 outlines the  
policy issues implicit in the group's analysis of demographic  
trends.

I would like to thank all members of the Population Monitoring  
Group for the time and effort they have voluntarily given to  
the group's work. I would also like to thank the staff of the  
assistant secretary of the Planning Council for their assistance  
in the preparation of this report. I would like to thank you  
for your contribution to the work of the group.

Yours sincerely,



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February 1985**

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New Zealand Planning Council, P.O. Box 5066, Wellington

1 February 1985

The Chairman,  
New Zealand Planning Council,  
WELLINGTON.

Dear Mr Douglas,

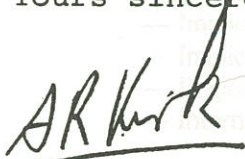
I have pleasure in forwarding to you, for transmission to the Planning Council, the second report of the Population Monitoring Group.

The Monitoring Group is charged with the responsibility of integrating demographic considerations into the process of planning and policy formulation and keeping the Planning Council informed on demographic issues.

The report is divided into four sections. The first section simply summarises the main points which have emerged from the group's analysis. The second section outlines the main trends in structure, ethnic composition and regional distribution of the population. Section 3 discusses major population issues, focusing on the labour force, international migration and fertility as issues of current importance. Finally, Section 4 outlines the policy issues implicit in the group's analysis of demographic trends.

I would like to thank all members of the Population Monitoring Group for the time and effort they have so freely given, and the group's liaison officer, Andrew Fraser, for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of this report. Finally, I would like to thank Tony Shatford and the Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, for their work on the graphic material in the report.

Yours sincerely,



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Convenor  
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This report, published by the New Zealand Planning Council, was prepared independently by the Population Monitoring Group. The views expressed are the sole responsibility of the Population Monitoring Group and are not necessarily endorsed by the Planning Council.

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Section 1

SUMMARY

In February 1984, the first report of the Population Monitoring Group, *The New Zealand Population: Patterns of Change*, was published by the New Zealand Planning Council. It provided a coherent overview of recent demographic trends in an historical context and considered the implications of those trends for policy-making, now and in the future. It dealt with population growth, which consists of births, deaths and international migration; population composition, including ethnicity, age-sex mix, and the labour force; and the geographical distribution of the population.

From analysis of the trends in these broad categories, the report went on to draw out the two-way relationship between population change and other important factors, especially those of an economic nature. This was demonstrated through discussion of the way population trends affect policy, as well as the way policy influences population change.

Having established a broad framework for its analysis with the first report, the Population Monitoring Group intends with this second report, to take the opportunity to focus more closely on events and trends of special and current concern. (The two reports should be regarded as interdependent, and the reader is encouraged to read one in conjunction with the other. The first, which provides important background for the second, contains much useful data, both in the text and in its six appendices).

This report is divided into four sections. Section 1 is an executive summary, which briefly reviews and brings together the main points of the report. Section 2 updates the review of demographic trends. As the first report illustrated, demographic monitoring is best achieved using several different time horizons — here, the changes occurring during the most recent March year are placed in the context of demographic developments since 1970 and, in some cases, since 1945. These perspectives complement the longer-term view in the group's first report.

Section 3 discusses major population issues considered to be of particular importance at present — the labour force, especially its supply-side implications for employment and unemployment now and in the future and the effect of dependency ratios; international migration — its impact on

the labour market, the return migration of New Zealanders and a note on the current refugee crisis; and a number of aspects of fertility and infertility — including age-specific and differential fertility and discussion of the primary and secondary school age populations over the next 15 years or so.

Section 4 outlines and discusses the policy issues implicit in the preceding analysis of the population trends. Here four fairly broad policy areas are looked at. Firstly, the implications of population trends for government expenditure, also noted as being a concern in last year's report, are put in the context of dependency ratios and the changing structure of the population over time, as well as perceived needs for changes in current services. The second part of the section picks up the discussion of labour force trends and projections from Section 3, adding a policy perspective to the problems involved in this area. The discussion of the regional distribution of population centres on regional development policy, its aims and effectiveness, and the principles underlying it.

Lastly, this section looks at the principles of migration policy and the means by which they are implemented. It also looks at the objectives of New Zealand's policy and suggests a number of areas in which further inquiry would be fruitful and which might be taken into account when the 1985 Immigration Bill is introduced into parliament. The debate on existing special migration arrangements between New Zealand and Australia is also raised, as are refugee resettlement issues.

Some of the main points which emerge from the report are as follows:

Trends

- Population increase during the year ended 31 March 1984 was 13 percent lower than in the previous year. The major reason for this was the reduced contribution made by net migration during 1983-84. The natural increase (fertility) component of growth has remained between 24,400 and 24,900 since 1981.
- There has been consistent net loss to the Maori population by emigration since 1981. The non-Maori population has gained substantially from international migration between 1981 and 1984. The July 1984 devaluation will no doubt encourage further trans-Tasman migration in

all components of the population of working age.

- Although the trend towards lower fertility (both Maori and non-Maori) is expected to continue, the total number of births each year will rise slowly through the 1980s and into the 1990s due to changes in the age-sex composition of the population.
- Levels of life expectancy at birth have continued to increase during the early 1980s for both Maoris and non-Maoris. However, long-term convergence in levels has not been maintained in recent years.
- Recent life tables indicate a considerable differential exists between regions in male and female life expectancy. Several underlying factors contributing to these differentials have been identified. Some of these differences can be attributed to differing levels of health care delivery. This would suggest there are regional disparities in health service delivery and that access to general, obstetric and geriatric health care should be maintained at a satisfactory level in rural areas. Changes to population-based hospital board funding may reduce such disparities.
- New Zealand's total net migration gain to the year ended 31 March was half that of the previous 12 months. The net gain in the permanent and long-term category was, however, twice that of the previous year. The major reason for the latter substantial gain was the drop by almost 50 percent since 1981 in the number of New Zealanders leaving on a long-term basis.
- Major structural changes to New Zealand's population over the last three years include a decreasing proportion aged under 15 years, an increase in the proportion of those aged 20 to 44, and an increase in the population aged 70 years and over (especially women).
- This shift in the age structure characterises the on-going shift in age dependency from the youthful to the elderly population, although it has slowed a little and is likely to remain less significant through the late 1980s and early 1990s.
- The school age population is expected to decline to its lowest level since 1961 by 1991 and then to rise slightly in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The population in the working age groups is expected to peak around the late 1990s, while that aged 60 years and over will rise throughout the projection period (1983-2016).
- Primary school rolls are expected to fall by 12.6 percent from 1983 to 1991. They will then rise through the 1990s to peak around the turn of the century before declining steadily.
- The 13 to 17-year old population is expected

to decline steadily between now and the turn of the century to a level 19 percent lower than today. The actual change in secondary school rolls is likely to be much less drastic however, due to improvements in retention ratios.

- Changes in the population structure will put increasing pressure on government expenditure during the next 15 years and probably longer.

### Labour Force

- During the last 30 years, the labour force has consistently grown at a faster rate than the population of working age, with rising overall participation rates. In turn, the peripheral and part-time labour force has grown more quickly than the full-time labour force. Participation rate trends continue with slightly decreasing rates for males and increasing rates for females.
- Employment rose by only 50,000 over the last seven years, a slower growth rate than for any comparable period. During the same period, registered unemployment rose from 5,000 to 68,000. Opinions differ over total unemployment, but it may have risen from about 25,000 to 80,000.
- Short-term Department of Labour projections indicate there will be a net increase in the labour force of at least 20,000 per year up to 1987. This means this number of jobs must be created each year to avoid an increase in unemployment. The Department predicts an overall rise in unemployment and expects it to reach about 103,000 (7.3 percent) by March 1987.
- Medium to long-term labour force projections indicate that to meet the job requirements of an expanding labour force, about 290,000 additional jobs will need to be created over the next 15 years. This rate of job creation is greater than has actually occurred in New Zealand over the last 40 years. If the rate is not achieved, the provision of income maintenance and/or subsidised employment will exert further pressures on government expenditure.

### Fertility

- Numbers of abortions performed in New Zealand appear to have more or less stabilised at the level reached in 1981 after clarification of the legal position of abortions. Data are still not complete however, and it is difficult to estimate the extent of unrecorded activities. Nevertheless, abortion rates in New Zealand remain at a very low level by the standards of comparable countries. Policy intervention in the abortion area might focus most usefully on remedying the uneven distribution of services throughout the country and by reducing the demand for abortion

through improved education and greater access to contraception.

- Infertility due to sexually transmitted diseases is becoming increasingly widespread in many developed countries, including New Zealand. A great deal more could be done to alert people to the dangers of chlamydia and other similar diseases, and as to how they may be avoided or at least detected early.
- Since 1970 the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children has been eliminated. However, the terms "nuptial" and "ex-nuptial" have been used. To maintain consistency with the spirit of recent legislation, it may now be time to stop publishing data on births according to these categories, although still retaining its collection for administrative and research purposes.

### Regional Issues

- The principal characteristics of regional differentials in population growth are continuing with Auckland, Northland, and the Bay of Plenty still experiencing more rapid growth than the average. The major development projects continue to be a major influence on employment in certain areas.
- Programmes of regional assistance, despite their long-term effect on the distribution of population have never had a very clear long-term target but rather have been aimed at what was seen as the immediate need. It is now timely to consider to what extent aspects of existing regional development policy are relevant to the current situation.

## Section 2

# POPULATION TRENDS

Monitoring changes in the growth, structure, composition and distribution of any population is best achieved using several time horizons. In this section of the report, attention is focused on changes during the year ended 31 March 1984. These are placed in the context of demographic developments during the 1970s and, in places, since 1945. A longer-term perspective on New Zealand's population dynamics is contained in the Population Monitoring Group's 1983 report, *The New Zealand Population: Patterns of Change*.

Trends in growth, fertility, mortality, international migration, age-sex structure, ethnic composition and spatial distribution are reviewed below. In Section 3, the labour force, international migration and aspects of fertility are considered in more detail.

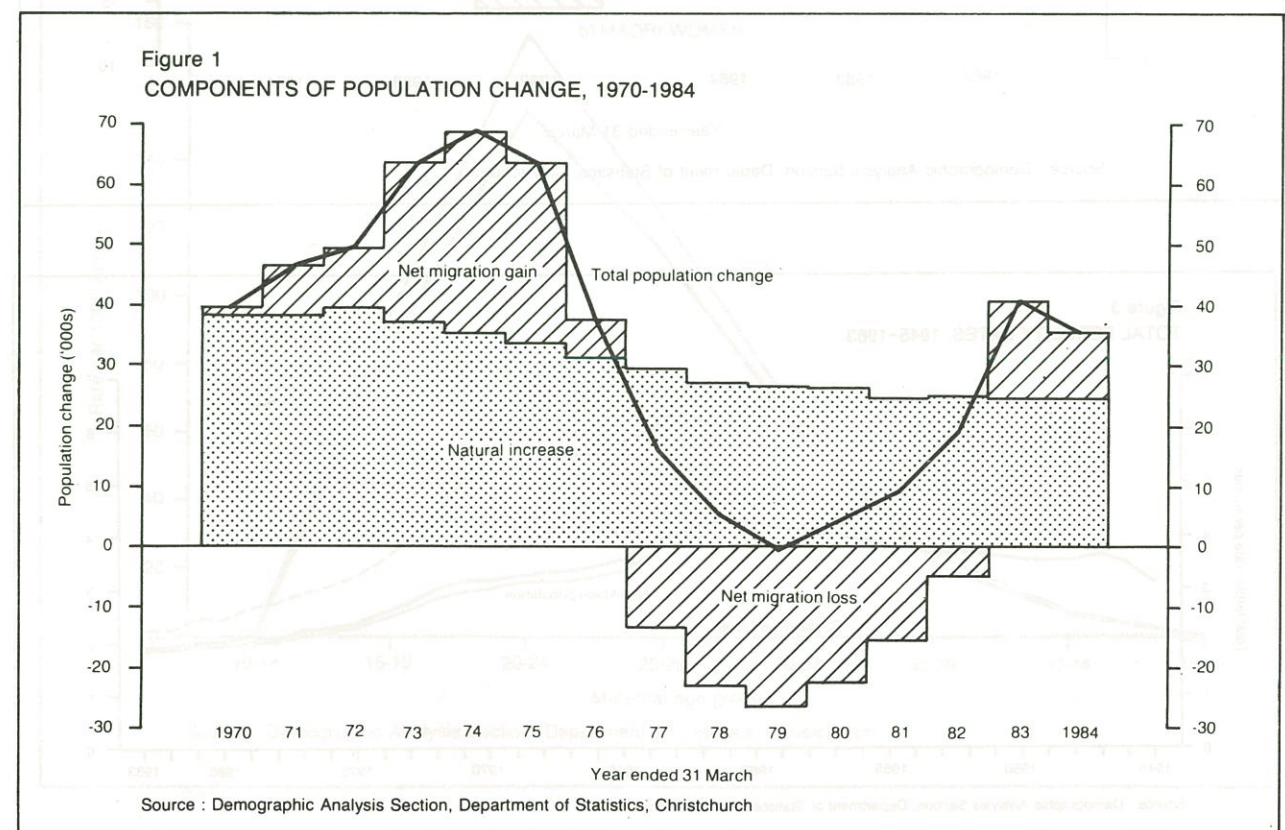
### Population Growth

At 31 March 1984 New Zealand's population was estimated to be 3,265,500 (Department of Statistics, 1984). This represented an increase of 89,760, or 2.8 percent, over the number at the latest census on 24 March 1981. The Maori population grew relatively more rapidly (4.0 percent) than the non-Maori population (2.7 percent) over the

three years, and their respective estimated totals on 31 March 1984 were 290,300 and 2,975,200.

Population increase during the year ended 31 March 1984 (35,277) was somewhat smaller than that recorded in the previous year (40,339). The major reason for this was the smaller contribution made by net migration during 1983-84. The two components of population change (natural increase and net migration) are shown annually for the years ended 31 March 1970 to 1984 in Figure 1. The balance of births over deaths (natural increase) has remained between 24,400 and 24,900 since 1981; fluctuations in the annual rate of population growth have been due almost entirely to changes in the balance of international arrivals over departures (net migration). The net losses in the years ended 31 March 1981 and 1982 totalling 20,510 have been more than compensated for by net gains in March years 1983 and 1984 (26,343).

Patterns of population change since March 1981 have been quite different for the Maori and non-Maori components. There has been a consistent net loss to the Maori population through emigration, while the non-Maori population has gained substantially from international migration (Figure





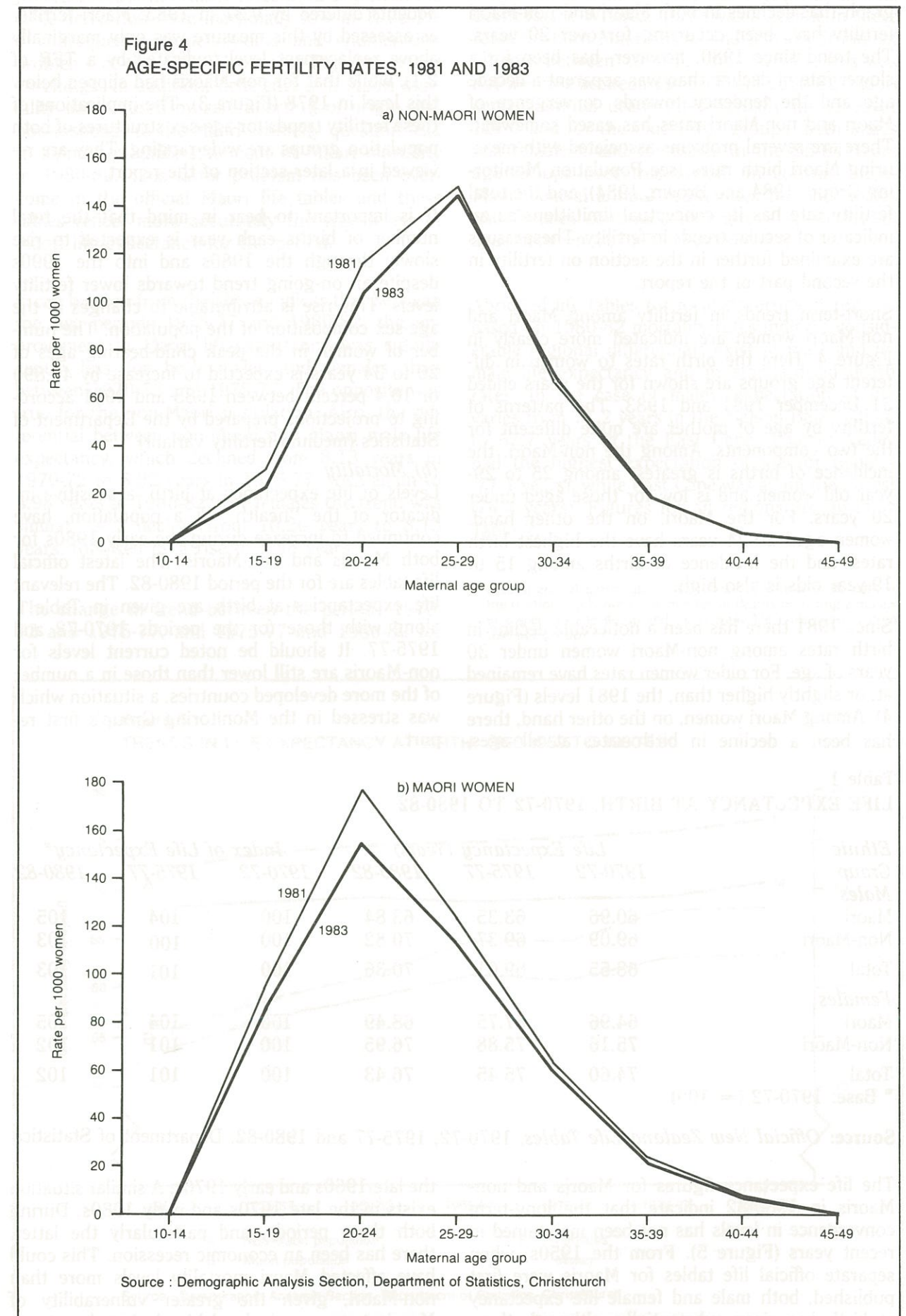
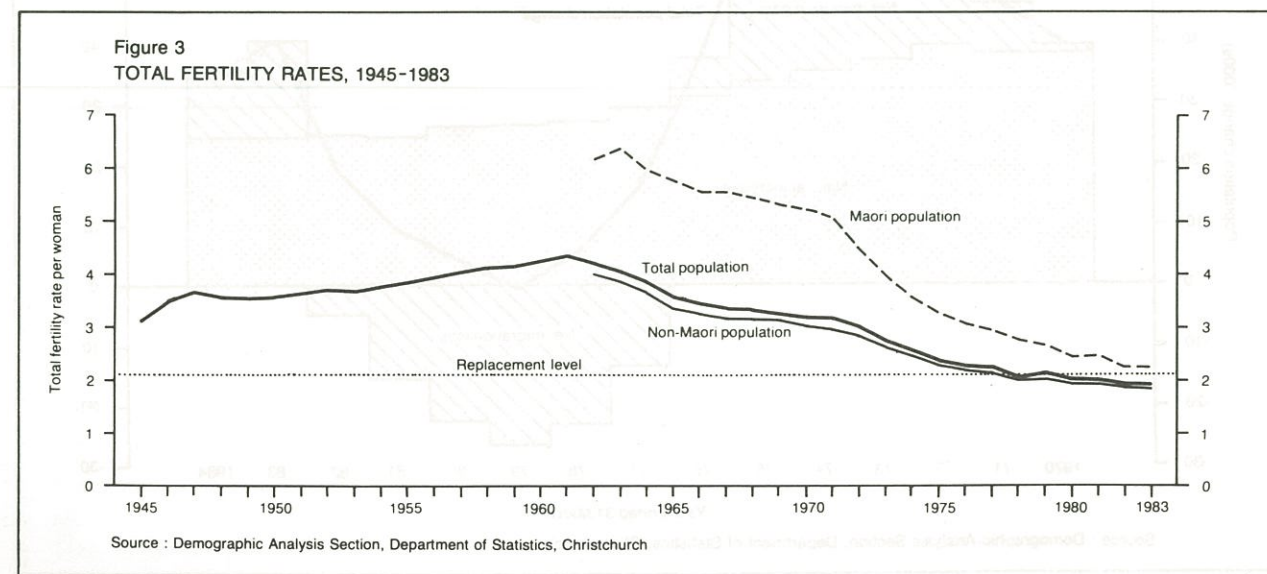
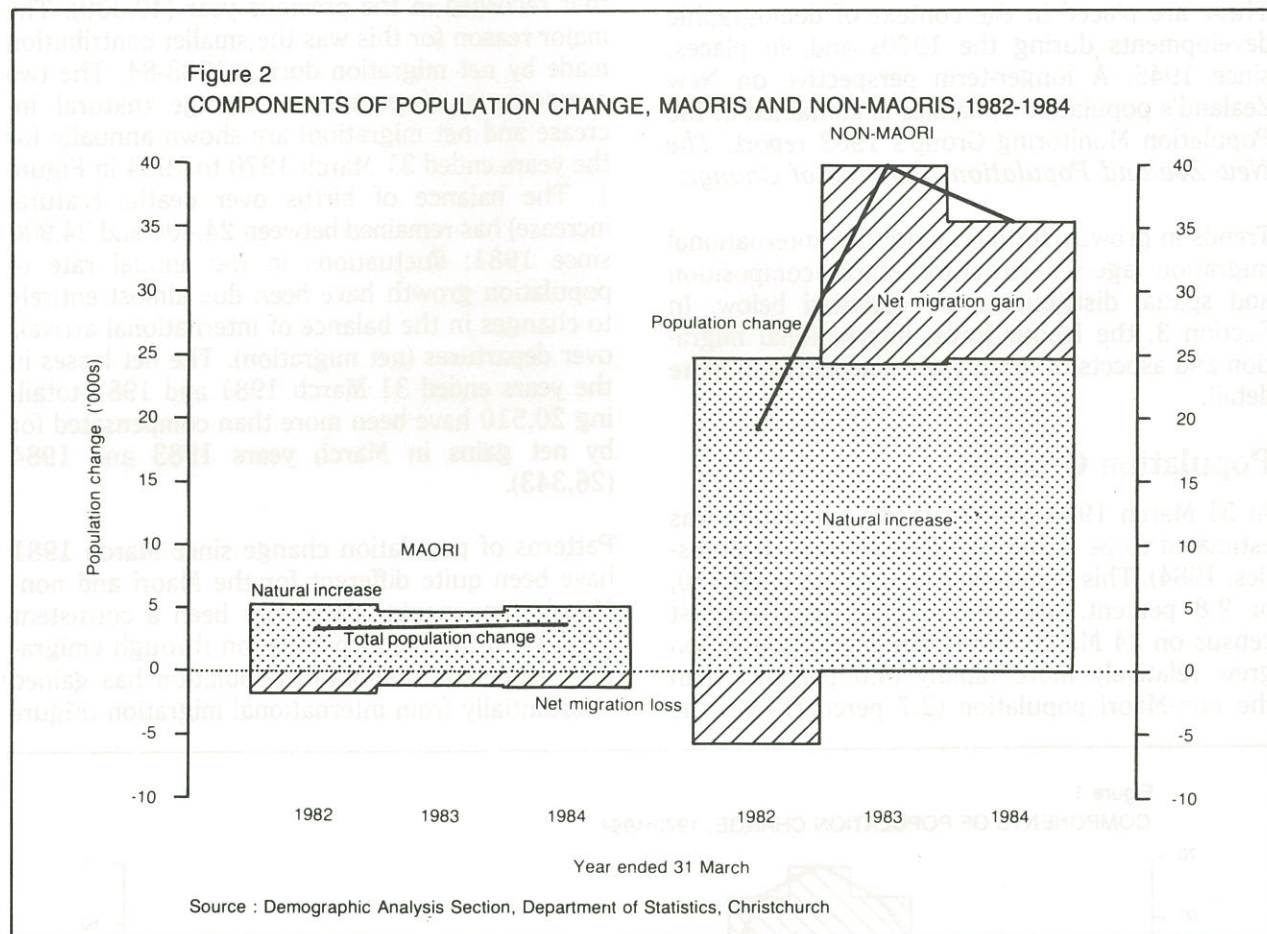
2). Trans-Tasman migration of Maoris, which increased substantially during the early 1970s, continues to account for much of the net migration loss to the Maori population. Devaluation in July 1984 and widening salary differentials between New Zealand and Australia will further encourage trans-Tasman migration of both Maoris and non-Maoris.

**(a) Fertility**

The surplus of births over deaths for both Maoris and non-Maoris continues to make the most substantial contribution to growth each year. In the

year ended 31 March 1984 the proportion of population change in New Zealand due to natural increase was 70.3 percent. In the previous year, when the net migration gain was much higher, it was 60.7 percent. The size of the surplus of births over deaths has declined 30 percent since the year ended 31 March 1974, an indication of a longer-term decline in fertility which has been affecting both Maori and non-Maori birth rates.

