

The Globalisation of International Migration in New Zealand: Contribution to a Debate

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A Context

International migration today touches the lives of more people and looms larger in the politics and economics of more states than ever before. In fact, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, almost no country is untouched by international migration or is immune to its effects (Papademetriou 2000:1).

The views of New Zealanders are overwhelmingly local in virtually all matters. With localism being the prevailing and dominant orientation in New Zealand society, immigration is unlikely to become highly globalised (Parr 2000:329).

The quotations from Demetrious Papademetriou, a political scientist from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Arnold Parr, a sociologist at the University of Canterbury, set the scene for this paper on the globalisation of international migration in New Zealand. Papademetriou (2000) captures well a prevailing view about international migration in the contemporary world – a world in which population movement is assuming increasing significance as a force for social transformation everywhere. He echoes Castles and Miller (1998:1) who lay considerable emphasis on the role of international migration in creating “novel forms of interdependence, transnational society and bilateral and regional co-operation [that] are rapidly transforming the lives of millions of people and inextricably weaving together the fates of states and societies”. Castles and Miller (1998:1) acknowledge that while the movements of people across borders have shaped states and societies for centuries, “what is distinctive in recent years

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is their global scope, their centrality to domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences”.

Arnold Parr’s comment, which is in a paper entitled “Immigration and New Zealand: from localism to globalism?” highlights a major paradox associated with the increasing significance of international migration for states and societies everywhere. At the national level there can be significant resistance to the transnational revolution that Papademetriou and others argue is reshaping societies and politics everywhere. Parr (2000), in a thought-provoking critique of the “globalising potential” of recent immigration for New Zealand, uses data from national and local surveys of residents to assess the extent to which localism, as distinct from globalism, is reflected in the attitudes New Zealanders have toward immigration and immigrants.

Parr’s (2000:329) general conclusion is that “the views of New Zealanders are not conducive to the population of New Zealand becoming more diversified globally”. He suggests that the *Review of Immigration Policy August 1986*, which ushered in a new age of immigration policy in New Zealand, has not produced “a globalisation of immigration”. Rather, he argues, there has been an Asianisation of immigration because of a strong focus of immigration policy through the late 1980s and early 1990s on linking New Zealand more closely to the Pacific rim countries of Asia (Trlin and Kang 1992). He suggests that “besides Asians and immigrants from traditional source countries, few immigrants have come from other places” (Parr 2000:329).

This paper examines a number of Parr’s propositions about the absence of a “globalisation of immigration” in New Zealand since the early 1980s using data drawn from the arrival and departure cards completed by everyone entering and leaving New Zealand, and some of the information collected by the New Zealand Immigration Service from people applying for long-term residence in New Zealand – the “approvals” data base. Our argument is that the data show clearly that there has been significant globalisation of immigration and not just the Asianisation that Parr emphasises. Our discussion is in three sections. First we outline the essence of Parr’s argument and situate this in the context of some of our own research on international migration over the past decade. The second and substantive section of the paper contains an analysis of immigration, emigration and net migration, drawing on the data bases referred to above. The third section draws some conclusions about the globalisation of migration as this can be established from data on sources and destinations of migrants.

Throughout the paper we draw a distinction between New Zealand’s

“traditional” sources of emigrants and destinations for New Zealanders going overseas (Australia, the United Kingdom, the Pacific Islands, Europe and North America), and the “non-traditional” sources and destinations. It is appreciated that this classification is a relative one – by 2002 parts of southeast and northeast Asia were well-established as sources of immigrants and destinations of New Zealanders, especially for short-term stays. We make extensive use of the data on “permanent and long-term” (PLT) migration (people entering or leaving New Zealand for 12 months or more). This is deliberate – the public perception of “immigrants” and “emigrants” is that they are people moving with the intention of staying. However, an important part of the globalisation of New Zealand’s immigration and emigration since the early 1980s has been the growing importance of short-term movement for work as well as leisure. This short-term movement has a significant impact on the net migration gains and losses to New Zealand and it must be taken into account when examining the impact that international migration has on population change in New Zealand (Lidgard *et al.* 1998; Bedford 2001a). We do not devote much attention to this aspect of New Zealand’s international migration in this paper.

A Postmodern Paradox?

According to Parr (2000:327), local resistance to the globalising tendencies of contemporary international migration in New Zealand is manifested in “a distinct desire for state political control over immigration.” Almost half of his local survey population indicated that New Zealand should tighten immigration laws and reinforce border control systems. There is nothing unusual about this tension between localism and globalism over immigration; it is found in many other parts of the world as well. Douglas Massey (2000:4), for example, points out that “on balance recent economic, political and demographic trends suggest a move toward tighter immigration control in the next century”. He goes on to suggest the following postmodern paradox: “as the global economy unleashes powerful forces that produce larger and more diverse flows of migrants from developing to developed countries [and between developed countries], it simultaneously creates conditions within developed countries that promote the implementation of restrictive immigration policies”.

This tendency towards stricter control over immigration at a time of larger and more diverse flows into and out of New Zealand is reflected in the much tougher stance Government is taking with people who abuse the conditions of the particular permits or visas under which they gained entry to New Zealand. Privileges relating to visa-waiver have been withdrawn

from the nationals of several countries in recent years because of what was perceived to be persistent abuse of the restriction on obtaining employment that underpins the visa-waiver system. The visa-waiver system has been designed to promote tourism and short-term visits, not the flow of labour (Bedford and Lidgard 1998). The latter is governed by different sorts of permits and visas that are linked to qualifications and work experience, and the perceived contributions that skilled human capital can make to the development of New Zealand.

