



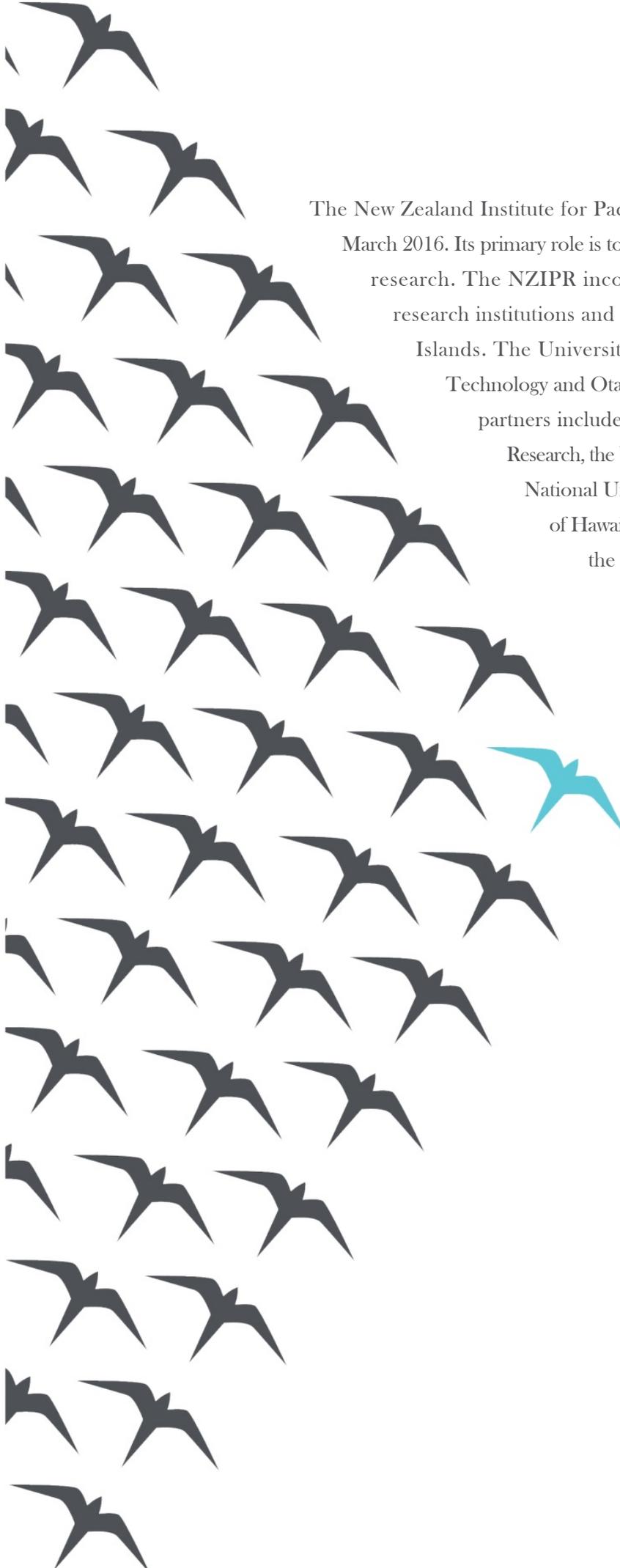
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INSTITUTE FOR
PACIFIC RESEARCH

Labour Mobility in the Pacific:

A Systematic Literature Review of Development Impacts

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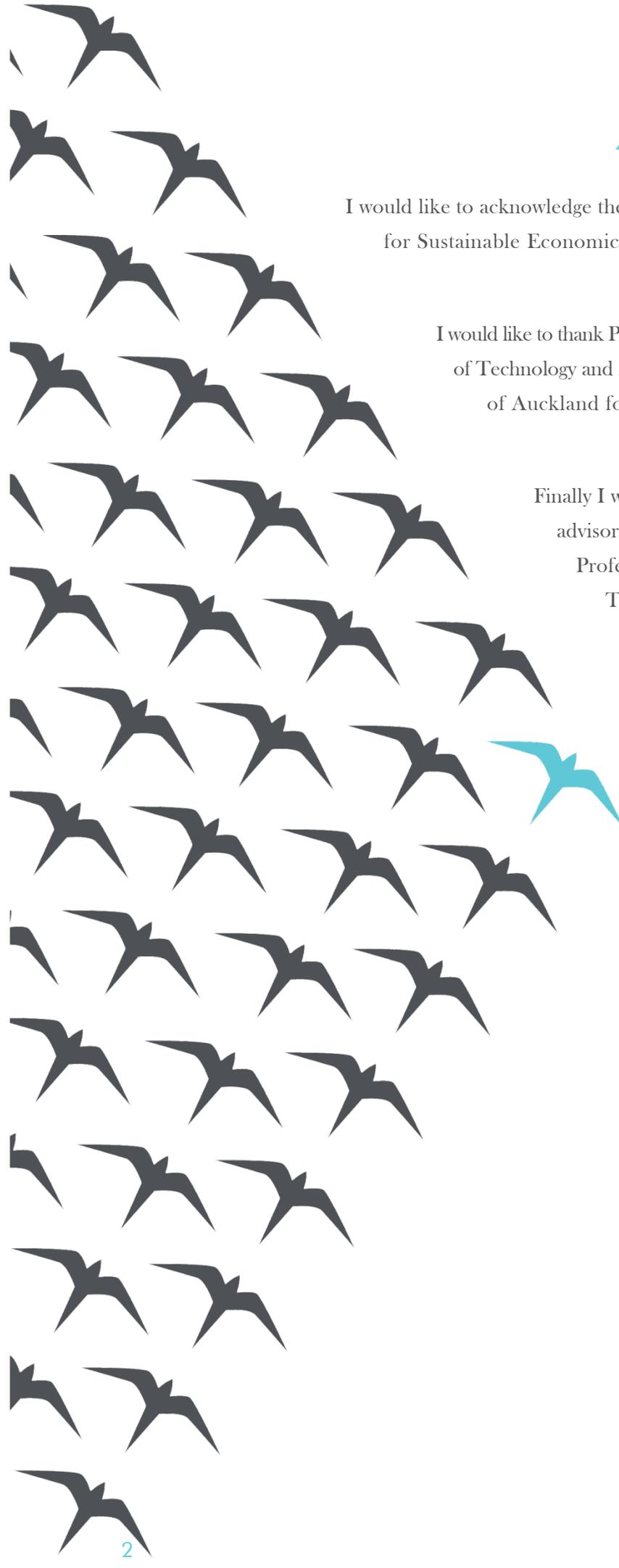


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Executive Summary

Over the last decade, research and policy reviews have analysed different aspects of international labour mobility schemes between Pacific countries and New Zealand and Australia. This systematic literature review (SLR) takes stock of these studies and asks what they individually and collectively reveal about their economic and social value, and their development impact in the Pacific. This report provides a fresh understanding of the links between labour markets in Pacific countries and those in New Zealand and Australia. It also offers updated information and an analytical framework for Pacific governments to develop the appropriate labour market policies for their sustainable economic development.

Almost 200 research reports and studies were identified. Overall, commentary on the development impacts of labour mobility varied by country but also by degree of success: there were positive impacts identified in some studies, others identified negative impacts. All pointed to transformative effects. However, they also noted that research with longer time frames was needed to fully understand the nature of these effects and to provide credible policy relevant evidence. Such contradictory results are not surprising but speak to the need for a coherent framework to better position the policy relevance of different findings

For this reason, a framework for analysis was developed: “Imperatives Driving Labour

Mobility Policy by Triple-Win Framework”. RSE policy predominantly follows the “triple-win” logic as a way to provide benefits to countries of origin, the destination country, and the seasonal worker. Arguably other groups that benefit are those who provide the wrap-around services such as transport operators, accommodation providers, pastoral care workers and those involved in facilitating financial services. To better understand the nature of how the triple-win logic provides development impacts and therefore invites appropriate policy, four key imperatives were identified: economic, demographic, political and development. These imperatives drive both the gains and losses for the key stakeholders. As a framework, it will be possible to identify, for the region as well as for each country, the research knowledge and the evidence gaps.

In summary, while it is clear that labour mobility, and particularly RSE in New Zealand, provides people from the Pacific with the economic right to work in a developed country, it is less clear if this compensates for their loss of social and other rights in the destination country. It is important to address this issue, in all its complexity, because for economic development to be sustainable in the Pacific, the gains from having economic rights must sit equally alongside advances in the social and environmental context.

1. Background to the Pacific Labour Mobility Systematic Literature Review

Over the last decade, research and policy reviews have analysed different aspects of international labour mobility schemes between Pacific countries and New Zealand and Australia. This systematic literature review (SLR) takes stock of these studies and asks what they individually and collectively reveal about their economic and social value of the schemes, and their development impact in the Pacific. The SLR provides a fresh understanding of the links between labour markets in Pacific countries and those in New Zealand and Australia. It also offers updated information and an analytical framework for Pacific governments to develop the appropriate labour market policies for their sustainable economic development.