Figure 3 shows changes since 1945 in one measure of fertility, the total fertility rate (TFR) or the average number of births a woman would have if



exposed to age-specific fertility levels for the whole of her reproductive life. It is apparent from this graph that declines in both Maori and non-Maori fertility have been occurring for over 20 years. The trend since 1980, however, has been for a slower rate of decline than was apparent a decade ago and the tendency towards convergence of Maori and non-Maori rates has eased somewhat. There are several problems associated with measuring Maori birth rates (see Population Monitoring Group, 1984 and Brown, 1984), and the total fertility rate has its conceptual limitations as an indicator of secular trends in fertility. These issues are examined further in the section on fertility in the second part of the report.

Short-term trends in fertility among Maori and non-Maori women are indicated more clearly in Figure 4. Here the birth rates to women in different age groups are shown for the years ended 31 December 1981 and 1983. The patterns of fertility by age of mother are quite different for the two components. Among the non-Maori, the incidence of births is greatest among 25 to 29-year old women and is low for those aged under 20 years. For the Maori, on the other hand, women aged 20-24 years have the highest birth rates, and the incidence of births among 15 to 19-year olds is also high.

Since 1981 there has been a noticeable decline in birth rates among non-Maori women under 30 years of age. For older women rates have remained at, or slightly higher than, the 1981 levels (Figure 4). Among Maori women, on the other hand, there has been a decline in birth rates at all ages,

especially for those between 15 and 34 years. The total fertility rates for the two population components differed by 0.37 in 1983; Maori fertility as assessed by this measure was only marginally above replacement level (indicated by a TFR of 2.1), while that for non-Maoris had slipped below this level in 1978 (Figure 3). The implications of these fertility trends for age-sex structures of both population groups are wide-ranging. They are reviewed in a later section of the report.

It is important to bear in mind that the total number of births each year is expected to rise slowly through the 1980s and into the 1990s despite an on-going trend towards lower fertility levels. This rise is attributable to changes in the age-sex composition of the population. The number of women in the peak child-bearing ages of 20 to 34 years is expected to increase by 40,890 or 10.4 percent between 1983 and 1991 according to projections prepared by the Department of Statistics (medium fertility variant).

**(b) Mortality**

Levels of life expectancy at birth, a sensitive indicator of the "health" of a population, have continued to increase during the early 1980s for both Maoris and non-Maoris. The latest official life tables are for the period 1980-82. The relevant life expectancies at birth are given in Table 1 along with those for the periods 1970-72 and 1975-77. It should be noted current levels for non-Maoris are still lower than those in a number of the more developed countries, a situation which was stressed in the Monitoring Group's first report.

**Table 1**  
**LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH, 1970-72 TO 1980-82**

Ethnic Group	Life Expectancy (Years)			Index of Life Expectancy*		
	1970-72	1975-77	1980-82	1970-72	1975-77	1980-82
<b>Males</b>						
Maori	60.96	63.35	63.84	100	104	105
Non-Maori	69.09	69.37	70.82	100	100	103
Total	68.55	69.01	70.36	100	101	103
<b>Females</b>						
Maori	64.96	67.75	68.49	100	104	105
Non-Maori	75.16	75.88	76.95	100	101	102
Total	74.60	75.45	76.43	100	101	102

\* Base: 1970-72 (= 100)

Source: Official New Zealand Life Tables, 1970-72, 1975-77 and 1980-82, Department of Statistics

The life expectancy figures for Maoris and non-Maoris in 1980-82 indicate that the long-term convergence in levels has not been maintained in recent years (Figure 5). From the 1950s, when separate official life tables for Maoris were first published, both male and female life expectancy at birth has risen substantially, although there was a pause in the trend towards higher levels in

the late 1960s and early 1970s. A similar situation exists in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During both these periods, and particularly the latter, there has been an economic recession. This could have affected Maori mortality levels more than non-Maori, given the greater vulnerability of Maoris to economic hardship during downturns in the economy.

A comment on data quality is important at this juncture. Maori mortality rates used in official life table derivation were marginally low in 1975-77, a consequence of definitional and enumeration problems at the 1976 Census of Population and Dwellings. In addition, deficiencies in Maori mortality data caused by self-reporting of origin and non-response to the Maori ethnicity question lead to significant understatement of Maori mortality in 1980-82. This latter problem has been overcome in the official Maori life tables and these tables reflect more accurately the true levels of Maori life expectancy for the period.

It can be seen from the above indices that between the two periods 1975-77 and 1980-82, the improvement in Maori life-expectancy was significantly less for both males and females than between 1970-72 and 1975-77. The opposite was true for the non-Maori population. Also, the differential between non-Maori and Maori male life expectancy, which declined from 8.13 years in 1970-72 to 6.02 years in 1975-77, rose again to 6.98 years in 1980-82. For females the trend was similar — a decline from 10.20 years to 8.13 years, followed by a rise to 8.46 years.

The change in trend between the periods 1970-72 and 1975-77, and 1975-77 and 1980-82 for

Maoris can be explained by the behaviour of death rates derived from a life table (central annual death rate<sup>1</sup>). Whereas there was a decline in these rates for both Maori males and females at almost all ages between 1970-72 and 1975-77, this was not the case between 1975-77 and 1980-82. Maori central annual death rates actually increased at age 0 and for the oldest age groups (both males and females), and for males in the 55-64 years age groups over this period. In contrast, non-Maori central annual death rates for both males and females continued to improve at almost all ages between 1975-77 and 1980-82.

Abridged life tables for local government regions based on 1980-82 mortality rates indicate considerable regional differentials exist in male and female life expectancy and in standardised death rates. In the case of males, expectation of life varies from 71.2 years in the Nelson Bays region, to 67.7 years in the East Cape. Thames Valley had the highest expectation of life for females (77.1 years), while East Cape was again the lowest (74.4 years). Figures for all regions are given in Table 2.

<sup>1</sup> Central annual death rate — calculated as part of a life table is the relationship between the number of deaths occurring annually in a specified age group and the average life table population in that age group.

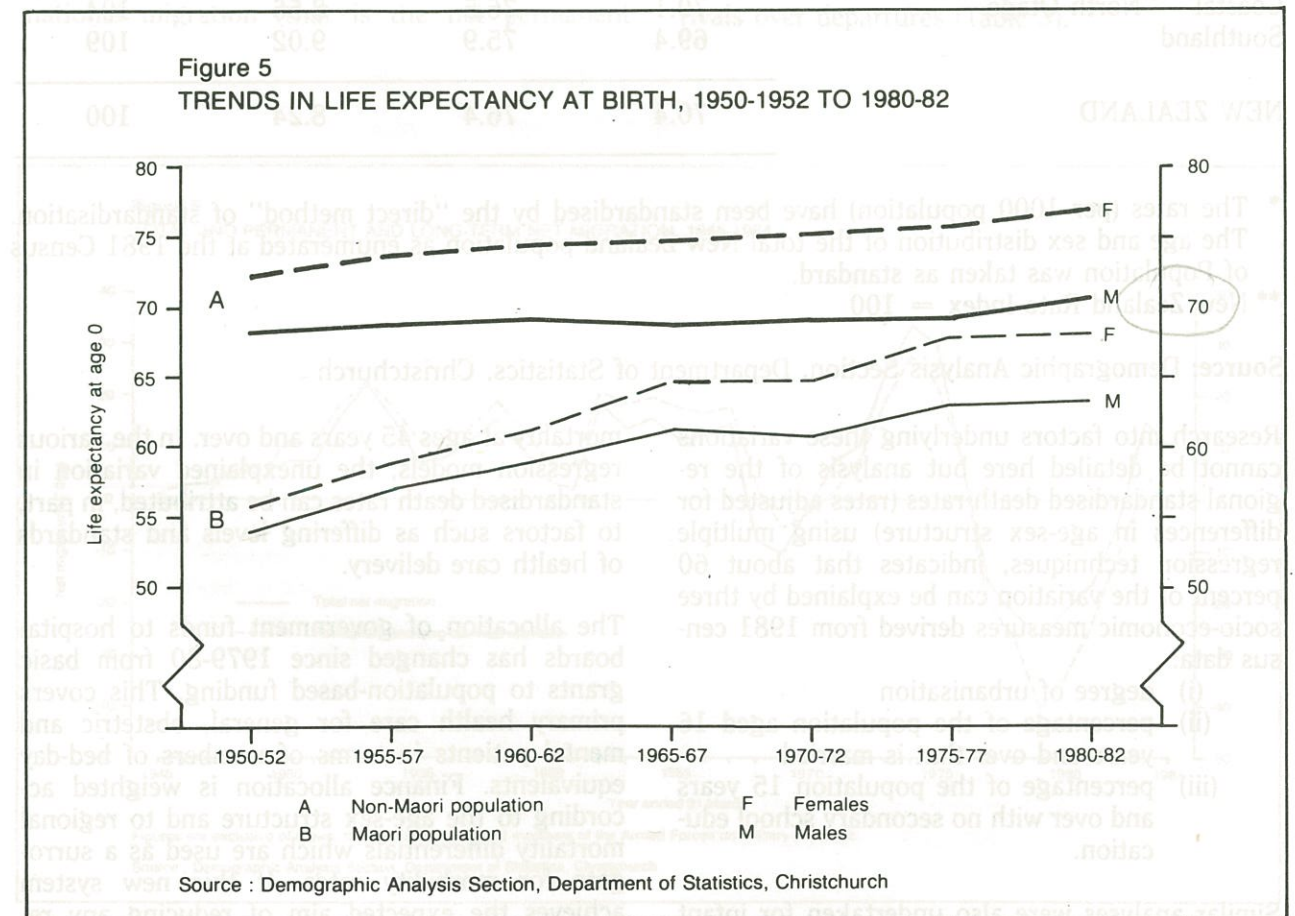


Table 2

## LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH AND STANDARDISED DEATH RATES, 1980-82, BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT REGION

Local Government Region	Life Expectancy at Birth (years)		Standardised Death Rate	
	Males	Females	Rate*	Index**
Northland	69.8	75.9	8.50	103
Auckland	70.9	76.9	7.94	96
Thames Valley	70.0	77.1	8.14	99
Bay of Plenty	70.2	77.0	7.89	96
Waikato	70.7	76.0	8.20	100
Tongariro	69.7	74.7	9.02	109
East Cape	67.7	74.4	9.66	117
Hawke's Bay	69.5	76.2	8.47	103
Taranaki	70.2	76.3	8.21	100
Wanganui	69.5	75.1	8.66	105
Manawatu	70.5	76.5	8.17	99
Horowhenua	70.3	76.0	8.17	99
Wellington	69.7	76.6	8.36	101
Wairarapa	70.0	75.8	8.73	106
Nelson Bays	71.2	77.0	8.22	100
Marlborough	70.1	77.0	8.63	105
West Coast	68.5	74.8	9.75	118
Canterbury	71.1	76.5	7.99	97
Aorangi	70.3	76.3	8.39	102
Clutha — Central Otago	70.7	76.0	8.69	105
Coastal — North Otago	70.1	76.5	8.56	104
Southland	69.4	75.9	9.02	109
NEW ZEALAND	70.4	76.4	8.24	100

\* The rates (per 1000 population) have been standardised by the "direct method" of standardisation. The age and sex distribution of the total New Zealand population as enumerated at the 1981 Census of Population was taken as standard.

\*\* New Zealand Rate Index = 100

Source: Demographic Analysis Section, Department of Statistics, Christchurch

Research into factors underlying these variations cannot be detailed here but analysis of the regional standardised death rates (rates adjusted for differences in age-sex structure) using multiple regression techniques, indicates that about 60 percent of the variation can be explained by three socio-economic measures derived from 1981 census data:

- (i) degree of urbanisation
- (ii) percentage of the population aged 16 years and over that is married
- (iii) percentage of the population 15 years and over with no secondary school education.

Similar analyses were also undertaken for infant mortality, mortality at ages 1 to 44 years, and

mortality at ages 45 years and over. In the various regression models, the unexplained variation in standardised death rates can be attributed, in part, to factors such as differing levels and standards of health care delivery.

The allocation of government funds to hospital boards has changed since 1979-80 from basic grants to population-based funding. This covers primary health care for general, obstetric and mental patients in terms of numbers of bed-day equivalents. Finance allocation is weighted according to the age-sex structure and to regional mortality differentials which are used as a surrogate for morbidity rates. If this new system achieves the expected aim of reducing any regional disparities in health services delivery, then

the mortality differentials identified in Table 2 should be reduced in the long term. It is important, however, that hospital boards ensure the standard of, and access to, general, obstetric and geriatric health care is maintained at a satisfactory level in rural areas. Analysis of differentials in mortality in the local government regions in 1980-82 has shown that the less urbanised regions tend to have higher mortality rates, and this could be related to a lower level of medical services.

## (c) International Migration

Compared with the previous 12 months, international migration during the year ended March 31 1984 was characterised firstly by a fall in the net gain from arrivals and departures of all classes of migrants, and secondly by a doubling of the net gain in permanent and long-term migrants (Figure 6). In terms of levels of net gains the situation was similar to that in 1972. It is difficult to project future trends in the contribution of international migration to population growth from experiences in recent years. Since 1970, fluctuations, both in aggregate levels of net migration and in the relationship between permanent and long-term net migration and the total surplus (or deficit) of arrivals over departures, have been more pronounced than at any other time since the mid-1940s. During the year ended 31 March 1985, the net gain from permanent and long-term migration may exceed that from all classes of international migration (that is the net permanent

movement is greater than the net temporary movement), thus re-establishing a pattern which prevailed from 1948 to 1970.

The major contribution to the net migration gain recorded for the year ended 31 March 1984 came from the surplus of arrivals over departures of New Zealand residents who had been away (arrivals) or intended staying away (departures) from New Zealand for 12 months or more (Table 3). This was the first year for more than a decade that a greater number of New Zealand residents had returned from a lengthy absence overseas than had left the country with this intention. The actual number of arrivals in this long-term migrant category was lower than in the previous three years. The major reason for the substantial net gain was the drop by almost 50 percent since 1981 in the number of New Zealanders leaving with the intention of staying abroad for 12 months or more. A similar pattern is found with regard to permanent immigration and emigration - the numbers of new permanent arrivals in the year ended 31 March 1984 was the lowest since 1979, while those New Zealand residents leaving the country permanently had fallen to levels of the early 1970s. Trends in the movement of long-term visitors who are not New Zealand residents have remained much more consistent over the last four years - there has been a steady surplus of arrivals over departures (Table 3).

Figure 6  
TOTAL AND PERMANENT AND LONG-TERM NET MIGRATION, 1945-1984



Figures are exclusive of crews, through passengers and members of the Armed Forces on military exercises.

Source: Demographic Analysis Section, Department of Statistics, Christchurch

**Table 3**  
**PERMANENT AND LONG-TERM ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES 1981-1984**

Category of migrant	Year Ended 31 March			
	1981	1982	1983	1984
<b>Permanent migrants</b>				
Arrivals	12,528	12,312	12,595	10,029
Departures	25,536	19,719	12,314	9,182
Net Migration	-13,008	-7,407	281	847
<b>Long-term migration of New Zealand residents</b>				
Arrivals	25,774	26,830	27,105	24,320
Departures	39,198	33,050	26,197	20,916
Net Migration	-13,424	-6,220	908	3,404
<b>Long-term migration of overseas visitors</b>				
Arrivals	6,663	6,150	6,154	6,356
Departures	5,056	4,005	4,163	4,049
Net Migration	1,607	2,145	1,991	2,307
<b>Total permanent and long-term migration</b>				
Arrivals	44,965	45,292	45,854	40,705
Departures	69,790	56,774	42,674	34,147
Net Migration	-24,825	-11,482	3,180	6,558

Source: Demographic Analysis Section, Department of Statistics, Christchurch

The net contribution of permanent and long-term migration to New Zealand's population structure during the year ended 31 March 1984 was predominantly in the 0 to 9 and 30 to 39-year age groups (Figure 7a). There was a net loss of men aged 20 to 29 years but this was more than compensated for by gains in other adult age groups. Compared with the estimated mean population of New Zealand for the year ended 31 March 1984, permanent and long-term arrivals displayed characteristic age biases in migrant populations with an obvious predominance of adults aged between 20 and 40 years, a substantial deficit in the elderly age groups, and a much smaller short-fall in the youthful population (Figure 7b). A feature of the age-sex structure of permanent and long-term arrivals and departures in recent years has been a reasonable correspondence between numbers (and proportions) of males and females, especially at ages under 40 (Figure 7).

The reasons for non-New Zealand residents returning to this country after a lengthy absence

overseas and seeking to enter New Zealand permanently, can be assessed, indirectly, from the applications for visas issued by the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour. It should be noted that the number of people covered by visas approved does not equal the number of migrants in that particular category or year. Those entitled to enter the country have up to six months to do so before the visa lapses. The statistics on visas issued for permanent entry since 1 April 1981 show that "family reunion" has become progressively more important in proportional terms than the major category "employment" (Table 4). The actual number of visas issued has declined substantially over the three years, especially in the employment category. This reflects the continued high level of unemployment in New Zealand, an issue examined in Section 3 of this report. The decline in the numbers of refugees approved for entry reflects both a fall in applications in this category, as well as a tendency for family members of people admitted as refugees in previous years to enter under the provisions of family reunion.

**Figure 7**  
**AGE-SEX STRUCTURE OF MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS, YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1984**

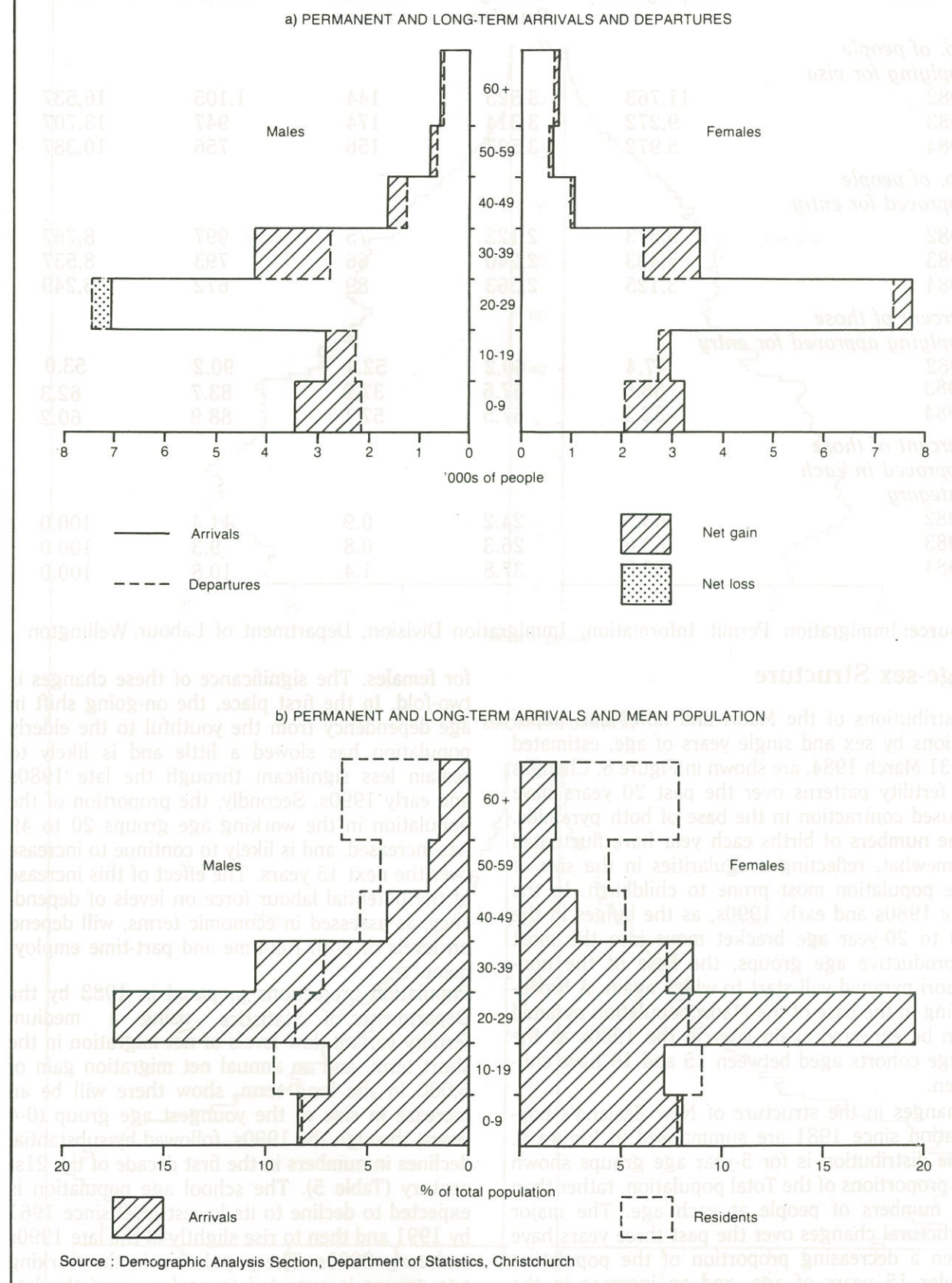


Table 4

**PERSONS APPROVED FOR PERMANENT ENTRY TO NEW ZEALAND,  
1 APRIL 1981 — 31 MARCH 1984**

Year ended 31 March	Category of Visa				Total
	Employment	Family Reunion	Humanitarian	Refugee	
<i>No. of people applying for visa</i>					
1982	11,763	3,525	144	1,105	16,537
1983	9,272	3,314	174	947	13,707
1984	5,972	3,503	156	756	10,387
<i>No. of people approved for entry</i>					
1982	5,573	2,122	75	997	8,767
1983	5,433	2,240	66	793	8,537
1984	3,125	2,363	89	672	6,249
<i>percent of those applying approved for entry</i>					
1982	47.4	60.2	52.1	90.2	53.0
1983	58.6	67.6	37.9	83.7	62.3
1984	52.3	67.5	57.1	88.9	60.2
<i>percent of those approved in each category</i>					
1982	63.5	24.2	0.9	11.4	100.0
1983	63.6	26.3	0.8	9.3	100.0
1984	50.0	37.8	1.4	10.8	100.0

Source: Immigration Permit Information, Immigration Division, Department of Labour, Wellington

### Age-sex Structure

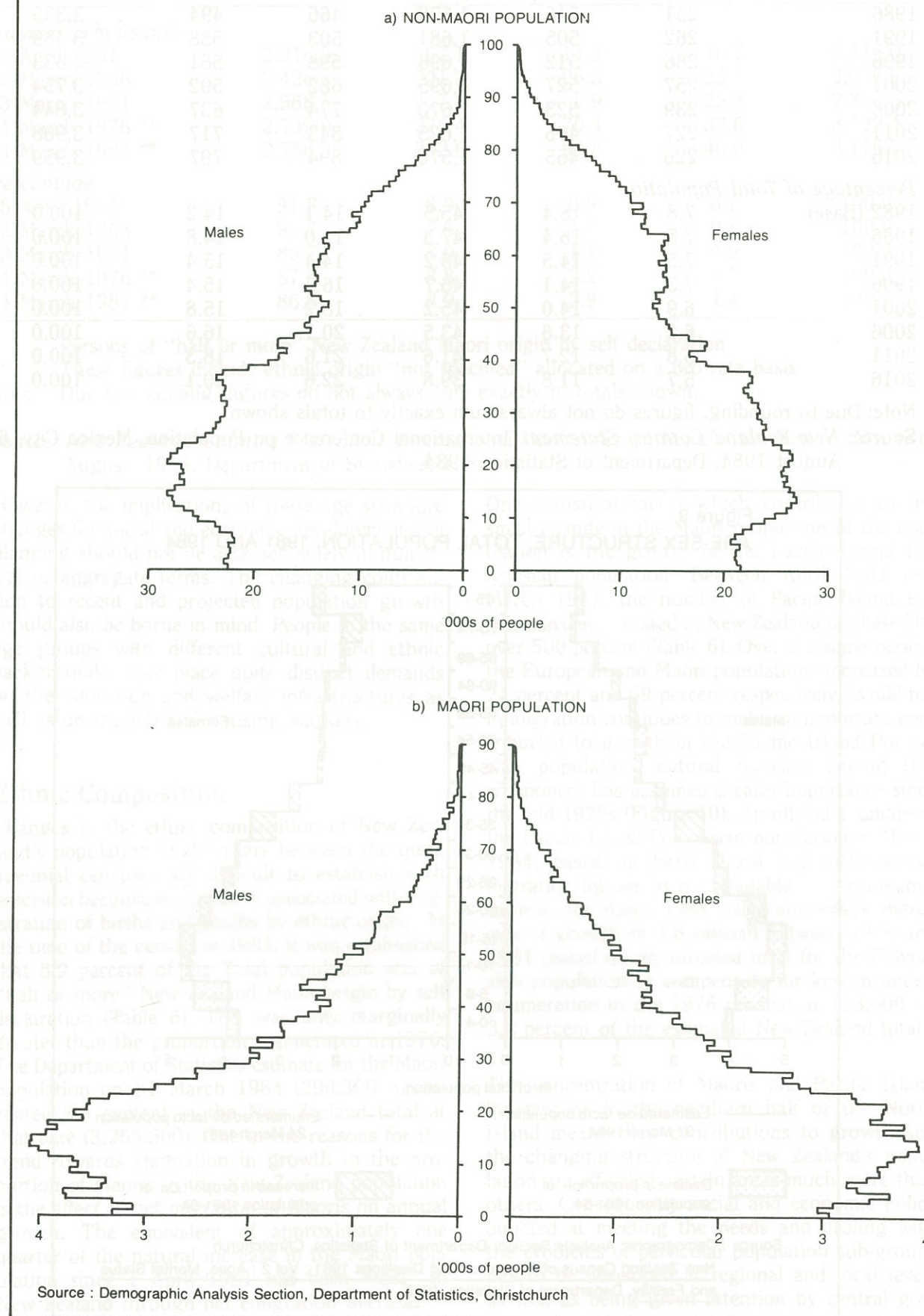
Distributions of the Maori and non-Maori populations by sex and single years of age, estimated at 31 March 1984, are shown in Figure 8. Changes in fertility patterns over the past 20 years have caused contraction in the base of both pyramids. The numbers of births each year have fluctuated somewhat, reflecting irregularities in the size of the population most prone to childbirth. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as the bulges in the 10 to 20-year age bracket move into the most reproductive age groups, the base of the non-Maori pyramid will start to widen again. A broadening in the base of the Maori population pyramid can be expected again later in the 1980s as the large cohorts aged between 15 and 19 have children.