Another indication of the implementation of more restrictive policies is the efforts by New Zealand, along with most other advanced industrial economies, to regulate entry of asylum seekers. Even though the rhetoric about immigration remains distinctly positive and welcoming for people with skills, qualifications and money to invest in New Zealand's economic development, the regulatory regime that controls the flow of non-citizens into the country is becoming more stringent. Re-regulation is as much a feature of contemporary globalisation in the area of international migration as it is in the areas of commodity and capital flows.

The flows of people, money, and commodities have all become much more intensive and complex during the last quarter of the twentieth century, but the rules governing many of these flows have become more sharply defined and restrictive. In the context of contemporary international migration, Massey (2000) sees this paradox at the level of the operation of economies and polities while Parr (2000) articulates it clearly with regard to the attitudes of citizens and residents. There is nothing simple or straightforward about the impacts of contemporary international migration in a world characterised by increasing political, economic and social interdependence among nation states.

A Challenging Argument

Parr's (2000) argument about the failure of the immigration policy reforms of the 1980s to produce more globalised immigration patterns is a challenging one. The prevailing view with regard to the impact of the policy changes since 1986 is that they have, indeed, contributed to the globalisation of international migration to and from New Zealand. This is the conclusion the Migration Research Group has reached in several of its studies of transformations in New Zealand's international migration system in the 1980s and 1990s. Our arguments are contained in several publications including Bedford (1996 and 2001), Bedford and Lidgard (1997 and 1998), Bedford, Ho and Lidgard (2001) and Lidgard and Bedford (1999). In addition, there are several *Population Studies Centre Discussion Papers* dealing with New Zealand's international migration system that are referred to in

the bibliographies to these publications.

It must be acknowledged at the outset that our respective assessments of the “globalising potential” of immigration in recent years are based on very different approaches and information bases. Parr’s (2000) analysis is rooted in the attitudes and experiences that New Zealanders had relating to immigration and immigrants in the mid-1990s, as these were expressed in interviews. The Migration Research Group’s analyses of the changing structure of New Zealand’s international migration system are based on data collected by Statistics New Zealand and the New Zealand Immigration Service relating to arrivals in, departures from and approvals for residence in New Zealand. This is the sort of quantitative, objective flow data that underpins the analyses of the migration systems referred to by Castles and Miller (1998), Massey *et al.* (1998), Skeldon (1997) and Kritz *et al.* (1992), amongst others.

Micro-level inquiries into the experiences of particular groups of immigrants in New Zealand have also formed a significant part of the Migration Research Group’s work. Examples of this research can be found in Ho and Lidgard (1997), Ho, Bedford and Goodwin (1999), Ho *et al.* (1997), Ho, Ip and Bedford (2001) and Lidgard and Hong-Key Yoon (1999). However, while these studies are situated within a globalisation context, they do not address specifically the extent to which changes in the structure of New Zealand migration system is evidence of a globalisation of immigration.

Parr’s timely analysis, with its focus on qualitative data relating to local attitudes and experiences, makes the point very clearly that the objective evidence of population flows in and out of a country in no way measures the extent to which a population is becoming more “global” in its thinking and approaches. He emphasizes this directly when he states: “Even if there is a high number of applicants from a diverse range of countries, the views of New Zealanders are not conducive to the population of New Zealand becoming more diversified globally” (Parr 2000:329). Globalisation of flows is clearly not a good indicator of globalisation of minds! That said, globalisation of flows is an indicator of the changing nature of New Zealand’s linkages with different societies and parts of the world economy.

The New Zealand population is much more ethnically diverse in the early 21st century than it was in the early 1970s when the current cycle of globalisation began to gain momentum. As a result of this diversity, some aspects of New Zealand’s residential neighbourhoods, workplaces and consumer culture have changed, especially in those cities where the immigrants (and returning New Zealanders with wide-ranging overseas experience) have tended to congregate. There is a much more “globalised”

restaurant scene in most of the major cities than there was before the 1986 Immigration Policy Review. There are also much more diverse taxi driver populations in several of the major cities. While “Asianisation” of immigration during the late 1980s and 1990s accounts for a significant part of this change, flows of migrants and refugees from eastern Europe, the Middle East and Africa in particular have also made social and economic contributions to the development of a “more globalised” New Zealand.

Parr’s (2000:329) conclusion that few migrants have come to New Zealand from places other than traditional sources and countries in Asia is examined in this paper with reference to immigration between 1981 and 2001. The emigration of New Zealanders is also examined over the same period to see if there is any evidence of globalisation in destination choices. The analysis is deliberately at a highly generalised level, and the conclusions that one can draw from the data are rather contradictory. The information on immigration suggests that since 1996 there has been a more obvious globalisation of flows beyond the Asian and traditional source countries that continue to provide the great bulk of immigrants to New Zealand. In the case of emigration, there has been remarkably little change over the twenty years in the major destinations for New Zealanders going overseas to live for periods of 12 months or more. The much more diverse range of tourist destinations, which has been a hallmark of the globalisation of short-term flows of New Zealanders since the early 1970s, is not reflected in the places people from this country are choosing as their destinations for lengthy periods.

Globalisation of Immigration, Emigration and Net Migration

Transformations in New Zealand’s international migration system since the early 1980s are examined with reference to flows of people into and out of New Zealand for periods of 12 months or more. These “permanent and long-term” migrants are classified as either New Zealand citizens, or citizens of all other countries. The latter are divided into two broad categories of sources and destinations: traditional and non-traditional. As noted earlier, the traditional sources/destinations are: Australia, the United Kingdom, the Pacific Islands, countries in northern and western Europe, Canada and the United States. These are the countries from which most immigrants to New Zealand were drawn before the policy changes in the mid-1980s. The non-traditional sources and destinations are: countries in Asia, Africa, South and Central America, the Caribbean, southern and eastern Europe, and the former USSR.