This SLR distils the range of publicly and electronically available research into a concise report which is designed to synthesise the research learnings to date from the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme. The following key research questions were used to frame the SLR:

1. What is known about the development effects (impacts, outcomes, cost-effectiveness – directly and indirectly on different stakeholders) of the RSE and the Australian Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP) schemes in the Pacific since 2007?
2. What is known about how the RSE scheme contributes to wider development aspirations of Pacific countries?
3. What are the main gaps in the evidence on effects and on the wider development aspirations?

A selection of over 190 research studies was collected via a specifically designed Internet-based research methodology (see Appendix 1 for methodology). This SLR used a number of search terms and search strings to uncover the research which relates to the New Zealand RSE scheme and temporary labour migration schemes in the Pacific, including the Australian SWP. The research included within this SLR spans the lifetime of the RSE scheme, from 2007 to 2016.

Shultz (2014) suggests that research in the field of temporary migration can be divided into three categories: theoretical explorations, empirical descriptions, and common sense explanations. This SLR contains examples of these three categories of research. In addition to the research uncovered by the SLR, several government reports have been included in the bibliography because of their insightful contributions to monitoring and evaluating the RSE scheme.

There is a distinctive character to the research on RSE policy in New Zealand, and the experiences of workers participating in this scheme. In the New Zealand context, the published research focuses more on primary research (see Gibson and McKenzie, 2009b, 2010; Department of Labour, 2010a), and a considerable number of research outputs focus on development impacts in Vanuatu, Tonga, and Samoa. A small set of well-known researchers dominate as authors because they have worked at the interface of inter-agency relationships between the New Zealand government, the World Bank, and selected universities. The bibliography in



Appendix 2 lists the main publications produced by the key researchers in this area.

The research on Australia's SWP and its predecessor, the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS) includes some empirical analysis (see Gibson and McKenzie, 2011a; International Labour Organization 2012; 2013) as well as theoretical studies which address the issues of worker vulnerabilities, labour law tensions, and immigration policy (Ball, MacDermott, and Opekin, 2010; Newman, 2013; Reilly, 2011).

Over the last ten years a number of master's (Bailey 2009; Cameron, 2011; Kaigen-Lepon, 2010; Kumar, 2012) and doctoral theses (C. Bedford, 2013; Bailey, 2014; Rockell, 2015) have centred their research on both the RSE and PSWPS/SWP schemes in New Zealand and Australia respectively. These studies focus on the linkages between employers, employees, agents, governments, organisations and communities which are connected to these migratory flows. Each of these studies includes a form of field data with either or both seasonal work employees and seasonal work employers, and provides useful insights into the impact of RSE on homelands. The research typically has a transnational dimension, connecting field research between Pacific Island countries and New Zealand and/or Australia. It is outside the scope of this literature review to comprehensively assess the quality of these, and many other, unpublished theses.

The research parameters of this SLR, and the amount of time available to complete this report, means some relevant research may have been inadvertently missed. Nevertheless, this report provides a comprehensive analysis of the RSE scheme and seasonal workers from Pacific Island countries.

2. The RSE Policy

2.1 Background to the RSE Scheme

The Department of Labour in New Zealand announced it would be establishing the RSE scheme on 16 October 2006, with the first workers being recruited in 2007 (see Ramasamy, Krishnan, Bedford, and Bedford, 2008). Inter-agency understandings (IAU) were developed with five Pacific governments initially: Vanuatu, Tonga, Samoa, Kiribati, and Tuvalu, and this group is commonly referred to within the RSE research as the “kick start”, or “kick starter” Pacific states (ILO, 2012). In 2008, an IAU was signed with the Solomon Islands, and since then the RSE policy has been expanded to include workers from Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Nauru, with opportunities available for employers to recruit from the Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, and the Republic of Marshall Islands.

From the outset, the RSE policy and the resulting RSE scheme was designed to deliver multiple aims which, according to the Department of Labour (2010a), include:

- improving the productivity of New Zealand’s horticulture and viticulture industries,
- creating a sustainable seasonal labour supply,
- contributing to New Zealand’s broad objectives in the region in terms of Pacific economic development,
- regional integration, and
- political stability.

A defining element in the RSE research is the significance of the relationships between the countries, employers and employees,

and other agents and organisations wrapped around this scheme. Nearly all the studies included national-level policy considerations, variable regional (within New Zealand) patterns of demand for labour, local examples of employer-worker relations and, in a few cases, examples of community impacts in New Zealand. Most have also addressed issues related to employment from the Islands, issues associated with recruiting labour in the Islands, and community impacts. The conceptualisation of the RSE scheme as fundamentally about relationships and reliant on a range of dependencies is well captured by Gibson and McKenzie (2009b):

Under the RSE, up to 5000 workers from eligible Pacific Island countries are recruited to work in New Zealand for [a maximum of] seven months [nine months in the case of Kiribati and Tuvalu] per eleven-month period and can return in future seasons if recruited again. The employer pays half of the return airfare from the worker’s home country¹ and provides stipulated minimum hours of work at hourly or piece rates typical of those received by local workers for equivalent work in the same period and region. Typical jobs for RSE workers are pruning trees and vines, picking apples, citrus and grapes, and picking and packing kiwifruit. Employers also arrange internal transportation and accommodation, provide training and equipment, and look after other aspects of pastoral care for their seasonal workers. (pp. 3-4)

¹ For workers travelling from Kiribati or Tuvalu the cost of the airfare is shared from Fiji.

The diagram below captures the relationships which RSE workers navigate. This diagram has been included upfront because it is used across the body of RSE

research to explain the system behind the RSE policy. This diagram provides a useful framework for understanding the complexities of the relationships involved.

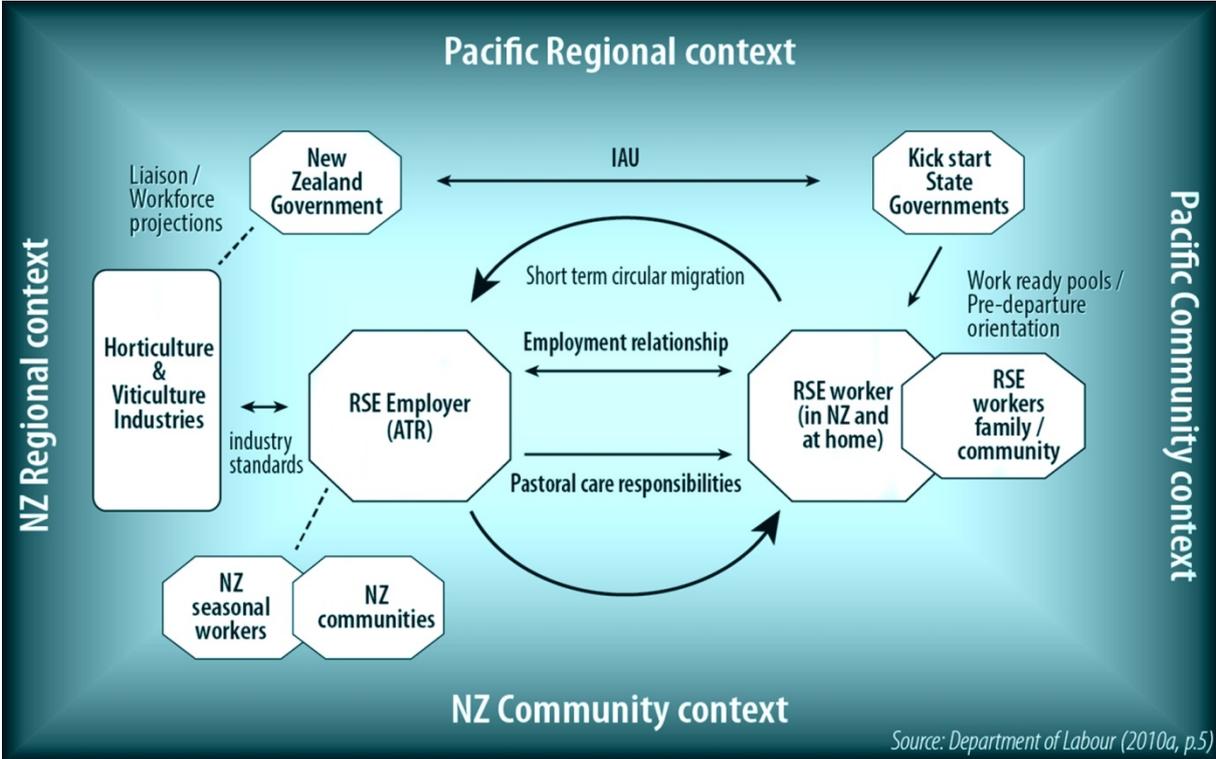


Figure 1: The RSE System

Note: IAU refers to Inter-Agency Understanding – the form of agreement signed between New Zealand’s former Department of Labour and partner departments/ministries in the governments of participating Pacific states. Source: Department of Labour (2010a, p. 5).