Changes in the structure of New Zealand's population since 1981 are summarised in Figure 9. The distribution is for 5-year age groups shown as proportions of the Total population, rather than as numbers of people at each age. The major structural changes over the past three years have been a decreasing proportion of the population under 15 years of age, and an increase in the proportion aged 20 to 44. The population aged 70 years and over has also increased, especially

for females. The significance of these changes is two-fold. In the first place, the on-going shift in age dependency from the youthful to the elderly population has slowed a little and is likely to remain less significant through the late 1980s and early 1990s. Secondly, the proportion of the population in the working age groups 20 to 49 has increased, and is likely to continue to increase over the next 15 years. The effect of this increase of the potential labour force on levels of dependency, as assessed in economic terms, will depend on levels of both full-time and part-time employment.

Population projections prepared in 1983 by the Department of Statistics, using a medium fertility variant, low levels of net migration in the short term, and an annual net migration gain of 5,000 in the long term, show there will be an increase in size of the youngest age group (0-4 years) through the 1990s, followed by substantial declines in numbers in the first decade of the 21st century (Table 5). The school age population is expected to decline to its lowest level since 1961 by 1991 and then to rise slightly in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The population in the working age groups is expected to peak around the late 1990s, while that aged 60 years and over will rise throughout the projection period (Table 5).

Figure 8  
AGE-SEX STRUCTURE AT 31 MARCH 1984

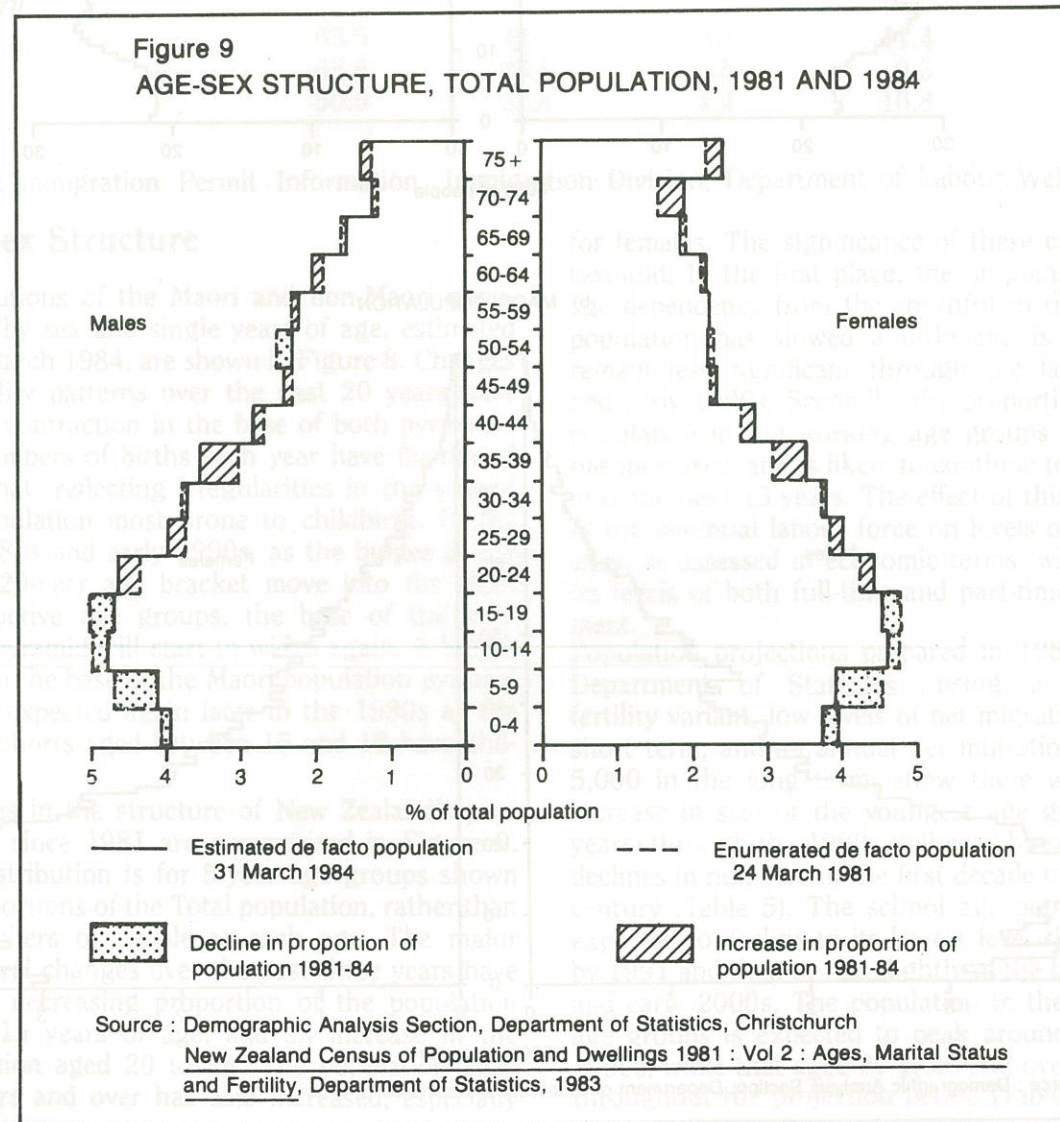


**Table 5**  
**PROJECTED AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1983-2016**

As At 31 March	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-59	60 & Over	Total Population
<b>Number (Thousand)</b>						
1982 (Base)	249	586	1,451	451	452	3,190
1986	251	546	1,578	466	494	3,335
1991	262	505	1,681	503	538	3,489
1996	266	512	1,696	598	561	3,633
2001	257	527	1,695	682	592	3,754
2006	239	523	1,670	774	637	3,844
2011	227	496	1,625	843	717	3,908
2016	226	465	1,576	894	797	3,959
<b>Percentage of Total Population</b>						
1982 (Base)	7.8	18.4	45.5	14.1	14.2	100.0
1986	7.5	16.4	47.3	14.0	14.8	100.0
1991	7.5	14.5	48.2	14.4	15.4	100.0
1996	7.3	14.1	46.7	16.5	15.4	100.0
2001	6.9	14.0	45.2	18.2	15.8	100.0
2006	6.2	13.6	43.5	20.1	16.6	100.0
2011	5.8	12.7	41.6	21.6	18.3	100.0
2016	5.7	11.8	39.8	22.6	20.1	100.0

Note: Due to rounding, figures do not always sum exactly to totals shown.

Source: *New Zealand Country Statement*, International Conference on Population, Mexico City, 6-13 August 1984, Department of Statistics, 1984



**Table 6**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS, 1961-1981**

Census Date	Population in Ethnic Group				Total
	European	N.Z. Maori*	Pacific Island Polynesian	Others	
<b>Number (Thousand)</b>					
18 April 1961	2,216.9	167.1	14.3	16.7	2,415.0
22 March 1966	2,426.4	201.2	26.3	23.1	2,676.9
23 March 1971	2,568.5	227.4	40.9	25.8	2,862.6
24 March 1976 **	2,749.0	276.4	70.4	33.6	3,129.4
24 March 1981 **	2,756.3	282.6	90.8	46.0	3,175.7
<b>Percentage</b>					
18 April 1961	91.8	6.9	0.6	0.7	100.0
22 March 1966	90.7	7.5	1.0	0.8	100.0
23 March 1971	89.7	8.0	1.4	0.9	100.0
24 March 1976 **	87.8	8.8	2.2	1.1	100.0
24 March 1981 **	86.8	8.9	2.9	1.4	100.0

\* Persons of "half or more" New Zealand Maori origin by self declaration

\*\* These figures include ethnic origin "not specified" allocated on a pro rata basis

Note: Due to rounding, figures do not always sum exactly to totals shown.

Source: *New Zealand Country Statement*, International Conference on Population, Mexico City, 6-13 August 1984, Department of Statistics, 1984

However, the implications of these age structure changes for social and economic development and planning should not be assessed solely in numerical or aggregate terms. The changing contribution to recent and projected population growth should also be borne in mind. People in the same age groups with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, may place quite distinct demands on the education and welfare infrastructures as well as on the job and housing markets.

### Ethnic Composition

Changes in the ethnic composition of New Zealand's population in the years between the quinquennial censuses are difficult to establish with precision because of problems associated with registration of births and deaths by ethnic origin. At the time of the census in 1981, it was established that 8.9 percent of the Total population was of "half or more" New Zealand Maori origin by self declaration (Table 6). This was only marginally greater than the proportion enumerated in 1976. The Department of Statistics estimate for the Maori population on 31 March 1984 (290,300) represented 8.9 percent of the New Zealand total at that date (3,265,500). One of the reasons for the trend towards stagnation in growth in the proportion of Maoris in the New Zealand population is the effect of net migration of Maoris on annual growth. The equivalent of approximately one quarter of the natural increase in the Maori population since 1 April 1981 has been "lost" to New Zealand through net emigration overseas.

One statistical factor which contributes to the small change in the Maori proportion of the population is the growth of the Pacific Island Polynesian population. Between April 1961 and March 1981, the number of Pacific Island Polynesians enumerated in New Zealand increased by over 500 percent (Table 6). Over the same period, the European and Maori populations increased by 24 percent and 69 percent respectively. While net in-migration continues to make an important contribution to growth in the Pacific Island Polynesian population, natural increase among this component has assumed greater importance since the mid-1970s (Figure 10). An official estimate of the Pacific Island Polynesian population in March 1984, based on birth, death and international migration figures, is not available. A conservative estimate for March 1984, using an average annual rate of growth of 4.8 percent between 1976 and 1981 (based on an adjusted total for the Polynesian population to compensate for known under-enumeration in the 1976 census), is 103,600 — 3.2 percent of the estimated New Zealand total.

The concentration of Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians in the northern half of the North Island means their contributions to growth and the changing structure of New Zealand's population are affecting certain areas much more than others. Consequently social and economic policy directed at meeting the needs and dealing with the problems of particular population sub-groups has to be developed at regional and local levels as well as being given attention by central gov-

**Table 7**  
**REGIONAL POPULATION CHANGE, 1981-1984**

United Council Region	Census March 1981	Population March 1984	Estimated Percent Change 1981-84
Northland	113,994	121,300	+6.4
Auckland	827,980	880,500	+6.3
Thames Valley	54,343	56,400	+3.8
Waikato	221,850	229,600	+3.5
Bay of Plenty	172,480	186,200	+8.0
Tongariro	40,089	40,500	+1.0
East Cape	53,295	54,200	+1.7
Hawke's Bay	137,840	141,800	+2.9
Taranaki	103,798	106,000	+2.1
Wanganui	68,702	68,400	-0.4
Manawatu	113,238	116,300	+2.7
Horowhenua	49,296	50,200	+1.8
Wairarapa	39,689	39,100	-1.5
Wellington	323,162	320,700	-0.8
<i>North Island</i>	<i>2,319,756</i>	<i>2,411,200</i>	<i>+3.9</i>
Marlborough	37,557	37,100	-1.2
Nelson Bays	65,934	67,500	+2.4
West Coast	34,178	33,800	-1.1
Canterbury	337,597	339,200	+0.5
Aorangi	84,772	82,300	-2.9
Coastal-N. Otago	138,164	135,400	-2.0
Clutha-C. Otago	45,402	46,700	+2.9
Southland	107,905	107,900	0.0
<i>South Island</i>	<i>851,509</i>	<i>849,900</i>	<i>-0.2</i>

Source: Demographic Analysis Section, Department of Statistics, Christchurch

ernment. There are significant differences between ethnic groups in levels of health, education, unemployment and in access to housing, service facilities and welfare support. These differences contribute to a degree of tension between Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians as well as between Polynesians and Pakehas, especially in Auckland.

### Spatial Distribution

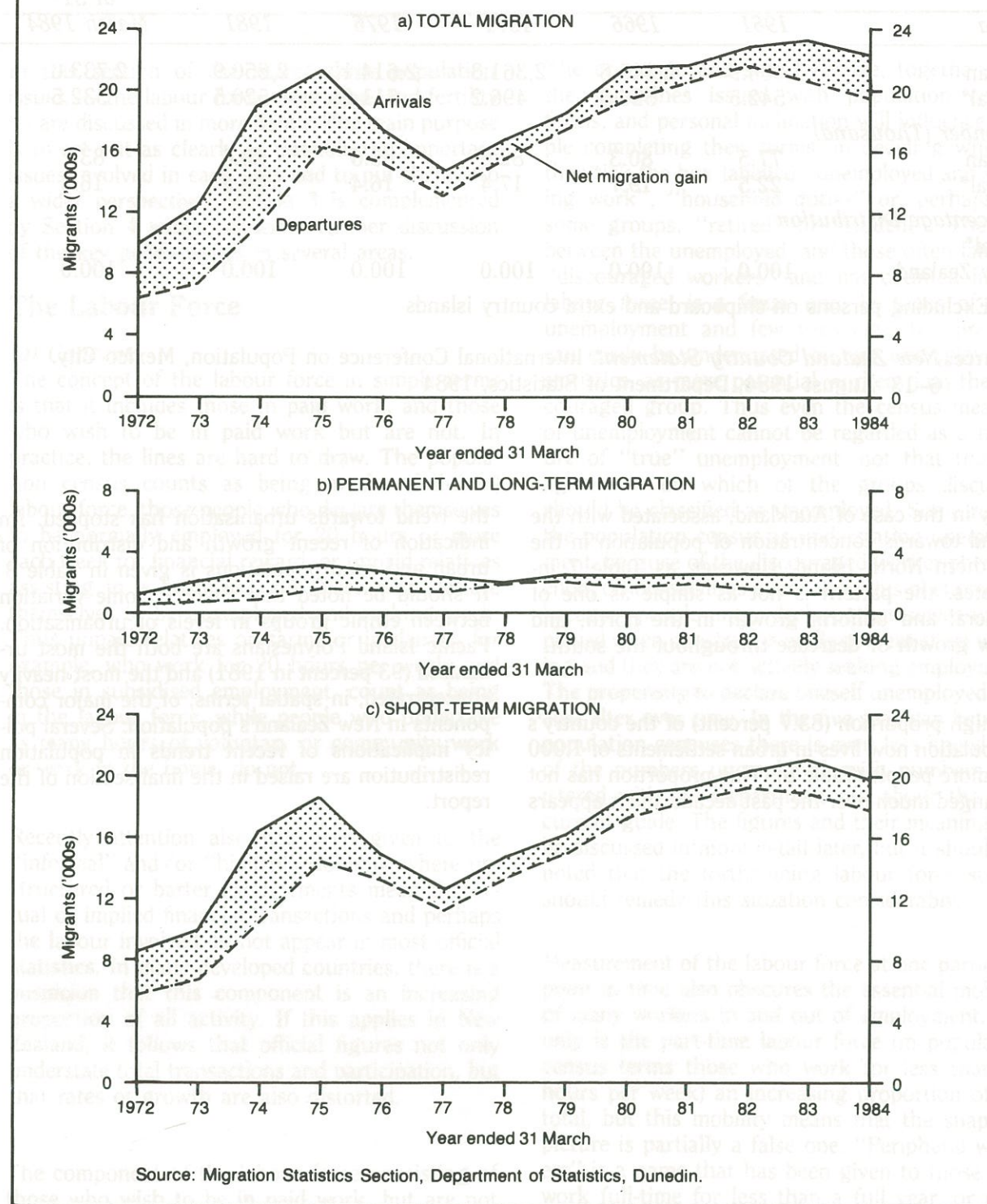
Population growth during the three years since the 1981 census has been substantially greater than between 1976 and 1981 and this, in turn, has led to more rapid rates of population increase (or reduced rates of decrease) in most regions. There are fairly clear indications of continuing significant differences in the growth rates of regional populations since 1981, with several of the principal characteristics of the pattern of change for the late 1970s, identified in the Population Monitoring Group's 1983 report, carrying on through the early 1980s (Table 7).

Several indicators point to Auckland, Northland and the Bay of Plenty continuing to grow more rapidly than the national average and to account

for major shares of the national population increase. Of the other regions containing the major metropolitan centres, only Canterbury has experienced continued population growth. Estimates prepared by the Department of Statistics indicate Wellington's population has continued to decline slowly, while that for Dunedin (included in the Coastal-North Otago united council region) has fallen more rapidly. There are indications of above-average growth in a number of non-metropolitan regions other than Northland and the Bay of Plenty. Thames Valley, Waikato, Hawkes Bay, Clutha-Central Otago, Manawatu, Nelson Bays, and Taranaki deserve mention in this regard (Table 7).

A number of factors have influenced this pattern of growth rates, although no detailed analysis is possible here. In Northland, Taranaki and Clutha-Central Otago, employment on the construction of major development projects has been a major influence, and one that will be temporary, given the limited duration of the construction phase. Agricultural employment and retirement migration have stimulated population increase in the Bay of Plenty, offsetting what appears to be either a decrease or slow growth in other em-

**Figure 10**  
**ARRIVALS, DEPARTURES AND NET MIGRATION OF PEOPLE BORN IN POLYNESIA, 1972-1984**



ployment in that region. Auckland's growth reflects employment growth in a range of services despite some reduction in manufacturing employment. Both Wellington and Canterbury have experienced employment decreases in services and manufacturing, but Wellington has had much the larger employment decrease overall. A further factor in Auckland and Canterbury having relatively more population growth in relation to their employment change, is that each has maintained

above-average unemployment rates in the last three years, whereas Wellington has maintained below average rates.

Looking at New Zealand in broad regional groupings, it is clear most of the population increase has continued to be in the northern North Island, rather than the southern North Island and the South Island. The historical pattern of metropolitan concentration of growth currently continues

**Table 8**  
**URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1961-1984**

Area	Population at Census of:					Estimated Population at 31 March 1984
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	
Urban	1,866.9	2,145.6	2,361.3	2,614.1	2,650.9	2,733.0
Rural*	542.5	526.5	496.2	511.0	520.5	532.5
<i>Number (Thousand)</i>						
Urban	77.5	80.3	82.6	83.6	83.6	83.7
Rural*	22.5	19.7	17.4	16.4	16.4	16.3
<i>Percentage Distribution</i>						
Total*						
New Zealand	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Excluding persons on shipboard and extra country islands

Source: *New Zealand Country Statement*, International Conference on Population, Mexico City, 6-13 August 1984, Department of Statistics, 1984

only in the case of Auckland, associated with the trend towards concentration of population in the northern North Island. However, as Table 7 indicates, the pattern is not as simple as one of general and uniform growth in the north, and slow growth or decrease throughout the south.

A high proportion (83.7 percent) of the country's population now lives in urban settlements of 1,000 or more people (Table 8). This proportion has not changed much over the past decade and it appears

the trend towards urbanisation has stopped. An indication of recent growth and distribution of urban and rural populations is given in Table 8. It should be noted that there is some variation between ethnic groups in levels of urbanisation. Pacific Island Polynesians are both the most urbanised (93 percent in 1981) and the most heavily concentrated, in spatial terms, of the major components in New Zealand's population. Several policy implications of recent trends in population redistribution are raised in the final section of the report.

## Section 3

# POPULATION ISSUES

In this section of the report three population issues — the labour force, migration, and fertility — are discussed in more depth. The main purpose is to set out as clearly as possible the important issues involved in each area and to put them into a wider perspective. Section 3 is complemented by Section 4 which advances further discussion of the key policy issues in several areas.

### The Labour Force

#### (a) Concepts

The concept of the labour force in simple terms is that it includes those in paid work, and those who wish to be in paid work but are not. In practice, the lines are hard to draw. The population census counts as being in the (full-time) labour force, those people who declare themselves to be normally employed for 20 hours or more each week for financial reward, or unpaid relatives assisting in a business, and those who declare themselves to be unemployed and seeking work. Thus unpaid relatives on farms or in dairies, for example, who work for 20 hours per week, and those in subsidised employment, count as being in the labour force, while people who undertake as many hours of voluntary or community work or work in the home, do not.

Recently attention also has been given to the "informal" and/or "hidden" economy, where unstructured or barter arrangements mean the actual or implied financial transactions and perhaps the labour involved do not appear in most official statistics. In many developed countries, there is a suspicion that this component is an increasing proportion of all activity. If this applies in New Zealand, it follows that official figures not only understate total transactions and participation, but that rates of growth are also distorted.

The component of the labour force consisting of those who wish to be in paid work, but are not currently so, is even more elusive to isolate conceptually or to measure. For some, the wish would readily become a reality if economic conditions were better and more jobs available; for others, constraints such as lack of suitable training or child care, for example, are also partly a reflection of economic considerations and perhaps government policy, while geographical or occupational immobility may act as a more formidable constraint to others.

The economic and social climate, together with the guidelines issued with population census forms, and personal inclination will influence people completing their forms, in deciding whether they tick the box labelled "unemployed and seeking work", "household duties" or, perhaps for some groups, "retired" or "student". The line between the unemployed, and those often labelled "discouraged workers" and not counted in the labour force, is a fuzzy one. In times of high unemployment and few vacancies, the problem can easily be understated by raw unemployment statistics, as more potential workers join the discouraged group. Thus even the census measure of unemployment cannot be regarded as a measure of "true" unemployment, not that there is agreement on which of the groups discussed should be classified as unemployed. Some regard the population census as understating unemployment, because of the discouraged worker phenomenon; others see it as overstating this phenomenon because people may declare themselves unemployed when constraints really prevent them working and they are not actively seeking employment. The propensity to declare oneself unemployed may also alter over time. In the five-year gap between population censuses there is even less knowledge of the numbers unemployed, with numbers registered with the Department of Labour the only current guide. The figures and their meaning will be discussed in more detail later, but it should be noted that the forthcoming labour force survey should remedy this situation considerably.

Measurement of the labour force at one particular point in time also obscures the essential mobility of many workers in and out of employment. Not only is the part-time labour force (in population census terms those who work for less than 20 hours per week) an increasing proportion of the total, but this mobility means that the snapshot picture is partially a false one. "Peripheral workers" is a name that has been given to those who work full-time for less than a full year, or part-time for all or part of the year. Seasonality is a feature of many industries and this contributes to the need for peripheral workers, some of whom may work full-time, part-time, and not at all, for different portions of a year. Many of these peripheral workers are married women, students and/or receiving for part or all of the year superannuation or social welfare benefits. It has been estimated that in 1975-76 there were some 370,000 workers of these types. On a broader



**Table 9**  
**POPULATION GROWTH AND FULL-TIME LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION, 1951-1981**

Year*	Population Aged 15+		Full-time Labour Force		Labour Force Participation			Sex Ratio***
	Number	Inter-censal growth (AAGR)**	Number	Inter-censal growth (AAGR)	Both Sexes	Male	Female	
1951	1,367,231		740,496		54.1	83.2	25.0	30
1956	1,488,838	1.7	816,852	2.0	54.8	83.7	26.0	31
1961	1,616,042	1.7	895,353	1.9	55.4	83.3	27.7	34
1966	1,804,520	2.2	1,026,039	2.8	56.9	83.1	30.9	38
1971	1,953,008	1.6	1,118,835	1.7	57.3	81.2	33.8	43
1976	2,201,178	2.4	1,272,333	2.6	57.8	79.5	36.6	47
1981	2,327,166	1.1	1,332,351	1.2	58.0	77.6	39.1	52

\* From 1981 onward, labour force participation relates to the usually resident population only

\*\* AAGR — Average annual growth rate (percent)

\*\*\* Females per 100 males in the labour force

Source: *Census of Population and Dwellings*, various years, Department of Statistics

definition, including groups who would regard themselves as full-time full-year workers at one or other end of the year but who would not be included at both ends due to factors such as migration, first entry or final exit from the labour force, figures as high as 470,000 are given. This amounts to over one third of all those who had been employed full or part-time during that year. In 1981, 115,000 people (of whom 95,000 were women) were working for less than 20 hours weekly at the time of the population census, in addition to the 1,332,000 working for 20 hours or more. Part-time and peripheral work is growing faster than full-time employment.