The flows into and out of New Zealand between the years ending March 1982 and March 2001 have been grouped into five year periods. The four periods correspond well with quite distinctive “policy eras” in New Zealand’s recent immigration history. These eras can be summarised as follows:

1. 1 April 1981 – 31 March 1986: the final years of the “traditional” source country preference immigration era. A period of slow recovery from the years of heavy net migration losses between 1978 and 1981 (Trlin 1986; Farmer 1986);
2. 1 April 1986 – 31 March 1991: the years when the major changes in immigration policy introduced in August 1986 were operationalised and a new Immigration Act (1987) replaced the outdated 1964 legislation (Trlin 1992; Bedford and Lidgard 1997). A period of significant immigration from the Pacific, southeast Asia, and, from 1988, northeast Asia as well as extensive emigration of New Zealanders;
3. April 1991 – 31 March 1996: the years when a points-based selection system was introduced (November 1991) and operated on an auto-pass basis (i.e. there was no cap on arrivals that met the minimum number of points required for approval as an immigrant) (Trlin 1997; Bedford and Lidgard 1997; Lidgard and Bedford 1999). A period during which New Zealand experienced its highest annual net migration gains since the 1870s with substantial influxes from countries in northeast Asia especially;
- 4.1 April 1996 – 31 March 2001: the years following the introduction of more stringent English language requirements and the imposition of more closely monitored target for immigrant approvals (Bedford and Ho 1998; Ho and Bedford 1998; Bedford and Bedford 2001; Bedford *et al.* 2001). A period when approvals for residence in New Zealand for citizens from countries in Asia declined sharply following the October 1995 policy changes and the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and 1998. Also a period of increasing net losses of New Zealand citizens (Bedford 2001b).

The analysis is based on a series of simple tables that summarise the key trends in terms of aggregate numbers of arrivals or departures and percentages that are either New Zealand citizens or citizens of other countries classified as traditional and non-traditional. The intention of the analysis is to evaluate Parr’s (2000:329) conclusion that few migrants have come to New Zealand from places other than traditional sources and

countries in Asia. Immigration to New Zealand is examined first with reference to PLT arrivals, approvals for residence, and entry under the refugee quota. Emigration from New Zealand is then examined with reference to PLT departures. Finally, the contribution which international migration makes to population change is discussed briefly with reference to PLT net migration gains and losses.

Immigration

It is quite clear from Table 1 that there have been significant changes in the shares of PLT arrivals in New Zealand who are New Zealand citizens on the one hand, and citizens from traditional and non-traditional sources on the other. The share of returning New Zealanders has fallen from over half (55%) the total PLT arrivals in the early 1980s to just over one third (34%) in the late 1990s/turn of the century.

It is perhaps worth noting that while the share of the total that is New Zealand citizens has fallen progressively, the number in this group has remained remarkably constant at around 100,000 per five year period. The total number of PLT arrivals per period has risen from 204,100 to 324,000, with the last five years scoring most highly in this regard. This latter statistic surprises some who consider the period between 1991 and 1996 to be the time of the immigrant influx. In fact the second half of the 1990s has seen a larger aggregate inflow of people, especially people from non-traditional sources during the years ended March 1997 and March 1998 (Table 2a). This immigration has been offset by increasing emigration of New Zealanders, and the public debate about population movement in recent years has been dominated more by concerns about “brain drain” than about migrant “invasion” (Glass and Choy 2001; Bedford 2001b).

The citizens of traditional source countries have also experienced a decline in their share of total PLT arrivals from 37 per cent to 27 per cent. In percentage terms, this is the smallest change over the four periods for the three groups being compared in Table 1. In the case of citizens of non-traditional source countries, the picture is completely different. Whereas they comprised only seven per cent of all PLT arrivals in the early 1980s, by the late 1990s/2000 they had the largest share at 39 per cent. Their numbers had increased from 14,830 in the period spanning the March years 1982–1986 to 125,681 for the five years ended March 2001 (Appendix 1A). The change in relative shares of immigrants from traditional and non-traditional sources is shown more dramatically in Table 2, Panel A. New Zealand citizens have been removed from the data here, and only the citizens of other countries are included. In the early 1980s over 80 per cent of immigrants were from traditional sources. By the late 1990s/2000 this

had halved to 41 per cent. Immigrants from non-traditional sources increased from 16 per cent to just under 60 per cent in the same periods.

Table 1: Total permanent and long-term (PLT) arrivals (years ended 31 March)

	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Total Number	204,076	247,526	303,708	323,958
% Returning New Zealanders	55.1	49.8	37.7	33.6
% From traditional sources	37.4	33.2	25.6	27.5
% From non-traditional sources	7.3	16.8	37.7	38.8

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special-purpose tabulations. The data on which this table and others relating to PLT arrivals are based are contained in Appendix 1A.

The extent to which immigrants from Australia and United Kingdom dominated in the flows in the early 1980s, before the traditional source preference was removed from policy, is obvious in Table 2, Panel B. By the 1990s, however, immigrants from these two countries had fallen to 25 per cent. Immigrants from countries in Asia had increased their share from 13 per cent (early 1980s) to 47 per cent (early 1990s). This is obviously the “Asianisation” that Parr (2000) refers to. It is also worth noting that immigrants from other non-traditional sources, especially countries in Africa and the Middle East had doubled their shares by the early 1990s and were not far behind the Pacific Islands and other traditional sources outside the Australia/UK nexus (Table 2, Panel B and Appendix 1A).