The success of the RSE scheme relies upon multi-stakeholder cooperation, and careful management and monitoring (R. Bedford, Bedford, Wall and Young, 2016). The original policy draws attention to the key relationships and points of negotiation in the programme. The key dimensions of the policy are outlined below. In some cases, recent developments to the RSE scheme have been added to the original set of aspects developed within the original policy.

- Agency to agency relationship: This aspect of the policy was originally restricted to five Pacific states – Kiribati,

Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. An Inter-agency understanding (IAU) between these Pacific government agencies and the New Zealand Department of Labour sets out the respective obligations of the parties and arrangements for RSE. Since 2009 Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Nauru and Fiji have also signed IAUs.

- Employer recognition: Employers who wish to participate in the RSE policy must first gain recognition by complying with good employer and other requirements. Once they have achieved

RSE status, the employer applies for an agreement to recruit (ATR) a specified number of RSE workers (for a specific timeframe, location, and work tasks).

- New Zealander’s first principle: ATRs are approved only upon confirmation that employers are taking every effort to meet their labour needs from New Zealand’s domestic labour market.
- Employer driven: The selection of workers and re-employment of return workers is determined by employers, based on their requirements. The relationship between the employer and worker is an employment one.
- Short-term migration: Worker applicants who have an offer of employment from a RSE employer and who meet the RSE worker criteria are granted a Limited Purpose Entry visa for a maximum of seven months in any 11-month period (except for nationals of Kiribati and Tuvalu where the duration is a maximum of nine months in an 11-month period). It is important to note that most workers are not granted visas for these maximum periods, instead they are granted visas for the periods the employer can guarantee work for them and most visas are for between 4 and 6 months. In recent years Joint ATRs have been approved allowing workers to move from one employer to another and thus extend their period of seasonal employment within the 7/9 month limits.
- Circular migration: The policy provides for the return of trained workers (who have an offer of employment) in future seasons.
- Pastoral care: The RSE employer is responsible for arranging for the pastoral care of workers. Employers don’t

necessarily all provide pastoral care, but there is a requirement to arrange for this. For example, Seasonal Solutions, an employer co-operative, brings in over 1,000 RSE workers who are employed for different periods by a wide range of employers (mainly vineyards). Seasonal Solutions employs a team of “advocates” who arrange the accommodation for the workers and look after their welfare needs. The vineyards employing these workers do not arrange the pastoral care (Department of Labour, 2010a, p. 6).

In combination, these policy aspects and the diagram capture the extent to which the RSE policy needs to balance the “opportunities and the challenges” (Department of Labour, 2010a) of RSE workers against the New Zealand-based demands of the horticulture and viticulture industries. The interdependencies between creating more efficient and productive horticulture and viticulture industries in New Zealand, employers’ financial gains, business development, RSE workers’ needs, and community development are complex. C. Bedford (2013) perceives the RSE scheme as a “system of relationships” containing a range of aspirations and obligations. This system contains complex linkages between the global and the local, from the political to the personal, and the industrial to the individual (see Ware, 2007).

An important dimension of the RSE policy is that it is driven by the demand of the employers in the horticulture and viticulture industry in New Zealand. The employer undergoes significant bureaucratic processes in order to participate in the scheme. Despite the red tape involved in the process and the ongoing management and monitoring required, employer surveys demonstrate that the RSE scheme provides a

more stable workforce, better quality workers, and more productive workers (Department of Labour, 2010b, 2012b). In addition, a flow-on benefit to the employers occurs when RSE workers return for consecutive seasons because they “hit the ground running” (Department of Labour, 2012b, p. 5), and returning workers also help with the training of new workers (Department of Labour, 2012a).

The New Zealand RSE scheme is considered “best practice” globally, and employer demand for the Pacific seasonal workers continues to grow. In the year ended June 2016, there were record numbers of seasonal workers approved (R. Bedford et al., 2016). In a recent piece of analysis by R. Bedford et al. (2016) it is stated that:

in the case of New Zealand, statistics for the year ended 30 June 2016 reveal that 9,757 visas were issued with just under 4,000 visas issued to the citizens of Vanuatu (3,932), followed by Tonga (1,765) and Samoa (1,500). These three countries account for 87 percent of the seasonal work visa approvals. (pp. 8-9)

Growth of the RSE scheme

The demand for seasonal workers by employers in New Zealand continues to grow. In the table below, the response of the RSE policy to meet the labour demands of the horticulture and viticulture growers in New Zealand is demonstrated as the number of workers continues to grow over time.

Table 1: Number of Workers Who Arrived Under the RSE Scheme From 2007–2016, by Country

Country	2007/ 2008	2008/ 2009	2009/ 2010	2010/ 2011	2011/ 2012	2012/ 2013	2013/ 2014	2014/ 2015	2015/ 2016
Fiji								30	92
Kiribati	69	38	48	149	142	138	127	136	162
Nauru								20	20
Papua New Guinea				6	6	31	58	96	68
Samoa	647	1228	1021	1219	1162	1137	1169	1238	1454
Solomon Islands	238	311	256	252	407	423	491	511	590
Tonga	805	1355	1142	1411	1398	1573	1538	1563	1687
Tuvalu	99	49	54	51	88	56	71	70	64
Vanuatu	1698	2342	2137	2352	2412	2829	3070	3435	3726
Total	3556	5323	4658	5440	5615	6187	6524	7099	7863

Source: Unpublished data from Ministry of Innovation, Business and Employment [MIBE], 2016²

² It is important to note that late in 2016 Cabinet approved an additional 1,000 places in the scheme, taking the “cap” up to 10,500.

3. The Key Drivers of the RSE Policy

The research on the RSE policy predominantly follows “triple-win” logic as a way to interrogate the impact of the scheme on the countries of origin, the destination country, and the seasonal worker.

As Piper (2009) argues:

Much of the policy debate on migration and development now tends to focus on the positive contributions of migrants to development through remittance transfers to, and reinvestment of human and financial capital in, their countries (or communities) of origin. In this context, the dominant vision of this nexus as promoted by the Global Commission on International Migration has become that of a ‘win-win-win’

solution, in the sense of migration being presented as benefiting all: origin and destination countries, as well as migrants themselves, by making migration an issue of choice rather than necessity. (p. 94)

Arguably other groups that benefit are those who provide the wrap around services such as transport operators, accommodation provides, pastoral care workers and those involved in facilitating financial services. This section argues that the RSE policy can be understood according to four key imperatives which are driving the beneficial gains for the key stakeholders. This conceptualisation of the imperatives driving labour mobility is outlined in the table below.

Table 2: Imperatives Driving Labour Mobility Policy by Triple-Win Framework

Who Wins/ Benefits	What are the Wins/Benefits			
	Economic Imperative	Demographic Imperative	Political Imperative	Development Imperative
Country of Origin	Increased remittances which improves national income.	Eased strain of “youth bulge” on wage employment. Opportunity for off-shore training of citizens.	Provision of a key leverage point in PACER Plus discussions with Australia and New Zealand.	Spread effect of remittances and easing of pressure on government services.
Country of Destination	Improved viability of horticulture/ viticulture sector.	Responsiveness to shortage of readily available unskilled labour in rural areas.	Consolidation of historical relationships with Pacific neighbours. Responsiveness to internal employer demands.	Improved rural development in New Zealand.
Seasonal Worker	Increased income, though only seasonal. Opportunity for training.	Reduction of tension with underemployed young people in home village.	Offer of chance of being a good employee to ensure continued seasonal work for self or community.	Provides personal empowerment, work experience, community leadership and local business development.

3.1 The Economic Imperative

The opportunity for the seasonal workers from Pacific Island countries to earn an income is one of the most significant benefits of the RSE scheme. However, the economic imperatives behind the scheme also pertain to countries of origin because increased remittances improve national disposable income, and to destination countries because of the improved viability of the horticultural and viticulture sectors.

This section focuses upon the economic imperative to the workers who participate in the RSE scheme. This economic imperative sits alongside longer-term benefits to the worker, including the acquisition of new skills, experience, and overseas contacts. This section provides pieces of analysis which provide examples of the economic gains of RSE participation for the seasonal workers and the countries of origin.

The most recent data on RSE workers' earnings and remittances is contained within the Remittance Pilot Project (see MIBE, 2016). This pilot project was designed to capture the baseline earnings and remittance data from Samoan and Tongan RSE workers in the Hawke's Bay region. While this represents only a sample of the RSE worker population, it does provide a valuable snapshot of the potential economic impact of seasonal employment and remittance behaviour. It is expected that new research on Ni-Vanuatu remittances and earnings will be released in the next year. In combination, this new research on seasonal worker earnings and remittances will allow for further analysis of the economic impact of seasonal employment. A summary of the Samoan and Tongan worker earnings for 2014/2015 is provided in the tables below.