The growth of part-time work can be welcomed in that it provides opportunities for those with family or other responsibilities, or those who wish to undertake a shorter working week than the norm. Simultaneously it gives added flexibility to employers. However, its expansion occurred initially when market conditions were in favour of those selling their labour. There is now some suspicion that a substantial number of people work part-time only because that is all that is available to them, rather than for choice, and many part-timers do not enjoy the working conditions and protection of those in full-time employment.

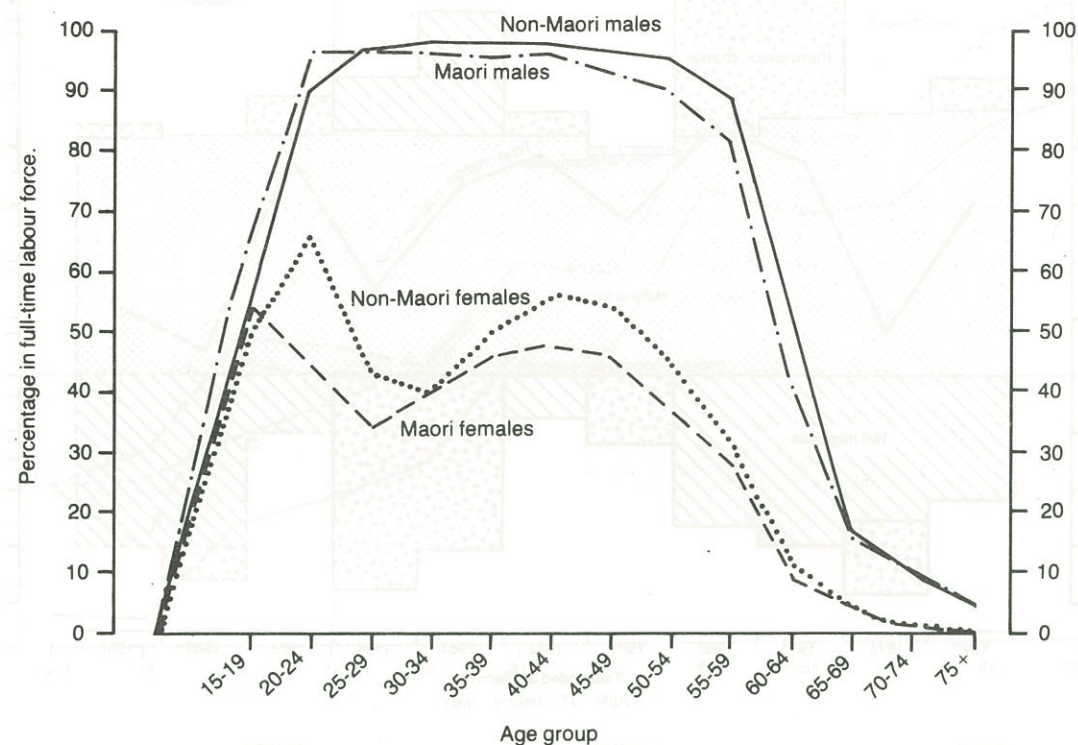
**(b) Growth in the Labour Force**

The peripheral and part-time labour force has increased faster than the full-time labour force but, as Table 9 shows, growth in the latter has still exceeded that of the working age population each five-year-period of the last 30 years, with rising participation rates overall. The largest fac-

tor in the growth of the working age population is natural increase and the associated passage through the age groups, with the entry cohorts exceeding those retiring. Variations in rate of growth are, however, also affected by the net impact of in- and out-migration. Peak growth in the full-time labour force occurred in the 1961-66 and 1971-76 periods, both of which were times of high net immigration. The age structure and participation behaviour of migrants is such that they are labour force members to a greater extent than the population as a whole.

Age, sex and race-specific rates of participation in the full-time labour force in 1981 are shown in Figure 11. The trend is a slightly declining one for males overall, concentrated on the youngest and oldest age groups, with longer education and slightly earlier retirement. For females, participation rates show the usual two-peaked distribution in a cross-section analysis, with a fall in the child-rearing ages. The increase that has occurred in participation at all ages except the youngest, implies that the trough would not be observed in a cohort analysis for the same group over successive periods; in terms of impact, the effect of generally rising participation has recently dominated the temporary withdrawal from the labour force. Participation is itself affected by economic conditions, and government policies, for example in the area of taxation and social welfare benefits. Changes in the treatment of second household incomes for tax purposes, or changes in the rates of tax on lower incomes, will have incentive or disincentive effects and may affect individual decisions concerning attempts to secure full or part-time employment.

**Figure 11**  
**MAORI AND NON-MAORI LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, 1981**

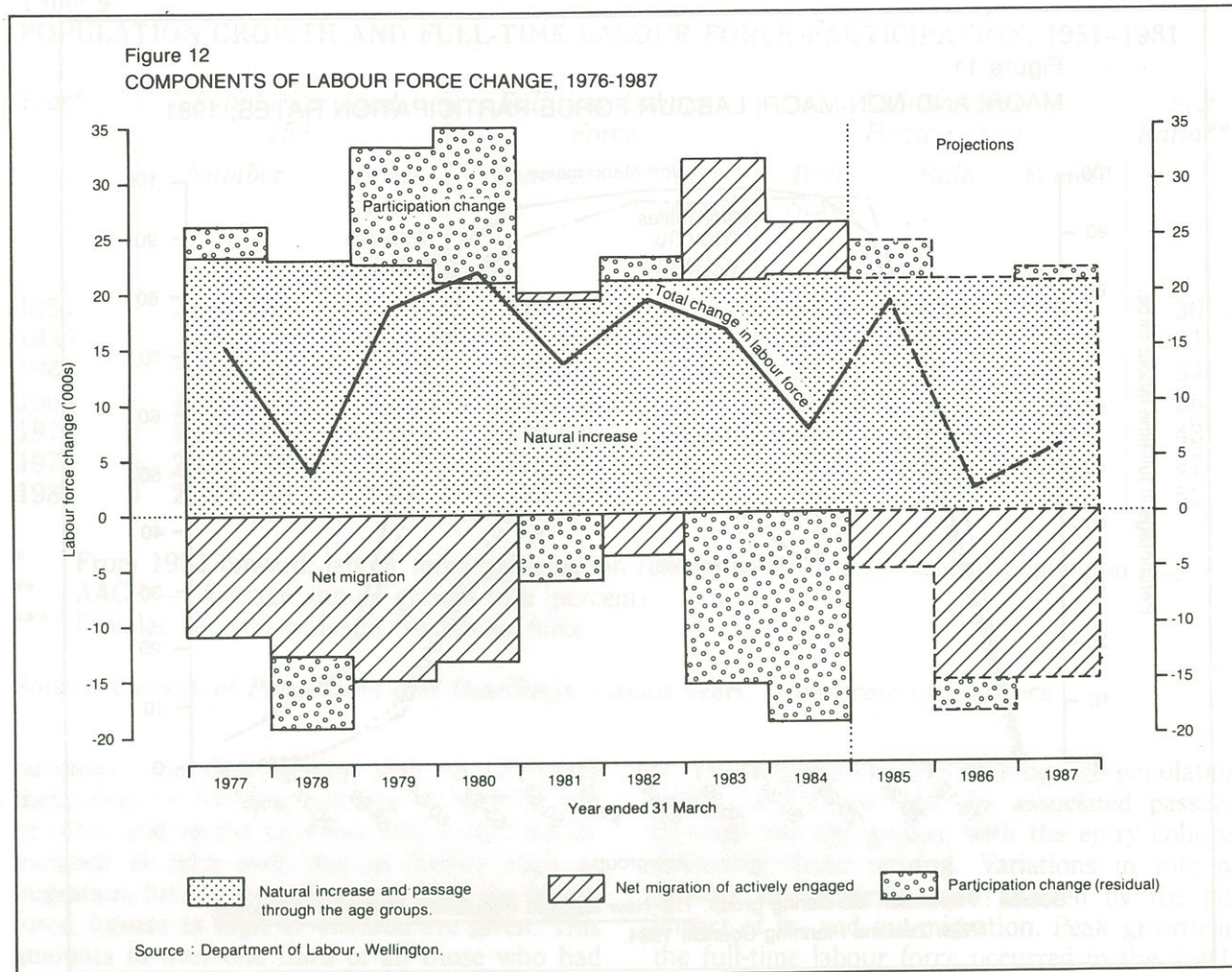


Source: Population Monitoring group, *The New Zealand Population: Patterns of Change*, New Zealand Planning Council, 1984.

Quantitative estimates on an annual basis of the three components of labour force change are shown for the last eight years in Figure 12. The Department of Labour uses its quarterly survey, which provides information on numbers employed and registered as unemployed, to yield annual estimates of the total labour force on a similar basis to the population census benchmark. Intermediate steps of some difficulty are involved. The quarterly survey has less complete coverage of the labour force than the census and so grossing up is necessary. In addition, the Labour Department's criterion for the full-time labour force is 30 hours or more per week, as against the census criterion of 20 hours or more per week, so that further adjustment of the survey figures is needed to give comparable estimates of numbers employed. Finally, in order to arrive at a labour force figure comparable with that of the population census, there must be added to the numbers employed and registered unemployed an estimate of the numbers unemployed but not registered as such, given that census unemployment figures exceed those registered with the Labour Department. The quantitative estimates resulting from this process are discussed later in this section; for now it is sufficient to emphasise that it yields a labour force change estimate which can be subdivided into the three components of age

structure change, net migration and participation change.

External information on the first two components is available, as the age structure of the population is known at census dates and the reporting of births and deaths and migration statistics permit its updating. The latter also yields the necessary data for the second item. Participation change can then be derived as a residual. Figure 12 shows that natural increase and passage through the age groups currently gives rise to a net increase in the working age population of about 20,000 per year, so this number of extra jobs would be needed annually to avoid an increase in unemployment if net migration and participation change had a neutral effect. In fact, in the latter half of the 1970s, the net inflow of the previous few years reversed, partly in response to less favourable job opportunities. In 1982-83/1983-84, however, decreased emigration and returning New Zealanders have contributed to a net inflow of the actively engaged. With little growth in employment in those two years (with a fall in 1982-83 followed by a rise in 1983-84), the combination of natural increase and net immigration automatically had to result in an increase in one or more of registered or unregistered unemployment or withdrawal from the labour force. In fact, regis-



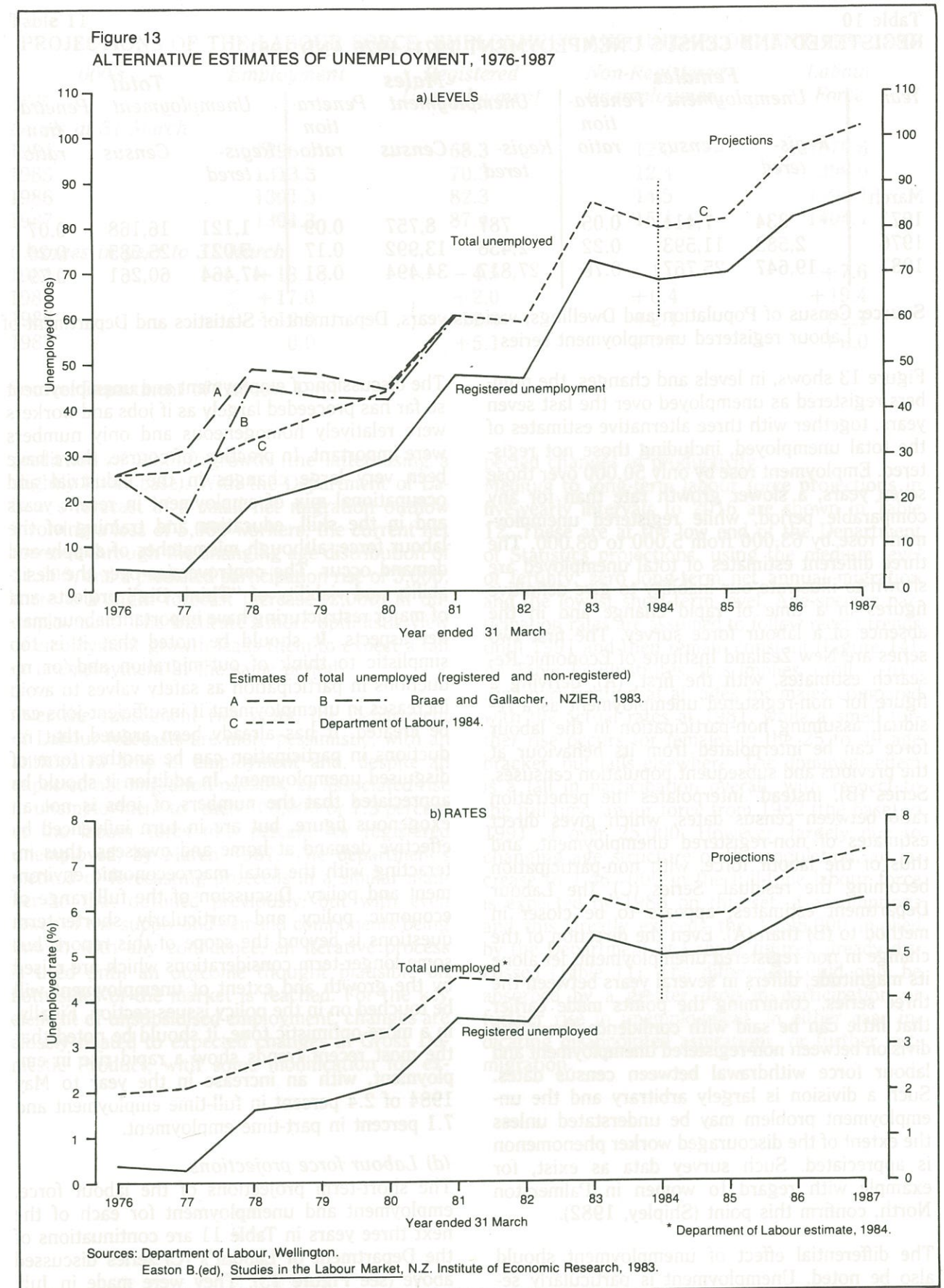
tered unemployment rose sharply between March 1982 and March 1983, but curiously fell slightly in the subsequent year (Figure 13). With the Department of Labour estimating a fairly constant level of unregistered unemployment, it necessarily balances the equation with a smaller rise than would otherwise have occurred in the labour force and an associated sharp reduction in participation. This reduction is presumably a form of disguised unemployment, a manifestation of the discouraged worker effect outlined previously, rather than being entirely voluntary. Labour market conditions may also be a contributing factor in the recent rise in numbers of invalidity benefits.

### (c) Employment and unemployment

The 1950s, 60s and early 70s were years of adequate and fairly steady employment growth, with the recession of 1967-68 being a rare exception, incorporating a fall in employment, a relative peak in unemployment, and an outflow of population. However throughout the period, unemployment levels were low in absolute terms and rates were much lower than in comparable countries. Even by 1976, when census unemployment had started to rise, reaching around 25,000, it amounted to only 2 percent of the labour force,

and this was five times larger than the number registered as unemployed.

The relationship between the number registered with the Department of Labour and the population census unemployment figure (the penetration ratio) is shown in Table 10. The ratio increased sharply between 1976 and 1981, and its instability implies that change in registered unemployment is an imperfect instrument for estimating changes in the total. In that five-year period, registered unemployment increased by a factor of almost ten, census unemployment two and a half times, and thus the penetration ratio increased from 0.2 to 0.8. It is not surprising that a period of rapidly rising unemployment carries with it a greater propensity to register. The increasing average duration of unemployment, the difficulty of obtaining work through newspapers and other sources, the reduced stigma likely to accompany higher numbers, and the requirement of registration for eligibility for subsidised employment and benefit entitlement (which would be more important with longer search durations), are amongst factors contributing to the increasing likelihood of registration. More surprising is the similarity of the male and female ratios. With the majority of married women being ineligible for unemployment benefit, their ratio might be expected to be lower.



**Table 10**  
**REGISTERED AND CENSUS UNEMPLOYMENT 1971, 1976 AND 1981**

Year	Females			Males			Total		
	Unemployment		Penetration ratio	Unemployment		Penetration ratio	Unemployment		Penetration ratio
	Registered	Census		Registered	Census		Registered	Census	
March 1971	334	7,411	0.05	787	8,757	0.09	1,121	16,168	0.07
1976	2,583	11,593	0.22	2,438	13,992	0.17	5,021	25,585	0.20
1981	19,647	25,767	0.76	27,817	34,494	0.81	47,464	60,261	0.79

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, various years, Department of Statistics and Department of Labour registered unemployment series

Figure 13 shows, in levels and changes, the numbers registered as unemployed over the last seven years, together with three alternative estimates of the total unemployed, including those not registered. Employment rose by only 50,000 over those seven years, a slower growth rate than for any comparable period, while registered unemployment rose by 63,000 from 5,000 to 68,000. The three different estimates of total unemployed are shown to illustrate our inability to give definitive figures in a time of rapid change and in the absence of a labour force survey. The first two series are New Zealand Institute of Economic Research estimates, with the first, (A), deriving a figure for non-registered unemployment as a residual, assuming non-participation in the labour force can be interpolated from its behaviour at the previous and subsequent population censuses. Series (B), instead, interpolates the penetration ratio between census dates, which gives direct estimates of non-registered unemployment, and thus of the labour force, with non-participation becoming the residual. Series (C), the Labour Department estimates, appears to be closer in method to (B) than (A). Even the direction of the change in non-registered unemployment, let alone its magnitude, differs in several years between the three series, confirming the points made earlier that little can be said with confidence about the division between non-registered unemployment and labour force withdrawal between census dates. Such a division is largely arbitrary and the unemployment problem may be understated unless the extent of the discouraged worker phenomenon is appreciated. Such survey data as exist, for example with regard to women in Palmerston North, confirm this point (Shipley, 1982).

The differential effect of unemployment should also be noted. Unemployment is particularly severe amongst school-leavers and Maoris, with the rate for teenage Maori women reaching over 40 percent in 1981. Allowing for the greater magnitude of the discouraged worker effect among women, their rates are probably higher than those of men and they are also under-represented in subsidised employment.

The discussion of employment and unemployment so far has proceeded largely as if jobs and workers were relatively homogeneous and only numbers were important. In practice, of course, there have been very large changes in the industrial and occupational mix of employment in recent years and in the skill, education and training of the labour force, although mismatches of supply and demand occur. The controversies over the desirability and viability of "Think Big" projects and of major restructuring have important labour market aspects. It should be noted that it is too simplistic to think of out-migration and/or reductions in participation as safety valves to avoid increases in unemployment if insufficient jobs can be created. It has already been argued that reductions in participation can be another form of disguised unemployment. In addition it should be appreciated that the numbers of jobs is not an exogenous figure, but are in turn influenced by effective demand at home and overseas, thus interacting with the total macroeconomic environment and policy. Discussion of the full range of economic policy and particularly shorter-term questions is beyond the scope of this report, but some longer-term considerations which are raised by the growth and extent of unemployment will be touched on in the policy issues section. Finally, in a more optimistic tone, it should be noted that the most recent trends show a rapid rise in employment, with an increase in the year to May 1984 of 2.4 percent in full-time employment and 7.1 percent in part-time employment.

*(d) Labour force projections*

The short-term projections of the labour force, employment and unemployment for each of the next three years in Table 11 are continuations of the Department of Labour's (C) series discussed above (see Figure 13). They were made in July 1984 and released in September, the first such release of this kind. The Department of Labour expects full-time employment to grow by 17,000 in the year to March 1985, a forecast which in the light of current growth may be a shade pessimistic, and which is below the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research's September 1984

**Table 11**  
**PROJECTIONS OF THE LABOUR FORCE, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT 1984-1987**

Year	000's	Employment	Registered Unemployment	Non-Registered Unemployment	Labour Force
<i>Levels at 31 March</i>					
1984		1296.3	68.3	12.0	1376.6
1985		1313.3	70.3	12.4	1396.0
1986		1301.3	82.3	14.5	1398.1
1987		1301.3	87.4	15.4	1404.1
<i>Changes in year to 31 March</i>					
1984		+13.1	-4.5	-1.0	+7.6
1985		+17.0	+2.0	+0.4	+19.4
1986		-12.0	+12.0	+2.1	+2.1
1987		0.0	+5.1	+0.9	+6.0

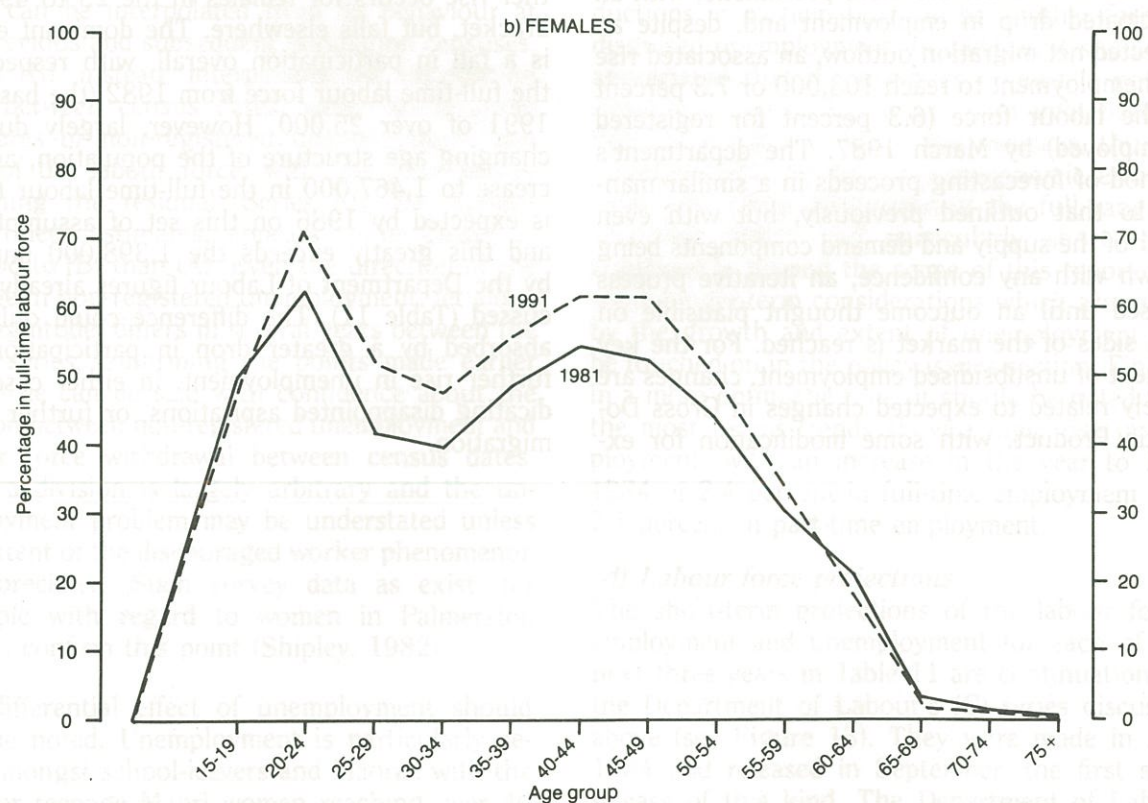
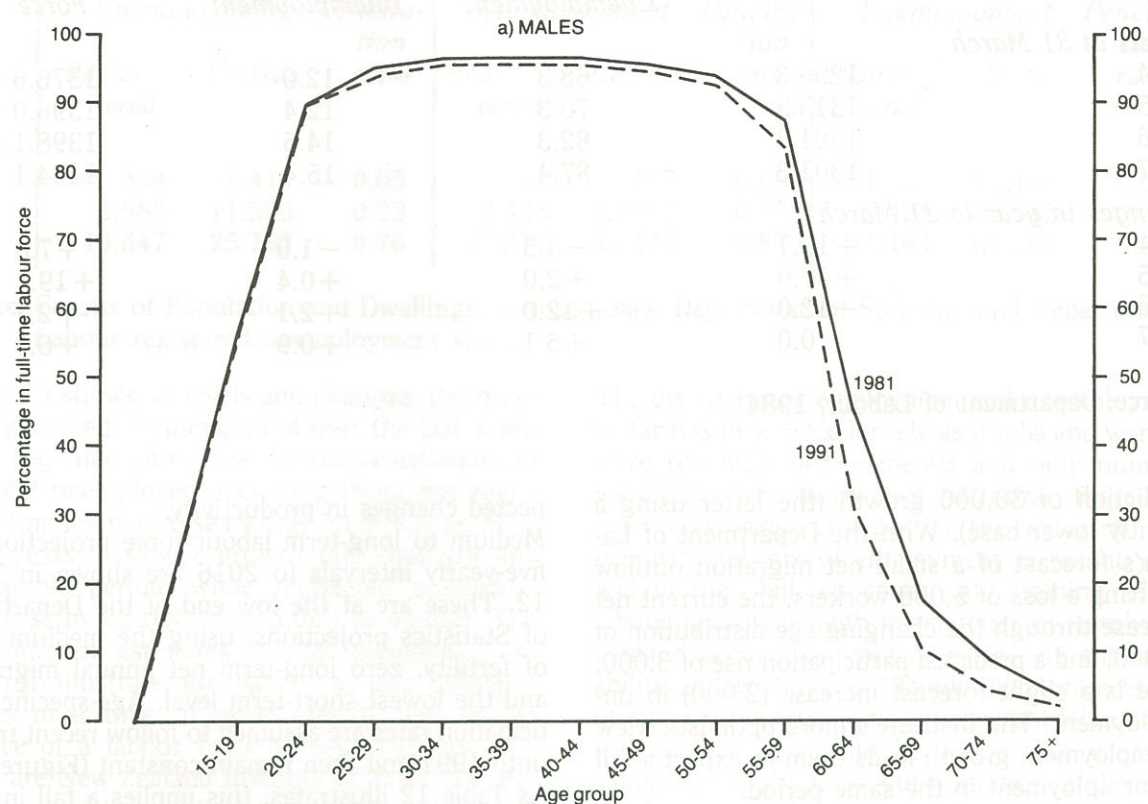
Source: Department of Labour, 1984

prediction of 30,000 growth (the latter using a slightly lower base). With the Department of Labour's forecast of a small net migration outflow involving a loss of 5,000 workers, the current net increase through the changing age distribution of 21,000, and a predicted participation rise of 3,000, there is a slight forecast increase (2,000) in unemployment. The Institute's more optimistic view of employment growth leads them to expect a fall in unemployment in the same period.