The data on approvals for residence in New Zealand, which are managed by the New Zealand Immigration Service, indicate that the shares from non-traditional sources have been greater than those for the PLT arrivals from these sources, especially during the 1990s (Table 3, Panel A). This is not surprising because excluded from the approvals data base are people entering New Zealand who do not have to apply for permission to reside here. This includes all Australian citizens who enter under the terms of the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement, as well as the Cook Islanders, Niueans and Tokelauans who are entitled to New Zealand citizenship. Partly because of these differences in the base populations for the two series, as well as the fact that there can be some considerable time lags between gaining approval for residence and actually taking up the option of coming to live in New Zealand, the approvals and arrivals data do not match closely.

Table 2: Immigrants (excl. returning New Zealanders) by major source

A. Traditional and non-traditional source groupings				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Total number	91,723	124,186	189,349	215,020
% From traditional sources	83. 2	66.1	41.1	41.5
% From non-traditional sources	16. 2	33.5	58.8	58.5

B. Major traditional and non-traditional sources (per cent)				
	1982- 86	1987- 91	1992- 96	1997-01
Traditional sources				
Australia / UK	51.7	38.3	26.2	25.4
Other	31.5	27.8	14.9	16.2
Non-traditional sources				
Asia	12.9	28.8	47.0	46.0
Other	3.3	4.7	11.8	12.5

Source: As for Table 1

The numbers of approvals during the early 1990s were much larger than during the 1980s or the late 1990s, and over half of them were for people from countries in Asia (Table 3). It is this sort of information that supports Parr's (2000) argument that the changes in New Zealand's migration system during the past 20 years have produced an "Asianisation" rather than a "globalisation" of immigration to New Zealand. Citizens of countries in Asia and the traditional migrant sources accounted for 83 per cent of all approvals between 1 January 1992 and 31 December 1996 (note that the approvals data refer to *calendar* years, not *March* years).

By the late 1990s the share from these two clusters of sources had fallen to 77.5 per cent – 21.3 per cent of approvals were from other non-traditional sources, especially countries in Africa. Indeed, by the late 1990s almost as many approvals were for people from Africa as from the Pacific Islands (Table 3, Panel B and Appendix 1B). The phase of "Asianisation" of New Zealand's immigration flows is certainly not over, but there is clear evidence

in the approvals and arrival data that other non-traditional source areas are becoming increasingly important.

Table 3: Approvals for residence in New Zealand (calendar years)

A. Total numbers and shares for traditional and non-traditional sources				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Total number	49,396	112,295	196,215	128,655
% From traditional sources	78.5	52.2	27.9	36.6
% From non-traditional sources	20.7	47.2	71.6	62.2
B. Major traditional and non-traditional sources (per cent)				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Traditional				
UK / Ireland	35.9	19.0	13.3	15.3
Pacific Is.	23.0	23.4	9.2	14.8
Other	19.6	9.8	5.4	6.5
Non-Traditional				
Asia	16.5	42.5	55.0	40.9
Africa	1.4	1.7	7.9	14.3
Other	1.7	3.0	8.7	7.0

Source: New Zealand Immigration Service, special purpose tabulations. The data on which this table is based are contained in Appendix 1B.

Note: The percentages do not sum to 100 because there are small numbers of people in the total number for whom a nationality was not stated. Note also that Australian citizens are excluded from this table because they are not required to obtain permits or visas to reside in New Zealand.

Another source of data adds further evidence of the broadening geographical and cultural reach of New Zealand's immigrant sources. The nationalities of refugees approved under the quota that New Zealand has agreed to accept each year through its relationship with the UNHCR has shifted from total domination by people from countries in Asia in the early 1980s, to a concentration on refugees from Africa and the Middle east in the late 1990s (Table 4).

Table 4: Sources of quota refugees

	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Total number	3,329	3,728	3,370	2,648
% Asia	100	80.5	40.2	10.8
% Africa	0	0	30.6	55.0
% Middle East	0	13.3	25.0	32.8
% Europe	0	5.5	4.2	1.4
% Central America	0	0.7	0	0

Source: New Zealand Immigration Service, unpublished data.

Note: These data contain information for years ending March (1982-1988) and years ending June (1989-2000).

The numbers of quota refugees each year are small (700-800) but these flows are followed by much larger family reunion and humanitarian flows under the regular immigration policies. They have contributed significantly to growth in New Zealand's Asian communities in the early 1980s and the African and Middle East communities in the 1990s.

The statistical information that is available on immigration into New Zealand since the early 1980s lends support to Parr's (2000) argument that the changes in policy from 1986 have resulted in a migration system that is heavily dominated by arrivals from traditional sources and countries in Asia. However, there are signs in all of the data sources considered here (PLT arrivals, residence approvals and quota refugees) that the share of immigrants from other parts of the world has also been increasing throughout the period under review.

By the late 1990s countries in Africa and the Middle East, in particular, were accounting for over 10 per cent of PLT arrivals when returning New Zealand citizens are excluded, 17 per cent of approvals for residence, and 88 per cent of quota refugees. New Zealand's migration system, as this can be measured by flows of people intending to stay for 12 months or more, is becoming more global, even if the attitudes of New Zealanders that Parr (2000) has surveyed are not particularly supportive of this trend.