Table 3: Samoan Worker Earnings and Remittances 2014/2015

Financial Categories	Total (millions)	Worker (average)
Gross earnings	\$6.31	\$18,028
PAYE	\$0.78	\$2,242
Net earnings	\$5.53	\$15,800
Deductions	\$1.71	\$4,885
Take-home income	\$3.83	\$10,943
Total remittances	\$1.61	\$4,614*
Remittances, median		\$4,210
Average remittances as a proportion of take-home income		42.16%

* mean or average

Source: MBIE, 2016

Table 4: Tongan Worker Earnings and Remittances 2014/2015

Financial Categories	Total (millions)	Worker (average)
Gross earnings	\$5.56	\$19,482
PAYE	\$0.66	\$2,275
Net earnings	\$4.99	\$17,206
Deductions	\$1.15	\$3,965
Take-home income	\$3.84	\$13,241
Total remittances	\$1.60	\$5,525*
Remittances, median		\$5,185
Average remittances as a proportion of take-home income		41.73%

* mean or average

Source: MBIE, 2016

The economic benefit of participation within the RSE scheme must take into account upfront costs for the Pacific Islanders, which include domestic and international travel, fees associated with paper work and visa applications, temporary accommodation,

and personal purchases. The table below, from C. Bedford (2013), provides an indication of these upfront costs for the seasonal workers, and demonstrates that it is a significant proportion of the workers' total income.

Table 5: Upfront Costs Relative to Earnings During the 2009/2010 Season, by Country

Country	Av. seasonal earnings 2009/2010 (NZ\$)	Av. upfront costs (NZ\$)	Upfront Costs as % of earnings
Samoa	11,020	600	5.4
Tonga	12,970	600	4.6
Vanuatu	11,970	1,150	9.6
Solomon Islands	10,570	1,500	14.1
Kiribati	15,860	2,000	12.6
Tuvalu	9,680	2,000	20.6

Source: C. Bedford (2013) combined interview data and the Department of Labour's (2012a) estimated gross earnings of RSE workers

In addition to the upfront costs which RSE workers must pay to be included in the RSE scheme, there are also considerable living costs, weekly expenses, deductions for half the airfare and income tax which are also deducted from their earnings. The table

below compares the estimated cost of living for RSE workers from New Zealand and SWP workers from Australia. This table also highlights the average amount of the workers' wages which is remitted back to the Islands.

Table 6: Average Earned During Season, Approximate Costs Per Week, Money Remitted Home (NZ\$m) 2009/10

	RSE workers	PSWs	I-Kiribati PSWs
Average net earnings	12,000	14,970	16,460
Weekly expenses	170	250	340
Average amount remitted	5,500	6,150	4,610

Source: Gibson and McKenzie, 2011a

The economic drivers of RSE participation are significant for the seasonal workers and subsequently for the country of origin. Logically, economic drivers also exist for the horticulture and viticulture employers. However, the benefits of RSE participation in economic terms for employers and the

New Zealand government were out of the scope of this SLR. Future research could usefully examine this dimension to enable a comparison of the relative economic gains for the country of origin, country of destination, and seasonal worker.

3.2 The Demographic Imperative

This section looks specifically at the demographic drivers of the RSE scheme. The RSE scheme was designed to respond to both the demographic pressures related to a growing youthful population in the Pacific Island countries and limited waged labour opportunities for them, and a shortage of unskilled labour in particular parts of New Zealand. In New Zealand this demand for skilled and unskilled labour exists within a more complex scenario whereby demographic profiles suggest that there is no shortage of New Zealand born workers. However, particular semi-skilled and unskilled jobs remain unfilled despite the demographic profiles. Nevertheless, in the New Zealand context, although short-term

workers from the Pacific have been bought in since the 1960s, there was a renewed interest since 2005. It was argued that this was because lower fertility and ageing in high income countries (Badker, Callister, and Didham 2009; Hugo, 2009a) was creating demands for both skilled and unskilled labour.

Furthermore, according to the World Bank (2006a):

The Island economies in the Pacific are small nation states located at a considerable distance from large economies and each other in the vast Pacific Ocean. The

land mass, population size, ethnicity, and natural endowments vary considerably. Most Pacific member countries (PMCs) in this region receive very high amounts of aid per capita but economic growth has proved elusive. With persistently high population growth and the youth population reaching 40 percent, finding productive employment is becoming more challenging. Greater labour mobility would expand the employment options available to Pacific Islanders, but it is currently limited and skewed in favour of skilled workers. (p. vii)

The demographic composition of the Pacific Island countries participating in the New Zealand RSE programme are characteristically youthful. This “youth bulge” in the different populations produces a range of issues for Pacific Island countries. One such issue is the challenge for Pacific Island economies to provide enough employment opportunities, because of the limited growth of formal jobs (Duncan and Voigt-Graf, 2013; International Monetary Fund, 2013). A deficit of formal employment for youthful populations translates, from a global economy perspective, into an available “pool of labour.” According to Ware (2005), this “demographic pressure created by rapid population growth results in a lack of

3.3 The Political Imperative

There is a growing call for more research in this area, specifically how seasonal employment of Pacific Islanders should be strategised within broader economic policies which enable Pacific Island economies to grow and diversify, and as part of ongoing international trade negotiations

employment opportunities for youth (who provide the majority of participants in civil unrest and conflicts) rather than in direct pressure on land and other natural resources” (p. 435).

Over the last decade the negative connotations associated with the youth bulge and employment constraints has been challenged by the “demographic dividend” framework. The United Nations Population Fund (2013) defines the demographic dividend as occurring “when falling birth rates change the age distribution, so that more resources could be allocated to investments in human capital, to meet the needs of the younger generations, and for investment in economic development and family welfare” (p. 4). This framework invites thinking about labour markets in a different way – that is, recognising the potential of a large, young, and economically productive cohort. The challenge for Pacific governments is to have the fiscal ability to invest in the range of sectors needed to advance youth development. The demographic imperative of the youthfulness of Pacific populations can be seen as both a constraint to development, and/or an opportunity for development. The policy implications will therefore vary depending on the importance given to either perspective.

(Baldacchino, 2006; R. Bedford et al., 2016; Pomfret, 2016). This includes future research focusing on the relationship between the development of a single regional market under PACER Plus and Pacific Island labour mobility. Noonan (2011) argued that “labour mobility will be a

central element – politically and economically – to meaningful and beneficial economic integration between the FICs and Australia and New Zealand” (p. 277). The pace of integration of a single economic zone under PACER Plus has long been a problematic issue (Noonan, 2012) and as we write, remains uncertain. However, the Forum Island countries (FICs) have seen the RSE and SWP schemes in New Zealand and Australia expand to new industry sectors of construction and care work. According to Gleeson (2016):

Labour mobility appears to be the primary area in PACER Plus where there could have been prospects for the FICs to negotiate arrangements which could have generated significant employment and economic benefits through increased remittances. But the Draft Arrangement appears to contain no levers to actually improve labour mobility arrangements to the benefit of the Forum Island countries and it is difficult to see that it could achieve its stated purpose when it is non-binding and simply defers action to the Trade Ministers’ Meeting. (p. 42)

On the other hand OCTA (2016) argues that “Liberalising labour markets brings economic benefits to both the receiving and sending countries, as well as to the migrants” and “that labour mobility under PACER Plus will have a positive impact on poverty reduction in the FICs (p. 69)”. Given the different political positions that Gleeson (2016) and OCTA (2016) work from, careful and systematic research is needed to examine the social impact of seasonal mobility schemes as part of trade agreements, which necessarily are politically sensitive.

It is important to note that Pacific Islanders have differential access the labour markets in New Zealand and Australia. Although this SLR focuses upon labour market access and the RSE scheme, it is important to note that this scheme is just one of a number of other general permanent and temporary migration schemes available to Pacific Islanders. For example, a number of Pacific people possess New Zealand passports such as people from the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau. There is also the Samoan Quota Scheme and the Pacific Access Category applicable to Kiribati, Tonga, and Tuvalu and since 2015, to Fiji (Noonan, 2011). It is important to note that prior to the SWP in Australia, there were no preferential immigration policies for Pacific Island countries (Noonan, 2011).

Seasonal migration schemes, like the RSE, are proposed as an alternative opportunity for people from Pacific Island countries to have access to labour markets overseas, without having access to permanent residency (Gibson and McKenzie, 2007; Gibson, McKenzie, and Stillman, 2010b). In this way, labour becomes a dimension of international trade, and international trade and immigration become intertwined. According to Weber (2016), “The removal of obstacles to the mobility of people has been seen as an important step to economic and social development. Mobility helps to balance labour shortages, transfer skills and generate remittances” (p. 1047). Nevertheless, the response to temporary migration within the RSE scheme reacts to the labour demands in New Zealand on an annual basis and prevents Pacific Island countries, and Pacific Island workers, from using migration as a long-term reliable development strategy.