Over the subsequent two years, the Department of Labour forecasts are more pessimistic, with an anticipated drop in employment and, despite an expected net migration outflow, an associated rise in unemployment to reach 103,000 or 7.3 percent of the labour force (6.3 percent for registered unemployed) by March 1987. The department's method of forecasting proceeds in a similar manner to that outlined previously, but with even fewer of the supply and demand components being known with any confidence, an iterative process is used until an outcome thought plausible on both sides of the market is reached. For the key element of unsubsidised employment, changes are closely related to expected changes in Gross Domestic Product, with some modification for ex-

pected changes in productivity. Medium to long-term labour force projections in five-yearly intervals to 2016 are shown in Table 12. These are at the low end of the Department of Statistics projections, using the medium level of fertility, zero long-term net annual migration and the lowest short-term level. Age-specific participation rates are assumed to follow recent trends until 1991 and then remain constant (Figure 14). As Table 12 illustrates, this implies a fall in full-time participation at all ages for males compared with the actual rates at 1981, while a small further rise occurs for females in the 25 to 49 age bracket, but falls elsewhere. The dominant effect is a fall in participation overall, with respect to the full-time labour force from 1982 (the base) to 1991 of over 25,000. However, largely due to changing age structure of the population, an increase to 1,467,000 in the full-time labour force is expected by 1986 on this set of assumptions and this greatly exceeds the 1,398,000 implied by the Department of Labour figures already discussed (Table 11). The difference could only be absorbed by a greater drop in participation or further rise in unemployment, in either case indicating disappointed aspirations, or further out-migration.

Figure 14  
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, TOTAL POPULATION, 1981 AND 1991



Source: Demographic Analysis Section, Department of Statistics, Christchurch

Table 12  
PROJECTIONS OF NEW ZEALAND LABOUR FORCE, 1986-2016

Year Ended 31 March	Full-Time			Part-Time			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1986	941	526	1,467	28	126	154	969	653	1,622
1991	997	591	1,588	34	157	191	1,031	748	1,779
1996	1,046	613	1,659	33	167	200	1,078	780	1,858
2001	1,080	625	1,705	33	175	208	1,113	800	1,913
2006	1,103	635	1,738	34	178	212	1,138	812	1,950
2011	1,112	637	1,749	36	176	212	1,148	813	1,961
2016	1,109	627	1,736	37	173	210	1,146	800	1,946

Note: These "supply-side" projections assume medium fertility, long-term annual net migration of zero, and low short-term annual migration. Participation rates are assumed to follow recent intercensal trends until 1991 and then remain constant.

Source: Demographic Analysis Section, Department of Statistics, Christchurch

In the longer term, the rate of growth of the labour force is reduced, with the increase from changing age structure slowing markedly. This takes some pressure off the need for increases in employment, but simultaneously affects the dependency ratio (number in the non-working age groups relative to the number in the working-age groups). This is expected to grow slowly in the next few years and then more rapidly, with an increasing share in the retirement ages compared to the pre-working ages. With the greater medical, superannuation and other needs of the older groups, demands on government expenditure will increase significantly. Whether these longer-term projections are realistic or are still too high depends primarily on whether the employment gap can be bridged. If not, outward migration is likely to continue and participation will decline further through discouragement. This matter is considered further in the policy section.

### International Migration<sup>2</sup>

International migration, defined broadly to include temporary as well as permanent migration, has become a major global issue of the mid 1980s. The ease and relatively low cost of international travel has greatly increased the number of people making short-term moves to other countries to try and improve their life chances. Scholars and policy-makers have formulated a new global perspective of international migration that emphasises migration as one of the growing interdependencies among nations. New Zealand needs to consider the new questions being raised about international migration issues as well as the impact of international migration on almost every aspect of individual, social, cultural, economic, political and administrative life in New Zealand. Three key issues have been selected for consideration in this report. They are the impact of migration on the labour market, the return mi-

gration of New Zealand residents and, briefly, the world refugee crisis.

#### (a) The impact of international migration on the labour market

New Zealand's primary interest in international migration has been rooted in economic considerations and particularly in employment effects since 1932, when the administrative duties of the Immigration Department were given to the Labour Department. The impact of international migration on the labour market is a major element of the wider impact of immigration and emigration on the New Zealand economy but, as the first report of the Population Monitoring Group notes, "surprisingly little is known about [the] economic impact of New Zealand's immigration programme" (Population Monitoring Group, 1984, p.46). Attempts to assess economic costs and benefits of international migration are difficult because costs and benefits generally occur over different time periods and are often impossible to quantify. In general, economists are uncertain on whether and in what circumstances economic growth is increased by immigration. Given the changing nature of the New Zealand labour market and the different size and composition of the labour flows, it is unlikely research will provide a single answer to the economic benefits and costs

<sup>2</sup> Data and definitions: Most of the data on the size and composition of the international migration flows affecting New Zealand come from overseas arrival and departure statistics and census data tabulated by the Department of Statistics. The coverage of the arrival and departure statistics is virtually complete. Permanent immigrants and emigrants have been distinguished from temporary (short-term) visitors since 1921 on the basis of a declared intention to stay or depart for 12 months or more. In 1970, the permanent migrant categories were divided into permanent and long-term (i.e. 12 months and over) because of the increasing number of travellers moving for 12 months or more but not permanently. Duration of residence intentions are liable to change and one of the major limitations of migration statistics is the uncertainty resulting from permanent and long-term migrants and visitors "jumping" among the migration categories. Migration statistics based on all arrivals and departures avoid this problem and are the best statistics to use for measuring the impact of net migration.

of international migration. Dangerous generalisations should be avoided and more research is needed on the economic consequences of different types of people moving to and from different types of jobs in different regions of New Zealand.

In the mid 1980s, the impact of international migration on the labour market is a critical issue in New Zealand. An existing serious shortage of highly skilled and professional people is likely to become worse because of increased emigration to Australia contributed to by the 20 percent devaluation of the currency in July 1984 and the widened gap between the real incomes obtainable in Australia and New Zealand. The traditional policy is to use immigration to fill labour shortages but many New Zealanders have been convinced by the exceptional influx of British immigrants in the early 1970s, coupled with the recession from 1975, that this policy should be replaced by a policy of internal adjustments through inter-industry and inter-occupational mobility, internal migration and training programmes for unemployed persons. Government pressure has been placed on employers to recruit and train New Zealanders and to attract back skilled New Zealanders from overseas. Staff recruited for the major projects are now granted temporary work permits but the development of closer economic relations with Australia is encouraging trans-Tasman migration through policies such as inter-group transfers and make-up living allowances.

Unfortunately the changing impact of international migration on the New Zealand labour force is difficult to identify and the migration statistics for the year ended 31 March 1984 predate the July devaluation. The net migration balance is the result of immigration and emigration flows made up of several different migration streams. Attention needs to be given to migrants' lengths of

stay or absence intentions, to the size of the migrant categories, and to the varying labour force characteristics of the various groups of migrants. The impact of international migration on the labour market is further complicated by cyclical changes in the level of economic activity, structural change (the long-term changes in the structure of production), and other labour market changes such as the growth of the population of working age and changing labour force participation rates. Thus comparable migration flows can have different effects on the labour market.

The international migration statistics by intended duration of stay or absence highlight the magnitude of the short-term movements compared with the long-term and permanent movements and the big increase in the number of short-term movements to and from New Zealand between the years ended 31 March 1972 and 1984 (Table 13). Most of the short-term arrivals and departures are tourists but the impact of short-term migration on the labour market is considerable. Australian, and Commonwealth and Irish citizens who are permanent residents of Australia and travel directly from Australia to New Zealand, are exempt from New Zealand's work permit requirements. Citizens of Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa may be allowed to work for up to 11 months in New Zealand under the South Pacific Work Permit Scheme. Other short-term migrants to New Zealand may apply for work permits although these will be granted only if there are no suitable local workers for the proposed employment or where there are exceptional circumstances. The number of applications approved for a work permit or for temporary entry (employment permitted) in the years ended 31 March 1983 and 1984 were 4,732 and 4,174 respectively. What proportion of these migrants intended to stay in New Zealand for less than one year is unknown.

**Table 13**  
**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION MOVEMENTS BY INTENDED DURATION, 1972-1984**

**Arrivals**

Year ended 31 March	Short-term	Long-term	Permanent	Total
1972	363,182	24,838	20,261	408,281
1973	414,731	27,985	26,666	469,382
1974	528,284	31,694	38,121	598,099
1975	612,755	31,758	34,142	678,655
1976	630,204	28,414	20,046	678,664
1977	630,204	23,620	13,400	667,224
1978	678,808	22,784	14,188	715,780
1979	765,068	30,848	9,960	805,876
1980	884,332	30,838	10,769	925,939
1981	925,462	32,437	12,528	970,427
1982	900,995	32,980	12,312	946,287
1983	869,609	33,259	12,595	915,463
1984	882,163	30,676	10,029	922,868

**Departures**

Year ended 31 March	Short-term	Long-term	Permanent	Total
1972	359,884	28,207	9,339	397,430
1973	408,424	27,665	7,818	443,907
1974	522,594	32,747	9,591	564,932
1975	606,053	34,411	9,050	649,514
1976	630,312	35,852	7,308	673,472
1977	627,402	43,044	13,048	683,494
1978	674,256	45,344	18,336	737,936
1979	751,412	61,328	19,680	832,420
1980	871,229	52,149	23,875	947,253
1981	916,846	44,254	25,536	986,636
1982	894,256	37,055	19,719	951,030
1983	857,347	30,360	12,314	900,021
1984	878,164	24,965	9,182	912,311

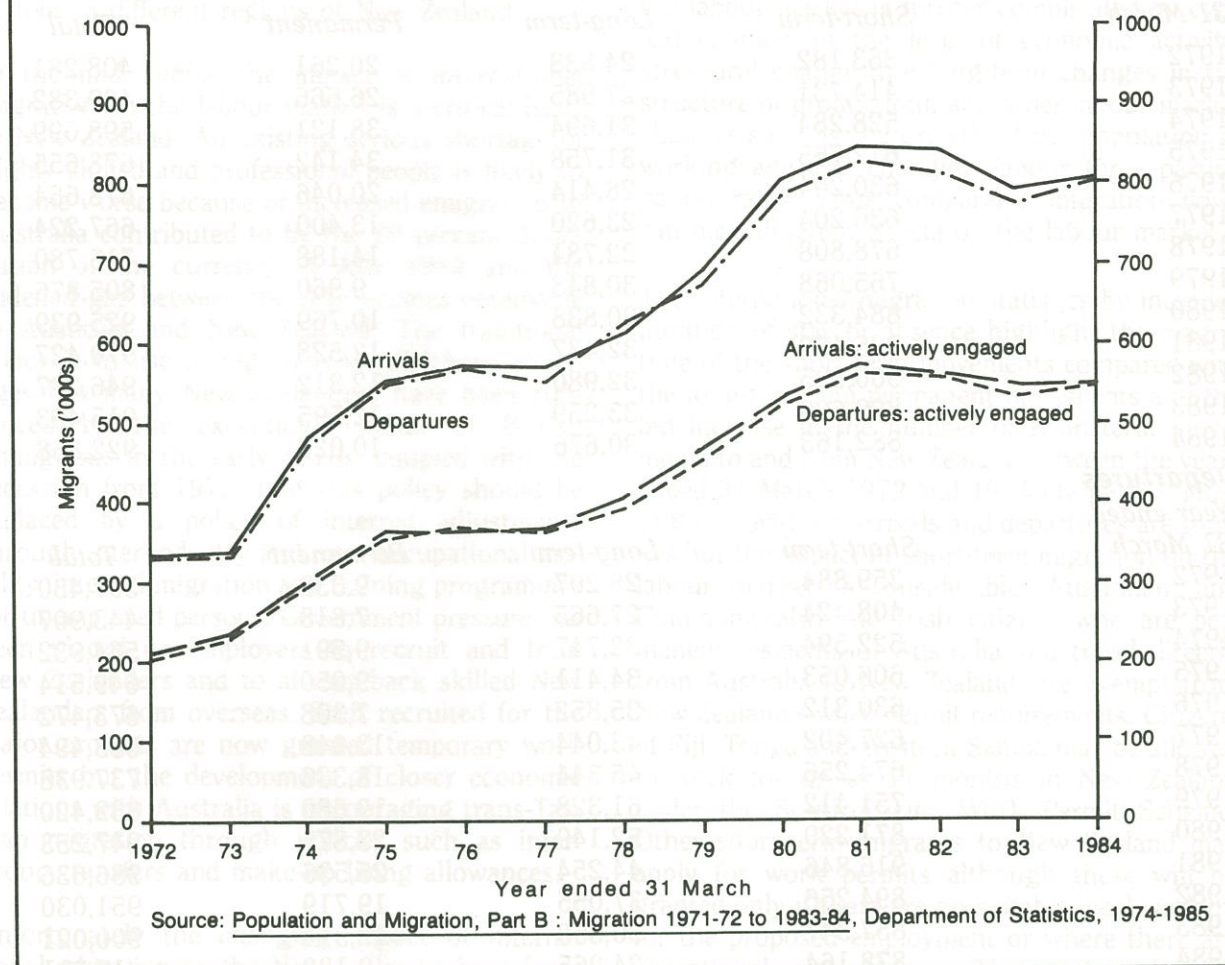
Source: *Population and Migration, Part B: Migration 1971-72 to 1983-84*, Department of Statistics, 1974-1984

Short-term departures also affect the New Zealand labour market because they include New Zealand workers and potential workers. Many of the other short-term migrants who apply for, and are granted, permanent residence or overstay their temporary entry permits, must have or seek jobs. The short-term net migration statistics do not take account of different intended durations of stay or absence but they show a substantial net gain from this type of migration (Figure 15). It may have unplanned effects on the labour market since many short-term visitors can enter New Zealand with a minimum of formalities and their numbers are not influenced by policy considerations.

Major changes have occurred between 1972 and 1984 in the impact of long-term and permanent migration on the labour market (Table 13). A dramatic change in the size of the permanent immigration flow followed the imposition of controls on the immigration of Commonwealth citizens of European ancestry and Irish citizens living

outside Australia on 1 April 1974 (Figure 16). The controls are intended to increase the capacity of New Zealand officials to harmonise the impact of new permanent immigration on the labour force with the supply of, and the demand for, labour. The planned impact of immigration has often differed from the actual impact because of changes in the state of the labour market between the time immigrants have been recruited or accepted for immigration and the time they arrive. In the late 1970s, when the exodus from New Zealand gathered momentum, long-term and permanent emigration from New Zealand became, for the first time, a major source of instability in the labour market. Time considerations need to be taken into account as the presence of so many New Zealanders overseas greatly increased the potential for return migration to New Zealand. The long-term arrivals include skilled and professional workers for New Zealand's major projects as well as students who may seek employment during the summer vacation. The number of long-term departures exceeded the number of long-term arrivals each year between 1974 and 1982.

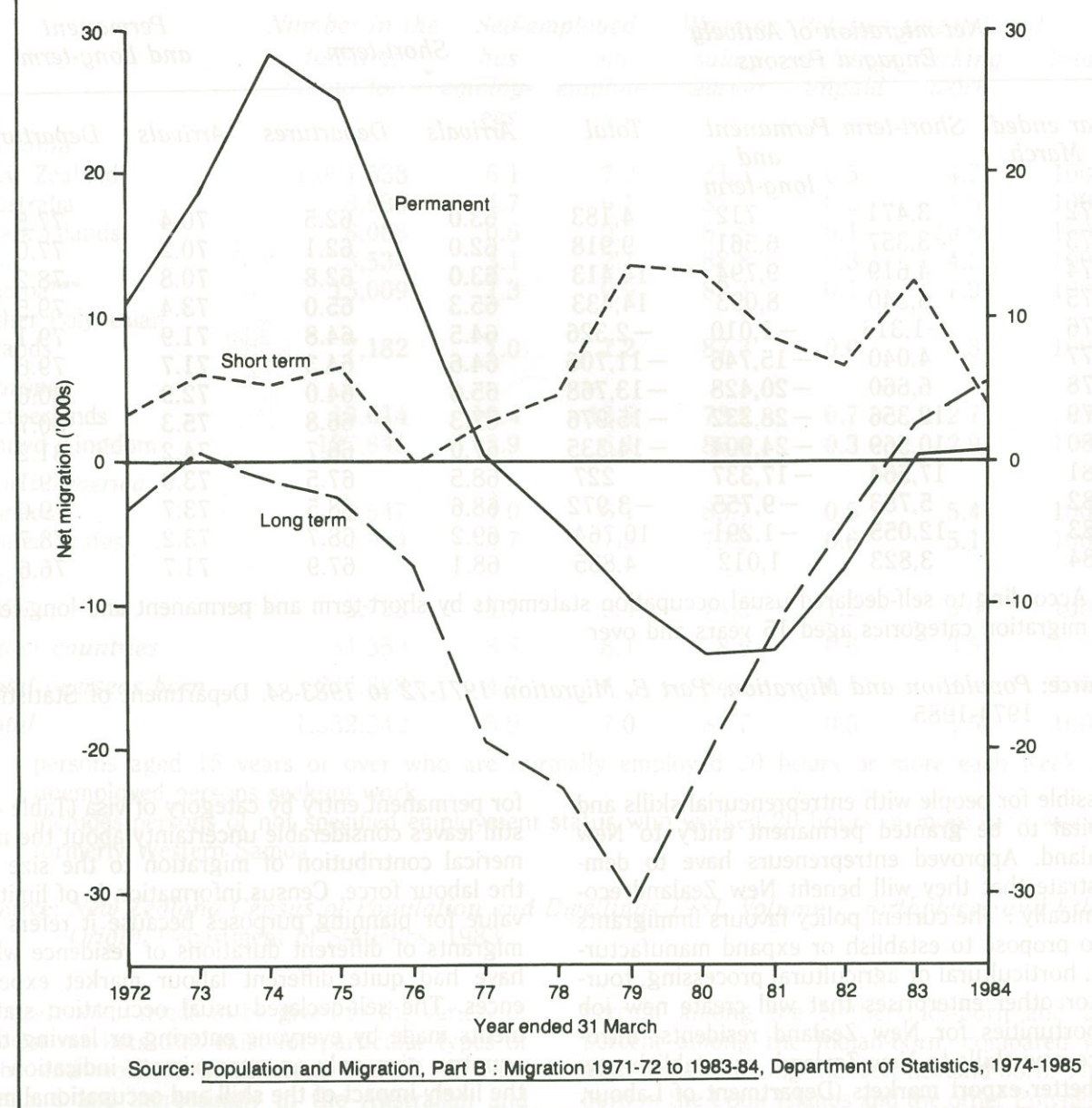
Figure 15  
SHORT-TERM MOVEMENTS OF PERSONS AGED 15 AND OVER  
BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY STATUS, 1972-1984



The impact on the labour market of the new permanent immigrants is much more complex than the numbers suggest because of the different categories of new permanent arrivals. Employment considerations are assessed differently for would-be immigrants applying for prior entry authority on the basis of occupational, family reunification or humanitarian grounds. The "principal breadwinner" of a couple or family seeking entry on occupational grounds has to have skills listed in the Occupational Priority List as being in short supply in New Zealand, and normally has to have suitable employment pre-arranged. This person generally has to be aged between 18 and 45 years and can have no more than four dependent children. Preference is given to people from traditional source countries, and applicants from developing countries are considered only if the skills they possess are not in demand in their country of origin. The statistics collected since 1982 on the number of people approved for permanent entry to New Zealand on occupational grounds show a 43.9 percent decline between the years ended 31 March 1982 and 1984. The number approved in the year ended 31 March 1984,

3125, was nonetheless the largest category of persons approved for permanent entry to New Zealand (see Table 4). The family reunification and humanitarian categories are less influenced by labour market considerations, although the migrants who enter New Zealand under these categories include workers who increase the supply of labour. The selection criteria for family reunion emphasise that only close relatives of New Zealand citizens and permanent residents are eligible for permanent entry. Families are often well-informed about the ease or difficulty of finding work and when unemployment is widespread, there may be less support for family reunion immigration and immigrants may be discouraged by the prospective difficulty of finding a job. The number of people approved for permanent entry on family reunion grounds between the years ended 31 March 1982 and 1984 increased only a little from 2,122 to 2,363 (Table 4). It is often a matter of concern when jobs are hard to get that family reunion immigrants are frequently unskilled or semi-skilled and tend to increase occupational and regional labour market imbalances.

Figure 16  
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION BY MIGRATION CATEGORIES, 1972-1984



Permanent entry on humanitarian grounds is granted to people who are in particularly difficult circumstances or who have a family connection with New Zealand and are in demonstrably worse conditions than other people in their community. International refugees are admitted to New Zealand in response to requests from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The current policy is to select small numbers of refugees under continuing programmes for Russian-Jewish, East European, Indo-Chinese and handicapped refugees and there has been a recent special exercise for Polish refugees. When they select the refugees, New Zealand officials give particular attention to humanitarian considerations and the expected adaptability of the refugees to life and work in New Zealand. The refugees who enter New Zealand have to sign a declaration that they

will accept any job and that they "realise that [their] qualifications may not be recognised as they may not meet New Zealand requirements".

This affects particularly the European refugees who are all skilled in the trades and professions. Most of the adult refugees start work in New Zealand in unskilled jobs that involve "easily learned tasks not requiring fluency in English" (Department of Labour, 1984, p.5). The Indo-Chinese Refugee Resettlement Programme has, with a few recent exceptions, accepted only refugees who have relatives living in New Zealand since 1981-82. This is intended to reduce the scope for large-scale family reunion immigration of largely unskilled workers.

In 1978 a change of government policy made it

**Table 14**  
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION'S CONTRIBUTION TO GROWTH IN THE LABOUR FORCE\*,  
1972-1984

Year ended 31 March	Net migration of Actively Engaged Persons			Percent Actively Engaged			
				Short-term		Permanent and Long-term	
	Short-term	Permanent and long-term	Total	Arrivals	Departures	Arrivals	Departures
1972	3,471	712	4,183	63.0	62.5	70.4	77.5
1973	3,357	6,561	9,918	62.0	62.1	70.2	77.0
1974	4,619	9,794	14,413	63.0	62.8	70.8	78.2
1975	6,340	8,093	14,433	65.3	65.0	73.4	79.5
1976	-1,316	-1,010	-2,326	64.5	64.8	71.9	79.1
1977	4,040	-15,746	-11,706	64.6	64.3	71.7	79.6
1978	6,660	-20,428	-13,768	65.6	64.0	72.9	80.6
1979	12,356	-28,332	-15,976	67.3	66.8	75.3	80.7
1980	10,569	-24,904	-14,335	67.0	66.7	74.2	81.2
1981	17,564	-17,337	227	68.5	67.5	73.9	79.1
1982	5,783	-9,755	-3,972	68.6	68.5	73.7	79.0
1983	12,055	-1,291	10,764	69.2	68.7	73.2	78.7
1984	3,823	1,012	4,835	68.1	67.9	71.7	76.6

\* According to self-declared usual occupation statements by short-term and permanent and long-term migration categories aged 15 years and over

Source: *Population and Migration, Part B, Migration 1971-72 to 1983-84*, Department of Statistics, 1974-1985

possible for people with entrepreneurial skills and capital to be granted permanent entry to New Zealand. Approved entrepreneurs have to demonstrate that they will benefit New Zealand economically. The current policy favours immigrants who propose to establish or expand manufacturing, horticultural or agricultural processing, tourist or other enterprises that will create new job opportunities for New Zealand residents, introduce new skills to New Zealand, or establish new or better export markets (Department of Labour, 1983, p.5). By October 1984, 126 entrepreneurs had been granted permanent entry authority, including 40 in the year ended 31 March 1984. The capital inflow caused by this immigration has already amounted to \$38,727,000 or an average of \$307,357 for each entrepreneur. This category of immigrants with its emphasis on economic considerations contrasts with the special immigration category that provides for the entry of people distinguished in the arts or sciences, or in public or cultural life overseas. Such immigrants are expected to make a major contribution to New Zealand life and have to be approved by the Minister of Immigration.