Emigration

Immigration is only one component of an international migration system. The other critical dimension is emigration – the flows out of New Zealand

of people who intend to live for 12 months or more in other countries. These flows are heavily dominated by New Zealand citizens so the discussion in this part of the paper does not differentiate between New Zealanders and people of other nationalities. The destinations are defined as countries that those leaving New Zealand next intend to spend 12 months or more living in. It is important to appreciate that the places identified in the tables relating to this section are defined on the basis of residence intentions, not on the basis of the citizenship of people leaving New Zealand. Citizenship is a useful surrogate for the sources of immigration flows. It is less useful for looking at the destinations of people leaving New Zealand.

Although Parr (2000) did not examine emigration in his analysis of New Zealanders' attitudes towards migrants, it is interesting to see whether there is evidence of "globalisation" in the destination choices of those people leaving New Zealand for 12 months or more (New Zealand residents) or after stays in New Zealand for 12 months or more (people who are not New Zealand residents). The data in Table 5 show that there has been much less change in the destinations of New Zealand's PLT departures than in the sources of PLT arrivals (Table 1). The great majority (over 80 percent) of PLT departures continue to go to those parts of the world that have been classified as "traditional" sources of immigrants for New Zealand – Australia, the United Kingdom and Ireland, the Pacific Islands, northern and western Europe, Canada and the United States. Non-traditional destinations were cited by only 13 per cent of the PLT departures in the late 1990s.

When the destination groupings are broken down into their major components, the significance of Australia as a place of intended residence for people leaving New Zealand for 12 months or more is clearly evident (Table 5, Panel B). There has been some variation in the share heading for Australia with the late 1980s being a time when this destination was indicated by almost 60 per cent of PLT departures. During the early 1990s the share fell to just over 40 percent; in this period there was some significant return migration of Pacific peoples to island countries in the Pacific (Bedford 1994). By the late 1990s, Australia was becoming more significant as a destination again with just under 50 per cent of PLT departures citing this country as their place of next permanent residence.

Table 5: Permanent and long-term departures by country of next permanent residence (years ending March)

A. Traditional and non-traditional groupings (excluding New Zealand as a destination)

	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Total number	230,008	287,740	217,303	327,049
% Traditional	87.7	90.3	82.7	84.1
% Non-traditional	6.9	5.8	14.0	12.9
% Destination not stated	5.3	3.9	3.3	3.0

B. Major traditional and non-traditional destinations (per cent)

	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Traditional				
Australia	55.6	57.0	41.2	48.6
UK / Ireland	17.5	20.8	23.9	23.6
Other	14.6	12.5	17.6	11.9
Non-Traditional				
Asia	4.8	4.2	10.6	10.3
Other	2.1	1.6	3.3	3.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special purpose tabulations. The data on which this table is based are contained in Appendix 1C

In the case of the non-traditional groupings there has been a doubling in the percentage share of PLT departures heading for countries in Asia reflecting the incidence of return migration amongst some of the immigrants from these countries who came to New Zealand in the late 1980s and the 1990s. This return migration is not trivial in numerical terms – during the 1990s over 56,000 people leaving New Zealand gave countries in Asia as the places where they would next spend 12 months or more. Some of these emigrants would be non-Asian New Zealanders leaving to live and work in Asia (Appendix 1C). However, a significant proportion of them were immigrants from Asian countries returning after a period of 12 months or more in New Zealand. This return migration is discussed by Ho *et al.* (1997

and 2001) and Lidgard *et al.* (1998) using micro-level data collected in interviews of immigrants in New Zealand and return migrants to Hong Kong.

The destinations for PLT emigrants suggest that there has been little globalisation of the flows out of New Zealand over the past two decades. Countries that have been traditional sources of immigrants for New Zealand, together with countries in Asia, account for between 92 and 95 per cent of the places where people will spend 12 months or more. This gives a rather distorted view of the experiences of New Zealanders overseas, especially those on their “overseas experience”. While the country of next permanent residence for many young New Zealanders undertaking their Overseas Experience may well be Australia or the United Kingdom, many will travel extensively in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe during the course of their absences. Special entitlements with regard to work in destinations such as Australia and the United Kingdom largely explain the popularity of these countries as places of next permanent residence.

Net Migration

The sources of PLT arrivals and the destinations of PLT departures reveal some interesting dimensions of the globalisation of international migration in New Zealand. However, they do not tell us directly anything about the extent to which international migration is “globalising” New Zealand’s population. It is the balance of arrivals over departures that determines the contribution that international migration makes to population growth, and since the early 1980s there have been two counterbalancing trends that have effectively cancelled out any overall net gain in population from PLT migration. Between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 2001 the net gain of 375,150 people who are citizens of countries other than New Zealand has been more than matched by a net loss of 383,480 New Zealand citizens. The patterns of PLT net gains and losses for each five year period are shown in Table 6, Panel A.

There is a tendency for PLT net migration to understate the contribution of international migration to New Zealand’s population growth. The short-term flows (movement for less than 12 months) also make a contribution even though, technically, short-term arrivals should be cancelled out by short-term departures especially when the figures are aggregated over several years. The reasons for a contribution from short-term migration to net migration gains and losses will not be discussed here – a detailed examination of this issue can be found in Carmichael (1993). It is

sufficient to note here that during the 20 years under consideration in this paper, the *total* net loss of New Zealanders (through PLT as well as short-term migration) was 346,190, slightly less than the PLT net loss, while the *total* net gain of citizens of other countries was 455,900 – significantly higher than the PLT net gain. The overall net gain to New Zealand’s population through international migration was thus 109,710. The patterns of *total* net gains and losses for each five year period are shown in Table 6, Panel B.