3.4 The Development Imperative

Remittances are central to the discussion on seasonal labour mobility and development, both globally and in the Pacific region and, in regard to seasonal employment, migrants' remittances form an essential part of the triple-win logic (Allegro, 2006; Dauvergene and Marsden, 2014; Gibson and McKenzie, 2014; Ramasamy et al., 2008). The RSE policy is described as a triple-win arrangement because it has been designed and managed in a way which simultaneously benefits the horticulture and viticulture industries, Pacific workers, and Pacific states (Department of Labour, 2009; Ramasamy et al., 2008). The research suggests that the flows of remittances are some of the most significant "wins" for the Pacific Island workers and Pacific states within the RSE scheme, with migrant remittances having the potential to produce positive development outcomes (see Balli and Balli, 2011; Bertram, 2006; Borovnik, 2009; Brown and Connell, 2006; Connell, 2005; Marsters, Lewis, and Friesen, 2006), and improve the wellbeing of their families (see Bailey, 2014; C. Bedford, 2013).

Circular mobility programmes, such as the RSE in New Zealand and PSWPS / SWP in Australia, are promoted as delivering triple wins to migrants and the economies of the origin and destination countries (see Allegro 2006; C. Bedford, 2013; Ramasamy et al., 2008). However, as Gibson and McKenzie (2010) argue:

there is a dearth of rigorous evidence as to their development impact, and concerns about whether the time periods involved are too short to realize much in the way of benefits, and

whether poorer, less skilled households actually get to participate in such programs. (p. 2)

The relationship between the RSE scheme, remittances, and development impact is complex. A summary of the remittances and RSE research is provided in the section below; however, it is important to signal some of the complicating factors to unpacking the links between labour mobility, remittances, and development. As Gibson and McKenzie (2010) state, the parameters of the scheme, and the selection of the workers, have a role in shaping the development impact of the RSE scheme. According to Bailey (2015b), part of the issue is that remittances are difficult to define and measure because there are both material and non-material forms of remittances. In regard to material remittances, Bailey (2015b) argues that material remittances allow for the purchasing of household consumable goods, and can also provide revenue in the receiving countries for business investment. In addition, in the event of a natural disaster, remittances can enable a faster recovery for receivers (Bailey and Ng Shiu, 2016). It is important that remittances and the triple-win argument are considered alongside the important factors of who participates and the upfront costs of participation. For example, the individual costs for RSE participants from Vanuatu were estimated at VUV179,858 [AUD2,045.24; NZD2,311.83] (Bailey, 2013).

3.5 Remittances as Poverty Alleviation at “Home”

Migration and remittances have the *potential* to improve wellbeing, stimulate economic growth and reduce poverty directly and indirectly, while their effects on inequality are much more ambiguous. (De Hass, 2007, p. 1)

De Hass (2005) reminds us to tread carefully through the relationship between migration, remittances, and development. Migrant remittances are a significant contribution to development and living conditions in the Pacific Island countries, nevertheless more attention needs to be placed on the analysis of the forms and functions of remittances, and the policy and banking constraints that obstruct the full development potential of remittances.

The works of De Hass (2005, 2007) are examples of studies which raise important questions about remittances, and the research which seeks to find the causal link between remittances and development. Between 2005 and 2007, the role of remittances was questioned in the Pacific region, with many research studies focused upon new conceptualisations of the migration, remittances, aid, and bureaucracy (MIRAB) model in the 21st century (see Baldacchino, 2006; Bertram, 2006; Borovnik, 2006; Fraenkel, 2006; Firth, 2006; Gibson et al., 2009). It is outside the scope of this SLR to examine the applicability of the MIRAB model in the context of the RSE scheme, nevertheless this framework for understanding development in the Pacific region has one key contribution to this SLR.

The MIRAB model relates to RSE in that migrants’ remittances are positioned as only

one interacting part of the Pacific development. In a similar fashion to other forms of migration, temporary migration is at times conceived as a form of aid (see Connell and Brown, 2005), and is also constructed within rigid forms of bureaucracy (Kumar, 2010). Remittance flows are also conceptualised as a part of regional economic integration (Jayaraman, Choong, and Kumar, 2009), and globalisation of labour markets (Ball, 2010). While most of the remittance research is based on quantifiable statistics using household survey data (Brown, Leeves, and Prayaga, 2014; Connell, 2006a; Jimenez-Soto and Brown, 2012), and remittance-behaviour data of migrants (Borovnik, 2006; Brown et al., 2014), high level statements on the development impacts of remittances can be extracted from the research. As Connell and Brown (2005) and Rao and Takirua (2010) argue, there is a lack of reliable and accurate data on remittances.

Nevertheless, research on Pacific remittances is a significant body of research, and the studies contained here are only a snapshot of the research which goes some way to understand the often paradoxical links between the RSE scheme, remittances, and development.

- Jimenez-Soto and Brown (2012), in a recent study on impacts of migrants’ remittances in Tonga, argue that remittances reduce the incidence of poverty by 31% within migrant households. While this study looks at permanent forms of migration, the research findings suggest that remittances can make a positive impact on the daily lives of people in Tonga, and that an

increase in migration opportunities has the potential to positively impact development.

- Jayaraman et al. (2009) use a case study in Samoa to argue that Pacific Island remittances are “resilient” to external economic factors such as recessions in New Zealand and Australia, and that remittances have helped Samoa to register greater economic growth. Specifically, remittances, by adding to the liquidity in the banking system, have led to increases in credit to the private sector, which in turn have resulted in greater economic activities and the resultant rise in exports, thereby leading to growth in GDP. This research highlights that the development potential of remittances extends beyond the migrant-sending household.
- Borovnik (2006) uses a range of data sets to investigate remittances of seafarers from Kiribati, including interview responses during in-depth interviews with seafarers. The key findings in this research which relate to temporary mobility, remittances, and development are that remittances are spread throughout extended families and communities; however, the decision on how to share the remittances predominantly resided with the seafarer.
- Kumar (2010) provides a detailed study of remittances and financial development in Vanuatu using annual data from 1981 - 2008. One of the overall findings relates explicitly to the RSE scheme. Kumar (2010) argues:

It is clear that remittance inflows need to be encouraged. The Vanuatu government has signed a bi-lateral trade agreement with New Zealand government to participate in the

Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme. However, maximising benefits from these schemes requires that remittances transfers are cost effective, and appropriate socio-cultural policies and trainings are in place for villages and communities to make the best use of the remittances, particularly in housing development and small business initiatives. (p. 14)

- Brown et al. (2014) conducted research on remittances in Fiji and Tonga and how remittances perform the function of poverty and social protection. This research argues that remittances are more stable than other financial flows. It is important to note that while this research focused on permanent migration, it has been included to highlight that the potential function of remittances to alleviate poverty and provide social protection relies upon the remittance flows being stable and sustainable (see also Poirine, 2006).
- Brickenstein (2015) compares the development impact of seasonal worker schemes between Europe and the Pacific. This study, which uses secondary data and interviews, asserts that “temporary migration contributes to development if remittances are increased and return incentives are created” (p. 19).
- Gibson and McKenzie’s (2010) research in Tonga and Vanuatu investigated the value of remittances sent and/or bought back from participation in the RSE. The overall finding was that although households on in both countries lose a productive income-generating member of the household, the income gain from RSE is “still massive compared to other development interventions” (p. 9).

- Gibson and McKenzie (2011a) conducted a similar piece of research tracking the development impacts of the first two years of the PSWPS programme in Australia, and conducted interviews with workers from Tonga and Kiribati to understand the cost involved with participation, average income earned, and remittances. Gibson and McKenzie found that overall “A typical worker earned A\$12,000 -13,000 in Australia, of which we estimate approximately A\$5,000 gets remitted, and the net gain is around A\$2,600 after taking account of opportunity costs and what the workers would have contributed to household production in their home countries” (p. 12).

Overall, the research is positive about the impact of remittances. However, there are also important insights into the sustainability of these positive impacts, for instance, the recognition that continued migration is needed, the growth of consumption, the importance of who decides on the distribution of remittances, the need to reduce transaction costs of remittances, the need for appropriate socio-cultural adjustments to remittances in home places, and the recognition that productive income-generating household members are lost to labour mobility schemes. These insights invite the need for further policy relevant research.

3.6 RSE and Pacific Islands Development

This section draws attention to the research which adds value to our understanding of the RSE scheme and its potential contribution to development in Pacific Island countries. There are a range of research studies available, and this section attempts to draw distinctions between the earlier evaluative reports, Pacific Island country case studies, and the research which seeks to critically examine the roles and responsibilities involved in this policy.

Early Studies Between 2007 – 2009.