The increased selectivity in migrant entry procedures in the last decade and the availability of information on the number of persons approved

for permanent entry by category of visa (Table 4), still leaves considerable uncertainty about the numerical contribution of migration to the size of the labour force. Census information is of limited value for planning purposes because it refers to migrants of different durations of residence who have had quite different labour market experiences. The self-declared usual occupation statements made by everyone entering or leaving the country, give only an approximate indication of the likely impact of the skill and occupational mix of economically active migrants. They nonetheless show the trends in the net migration of actively engaged short-term, and permanent and long-term migrants and the different activity rates of arrivals and departures (Table 14). The higher activity rates of the permanent and long-term migrants compared with the short-term migrants is influenced by age structure differences as is the difference between the permanent and long-term activity rates for arrivals and departures.

A major issue concerning the impact of migration on the labour market is the employment creation effect of migration. The extent to which people entering and leaving the country take jobs that unemployed New Zealanders could have filled, or conversely, create jobs for them, depends on the needs of the economy, the pattern of labour demand and the characteristics of the migrants.

**Table 15**  
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF USUALLY RESIDENT POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER  
BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1981

	Number in the full-time labour force*	Self-employed has no employ- ees	Wage or salary earner	Percentage Distribution			Total**
				Relative unpaid work	Relative unpaid work	Relative unpaid work	
<i>Oceania</i>							
New Zealand	1,091,538	6.1	7.2	81.3	0.5	4.7	100
Australia	8,939	4.7	6.1	83.9	0.6	4.5	100
Cook Islands	8,088	0.6	0.5	87.5	0.1	10.8	100
Fiji	3,534	3.1	2.7	88.8	0.3	4.2	100
Samoa***	15,009	1.3	0.9	89.4	0.1	7.9	100
Other Polynesian Islands	7,182	1.0	1.2	87.3	0.0	9.3	100
<i>Europe</i>							
Netherlands	13,614	10.4	13.5	72.5	0.7	2.7	100
United Kingdom	127,845	3.9	6.1	86.6	0.3	2.9	100
<i>North America</i>							
Canada	2,547	4.0	6.1	83.7	0.5	5.4	100
United States	2,994	3.7	7.5	79.8	0.6	5.1	100
<i>Asia</i>							
India	3,723	11.7	9.4	74.2	1.2	3.0	100
<i>Other countries</i>	31,353	8.8	8.1	78.5	0.6	3.5	100
<i>Total overseas born</i>	234,828	4.7	6.2	84.4	0.4	3.9	100
<i>Total</i>	1,332,342	5.9	7.0	81.7	0.5	4.5	100

\* persons aged 15 years or over who are normally employed 20 hours or more each week and unemployed persons seeking work

\*\* includes persons of not specified employment status who worked 20 hours or more each week

\*\*\* formerly Western Samoa

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1981, Volume 7, Birthplaces and Ethnic Origin*, Department of Statistics, 1983

Consideration needs to be given to the variety of labour markets that exist for particular types of jobs and workers in different regions of New Zealand and increasingly in the Australian and New Zealand labour market. In the medium and long term, the benefits of immigration may be expected to exceed the costs but different arguments can be developed about the offsetting effects of the migration gains and losses. Many of the New Zealand residents who have left New Zealand long-term or permanently, have possessed the skills to create employment opportunities in New Zealand. Entrepreneurs settling in New Zealand can be expected to make a substantial contribution to job creation in the short term. The census statistics on the employment status of New Zealand's usually resident population in 1981 show that overseas-born people of all durations of residence include fewer self-employed persons with and without employees than the New Zealand-born population (Table 15). But the percentage of self-employed persons varied greatly among the major birthplace groups: it was as high as 23.9

percent among the Netherlands-born and 21.1 percent among the Indian-born, compared with 13.3 percent among the New Zealand-born. Those born in the Cook Islands and the other Polynesian Islands included very few self-employed persons and a disproportionate number of unemployed persons seeking work.

International migration can play an important role in reducing structural imbalances in the national labour market by attracting immigrants into the industries which have labour shortages and encouraging geographical mobility among recently arrived immigrants to facilitate structural change. The overseas-born population made a substantial contribution to the structural changes in employment in New Zealand between 1971 and 1976. In most of the major industry categories the growth of the overseas-born labour force exceeded that of the total labour force. The relatively rapid growth in the "white collar" services of finance, insurance, business services, community and social services was particularly marked among the

Figure 17  
LONG-TERM AND PERMANENT MOVEMENTS, 1982-1984

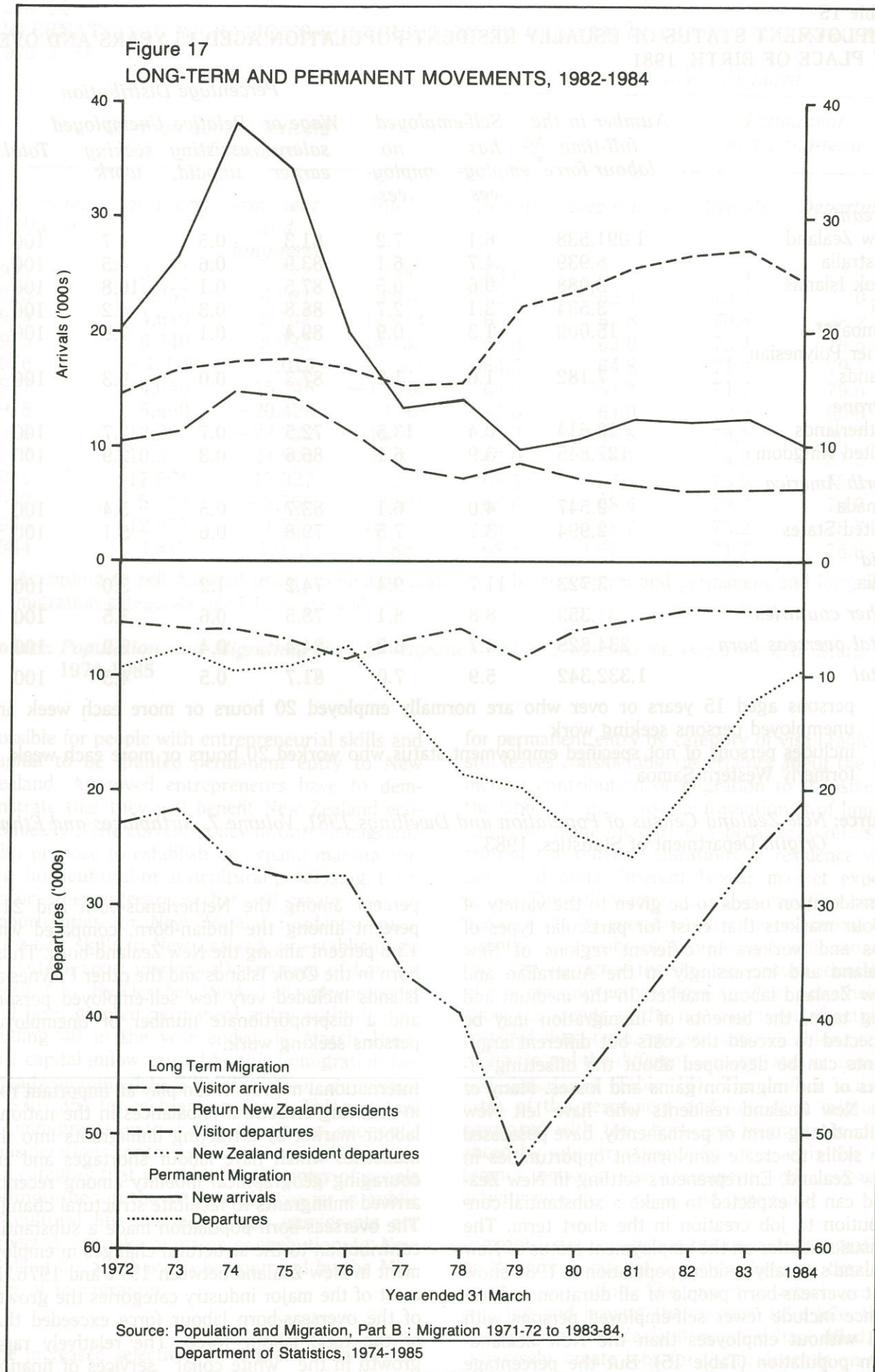
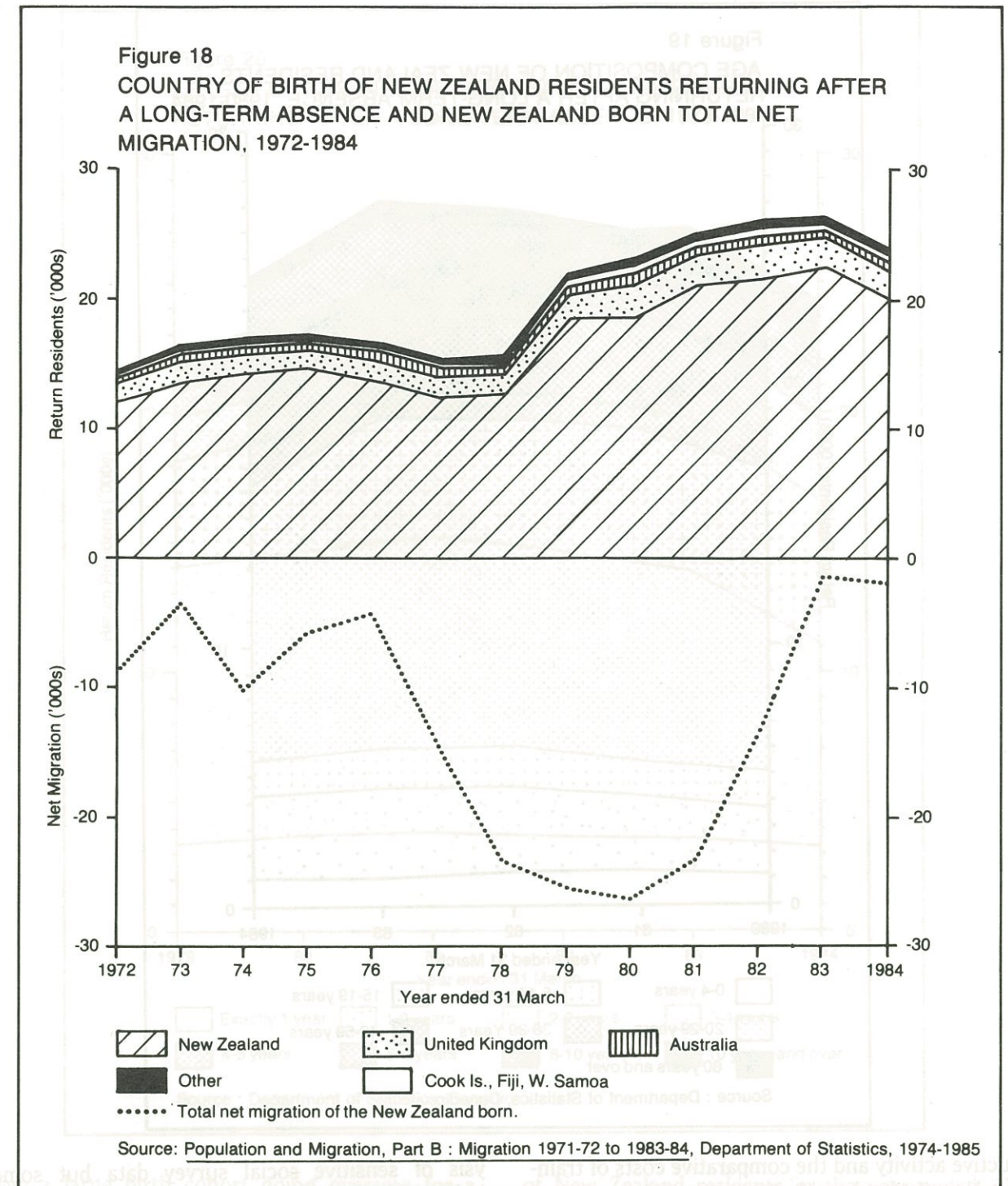


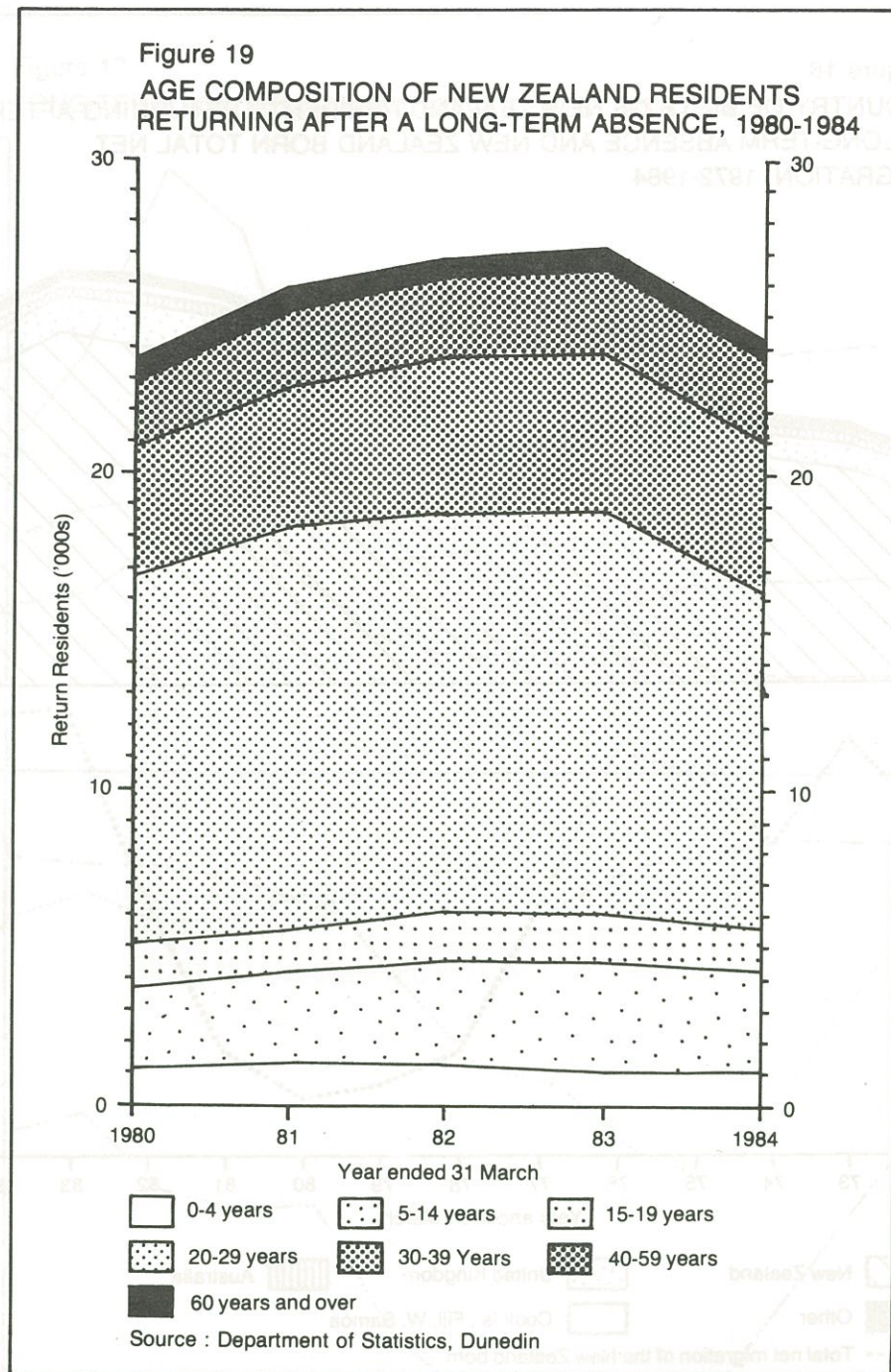
Figure 18  
COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF NEW ZEALAND RESIDENTS RETURNING AFTER A LONG-TERM ABSENCE AND NEW ZEALAND BORN TOTAL NET MIGRATION, 1972-1984



overseas-born population. Between 1976 and 1981 the shift into agricultural activities that was a notable feature in the total labour force contrasts with the decline among the overseas-born labour force. Every major industry category among the overseas-born labour force, except community, social and personal services, declined in size between 1976 and 1981; the overseas-born population responded to the recession in New Zealand with above-average rates of emigration. The geographical mobility of the immigrants was almost certainly higher among the people who had come to New Zealand for occupational reasons rather than for family reunification reasons.

There are many other aspects of the impact of international migration on the labour market that need to be taken into account by policy-makers. They include the labour market experience of recent migrants, the consequences of a dual labour market involving Pacific Island immigrants, the heightened competition in the labour force for the limited number of top jobs available and its future developments when the children of immigrants seek upward mobility and compete for the high-status, secure, well-paid jobs. The social consequences of international migration affect the economic consequences such as the transfer of assets that influence the funds available for pro-





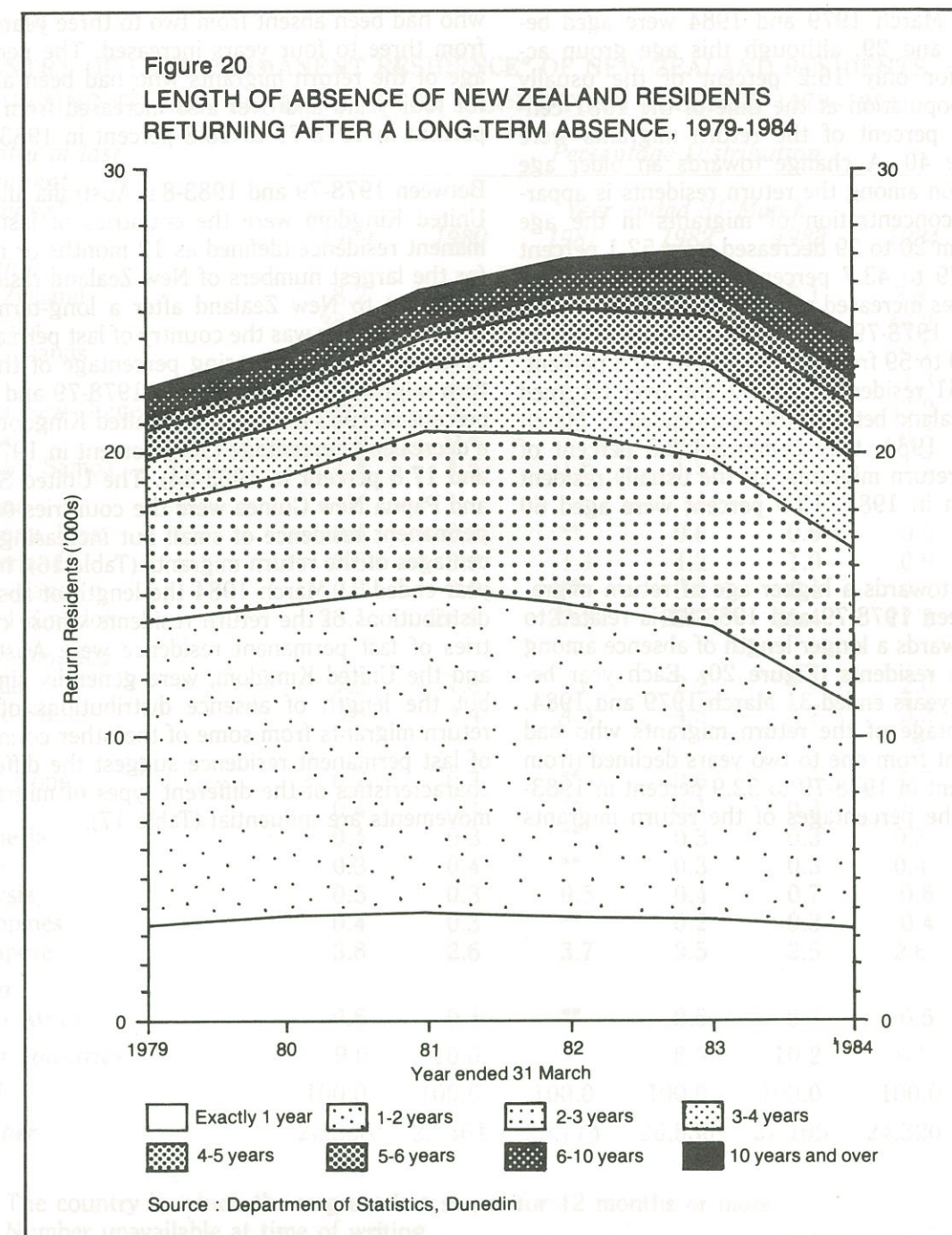
ductive activity and the comparative costs of training New Zealand residents or recruiting overseas specialists to fill labour shortages.

*(b) The return migration of New Zealand residents*

The largest ever net loss of people from New Zealand recorded in the late 1970s led to six years of increasing return migration (Figure 17) and a heightened awareness of the need for many groups in society to consider the implications of the large scale, uncontrolled, movements of citizens. The aim of research and public policy debate must be to reach a better understanding of the nature of return migration and of its consequences for individuals and families, as well as for regional and national labour markets, institutions and social services. This requires the anal-

ysis of sensitive social survey data but some indication of the expected level and impact of return migration is provided by the departure and arrival statistics.

The total net migration loss of 160,595 New Zealand-born persons between the years ended 31 March 1972 and 1984 emphasises that there are many New Zealanders living outside New Zealand who at some stage in their lives may return to this country. The net migration loss is equal to 6 percent of the New Zealand-born population enumerated in New Zealand at the time of the 1981 census. For four years between 1977-78 and 1980-81 the net losses of New Zealand-born exceeded 23,000 people, but since then they have declined rapidly (Figure 18). Most of the emigrants during the peak outflow were young adults



from a large birth cohort going overseas for a working holiday or for overseas experience; on departure they declared they expected to return to New Zealand within two or three years. The probability of return migration among other emigrants was lower. The older emigrants had more economically or politically motivated reasons for emigration (Barrington and Davey, 1980), and an unknown proportion of the disillusioned new immigrants among the emigrants almost certainly had neither New Zealand citizenship nor a re-entry permit to allow them to return to New Zealand.

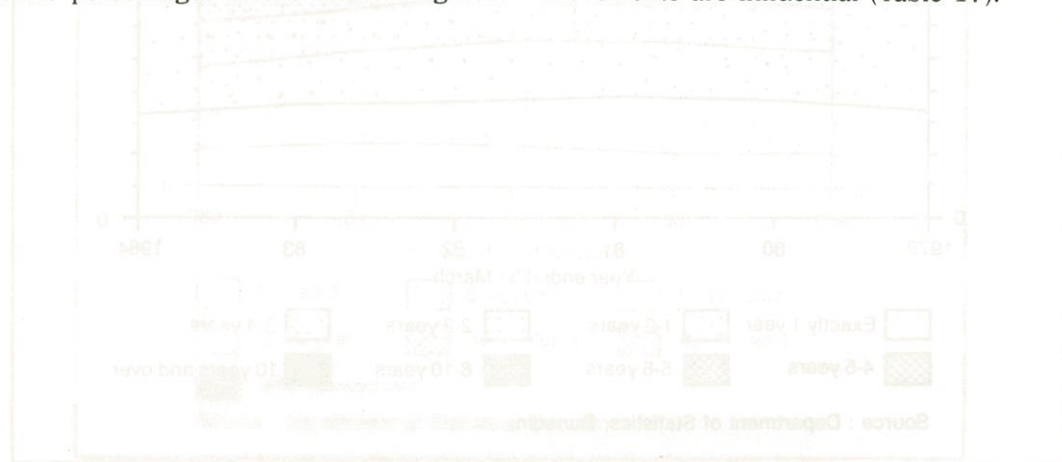
It was the particularly large number of New Zealand-born return migrants that was responsible for the peak return movement after a long absence

of New Zealand residents in the year ended 31 March 1983 (Figure 16). That year recorded the only net migration gain of New Zealand-born persons between 1971-72, and 1983-84 (488 males). New Zealand-born return migrants comprised a smaller proportion of the return migrants (82.2 percent between the years ended 31 March 1972 and 1984) than the New Zealand-born share of the Total population (85.2 percent and 84.8 percent of the 1971 and 1981 census populations respectively). This reflects the lower rates of New Zealand-born emigration for persons of all ages than those of the overseas-born residents.