The persistent net losses of New Zealand citizens, and their replacement by more people who are citizens of other countries means that the New Zealand population is experiencing persistent change in its composition as a result of international migration. Thus, although the total net gain to the country’s population through international migration of all kinds was around 32,900 in the late 1990s, this net gain was the outcome of the replacement of over 150,000 New Zealand citizens by 185,000 citizens of other countries. Table 7 tells an interesting story about the sources of the people replacing the New Zealanders in the PLT net migration figures. Information on the composition of the total net migration flows can be found in Appendix 1E.

Table 6: PLT and total net migration, 1982-2001 (March years)

A. PLT net migration				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
NZ citizens	-72,160	-113,470	-52,020	-145,830
Others	+40,720	+66,460	+130,270	+137,700
Total	-31,440	-47,010	78,250	-8,130
B. Total net migration				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
NZ Citizens	-44,940	-65,360	-83,360	-152,530
Others	+47,900	+63,410	+159,200	+185,390
Total	+2,960	-1,950	+75,840	+32,860

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special purpose tabulations. The data on which this table is based are contained in Appendices 1D and 1E.

Note: Net migration is obtained by subtracting the number of departures from the number of arrivals. A minus (-) sign indicates a net loss (more departures than arrivals) while a plus (+) sign indicates a net gain (more arrivals than departures)

It is clear from Table 7 that there has almost been a complete reversal in the shares of PLT net migration gains from traditional and non-traditional sources between the early 1980s and the late 1990s. In the early 1980s, just

under 80 per cent of PLT net migration was from traditional sources; by the late 1990s this had fallen to under 30 per cent. In the late 1980s the two groupings of sources contributed 50 per cent each to PLT net migration gains in New Zealand (Table 7).

The breakdown of traditional and non-traditional sources by country/region indicates that PLT net migration has certainly contributed to an “Asianisation” of New Zealand’s population since the late 1980s. In the 1990s over 50 per cent of the net gain was of citizens of countries in Asia. However, there have also been other significant developments.

The shares from other non-traditional sources reached 18 per cent in the late 1990s, with 10 per cent coming from countries in Africa. The PLT net gain of citizens from countries in Africa (14,201) was more than three times the net gain of Australian citizens (4,582) and above that from the Pacific Islands (11,431). It was not far behind that from the United Kingdom and Ireland (17,192). Admittedly, the great majority of these immigrants from Africa are “whites” from South Africa, but their different cultural backgrounds, experiences and expectations make them a dynamic force for change in New Zealand.

Table 7: PLT net migration, citizens of countries other than New Zealand (March years)

A. Traditional and non-traditional groupings				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Total number	40,718	66,462	130,273	13,607
% From traditional sources	78.4	49.9	27.3	28.5
% From non-traditional sources	21.1	50.1	72.6	71.5
B. Major traditional and non-traditional sources (per cent)				
	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-01
Traditional				
UK / Ireland	28.8	15.8	12.3	12.5
Pacific Islands	16.9	15.9	3.0	8.3
Other	32.7	18.2	12.0	7.7
Non-traditional				
Asia	17.1	43.9	57.1	54.2
Africa	1.4	1.8	5.7	10.3
Other	2.6	4.4	9.8	7.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special purpose tabulations. The data on which this table is based are contained in Appendix 1D

Note: The percentages do not sum to 100 because “nationality not stated” case, which are included in the total numbers, have been excluded from the percentages.

New Zealand's population is undergoing a profound transformation in terms of its ethnic and cultural composition. This transformation is being driven by two key processes. The first of these is differential ageing of the major components of the resident population with the dominant "white" population experiencing structural ageing more rapidly than the Maori and Pacific Island components (Pool 1999). The second is international migration which is seeing a replacement in numerical terms of tens of thousands of New Zealanders who are moving overseas by immigrants from countries in Asia, Europe and Africa especially. This process of population replacement is occurring at a time when natural increase amongst all components of the New Zealand resident population is falling. International migration is thus playing an increasingly important role in changing the ethnic and cultural composition of the population, but to understand this role it is necessary to examine both the immigration of new residents as well as the emigration of New Zealanders. Both dimensions are essential for appreciating the globalisation of international migration in New Zealand.

A Concluding Comment

In this paper emphasis has been placed on the permanent and long-term flows within New Zealand's contemporary international migration system. It is these flows that statisticians, policy makers and the media have encouraged New Zealanders to regard as "immigration" (PLT arrivals) and "emigration" (PLT departures). It is these flows that are most readily associated with the notions of settlement in New Zealand (arrivals) or in some overseas destination (departures). Yet, as Hugo (1999:18) has reminded us in his review of international migration in Australia, "we must now consider the effects of migration in a global situation in which many people can expect to spend extended periods working in more than a single country [without settling in that country]".

One of the defining characteristics of the globalisation of international migration is the development over the past 30 years of extensive flows of highly skilled labour between developed countries (Koser and Salt 1997). These flows have often been discussed in terms of "brain drain" in countries like New Zealand, Australia and Canada which tend to be seen as sources rather than destinations for high skilled migrants. However, as recent research in New Zealand has shown, the mobility of the high skilled is often temporary and reciprocal and better described in terms of a "global circulation" of labour or a "brain exchange" rather than a "brain drain" (Bedford 2001b; Bushnell and Choy 2001; Glass and Choy 2001; Lidgard 2001). The relevance of this issue is that the globalisation of international

migration involves much more than consideration of immigration per se. As Hugo (1999) and others have argued, we need a new paradigm of international migration given that “the constellation of forces driving movement between countries is different and the context in which migration is occurring has been transformed in both origin and destination countries”.