Early on in the implementation of the RSE scheme, Spoonley and Bedford (2008) investigated the links between the regional labour demands in New Zealand and the RSE policy. This research positioned the RSE as a response predominantly to the labour shortage problem in rural New Zealand, and the authors argue that:

Farmers in those regions specialising in the production of fruit, vegetables and wine have been putting pressure on the Labour led government to adopt immigration policy settings that allow for entry of seasonal workers who can work continuously in the country for longer periods than are permitted under the Working Holiday Visa scheme. (Spoonley and Bedford, 2008, p. 210)

Published in the same year, Ramasamy et al. (2008) also explored the RSE programme as an approach to labour supply problems in New Zealand and the “elusive” potential of triple wins. According to these researchers:

First, there was recognition of a long-standing problem facing employers in the horticulture and viticulture industries in meeting their seasonal labour demands from local sources.

Second, it had become clear that current immigration policies used by these employers were not sustainable or sufficient to manage risks for migrants, for local labour supply and for the integrity of New Zealand's policies relating to rights to work and reside in the country. Third, there was acknowledgment that improved temporary work access for Pacific nationals could contribute to New Zealand's broad objectives in the region of encouraging economic development, regional integration and stability, alongside efforts by island states within the Pacific Islands Forum to strengthen their economies. (Ramasamy et al., 2008, p. 171)

Lovelock and Leopold (2008) also focus their research on the labour force shortages in New Zealand, the development of RSE, and the intentions of the New Zealand government behind the RSE scheme. Importantly, this research raises many questions regarding the differences and similarities between permanent and temporary migration, and advocates for more research to be carried out which focuses upon the risks and vulnerabilities of the Pacific Islands workers. For example:

Will these temporary migrants experience racism in rural New Zealand? What other forms of social exclusion might operate – both here and back home? What will the long-term implications be for these temporary migrants, local communities and their home communities? There are many questions that need to be asked about the New Zealand context and ongoing questions that need to be explored in participating Island communities. It is clear that we need to

remain cognisant of existing and long-standing economic, social and cultural differences in the region if the risk of perpetuating, reinforcing and exacerbating existing regional inequality is to be avoided. (Lovelock and Leopold, 2008, p. 228)

These earlier questions posed by Lovelock and Leopold (2008) reappear in the body of research at later dates as more contemporary research seeks to better understand the migrants' experiences and the development impacts.

Vanuatu

The first case study by McKenzie, Martinez, and Winters (2008), on the development impact of the RSE scheme, uses the results of a survey taken in Vanuatu, which was the largest supplier of labour in the first year of the scheme, and remains the largest supplier in 2017. The main findings from this research are:

That the main participants are males in their late 20s to early 40s, most of whom are married and have children. Most workers are subsistence farmers in Vanuatu and have not completed more than 10 years of schooling. Such workers are unlikely to be accepted under existing migration channels. Nevertheless, we find RSE workers from Vanuatu to come from wealthier households, and have better English literacy and health than individuals not applying for the programme. Lack of knowledge about the policy and the costs of applying appear to be the main barriers preventing poorer individuals from applying. (p. 1)

The Vanuatu example was also researched by Connell and Hammond (2009), who state that after less than two years, RSE was both a success and a model for the future Australian scheme. These authors argue that temporary employment schemes “serve the needs of the poor more effectively than many forms of aid” (p. 93), while at the same time recognising that a number of issues have begun to surface including the bias and exploitation of some employment agents and the substantial costs involved in making an application to be a part of RSE.

Another Vanuatu case study was conducted by Bailey (2009). This master’s thesis research focuses on the experiences of the men participating in the RSE scheme, and the social relationships that were formed between employers, co-workers, accommodation hosts, and the local community. The overall finding was that:

Conditions of employment contracts, visa regulations and informal pressures to be “good” men both at work and in free time, from the Vanuatu government, men’s home communities and industry participants, all work to limit the men’s freedom, which is entrenched largely through threats of being sent home or blacklisted from the scheme. Workers are aware of the mechanisms used to control them and they do resist some of the conditions imposed, but only in a limited way that will not see them excluded from the scheme. (p. vii)

The conceptualisation of “unfreedom” within the research of Bailey (2009) demonstrates the first case study with overtly critical tones about the imbalance of power involved in the RSE temporary worker scheme. Following on with the warier

position, Cameron’s (2011) master’s thesis concluded that in Vanuatu “the potential exists for migrants participating in the RSE scheme to become trapped in dependent and exploitative relationships with their employers” (p. 145).

More recently, and also in Vanuatu, Cummings (2013) combined research data gathered in the early 2000s, prior to the RSE scheme, with data gathered later to evaluate the relationship between mobility and wage labour, specifically in Port Vila. Two of the main contributions of this research are the suggestions that more research is needed in the area of the gendered dimension of transformational change at home, after RSE, and that higher levels of English language proficiency could enable better negotiations for ni-Vanuatu.

Bailey (2013, 2014) conducted extensive research with a cohort of Ambrym workers, from Vanuatu, in Central Otago, and connected research with the seasonal workers’ families and communities in Ambrym. This research occurred over six years and provides many insights into the impacts of RSE both at home and away. The impacts covered in this research include the positive gains from remittances, including purchasing of small goods, housing and infrastructure projects, and new business opportunities. An emphasis is also placed on the self-development of the workers, both via the work experience and via having the money available to fund education. Relationships, both positive and negative, also appear in the research which includes discussion on the maintenance of reciprocal relationships and the issues of ownership of money, and community organisations making claims on the money. This research also looks at complexities of the RSE employer/worker relationship.

Rockell (2015) also performed extensive field work in Vanuatu with RSE workers. This research discovered a set of both positive and negative features of the RSE scheme for ni-Vanuatu workers. Positive features are listed as close government monitoring of worker accommodation, the transparency of the remuneration, the interest of many employers in assisting workers to remit funds to source communities, house building and infrastructural benefits gained by many workers, and the transfer of useful skills. The negative features are listed as powerlessness of the workers to negotiate their work conditions, the failure of some employers to address workers' specific needs, the social dislocation of some workers leading to alcohol abuse, the frequency of work interruptions due particularly to weather conditions, the excessive work hours on some nightshifts at minimum wage, and a lack of connection between recruitment patterns and areas of greatest need (p. i). In addition, the short visa period granted to the seasonal worker is seen as a constraint to the financial flows from remittances.

Cameron (2011) performed master's field research in Blenheim and Tanna Island, focusing upon the experiences of the RSE workers. This research highlights the social and economic benefits for the participating workers. In addition, a key question emerges which raises concerns over the "submissive relationship" that ni-Vanuatu workers have with their employers.

Kumar (2012) also performed field research in Vanuatu among RSE workers on Epi Island, and with RSE employers in New Zealand. Positive gains were discovered for both the workers and the employers, and these gains were used in this master's thesis

to illustrate the win-win logic in operation. However, this research also provides a more critical enquiry into the recruitment process and argues that:

In terms of ensuring sustainability of the scheme, it is recommended that greater inclusivity needs to be in place in the recruitment process. The recruitment process needs to include all people who are willing and able to participate in the scheme. Effective communication between stakeholders, that is, between host and home countries is needed. There is a need for greater emphasis in resolving some conflicting issues caused by migrants in their home country. It is also recommended that concerns raised by employers in relation to improving the RSE scheme and highlighting the significance of the RSE scheme as an employer-led demand-driven initiative are addressed. Other areas needing attention are migrant communities facing internal conflicts and unfair recruitment; returned migrants' concerns regarding tax refunds and tax procedures, wage rates and accommodation costs. Also, it is essential that both the employers and the migrants understand each other's culture and environment to maximise benefit from the scheme. (p. ii)

Tonga

Gibson and McKenzie (2009b) conducted a baseline survey similar to the Vanuatu case, in Tonga, capturing the key findings from the initial seasons of the RSE scheme. This research highlights that in the early roll out of the scheme:

Almost half of income for RSE households and more than half for the other households is from subsistence

production. Repatriated RSE earnings and net remittances from RSE workers are the next most important income sources for RSE households, followed by earnings in Tonga. For non-RSE households, earnings in Tonga are the second most important income source. Across all sources, the per capita income of RSE households is approximately 300 pa'anga higher than for applicant and non-applicant households. (p. 9)

This quantitative research is careful to state the caveats in the measurements and also suggests different methodologies for future comparisons. In the same year, this data was brought together with the research conducted in Vanuatu by Rohorua, Gibson, McKenzie and Martinez (2009) in order to perform a comparative study between the impact of seasonally absent family members Tonga and Vanuatu.

Samoa

Gibson (2010) extends their interest in the RSE scheme and the potential economic development impacts in the Pacific Islands to Samoa. This research focused on the economic situation in Samoa during a reduction in demand for Pacific seasonal workers between 2009 - 2010. This research argues that Samoa was worse affected by the reduction in demand for labour and that there has been some volatility in remittance earnings since integration into RSE and the PSWPS. Importantly this research looks at the fragility of the participation of Pacific Island countries in the RSE scheme by drawing attention to the macroeconomic forces that can affect demand for seasonal workers and the impact this has on the lives of Samoans.