Return migrants are highly concentrated in the young adult ages (Figure 19). No less than 48.1 percent of the return residents during the years

ended 31 March 1979 and 1984 were aged between 20 and 29, although this age group accounted for only 16.2 percent of the usually resident population at the time of the 1981 census; 88.4 percent of the return migrants were under age 40. A change towards an older age composition among the return residents is apparent: the concentration of migrants in the age group from 20 to 29 decreased from 52.1 percent in 1978-79 to 43.7 percent in 1983-84 and the percentages increased at ages 30 to 39 from 16.3 percent in 1978-79 to 20 percent in 1983-84, and at ages 40 to 59 from 8.1 percent to 10.8 percent. Only 3,461 residents aged 60 and over returned to New Zealand between the years ended 31 March 1979 and 1984; they comprised 2.3 percent of the total return migrants. Of the usually resident population in 1981, 13.9 percent were aged 60 and over.

A change towards a higher age of return migration between 1978-79 and 1983-84 is related to a trend towards a longer length of absence among the return residents (Figure 20). Each year between the years ended 31 March 1979 and 1984, the percentage of the return migrants who had been absent from one to two years declined (from 47.3 percent in 1978-79 to 32.9 percent in 1983-84), and the percentages of the return migrants



who had been absent from two to three years and from three to four years increased. The percentage of the return migrants who had been absent for four years and over also increased from 10.6 percent in 1978-79 to 18.8 percent in 1983-84.

Between 1978-79 and 1983-84, Australia and the United Kingdom were the countries of last permanent residence (defined as 12 months or more) for the largest numbers of New Zealand residents returning to New Zealand after a long-term absence. Australia was the country of last permanent residence for an increasing percentage of the return migrants (38.6 percent in 1978-79 and 46.2 percent in 1983-84), and the United Kingdom for a decreasing percentage (23.1 percent in 1978-79 and 17.8 percent in 1983-84). The United States and Papua New Guinea were the countries of last permanent residence of small but increasing percentages of the return migrants (Table 16). In the year ended 31 March 1984 the length of absence distributions of the return residents whose countries of last permanent residence were Australia and the United Kingdom, were generally similar, but the length of absence distributions of the return migrants from some of the other countries of last permanent residence suggest the different characteristics of the different types of migration movements are influential (Table 17).

**Table 16**  
**COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE\* OF NEW ZEALAND RESIDENTS RETURNING TO NEW ZEALAND AFTER A LONG-TERM ABSENCE, 1979-1984**

Country of last permanent residence*	Percentage Distribution					
	1979	1980	Year ended 31 March			1984
			1981	1982	1983	
<b>Oceania</b>						
New Zealand	8.2	7.8	**	6.6	5.1	5.3
Australia	38.6	35.2	36.2	38.0	43.8	46.2
Cook Islands	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.7
Fiji	1.7	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3
Papua New Guinea	2.0	2.1	**	2.4	2.4	3.2
Tonga	0.5	0.4	**	0.3	0.2	0.6
Western Samoa	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.7
<b>Europe</b>						
Germany, West	0.4	0.5	**	0.6	0.6	0.5
Netherlands	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.0	0.9
Switzerland	0.3	0.5	**	0.4	0.4	0.4
United Kingdom	23.1	26.9	27.2	25.7	20.4	17.8
<b>North America</b>						
Canada	1.9	1.8	1.6	2.2	2.1	2.0
United States	3.8	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.7	5.2
<b>Asia</b>						
Hong Kong	0.7	0.7	**	0.6	0.6	0.9
India	0.4	0.4	**	0.4	0.3	0.3
Indonesia	0.4	0.3	**	0.3	0.3	0.3
Japan	0.3	0.4	**	0.3	0.3	0.4
Malaysia	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.6
Philippines	0.4	0.3	**	0.2	0.3	0.4
Singapore	3.8	2.6	3.7	2.5	2.5	2.6
<b>Africa</b>						
South Africa	0.6	0.4	**	0.5	0.7	0.5
<b>Other countries</b>						
Other countries	9.0	10.0	**	8.9	10.2	8.1
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Number</b>	22,328	23,561	25,774	26,830	27,105	24,320

\* The country in which the migrant last stayed for 12 months or more  
\*\* Number unavailable at time of writing

Source: Department of Statistics, Dunedin  
*New Zealand Population and Migration 1980-81, Part B, External Migration*, Department of Statistics, 1981

The responses to the self-declared usual occupation statements indicate that a higher percentage of the New Zealand residents aged 15 years and over returning after a long-term absence were actively engaged, than among the total permanent and long-term arrivals. But the return migrants' activity rates declined from 79.3 percent in the year ended 31 March 1981 to 76.9 percent in the year ended 31 March 1984. In three of the four

years from 1980-81 to 1983-84 the largest occupational group was the professional, technical and related workers group; in 1982-83 the production and related workers, transport, equipment operators and labourers group was marginally larger (Figure 21). The apparent trend towards a larger share of production and related workers, transport, equipment operators and labourers than of professional, technical and related workers

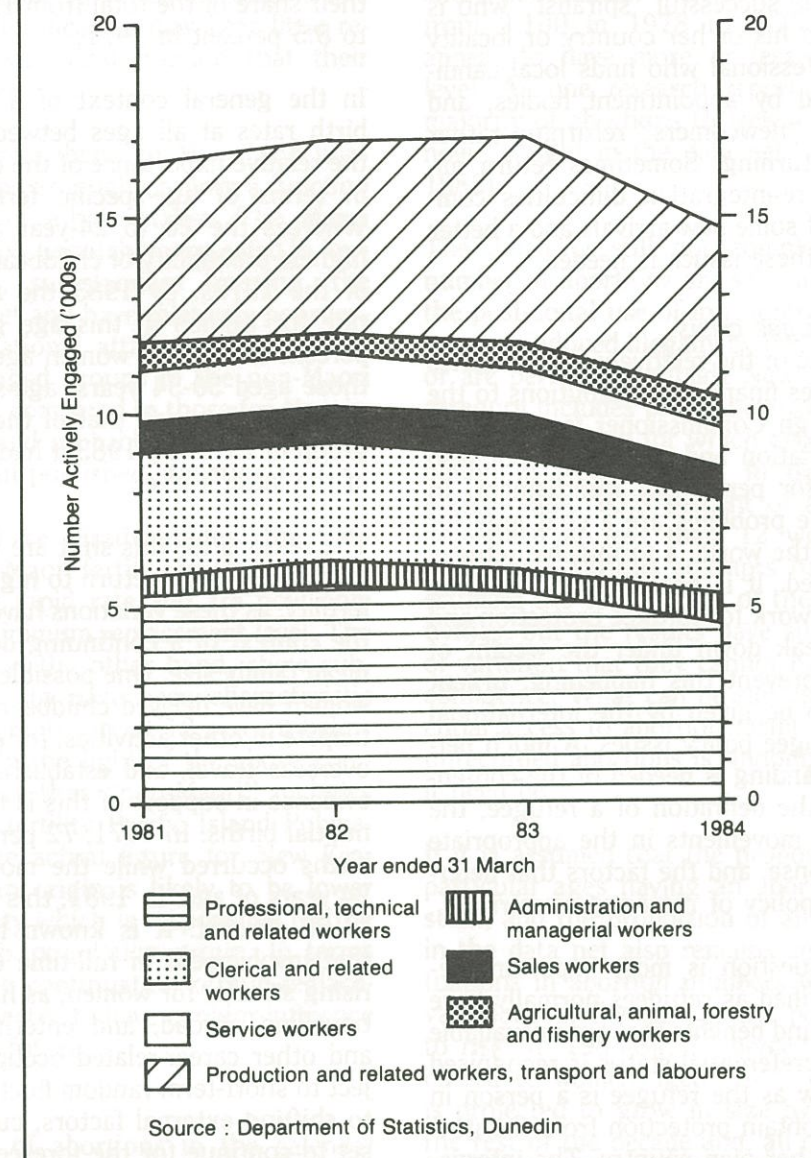
Table 17  
NEW ZEALAND RESIDENTS RETURNING TO NEW ZEALAND AFTER A LONG-TERM ABSENCE BY LENGTH OF ABSENCE AND COUNTRY OF  
LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE,\* 1 APRIL 1983 — 31 MARCH 1984

Country of last permanent residence	Number	Percentage distribution										Total	
		Exactly 1 Year	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	From 3 to 4 years	From 4 to 5 years	From 5 to 6 years	From 6 to 10 years	Over 10 years				
<i>Oceania</i>													
New Zealand	1,293	32.5	55.8	6.6	3.0	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.1			100	
Australia	11,243	9.4	30.2	23.3	13.8	9.0	4.7	6.9	2.7			100	
Cook Islands	178	22.5	36.0	21.3	9.0	7.3	1.7	2.2	0.0			100	
Fiji	311	13.2	33.4	31.8	10.6	5.5	1.6	2.6	1.3			100	
Papua New Guinea	786	9.4	34.5	31.7	11.8	7.3	2.9	1.4	1.0			100	
Tonga	141	25.5	32.6	25.5	9.2	4.3	0.7	2.1	0.0			100	
Western Samoa	408	27.0	35.0	21.6	7.6	1.7	2.5	3.4	1.2			100	
<i>Europe</i>													
Germany, West	111	20.7	31.5	22.5	9.0	3.6	7.2	1.8	3.6			100	
Netherlands	211	9.0	39.3	16.6	17.1	3.8	6.6	4.3	3.3			100	
Switzerland	86	17.4	34.9	19.8	5.8	11.6	5.8	2.3	2.3			100	
United Kingdom	4,340	10.0	33.0	24.5	14.7	7.8	4.2	3.7	2.1			100	
<i>North America</i>													
Canada	497	12.9	22.1	18.5	14.5	6.8	6.0	12.5	6.6			100	
United States	1,259	16.5	30.8	20.6	15.9	6.7	3.4	2.9	3.2			100	
<i>Asia</i>													
Hong Kong	228	3.5	14.9	53.9	6.6	3.5	6.6	4.4	6.6			100	
India	70	20.0	37.1	17.1	7.1	10.0	2.9	1.4	4.3			100	
Indonesia	80	0.0	35.0	26.3	22.5	10.0	0.0	1.3	5.0			100	
Japan	92	25.0	22.8	30.4	7.6	10.9	0.0	3.3	0.0			100	
Malaysia	154	9.1	40.9	17.5	13.0	14.9	1.9	1.3	1.3			100	
Philippines	91	7.7	50.5	17.6	22.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0			100	
Singapore	642	4.0	47.0	40.2	3.1	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.6			100	
<i>Africa</i>													
South Africa	133	12.0	25.6	20.3	18.8	1.5	3.8	12.8	5.3			100	
<i>Other countries</i>													
Other countries	1,966	19.6	32.3	20.2	11.2	5.5	3.6	5.0	2.7			100	
<b>Total</b>	<b>24,320</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>32.9</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>12.7</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>2.4</b>			<b>100</b>	

Source: Department of Statistics, Dunedin

\* The country in which the migrant last stayed for 12 months or more

Figure 21  
USUAL OCCUPATION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE NEW ZEALAND RESIDENTS RETURNING AFTER A LONG-TERM ABSENCE, 1981-1984



Source: Department of Statistics, Dunedin

among the return residents is probably related to the increased importance of the migration flows between New Zealand and Australia. There has almost certainly been a continuation of the pattern of the late 1970s of low occupational selectivity in the uncontrolled trans-Tasman migration flows, compared with those between New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Normally migrants with higher status occupations migrate greater distances than migrants with few occupational skills. The return residents embraced a very wide range of occupations in all sectors of the economy. In the year ended 31 March 1984 they included 594 primary education teachers, 523 professional registered nurses and 412 other nursing personnel, 481 carpenters, joiners and particle board workers, 439 machinery fitters and assemblers, 280 waiters, bartenders and related workers, 253 accountants, 225 electrical workers, 142 civil en-

gineers, 120 medical doctors, 96 authors, journalists and related workers, 70 lawyers and 54 air pilots, navigators and flight engineers.

The re-absorption of these return residents affects the labour and housing markets and varies according to the changing patterns of supply and demand. In many countries, return migrants are less than welcome because of the strains they put on the receiving economies; in New Zealand, employment agencies and individual firms seeking workers with particular skills have actively sought to encourage return migration. Situations also exist where return migrants obtain employment but are unable to use the skills they have acquired elsewhere. The re-integration difficulties of return migrants are almost certainly related to the migrants' length of absence from New Zealand and to family considerations such as the presence of

a non-New Zealander husband or wife, children that have been acculturated in another country and the attitudes of local residents to return migrants. Different adjustment experiences should be expected among different types of return migrants, such as the successful "spiralist" who is happy to return to his or her country or locality of origin, the professional who finds local candidates are favoured by appointment bodies, and residents who are "newcomers" returning rather than "natives" returning. Sometimes return migrants may have re-integration difficulties comparable to those of some new arrivals and a better understanding of these issues is needed.

### (c) *The world refugee crisis*

New Zealand is one of the relatively few countries that not only makes financial contributions to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for refugee repatriation and assistance, but also accepts refugees for permanent resettlement. In the 1980s, refugee problems are a challenge for most countries in the world: a formidable refugee crisis has developed. It is possible the legal and institutional framework for refugee protection and assistance will break down under the weight of its case-load. To prevent this happening, urgent attention needs to be given by the international community to refugee policy issues. A much better global understanding is needed of the contentions involved in the definition of a refugee, the causes of refugee movements in the appropriate strategies of response, and the factors that determine the refugee policy of receiving countries.

The definitional question is most important because people identified as refugees normally have special protection and benefits that are unavailable to migrants. The preferential status is recognised in international law as the refugee is a person in need who cannot obtain protection from the government of his or her own country. The international community is therefore obliged to give assistance. Many problems arise since the most widely used definitions are the United Nations concepts formulated to deal largely with European refugees after the Second World War. The conventional concepts are of questionable relevance for current refugee movements that originate largely in Third World countries. Different definitions of refugees affect the estimated number of world refugees by millions of people and radically changes the estimated cost and proposed methods of meeting their needs.

## Aspects of Fertility

### (a) *Age-specific fertility*

The last few decades have witnessed a continuing transformation of the pattern of child-bearing between the different age groups. In 1962, births to women under 24 years of age accounted for

38.4 percent of the total. This rose to 43.7 percent in 1971, reflecting the trend to a general compression of births at younger ages and more closely spaced pregnancies. At the same time, births to women over 35 years of age declined in their share of the total from 12.0 percent in 1962 to 8.5 percent in 1971.

In the general context of a downward shift in birth rates at all ages between 1971 and 1983, the relative importance of the different age groups in terms of age-specific fertility has changed. Whereas the 20 to 24-year age group had the highest probability of childbearing at the beginning of the 1970s, by 1983 the age-specific fertility rate for women in this age group was only 78 percent of that for women aged 25-29 years. For those aged 30-34 years, age-specific fertility had been less than half that of the 20 to 24-year age group in 1971. By 1983 it had risen to 62 percent of the latter's level.

The reasons for this shift are many and varied. It is certainly *not* a return to higher levels of overall fertility, as these variations have taken place within the context of a continuing downward decline in mean family size. One possible explanation is that women have delayed childbearing while they participate in other activities, for example, education, overseas travel, and establishing a career. Some evidence in support of this is found from data for nuptial births. In 1971, 72 percent of first nuptial births occurred while the mother was less than 24 years of age. In 1981, this figure had declined to 50 percent. It is known from other sources that involvement in full-time education has been rising steadily for women, as have the proportions travelling abroad, and entering the professions and other career-related occupations. Thus, subject to short-term random fluctuations in response to shifting external factors, current trends seems set to continue for the foreseeable future.

### (b) *Differential fertility*

A traditional method of distinguishing between different levels of fertility in New Zealand is to contrast the Maori and non-Maori populations. This device has only a limited utility. The underlying assumption appears to be that the fertility rates thus measured are in fact indicative of markedly different levels of fertility in the two major racial groups in New Zealand. This may be doubted on a number of grounds. For example, there is now good evidence that the recording of birth statistics by racial origin tends to understate the true incidence of Maori births (Brown, 1984). Instead of being recorded as "Maori" births, a proportion appear in the "non-Maori" category, inflating the latter and artificially deflating the former.

The second area for doubt is in the notion that there is such a thing as a "Maori" fertility rate.

The Maori people are not an homogeneous group. Apart from regional and tribal groupings, there is a range along the whole spectrum from those with only the merest statistical association with Maori ethnic status to the very small number of persons wholly Maori in their ethnic origin. The sense of cultural identification may bear little resemblance to the statistical fraction that their ancestry may suggest.

Thirdly, the differential between Maori and non-Maori fertility may be as much or more a function of social class as of ethnic status. The Maori population is disproportionately represented in low-status occupations, sub-standard housing, the lower-income bracket and have relatively poor levels of formal educational attainment. If fertility levels of disadvantaged groups in the non-Maori population could be compared to those for Maoris, the differentials would probably be much smaller than those shown in published statistics.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the data available show that Maori fertility levels have been declining at a very rapid rate and are now only marginally above minimum replacement level. The non-Maori figures on the other hand, show sub-replacement fertility to have been characteristic since 1978, and currently about 12 percent below replacement level. In the light of the above comments, plus the fact that "non-Maori" includes the relatively high fertility Pacific Island Polynesian population, the actual figure for New Zealanders of European origin is likely to be lower still. It is low fertility which is responsible for the rapid ageing of this population group. In terms of social policy, the continuation of sub-replacement fertility is expected to have a major influence for the foreseeable future.

### (c) *Abortion*

The total number of abortions in the calendar year 1983 was 7,198, a rise of 295 on the previous year.

The number of abortions reported for New Zealand has fluctuated widely. This is due in part to the fact that abortion was not a notifiable procedure until the Hospitals Amendment Act was passed in 1975. After the passage of the Act, and the later Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act (1977) which transferred responsibility for data collection to a supervisory committee, the number of recorded abortions continued to fluctuate. The Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act 1977 led to the temporary closure of the Auckland Medical Aid Centre, where the majority of the country's abortions had been performed. The immediate results were a re-opening of the old illegal abortion networks ("backstreet abortions") and, more particularly, a marked outflow of women to Australia to take advantage of the

more liberal legislation prevailing in some Australian states.

With the clarification of the New Zealand legal position, and the opening of a number of new abortion facilities, the numbers recorded climbed from 2,100 in 1978 to 6,759 in 1981. They appear to have more or less stabilised at that level. As one research report expressed it, the majority of abortions to New Zealand women are now "caught in the data net" (Pool and Sceats, 1982).

The data are still not complete. An unknown number of abortions are self-induced, result from the post-coital use of intra-uterine devices or tablets, are induced illegally by freelance abortionists, or are performed outside New Zealand. This last category includes pregnancies of more than three months' duration for which abortions are hard to obtain in New Zealand. In the year ended 31 March 1984, 95.5 percent of all abortions were performed at less than 12 weeks' duration of pregnancy. Various attempts have been made to estimate the total extent of these unrecorded activities, but the results have such a wide margin of variation that they cannot be quoted with any confidence. What can be said is that given differential access to abortion facilities, the number of unrecorded abortions is undoubtedly higher than it need be.

If it is assumed that the proportion of women of particular ages having an abortion remains constant, and the proportion of all abortions caught in the data net also remains constant, then fluctuations in abortion numbers will tend to reflect variations in the size of the population exposed to risk. In 1983-84, 77 percent of abortions occurred to women aged 15-29 years. This group is projected to grow in size by 3.2 percent over the rest of the decade and, all other things being equal, abortions will increase for this age group by the same amount. In fact, the fluctuation in figures will probably be much greater than that, mainly because more persons are expected to come within the data net. One point that should be noted is that 77.6 percent of abortions were performed on women not currently married, and 60.4 percent on women who have never been married.

Abortions are sought to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. Experience in this country and elsewhere shows quite conclusively that restricting access to abortion does not reduce its incidence, but merely pushes it underground, with all the well-documented deleterious consequences that implies for women in particular. For those concerned that current abortion levels are too high, the solution would seem to lie therefore in reducing the demand for abortion by limiting as far as possible its origin in the unwanted pregnancy.

**Table 18**  
**ABORTION RATES AND RATIOS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Rate per 1000 women 15-44 years</i>	<i>Ratio Abortions per 100 live births</i>
New Zealand	9.7	13.7
Canada	11.1	17.5
Czechoslovakia	32.1	43.5
Denmark	20.7	42.9
England & Wales (residents only)	12.6	20.3
Finland	11.9	20.4
France	15.3	21.3
Germany (F.R.)	8.1	17.6
Japan	22.5	37.7
Netherlands (residents only)	6.0	11.1
Norway	16.4	27.1
Sweden	19.4	35.5
United States	29.3	42.8

Source: Tietze, *Induced Abortion*, 1983

This in turn implies either an improvement in social and financial support services that will encourage taking the pregnancy to term, or a more concerted effort to eliminate the unwanted pregnancy by better preventive measures, or both. In particular, such a programme should be targeted at the highly vulnerable young single persons who are the most common victims of the silence and misinformation which is all too characteristic of sexual matters.

Abortion rates in New Zealand remain at a very low level by the standards of comparable countries. As Table 18 shows, in New Zealand in 1983 the abortion rate (the number of abortions per 1,000 women of reproductive age (15-44 years)) was 9.7. A lower level than this was recorded only in the Federal Republic of Germany (where the data are known to be incomplete) and the Netherlands. The second measure in the table is the abortion ratio, that is, the number of abortions per 100 live births. As expected, the pattern is broadly similar to the first column, with only the Netherlands recording a lower ratio than New Zealand. In the Netherlands there are known to be very high levels of utilisation of effective forms of contraception. The suffix of "residents only" is appended to both the Netherlands and England and Wales. Both countries have a large influx of women from countries with more restrictive abortion laws. In the Netherlands, this is notably the case for Belgian and German women. England is similarly a refuge for Irish women. A number of countries have filled this "port of convenience" role in the past, for example Sweden, and some do so today. Apart from those already mentioned, the United States has fulfilled this role for Canadian and Latin American women since 1973, and Australia performs a now relatively minor role for New Zealand women, particularly after the third month of pregnancy.

Regardless of the level of abortions, there will always be groups who variously see the existing law as either amounting to abortion on demand, or imposing unnecessary restrictions on the woman's right to choose. The 1977 Act was designed in part to steer a middle course between these irreconcilable interests. The decision of the Court of Appeal in *Wall v Livingstone* 1982 1 N.Z.L.R. 734 is therefore all the more interesting in that the Court held that the decision whether or not to abort was essentially a medical one for the doctor acting *bona fides* in the interests of his patient. Ironically, this restores what had been widely regarded as the common law position prior to the 1977 legislative intervention (O'Neill, 1984).

Policy intervention in the abortion area might focus most usefully on remedying the uneven distribution of services throughout the country and also reducing the demand for abortion by attacking its root cause, the unwanted pregnancy.

#### (d) *Infertility*

A major topic of interest in the past year has been couples who have had to resolve their childlessness by resource to technological intervention. In the past, such persons have normally sought to adopt a child. With the dramatic reduction in babies available from the traditional source, however, attention has focused on the various alternatives, of which in-vitro fertilisation techniques are the most widely discussed in public.

Before 1984, New Zealand women wishing to avail themselves of this service were required to travel to Australia. The first babies born to New Zealand women impregnated in the Australian in-vitro programme arrived in early 1984. A modest programme has also been established at Auckland's National Women's Hospital, and the first two births from that facility were also recorded in 1984.

From a purely demographic point of view, in-vitro babies have a negligible impact upon the total level of fertility in the community. The total number of babies world-wide as a result of this technique to date is equal to less than one week's total of births in New Zealand. Even with greater resources and a higher success rate, the role of in-vitro fertilisation in total fertility is unlikely to be other than of extremely modest proportions.

Of far greater demographic significance are births resulting from artificial insemination by donor (A.I.D.). No reliable estimates of total births from this source are available. It is known however this option has been available in New Zealand for a number of decades, and inseminations now amount to more than one hundred per year. Two issues in particular are worth noting in this context. The first is that the rapid advances in reproductive technology have not been matched by corresponding advances in the law. Two major studies published in New Zealand in 1983 drew attention to the various defects in the legal coverage of new reproductive technologies (Thomsen, 1983; O'Neill, 1983). The topic was a major theme of the 1984 Law Society Conference and the government has announced the setting up of an interdepartmental working party to review the situation and bring down recommendations early in 1985.

The second issue is that fresh interest has been given to treating the causes of infertility. These are many and varied. Some are susceptible to surgical intervention and some are not. What is particularly disturbing however is that a significant proportion of female infertility is the by-product of untreated or treated-too-late sexually transmitted diseases. Of these diseases, chlamydia is the most widespread, and in many developed countries has reached epidemic proportions. A great deal more could be done however to alert people to the health dangers associated with casual or promiscuous sexual relations, and the need for early treatment of any manifestation of disease. This will be effective only if people have the knowledge to recognise the symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases, and have this knowledge early enough in their lives for it to be effective.