Parr’s (2000) analysis of the attitudes of New Zealanders to a wide range of questions about immigration, immigrants, and the strength of attachments to local places and products, indicated that there was a clear tension between localism and globalism. While there was widespread support for the principle of globalism, there was little evidence of strong support for the population becoming more diversified in terms of its ethnic and cultural mix. In this regard there remains a major division between the outcomes of contemporary immigration policy and the views many New Zealanders have about the development of their society. This sort of contradiction is hardly surprising in times of rapid social and economic change such as that which has occurred in New Zealand since the mid-1980s.

The immigration policy review in 1986 was part of a much larger agenda for change in New Zealand (Bedford 1996). It was not essentially a change in state policy with a primary focus on one region of the world, as Parr (2000:329) suggests, although clearly through the 1980s and 1990s immigration from countries in Asia was a highly topical issue for both politicians and the public. The attitudes of New Zealanders in the mid-1990s towards immigration may not have reflected the positive perspective on the value of diversity in our society that is contained in the *Review of Immigration Policy August 1986*. But this does not mean that the globalisation of immigration to New Zealand was an “unintended consequence of policy changes in 1986”. It was a deliberate strategy, based on a premise that the “infusion of new elements to New Zealand life has been of immense value to the development of this country to date and will, as a result of this Government’s review of immigration policy, become even more important in the future” (Burke 1986:330). The data on arrivals, departures, approvals, refugee flows and net migration gains and losses reported in this paper indicates that “the infusion of new elements” into New Zealand society is proceeding apace. There is no suggestion in immigration policy in 2002 that this will not “become even more important in the future”, as Burke (1986) assumed in the mid-1980s.

Note

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Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) Seminar, *New Zealand and the World: The Impacts of Globalisation – Social, Economic and Cultural Dimensions*, Wellington, Friday 22 June, 2001. The data have been derived from unpublished tables purchased from Statistics New Zealand and information provided by the New Zealand Immigration Service. The assistance of Grant Browne in Customer Services (Statistics New Zealand, Christchurch) and Stephen Dunstan (Research and Policy, NZIS, Wellington), is gratefully acknowledged.

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Appendix 1A: PLT Arrivals by nationality (March years)

NATIONALITY	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-2001
<i>Traditional Sources</i>				
Australia	19,420	19,671	20,740	20,385
Pacific Islands	13,276	18,281	11,916	16,979
UK/Ireland	28,009	27,999	28,730	34,118
Northern Europe	581	1,419	1,527	1,676
Western Europe	7,436	6,295	6,403	6,551
North America	7,593	8,419	8,508	9,533
<i>Sub-total Traditional</i>	<i>76,315</i>	<i>82,084</i>	<i>77,824</i>	<i>89,242</i>
<i>Non-Traditional Sources</i>				
<i>a) Asia</i>				
SE Asia	7,742	13,835	19,157	16,862
NE Asia	3,030	19,660	59,052	63,677
South Asia	997	2,241	10,644	17,701
Central Asia	18	46	153	565
Sub-total Asia	11,787	35,782	89,006	98,805
<i>b) Others</i>				
Sth & East Europe	1,249	2,396	8,978	5,714
Sth/Central America	407	760	1,118	1,372
Middle East	313	1,115	4,395	4,484
Nth/Cent/West Africa	110	135	908	1,613
Sth/East Africa	964	1,470	6,895	13,693
Sub-total Others	3,043	5,876	22,294	26,876
<i>Sub-total Non-Traditional</i>	<i>14,830</i>	<i>41,658</i>	<i>111,300</i>	<i>125,681</i>
Not stated/not collected	578	438	225	97
<i>New Zealand Citizens</i>	<i>112,353</i>	<i>123,340</i>	<i>114,359</i>	<i>108,938</i>
TOTAL (incl NZ Citizens)	204,076	247,526	303,708	323,958
TOTAL (excl NZ Citizens)	91,723	124,186	189,349	215,020

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special-purpose tabulations

Appendix 1B: Approvals for residence (calendar years)

NATIONALITY	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-2000
<i>Traditional Sources</i>				
Australia	0	0	9	7
Pacific Islands	11,338	26,326	18,092	19,056
UK/Ireland	17,748	21,341	26,120	19,635
Northern Europe	297	820	592	434
Western Europe	5,590	5,561	4,922	3,637
North America	3,824	4,586	5,103	4,348
<i>Sub-total Traditional</i>	<i>38,797</i>	<i>58,634</i>	<i>54,838</i>	<i>47,117</i>
<i>Non-Traditional Sources</i>				
<i>a) Asia</i>				
SE Asia	5,794	16,785	13,613	12,086
NE Asia	1,544	26,523	75,762	24,100
South Asia	819	4,399	18,402	16,266
Central Asia	0	0	63	150
Sub-total Asia	8,157	47,707	107,840	52,602
<i>b) Others</i>				
Sth & East Europe	885	1,288	9,987	4,836
Sth/Central America	209	678	800	533
Middle East	280	1,429	6,331	3,685
Nth/Cent/West Africa	15	92	1,981	1,260
Sth/East Africa	684	1,820	13,523	17,139
Sub-total Others	2,073	5,307	32,622	27,453
<i>Sub-total Non-Traditional</i>	<i>10,230</i>	<i>53,014</i>	<i>140,462</i>	<i>80,055</i>
Not stated/not collected	369	647	915	1,492
TOTAL	49,396	112,295	196,215	128,655