Tuvalu.

Tuvalu is the smallest country participating in the RSE, and according to C. Bedford et al. (2010) "It is the Pacific country where the RSE scheme could potentially make the greatest difference to provision of temporary wage employment for the country's labor force" (p. 423). The study of Tuvalu's RSE experience draws upon three consecutive years of field research from 2007 - 2010 in Tuvalu. The research was conducted among the RSE workers, but also analyses the relationships between the Tuvaluan and New Zealand governments, and the employers in New Zealand. The key findings of this study were:

In the longer term, the diffusion of work and living experience among an increasing number of younger adult Tuvaluans could work to the country's advantage in two ways. Firstly, it could help to build the connections with employers that are essential for gaining entry under the PAC [Pacific Access Category]. Secondly, it could contribute to preparing increasing numbers of younger Tuvaluans for a possible life outside their atolls if rising sea levels and changing climatic conditions make it difficult to sustain a livelihood on low-lying coral islands. For Tuvaluans, participation in the RSE scheme should not just be seen as an opportunity for some seasonal work; there are other ways the scheme can assist people from the central Pacific atolls who may need to move to very different sorts of physical and economic environments in the future. The RSE scheme can play a very useful educational role in preparing for this possibility. (C. Bedford et al., 2010, pp. 442-443)

In this piece of research, the RSE scheme is viewed as a platform for other migration opportunities for Tuvaluans. Temporary migration in this research is viewed as an experience which could later inform more permanent forms of migration.

Solomon Islands

Craig et al.'s (2014) research of the Solomon Islands' labour mobility and diaspora does not specifically focus on the developmental gains of seasonal employment; however, the research provides an understanding of how Solomon Islanders have emerged over time as "liberal contractors and efficient, available labour" (p. 17). The authors also state that circular labour mobility "enables workers to be employed on a highly commoditised basis, without consideration of their longer life course development and needs or indeed their potential contributions" (p. 18).

Field Work Which Spans Five Pacific Island Countries

The most comprehensive research on the RSE scheme and how this programme connects Pacific Islanders with waged employment is contained within an unpublished PhD thesis by Charlotte Bedford (see above for published work: C. Bedford et al., 2010). This research covers the emergence of the RSE and the triple-win scenario in the region by providing a substantive analysis of the political relationships intertwined with this temporary migration scheme. The research addresses both the supply and demand sides of the RSE concept, via mixed methodology research in seven of New Zealand's horticultural regions and the five Pacific Island kick start countries of Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Kiribati, and Vanuatu. In addition, the researcher spent time in Australia

contextualising the Australian version of the Pacific seasonal migration (SWP).

More recent works in the field of RSE

The majority of the studies on the RSE scheme in New Zealand were published between 2008 - 2010. These works predominantly monitor and report upon the initial implementation of the scheme and provide a commentary upon the teething problems. The tone of these reports tends to be optimistic about the potential this scheme has for Pacific Islands' development, and the research follows a line of enquiry based on the triple-win logic.

Between 2010 - 2012 there are some studies which look more towards the role of the RSE scheme in promoting economic development in the Pacific Islands and use time series data to establish some causal relationships. Since 2012, the published research on the RSE loses some momentum. However, it is during this period that the extensive field research of students for master's and doctoral theses is carried out. There are several expected reasons for this diminishing number of studies published more recently. It could be the case that, with the RSE scheme being in operation for eight years, studies tracking the progress could be currently underway and not published, or researchers could be looking for new avenues of research beyond the monitoring and evaluative track, or island case studies. There is also the possibility that relationships created in this field of research have eroded over time, and that government-sponsored research has been reduced. Nevertheless, there have been a few studies, outside of postgraduate theses, specifically looking at RSE, that demonstrate a more developed

conceptualisation of RSE and the development potential it offers Pacific Islands governments.

During this period, Hay and Howes (2012) focused their research on the SWP in Australia and the possible reasons as to why the uptake of the scheme had been so low among employers. This research addresses a range of possible explanations for the slow uptake including growers already being satisfied with their current labour force, excessive red tape, and poor understanding of seasonal labour scheme. In addition, the paper addresses the contributing factor of existing illegal horticultural employment practices in Australia. The evidence in this research was used to inform another study on demand-side constraints and suggested reforms to Australia's Seasonal Worker Programme (Doyle and Howes, 2015). This report recommends that changes to the SWP are necessary to lift employer demand. The key recommendations include:

increasing funding for compliance activities to reduce the number of illegal workers in horticulture; either removing or reducing the second-year visa extension for backpackers working in horticulture, or generalising it to all sectors; removing the upfront costs for returning workers and covering those for new workers through a revolving fund; reducing the minimum fourteen week work requirement; giving employers a greater role in worker selection; advertising the SWP through a targeted group of horticultural industry bodies; streamlining reporting requirements to government; and easing labor market testing requirements for participating growers. (Doyle and Howes, 2015, p. 1)

RSE Research 2013 – 2016.

The RSE research and analysis published over the last three years raises important questions regarding the sustainability of the RSE policy, issues of worker's vulnerabilities, and new conceptualisations of RSE within the wider global development agenda. For example, Anderson and Tipples (2014) raise important questions regarding issues of vulnerability of workers in RSE, and other unskilled areas of agricultural work in New Zealand. As the RSE scheme develops, we expect that more studies investigating the labour laws and rights of temporary migrants to New Zealand will be developed.

Research attention has also turned towards the primary objective of the RSE programme to enhance the productivity of New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries. For example, Bedford (2014) examines the productivity gains the growers are experiencing within the broader context of the origins and objectives of the RSE programme. This research demonstrates a number of key findings where productivity is concerned. One key finding is that

“RSE workers who had been employed on the orchard for three seasons had the highest average gross earnings (\$9,256 NZD), 22 percent higher than the earnings of the New Zealand groups. They were also higher than the workers who had been back for two seasons or the new RSE workers. The groups with the most consistent performance, as measured by gross earnings were the RSE returnees” (Bedford 2014, p. 81).

The most recent publication by Gibson and McKenzie (2014) provides a detailed analysis of how seasonal worker programmes relate to wider international development agendas. This research includes quantified development impacts of the RSE scheme in the kick starter Pacific countries, and analysis upon the proportion of Pacific RSE participants to seasonal workers from New Zealand or other countries. The research focuses on the first six seasons of the RSE policy and argues that RSE is “one of the most successful development interventions for which rigorous evidence exists” (p. 1). This research provides evidence and discussion on how RSE has not displaced New Zealand workers, and new data shows RSE workers to be more productive than local labour, and that workers appear to gain productivity as they return for subsequent seasons. “The programme has also benefited the migrants participating in the programme, with increases in per capita incomes, expenditure, savings, and subjective wellbeing, with some evidence of small positive spill-over benefits to their communities in the form of public goods” (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014, p. 1). Over a period of four years, research by Gibson and McKenzie (2010, 2014) showed an increase in the purchase of DVD, players, radios, and refrigerators in both Tonga and Vanuatu. However, for Vanuatu they argued that while there was clear evidence of an increase in durable goods in home villages, the scheme appeared to deliver little in terms of skills improvement and opportunities for waged employment.

The seasonal labour migration research of Bailey (2013, 2014, 2016) includes studies

on worker participation and remittances and development impacts in Vanuatu, as well employee-employer relationships. In particular, the role and associated costs of pastoral care policies effect on productivity and future participation in labour schemes. Bailey’s research features throughout this SLR as an example of research which captures the inherent complexities of seasonal worker programmes, and the potential impact these programmes can make to development. For instance, Bailey (2016, 269) stated that men and women are becoming more vocal about the impacts of participation in season worker programmes on their households and communities. She argued that careful and systematic “longitudinal studies are needed to capture future development potentials as well as social costs associated with participation in these programmes” (p. 269).

An ethnographic study of RSE workers from Vanuatu is provided by Cummings (2016). This research speaks to the strategies employed by RSE workers to cope with uncertainties that participation in seasonal labour migration brings. For example, “This research finding discussed here demonstrates that, far from being paralyzed by such uncertainties, returned migrant workers employ various creative, culturally intelligible strategies to deal with the uncertain promise of their new-found temporary employment” (p. 22). This work extends from an earlier publication which focused on the transnational orientation of RSE workers from Vanuatu. Cummings (2016) also draws attention to the strains which an increase in commodity purchasing has upon relationships in the home islands.