#### (e) *Ex-nuptial fertility*

Prior to 1 January 1970, a distinction was drawn between children born in wedlock and those born out of wedlock: legitimate and illegitimate respectively. From that date, however, the Status of Children Act 1969 came into force, and in the words of section 3 of that Act, "the relationship between every person and his mother and father shall be determined irrespective of whether the mother and father are or have been married to each other".

Since that time it has been customary to refer to the distinction between children born in wedlock and those born out of wedlock as "nuptial" or "ex-nuptial" respectively. Pursuant to that distinction, section 41 of the Child Welfare Act 1925, which was replaced by section 10 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1974, required a social worker "to make such enquiries as may be necessary to ascertain the condition of the child and its mother" (s10(2)).

It is difficult to sustain an argument for the retention of this section in the light of the underlying premise of the Status of Children Act that all children are of equal status. The logic of this argument was acknowledged in 1982 when section 10 was repealed. Not only was this step inevitable given the Status of Children Act, it was also entirely consistent with the recent trend towards removing legal discriminatory barriers between persons on the grounds of their marital status. The time may now have come therefore to stop the publication of data (although retaining its collection for administrative and research purposes) of births according to some arbitrary standard as to the parents' marital status.

#### (f) *Education statistics*

One of the areas most clearly and directly affected by changes in fertility levels are projections of school age populations. It is convenient to treat them in two distinct groups; primary and secondary school ages.

(i) *Primary* — Once the figures for a year's births are known, it is relatively easy to plot them through succeeding years, depleting the cohort for mortality according to the current life table schedule, and either adding to or subtracting from it according to migration assumptions. Thus, all children who have been born during the preceding five years will be school entrants over the next five years. Equally, those born after 1984 will not begin to influence school rolls until five years after their birth dates.

Given the tendency to work with school roll projections on a ten-year rolling basis, and with all primary school children required to attend school, the projection of school rolls is (or should be) relatively straightforward. For the purposes of the present exercise, the medium fertility variant of the Department of Statistics 1983-2016 projections with a long-term annual net migration level of zero (Series B) is assumed.

Using the 5 to 12-year old population as a proxy for primary school enrolment, it is found that enrolment levels decline from 455,110 in 1983 to 397,600 in 1991, or by 12.6

percent. They then rise through the 1990s, peaking around the turn of the century before declining steadily. The rise is attributable to changes in numbers of women of reproductive age, which affect the annual number of births. Even at the peak of the "recovery" however, primary school rolls are about 45,000 pupils below their current levels.

Should fertility rates fall further and faster than anticipated, or should they even rise, there would be little short-term effect. In the decade-long planning horizon customarily used, an immediate and sustained 10 percent increase in births would still result in a primary school age population in 1996 substantially below current levels. Over the longer term, of course, any increase or decrease would have more significant consequences.

- (ii) *Secondary rolls* — Enrolments at secondary school level are far more problematic because they include both a compulsory (13-14 years), and an optional element. The future size of secondary school rolls is therefore a function of the size of the relevant cohorts, and the proportion of those cohorts which stays at school beyond the minimum leaving age of 15 years. In July 1983, 91.6 percent of 15-year olds were still in school, dropping to 71.1 percent of 16-year olds, and only 32.8 percent of 17-year olds.

For illustrative purposes, the size of the 13

to 17-year age group may be taken as being a theoretical secondary school population. In 1983 that age group numbered 301,960 persons. The school enrolment for those same age groups in July 1982 was 218,028 or 72.2 percent. (The actual percentage should be a little higher because a small number were full-time at technical institutes etc.) This 13 to 17-year age group is expected to decline steadily between now and the turn of the century, to 245,090 or by nearly 19 percent. The reason for the much steeper fall in this cohort size compared to the 5-12 cohort is that secondary school age populations are affected for the rest of the century by the steep decline in births that occurred after 1971.

It should be added, however, that actual changes in secondary school rolls are likely to be much less drastic. There have been rapid improvements in secondary school retention ratios in recent years. Furthermore, New Zealand still has one of the worst records among developed nations for the mean duration of secondary schooling of its citizens. There is plenty of scope for improvement. It might be argued that policy changes aimed at removing the academic bias from the secondary curriculum will encourage some significantly disadvantaged groups to avail themselves of a longer stay at school. Such a policy will have beneficial effects, both individually and nationally.

## Section 4

# POLICY ISSUES

This last section of the report draws out some of the implications for policy-making of the trends and population issues discussed earlier in Sections 2 and 3. First the implications of general population trends for government expenditure are focused on. The labour force, regional population distribution, and international migration are then looked at in turn.

### Implications of Population Trends for Government Expenditure

Although it is not the brief of the Population Monitoring Group to comment on areas outside those affecting the population, the line between demographic influences and others is difficult to define. Obviously economic and social policy are affected by many factors other than demographic ones and any attempt to analyse the impact of demographic trends upon a policy variable must be with the qualification that a changing economic and social environment may well be more significant in the long run.

Nonetheless the Population Monitoring Group considers its analysis of demographic trends does bring to light some important implications for government expenditure. Of all New Zealand economic policy variables, the provision of government goods and services is one of the most sensitive to demographic change, and the trends outlined in this report will have significant influences over the rest of this century and beyond.

The interaction between demographic factors and economic trends is clearly demonstrated when the question of "dependency" is considered. The demographic (or age) dependency burden is generally calculated on the basis of the proportion of the population aged under 15 plus those over 60. This burden is based on the concept that people in those age groups are more dependent upon government-provided goods, services and incomes for their welfare than those of working age. Although useful, some caution should be exercised in the interpretation of the demographic dependency burden. It assumes young and old are equally burdensome and that they are the only groups which impose a burden.

Of more importance in analysing the actual impact on government expenditure is the economic dependency ratio. In this measure, an appropriate weighting is made for the dependent group of working age. In practice, the "old" component of

the population imposes a greater demand on central government expenditure and the "old-old" (75+) a considerably greater demand again. Consequently, weighting each of these groups according to the demand they exert on the economy and on state services, and taking into account the proportionately greater growth anticipated amongst the old population, it is apparent there is a relatively greater real burden than at first implied.

Furthermore, in addition to an appropriate weighting of the variables, an economic dependency ratio must also take into account the unemployed component of the labour force. In this regard, the analysis of labour force projections indicates that the total labour force (full-time and part-time) is expected to grow in numbers from 1,622,000 in 1986 to 1,913,000 by 2001. 291,000 additional jobs will therefore be required over those 15 years to meet the employment requirements of that potential labour force. It is sobering to note that this is a significantly faster rate of job growth than has actually occurred in New Zealand over the last 40 years. If the job requirements of the expanding potential labour force are not met, the provision of income maintenance and/or subsidised employment could well be one of the most important upward pressures on government expenditure over the next decade and a half.

The above could well mean that changes in the age dependency burden may be of relatively lesser significance than popularly imagined. However changes in that ratio will still be of some importance. While the shift in the age dependency burden from the youthful to the elderly has slowed a little, the proportion of the population aged 60 and over will probably be approaching 16 percent at the turn of the century. This change represents a growth in numbers of more than 140,000 (or an increase of 33 percent). Thus National Superannuation can be expected to continue as a growing government commitment, even with the 1984 Budget changes.

At the other end of the age dependency scale, the proportion of the population of school age will continue to decline. Primary school enrolment levels are likely to decline by 12.6 percent between 1983 and 1991. They are likely to rise through the 1990s, peaking around the turn of the century, and then to decline steadily. Even at the peak of the recovery, however, primary school

rolls would still be about 45,000 pupils below current levels.

The size of the 13 to 17-year age group (a theoretical secondary school population) is expected to decline steadily between now and the turn of the century, dropping to about 245,000 (a decline of 19 percent). However actual changes in secondary school rolls are likely to be much less drastic as recent years have seen rapid improvements in secondary school retention ratios. Equally importantly, the demographic effect may be partially offset by an increase in the mean duration of secondary schooling, an area where New Zealand has a comparatively poor record among developed nations.

Obviously education spending is affected by more than demographic factors. Trends indicate that demographic changes should not of themselves exert any significant upward pressures on government expenditure on education over the rest of this century. Rising secondary school participation rates may exert such pressures however, as may the increased provision of pre-school education.

The mortality trends outlined in this report suggest important implications for the provision of health care. The long-term convergence of Maori and non-Maori life expectancy has not been maintained during the early 1980s. Considerable regional variations also exist in male and female life expectancy and in standardised death rates, with the less urbanised regions tending to have higher mortality rates. This suggests there are regional disparities in health services delivery, and that access to general, obstetric and geriatric health care should be maintained at a satisfactory level in rural areas.

### Implications of Labour Force Trends

The labour force projections previously discussed indicated the need for a more rapid rate of job creation than has occurred at any time in the last 40 years. This raises the major question of whether near-full employment in its traditional sense can again be envisaged. Agreement on this point depends partly on a common view of the causes of unemployment, future directions of the international economy and the likely results of various policies — such agreement is unlikely to be found among economists and other analysts of the problems. One classification system for unemployment has been into the categories of demand deficiency, structural and frictional, with studies finding that the predominant cause of unemployment in New Zealand is deficiency of demand. However, structural problems may now be emerging.

The orthodox view among many economists and advisers to government is that the economy would

improve and new jobs would be created if the real wage fell. At the current real wage, labour is seen as pricing itself out of the market relative to overseas competition and/or capital. Macroeconomic policies would be designed, among other objectives, to ensure the gains from devaluation are realised, with a continuing fall in the real, as well as the nominal, exchange rate. This also requires less indexation in the economy and greater flexibility in wage fixing arrangements to permit a better market response. As the Treasury advice to the incoming government, published under the title *Economic Management*, put these and related points:

*"A more stable and predictable macroeconomic policy environment, together with the dismantling of policies which tend to reduce the efficiency of resource use, should facilitate the adjustments required to achieve a higher and more sustainable rate of growth. In the labour market, a programme of study is required to identify the main factors impeding adjustment. It is already apparent that reforms to the wage fixing system are required to enable greater flexibility in wage outcomes. In the short run, the average structure of real wages needs to fall if unemployment is to be substantially reduced."*

Whether such orthodox policies would in fact restore full employment even if a higher rate of growth of output was achieved, is a controversial question in the context of the current technological revolution. In such revolutions in the past, job creation has exceeded job replacement by new technology, but there is no agreement as to whether this will occur again. Silicon chip technology certainly could result in the elimination of the larger proportion of clerical and retail jobs in the medium term.

The question of whether the employment problem is a short or long-term one is critical to the appropriate remedies. While some suggested measures, such as job sharing, earlier retirement and later entry to the labour force, may have other arguments in their favour as well as the reduction in required employment creation, they mainly have a once-and-for-all effect in terms of the latter. They are therefore of little use if the problem is a continuing one.

Most subsidised employment schemes have been found to have a larger job diversion than true job creation effect. This is not necessarily to argue that they should be eliminated; if they are targeted to the most disadvantaged groups in the labour force with higher levels and longer duration of unemployment, the social case for them is strong. There is indeed a danger that where government expenditure is involved, overall economic and em-

ployment problems can divert attention from the particular difficulties of disadvantaged groups and prevent implementation of policies to assist them.

There is evidence of labour market segmentation in New Zealand, with women and racial minorities, particularly Maoris and Pacific Islanders, being over-represented in the secondary area with poorer wages, worse conditions and fewer opportunities for training and promotion. Policies to promote equal opportunity in occupational choice and career advancement have been implemented — for example through the "Girls Can Do Anything" campaign, and the positive action programme for unemployed young women, piloted in Taranaki and soon to be extended to other areas. The programme of equality for women included in the government's election policy included provision of better child care facilities, the introduction of affirmative action programmes in the public sector and their encouragement in the private sector, amendments to improve the Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act, and improved access to training and retraining programmes. However, progress in changing attitudes and breaking down occupational segregation and differential opportunities for promotion is very slow.

If the proposition that technological change will make it impossible to provide 35 to 40 hours' employment a week over the traditional working life for those we now consider to be part of the full-time labour force, the necessary adjustments to policies and thinking become much more fundamental. If the goods and services required can in fact be produced efficiently with considerably less than full employment, the problem would appear to be how to distribute resources and income so that the demand for them can be effective with an adequate standard of living for all. The work/leisure dichotomy would need to be eroded so that fulfilling activity of all types (including production, servicing, voluntary, community or household work, artistic and cultural endeavour) would be valued equally. The work ethic, which can convey higher status on those in paid employment than in unpaid employment, and produce feelings of inadequacy and hopelessness among those unable to find a job, would need to be eroded, and adequate incomes or command over resources provided for all without the feeling of privilege or obligation rather than right. This is, however, some distance in the future.

### Regional Distribution of Population

Most public interest in regional issues over the last decade or so has been concerned with "regional development". This has been conceived primarily as an economic response to an economic problem — what were perceived as excessive differences in regional economic/employment growth rates. The concern, however, had its primary roots

in high levels of net outward migration which were seen as involving excessive social dislocation. Related questions of relative income levels, under-utilised infrastructure and undeveloped resources also feature in the debate. While the cause and solution were seen as essentially economic, the underlying inspiration was demographic and social, and the effectiveness of the regional development programme is based on its demographic effect.

Opinions differ as to how effective the regional development programme has been or can be, given the limited commitment of resources. Many other activities of government have a regional effect, but the "levering" or "seeding" effect of regional assistance should not be under-estimated, nor should the indirect effects of the existence of the policy on the implementation of other policies.

While the programme was aimed at what was seen as the immediate need, and it has never had very clear long-term (let alone quantitative) targets, its continuation would have a significant long-term effect on distribution of population. It is thus timely to consider to what degree the situation in which the existing regional development policy evolved, still exists.

The existing formal regional development assistance programme (while only one of a number of policies that influence changes in population distribution), is still built upon a presumption dating from the early 1970s, of a need to give some degree of priority to selected non-metropolitan regions. As most of these regions are in the south, the policy has also in practice operated to give priority for such assistance to the south in general, even though some northern North Island regions also have priority. Latterly, these types of assistance have received less emphasis, as other policies and programmes with significant regional development effects have received more attention, involving an implicit shift in regional policy. Government actions during the last few years have generally attached most importance to the promotion of employment and reduction of unemployment in all regions, rather than to actions which discriminate strongly between regions. Additional regional development bodies have been established, but with advisory functions only. As far as the formal specific regional development policy stands, however, the traditional regional assistance priorities apparently still remain (as at October 1984).

Regional population distribution trends since the mid-1970s call in question whether a regional policy that is in any sense anti-metropolitan is appropriate any longer. Clearly neither Wellington nor Christchurch is absorbing any large share of growth that should be redirected elsewhere, for

the sort of reasons that were being advanced in the early 1970s when an explicitly anti-metropolitan policy was being developed. Equally clearly, the non-metropolitan regions have not benefited visibly from the reduced growth in Wellington and Christchurch. Similarly, while Auckland's growth remains a significant proportion of the national total, its rate of growth is much less than when argument raged about its problems of rapid growth. In addition there is now a major concentration of unemployment in the Auckland region resulting from a combination of slow economic growth and inbuilt labour force growth resulting from the regional level of births and net inward migration in the late 1960s and the 1970s. There are also many individuals in Auckland whose living standards are similar to or below those of many individuals in the priority regions, whose position should not be worsened by policies intended to improve equity.

A preferable formulation of ideal regional policy would be the seeking of the most appropriate development of each region, having regard both to national needs and the needs of the residents of each region. This is easier to state as an ideal than to apply in practice. However, it does imply a framework that does not necessarily predetermine the outcome, and which permits flexibility in the central government response to changing circumstances. Developments in the planning system, and the administration of existing regional development policy during the early 1980s, can be seen as tending in this direction.

Such a reformulation of policy would leave open to continuing review the question of whether a policy of intervention to modify changes in the distribution of population was needed at any particular time. In the final analysis, this is not a technical question but a political issue in the widest sense, as it involves value judgements that only the electorate at large can make. Academic attempts to define approaches to determining optimum population distribution have not been very productive in practical policy formation as there are no truly universal criteria from which to approach the question (except perhaps in the case of military strategic reasons, which have never been a matter of concern in New Zealand in living memory as far as the Population Monitoring Group is aware).

On the assumption that the government will move in the foreseeable future to modify the anti-metropolitan element of existing regional policy, there would remain a need to address the general question of whether there would be any real grounds for concern in the continuation of the historical pattern of concentration of population growth in the northern North Island. It is not certain that this particular pattern will necessarily continue,

as the structural changes in the national economy and regional responses to these over, say, the next two decades, cannot be particularly well known beyond the very short term.

Some further degree of population concentration in the north will tend to occur naturally. The northern North Island would still tend to grow more rapidly than the south taken as a whole, because of its younger age structure and higher fertility. Such a pattern is likely to be reinforced by differential absorption of overseas migration. Thus some degree of further population concentration in the north is highly probable unless a reversal of internal migration patterns were to occur. Although not all migration is directly related to employment growth, it is unlikely that any such reversal could occur unless economic development was persistently more rapid in the south than the north.

Whether future patterns of economic growth are likely to favour metropolitan more than non-metropolitan regions, or northern more than southern regions, is a matter for debate and further research. There are grounds for the inference that in the short term, economic changes and the impacts of closer economic relations with Australia may adversely affect the existing industrial bases of the metropolitan regions, but there are also major opportunities in the situation for them, and various implications for other regions (McDermott, 1983).

In its very simplest form, the question of policy attitudes regarding future population distribution could be posed (rather arbitrarily), as a question of community reactions to the possible scenario of the New Zealand population increasing by, say, some 10 to 20 percent over the next 20 years or so, with most of the increase occurring in the northern North Island and, say, half that increase in metropolitan Auckland, with relatively little growth in the national population or shift in the broad pattern of population distribution beyond that point (a continuation of recent growth patterns in a national context of sub-replacement fertility and low international net migration could take such a form).

Consideration of whether there would actually be anything intrinsically undesirable from a practical point of view in such a pattern of development as that posed hypothetically above, could be more productive than inconclusive debate about optimum population distribution. Alternative or additional scenarios should also be considered if they can be supported as equally, or more, likely. In any case, it needs to be kept in mind that there is only limited scope for governmental agencies to determine the location of population in other than unacceptably totalitarian societies, or with-

out coming into conflict with other policies, equally strongly held for other reasons.

The subjects of other policies may be influenced by, or result from, a particular change in population distribution, but it does not follow that it is necessary or even possible to alter the effects of such changes, by further changes in population distribution. There may well be alternative or better ways of altering the effects, if this is desired, or it may simply be impossible to influence the pattern of change on the scale implied by those dissatisfied with the pattern, in which case it would be better not to cause confusion about the intention or policy by seeming to try to do so.

### International Migration Policy

International migration policy utilises measures to promote or limit different types of migration. The measures can be aimed at immigration or emigration or both, though democratic states such as New Zealand avoid explicit policies to stimulate or retard emigration; this is in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states, "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." In receiving countries, the measures generally involve immigration laws and the provisions for their enforcement. Nation states have established the principle that they have absolute sovereignty in establishing and controlling migration policy and in judging whether it is good or bad in terms of their national interests. Immigration policies should ideally take account of many issues other than the size and the economic impact of the international population movements; they are concerned with questions of ethics, law, diplomacy and international relations. In the future, the influence of foreign policy and national security concerns will increase. The new global flows perspective on international migration is emphasising not only the global interdependence of migration movements but also its intrusive effects on national independence and sovereignty, on the absorptive capacity of different societies and on the legal distinctions between the rights of aliens and citizens.

The official objectives of New Zealand's immigration policy are set out in *Immigration and New Zealand — A Statement of Current Immigration Policy* (Department of Labour, Immigration Division, 1983), rather than the Immigration Act of 1964 and its amendments. The Act provides an administrative framework for the operation of the government's policies. This has been found to "allow a good measure of flexibility of approach", although many sections of the Act are deficient or unworkable (Scrivener, 1984, p.68). The new Immigration Bill which lapsed when Parliament was prorogued on 14 June 1984 also focused on administrative matters. The 86 submissions to the

Statutes Revision Committee on the Immigration Bill 1983 cover a wide range of issues. The extent to which they are taken into account by the new Labour Government will be known when a further Immigration Bill is introduced to Parliament before the end of March 1985.

New Zealand's immigration policy has two main objectives: to serve specific national interests such as the provision of skilled workers and the promotion of economic growth, and to further humanitarian movements such as the reunification of families and the resettlement of international refugees. Permanent entry is controlled and selective to ensure that the numbers of migrants admitted can be provided not only with employment, but also housing, and social and community services. Entry is allowed on occupational, family reunification and humanitarian grounds and provision is made for the immigration of entrepreneurs, Western Samoan and Dutch citizens and for persons who are distinguished in the arts or sciences or in public or cultural life overseas. Temporary entry policies have minimal formality to facilitate the entry of business visitors and travellers. Special arrangements exist for the temporary entry from Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa of the parents of New Zealand citizens or permanent residents, the managerial and skilled staff needed by overseas companies and New Zealand firms, and students. There is also a South Pacific work permit scheme for citizens of Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa who have job offers in New Zealand. The trans-Tasman travel arrangement exempts Australian citizens and Commonwealth citizens and the citizens of the Republic of Ireland travelling from Australia from the visa and entry permit requirements of the Immigration Act 1964.

### Immigration principles

New Zealand can implement an immigration policy to promote its domestic and international interests much more effectively than countries which have uncontrollable land frontiers but it needs to ensure its immigration policy is clear and that all people are treated equally. The fundamental principles on which immigration and refugee policy are based need addressing. In New Zealand a better and deeper understanding is required of principles to:

- support the achievement of such demographic goals as may be established from time to time by the government in respect of the size, composition and geographical distribution of New Zealand's population
- facilitate family reunion and the entry of permanent and temporary migrants on the basis of laws and regulations that are equitable towards all people regardless of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion or sex
- fulfil New Zealand's international legal obligations with respect to refugees and to main-



- maintain its humanitarian tradition with respect to displaced and persecuted people
- recognise New Zealand's various responsibilities in the South Pacific region
- facilitate and promote the assimilation of new immigrants, refugee settlers and return migrants and to safeguard the individual rights of long and short-term visitors as well as citizens.

#### Policy issues

Four policy issues are highlighted in this section because they can contribute particularly to upgrading the level of immigration policy discussion in New Zealand. They are the need for New Zealand policy-makers to integrate relevant demographic relationships into their decisions and to have regard for wider population effects; the response that New Zealand should make to assist international refugees; the implications of regional migration arrangements; and the assistance that should be provided to help different types of migrants to establish themselves in New Zealand.

In the mid-1980s there is beginning to be a heightened awareness in New Zealand that a multicultural society must be developed in which all immigrants and ethnic groups can take pride in their varied traditions and find self-fulfillment in their country of residence for the benefit of all residents. Immigration policy-making must not only take account of these changes but also seek to ensure proper attention is given to the long-term consequences of different levels and types of immigration. Information is needed on the two-way relationship between immigration and population growth and on the changing composition of New Zealand's population to ensure equitable quality of life.

New Zealand needs to review its assistance to international refugees to ensure its response to the world refugee crisis is as generous and effective as possible. Countries have traditionally viewed refugee policy concerning the root causes of refugee migration and financial contributions to the United Nations for local repatriation and resettlement separately; the need is to develop overall strategies. Refugee policies must be flexible enough to allow programmes to adjust quickly to changing situations. It would safeguard the rights of refugees settling in New Zealand if the new Immigration Bill included special provisions for refugees.

Continuing debate on the existing special migration arrangements between New Zealand and Australia and the South Pacific countries with which

New Zealand has historical links, make it clear that public policy debate will continue on these issues. The trans-Tasman travel arrangement affects New Zealand's largest migration flows and any imposition of work permit requirements in Australia, as proposed by the Australian Workers' Union for the Australian shearing industry, could have profound implications in New Zealand. Geographical and political considerations may not be strong enough to maintain the present free flow arrangements if the number of New Zealanders moving to Australia is seen to be an intolerable exception to Australia's general immigration requirements. On the other hand, the development of closer economic relations between the two countries and the common labour market are strong arguments for allowing New Zealanders and Australians to continue to move freely between the two countries. It should be noted that because trans-Tasman migration is so important a part of total New Zealand migration, the Australian government has considerable potential both to determine New Zealand government population policy (by significantly affecting the context in which that policy is evolved), and to disrupt sharply such policy (by its actions). Agreement with the Australian government about policy toward trans-Tasman migration is an essential feature of New Zealand population policy and of the moves towards closer relations between the two countries.

The special provisions made for limited permanent and temporary labour migration between New Zealand and the Pacific Island communities, with which it has traditional links, will almost certainly continue. New Zealand is focusing increasing attention on the survival problems of small remote islands in the South Pacific; this must include more consideration of the migration implications for the island nations as well as for the migrants themselves.

It is well known that immigrants may arrive in New Zealand with idyllic perceptions of their new country and its people, and may find the resettlement process more difficult than anticipated. Additional support and advisory services may help the new residents to better establish themselves in New Zealand. Different types of migrants have different needs but issues requiring urgent consideration include employment training and job training experience for refugee migrants, the recognition of overseas qualifications, industrial language training, bilingual counsellors and social workers to provide a support network for minority groups, interpreter and translator services, opportunities for first language maintenance, and English language training.

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