Source: New Zealand Immigration Service, special purpose tabulations

**Appendix 1C: PLT departures by country of next permanent residence
(March years)**

COUNTRY NEXT	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-2001
<i>Traditional Destinations</i>				
Australia	127,924	164,004	89,578	158,948
Pacific Islands	14,913	14,510	15,005	10,170
UK/Ireland	40,339	59,897	51,988	77,192
Northern Europe	623	1,075	1,630	1,705
Western Europe	4,423	5,487	6,309	6,773
North America	13,547	14,744	15,245	20,170
<i>Sub-total Traditional</i>	<i>201,769</i>	<i>259,717</i>	<i>179,755</i>	<i>274,958</i>
<i>Non-Traditional Destinations</i>				
<i>a) Asia</i>				
SE Asia	6,975	6,070	9,423	10,529
NE Asia	3,162	5,036	11,916	20,903
South Asia	992	1,088	1,725	2,047
Central Asia	1	4	54	59
Sub-total Asia	11,130	12,198	23,118	33,538
<i>b) Others</i>				
Sth & East Europe	1,232	1,191	1,882	2,280
Sth/Central America	743	1,038	1,539	1,925
Middle East	1,158	1,136	2,196	2,420
Nth/Cent/West Africa	309	222	252	314
Sth/East Africa	1,357	1,038	1,412	1,661
Sub-total	4,799	4,625	7,281	8,600
Others				
<i>Sub-total Non-Traditional</i>	<i>15,929</i>	<i>16,823</i>	<i>30,399</i>	<i>42,138</i>
Not stated/not collected	12,256	11,171	7,149	9,942
TOTAL	230,008	287,740	217,303	327,049

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special-purpose tabulations

Note: Excluded from this table are data for New Zealand as a country of next permanent

Appendix 1D: PLT net migration (March years)

NATIONALITY	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-2001
<i>Traditional Sources</i>				
Australia	6,267	5,880	8,911	4,582
Pacific Islands	6,889	10,548	3,969	11,431
UK/Ireland	11,716	10,513	16,006	17,192
Northern Europe	263	866	676	780
Western Europe	4,546	2,681	3,026	2,622
North America	2,238	2,690	3,007	2,665
<i>Sub-total Traditional</i>	<i>31,919</i>	<i>33,178</i>	<i>35,595</i>	<i>39,272</i>
<i>Non-Traditional Sources</i>				
<i>a) Asia</i>				
SE Asia	5,200	10,663	13,348	9,688
NE Asia	1,388	17,088	51,668	48,644
South Asia	377	1,369	9,263	15,728
Central Asia	18	46	153	553
Sub-total Asia	6,983	29,166	74,432	74,613
<i>b) Others</i>				
Sth & East Europe	666	1,893	8,286	4,839
Sth/Central America	163	434	500	660
Middle East	211	932	4,044	4,088
Nth/Cent/West	45	76	856	1,515
Africa				
Sth/East Africa	523	1,098	6,452	12,686
Sub-total	1,608	4,433	20,138	23,788
Others				
<i>Sub-total Non-Traditional</i>	<i>8,591</i>	<i>33,599</i>	<i>94,570</i>	<i>98,401</i>
Not stated/not collected	208	-321	109	24
<i>NZ Citizens</i>	<i>-72,159</i>	<i>-113,466</i>	<i>-52,022</i>	<i>-145,828</i>
TOTAL (incl NZ Citizens)	-31,441	-47,004	78,251	-8,131
TOTAL (excl NZ Citizens)	40,718	66,462	130,273	137,697

Data source: Statistics New Zealand, special-purpose tabulations

Appendix 1E: Total net migration (March years)

NATIONALITY	1982-86	1987-91	1992-96	1997-2001
<i>Traditional Sources</i>				
Australia	2,834	-2,386	35,255	6,187
Pacific Islands	13,859	30,427	9,709	34,189
UK/Ireland	9,060	-6,851	8,801	14,383
Northern Europe	755	815	442	-65
Western Europe	4,737	-2,909	5,176	-1,498
North America	2,587	-62	4,412	-8,765
<i>Sub-total Traditional</i>	<i>33,832</i>	<i>19,034</i>	<i>63,795</i>	<i>44,431</i>
<i>Non-Traditional Sources</i>				
<i>a) Asia</i>				
SE Asia	5,307	17,323	9,060	19,010
NE Asia	3,310	19,371	54,530	59,307
South Asia	1,359	5,402	9,427	20,676
Central Asia	42	80	143	700
Sub-total Asia	10,018	42,176	73,160	99,693
<i>b) Others</i>				
Sth & East Europe	551	3,419	5,254	9,100
Sth/Central America	938	-351	1,191	646
Middle East	691	1,355	5,092	6,806
Nth/Cent/West	-19	259	791	1,522
Africa				
Sth/East Africa	756	2,586	9,501	23,819
Sub-total	2,917	7,268	21,829	41,893
Others				
<i>Sub-total Non-Traditional</i>	<i>12,935</i>	<i>49,444</i>	<i>94,989</i>	<i>141,586</i>
Not stated/not collected	1,135	-5,066	445	-651
<i>NZ Citizens</i>	<i>-44,943</i>	<i>-65,363</i>	<i>-83,362</i>	<i>-152,529</i>
TOTAL (incl NZ Citizens)	2,955	-1,955	75,838	32,857
TOTAL (excl NZ Citizens)	47,898	63,408	159,200	185,386

Source: Statistics New Zealand, special-purpose tabulations