4. Background to PSWPS

In August 2008, Australia launched the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS). Up until this point there was resistance to allowing unskilled workers from Pacific Islands to enter Australia (Schultz, 2014). This move towards greater labour mobility from the Pacific region was conceptualised as a demonstration of Australia’s “power in the region” (Ritchie, 2009; Schultz, 2014) and a practical programme to generate broad-based economic benefit for Pacific Islanders (Ball, 2010). Ritchie (2009) describes the Pacific Island states as welcoming the SWP as a “mark of Australia’s willingness to engage in a mutually responsive manner with the region” (p. 17). According to Ball (2010):

The Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS) signals a new level of engagement between Australia and Pacific Island countries and is of major significance for all participating countries. It embodies the ramping up of the globalisation of labour markets,

communities and nations in the Pacific region and constitutes international people movement that inevitably will have a transformative impact on labour receiving and sending nations in terms of their social, political and economic structures. (p. 114)

In a similar manner to the RSE scheme, the PSWPS was designed with the triple-win logic in mind. The original countries involved to fill labour shortages in the Australian horticulture industry were Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, and Vanuatu (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011a; Hay and Howes, 2012). In the beginning, the PSWPS had very low numbers of seasonal workers, and throughout the pilot period from 2009 - 2012, the PSWPS had significantly lower numbers of seasonal workers than the RSE. The table below illustrates the comparably low number of seasonal workers between Australia and New Zealand. .

Table 7: Annual Number of Seasonal Workers in Australia and New Zealand

	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
New Zealand (RSE)	4,451	7,695	6,895	7,052
Australia (PSWPS)	-	56	67	392

Source: Hay and Howes, 2012, p. 8

In 2011 it was announced that the scheme would be made permanent (Hay and Howes, 2012), and in 2012 the PSWPS became a permanent scheme, the Seasonal Workers Programme (SWP), with

memoranda of understanding (MoU) established with nine participating countries: Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu (ILO, 2013).

4.1 Research on PSWPS

The focus of this SLR is predominantly on the New Zealand-based RSE scheme; however, a few key pieces of research on the Australian SWP are included to demonstrate both the similarities and differences between the two countries' schemes. To date, the research on the Australian SWP focuses predominantly on the demand side of the circular mobility relationship. There has been a notable hesitancy on behalf of the growers in Australia over the last ten years to invest in this programme. The reasons cited by the employers include no existing shortage of labour, perceived high levels of risk and cost, and excessive red tape (Hay and Howes, 2012).

For example, Hay and Howes (2012) argue that:

The scheme is not well known: half the growers surveyed had simply not heard of the scheme, and most of those who had lacked information about it. The scheme also suffers from perceptions of high levels of risk and costs, including excessive red tape. Despite its slow start, PSWPS might still succeed on the basis of the productivity gains it has already shown it can deliver. But this is by no means assured: even growers who are unhappy with their current labour supply arrangements are reluctant to try the PSWPS. (p. 1)

Mares (2007) provides a useful historical backdrop to the rejection of guest worker or labour mobility schemes in Australian government since 1984, up until the PSWPS was announced in 2007. Mares' (2007) research combines the objections of the previous schemes with those concerning the PSWPS in Australia to create a

definitive list of reasons as to why Australia had been hesitant to use Pacific seasonal labour, and, it can be assumed, why Australia had a much slower uptake of the scheme by growers. The publicly cited risks of having Pacific guest workers in Australia include workers overstaying visa permits, "stealing" Australian jobs, and suffering abuse at the hand of exploitative employers; long-term decline in wages for agricultural work; and stifling agricultural innovation. In addition, the memory of blackbirding³, and concerns that PSWPS could be considered discriminatory under Australia's immigration policy because it would favour one region (the Pacific Islands) over all others, were also proposed as arguments against PSWPS.

This study by Mares (2007) is part of a series of publications in which Mares (2007, 2011), Maclellan and Mares (2006), and Maclellan (2008) investigate the Australian government's approach to Pacific seasonal labour and the reaction to the scheme by the general public and potential employers. In 2006, Maclellan and Mares warned that:

Together with sectors such as construction and mining, farming and agricultural work are amongst the most hazardous industries for workers and compliance with occupational health and safety laws will be essential - there could be complex legal and practical issues for workers to claim treatment and compensation for workplace injuries after they return home. (p. 40)

³ "blackbirding" refers to Australia's 19th century labour recruiting in Melanesia

Mares (2011) also raises the critical argument that, in regards to migration from the global south, Australia behaves according to self-interest in the matter of immigration, aid, development, and trade. This argument is also expressed in a number of theoretical pieces of research which address the legality and ethics of seasonal labour migration. For example, Reilly (2011) raises a series of questions regarding the temporality and vulnerability of the temporary workers in Australia. The research focuses specifically upon whether or not it is ethical to deny long-term seasonal workers the opportunity to join the Australian community. This research suggests that problems arise between the employees and employers in these seasonal migrant labour relationships because migrant workers are excluded from political life in the receiving country (Reilly, 2011). Far from being considered citizens during their short term of employment, seasonal workers exist outside society and are reduced to conceptualisations as only “labour.”

The regulation of Pacific seasonal labour forces was also examined by MacDermott and Opeskin (2010) who focused their research on the transnationalisation of NGOs and unions working with Pacific seasonal migrants. Importantly, this research looks at the tensions between national and transnational politics that surround these workers. Newman (2013) also uses a legal framework to examine the possibility of extending employment rights and protections to Pacific seasonal workers in Australia. Newman argues that for continuous seasonal service “there is no reason at law why labour rights and protections could not be re-conceptualised to recognise non-continuous service within

the parameters of each programme” (p. 389).

The ‘embodiment’ of Pacific labour is researched in the Australian context by McDonald and Rodriguez (2014) as they examine the stereotype of Island men, which they argue contributed to some of the hesitancy of Australian farmers towards using Pacific Islanders to solve labour shortages. In particular, they follow a line of enquiry based upon the following quote from a public hearing “They are 8-foot-tall and they are 500 pounds and they break every ladder and every piece of equipment - and they do not care” (p. 236). While the idea of the “body” and seasonal migration only appears briefly in this research, it does signal an area for future research.

The research of Gibson and McKenzie (2011a) also appears in the Australian context, with an evaluative piece of research examining the development impacts of the first two years in the Tongan context. The overall results demonstrated that:

Although overall numbers are small to date, the workers that have participated in the program have benefited by reasonably large amounts, increasing annual incomes for their household by almost 40 percent. The workers who participated in the Australian program appear reasonably content with their experiences, and all say they would recommend the program to other workers from their villages. (p. 19)

The two other evaluative reports on the Australian PSWPS were produced by the ILO (2012, 2013). The first report offers a comparative evaluation of the literature produced on the seasonal migration schemes to both New Zealand and

Australia. The more recent report conducted in 2013 speaks directly to the SWP being rolled out to Papua New Guinea and Nauru, and what this opportunity provides for these countries' national development strategies.

5. Research on the Development Impacts of Seasonal Migration

This section focuses upon the development impacts of seasonal migration programmes from the Pacific to New Zealand (RSE) and Australia (PSWPS / SWP). Overall, it could be argued that there is **a lack of evidence-based studies in this area** (see Bailey, 2016). The need for more robust data on the direct development impacts of RSE participation was made by Gibson and McKenzie (2009b), earlier on in the implementation of the RSE scheme yet despite this call, and attempts by these researchers to gather longitudinal data specifically within countries such as Tonga and Vanuatu, **seven years later there is still a limited range of research on the development impacts of these schemes**. The possible explanations for such a gap are the relatively short time frames in which the schemes have been operating, the cost and difficulties in undertaking research in Pacific Island communities, and shifting government research priorities. There is a notable absence of research studies on the relationship between the development aspirations of Pacific Island countries and seasonal labour migration. There is also considerable scope to undertake careful and

systematic research on supportive training opportunities, like Vakameasina which have been more recently developed.

The nature of the RSE and SWP programmes also complicates the collection of empirical research, and, according to Gibson and McKenzie (2009b), “**surveys lack baseline information** from before the workers migrated and do not have control groups to see what would have been happening to the supplying households in the absence of the seasonal migration” (p. 2).

Before proceeding into a short outline of the range of documented development impacts, there are two frameworks which have been proposed by researchers as a way to understand, monitor, and evaluate the impacts of temporary migration and seasonal employment. These have been included in this SLR because they provide useful tools for the Pacific Island countries participating within schemes such as RSE, to monitor and evaluate the development impacts. These frameworks also provide an opportunity for the development of new research enquiries.

5.1 Understanding the Development Impacts

There are two lines of enquiry which seek to evaluate the development impact of seasonal employment. One path investigates **the positive impacts** of the seasonal employment for the individual worker, their families, and communities. These benefits and opportunities for development are determined, according to Brickenstein (2015), by the following factors:

- The selection of new and returning workers
- The amount of average earnings
- The utilisation of workers’ income
- The form and frequency of remittances
- Skill acquisition

The other path of inquiry into the development impacts of Pacific seasonal migration schemes takes a more critical gaze, and examines what Reilly (2011) asserts are the **negative impacts** which have been created by the following factors:

- Fragmentation of workers' lives
- Cost of losing valuable workers in the Islands
- Social and cultural affect of dividing families
- Reintegration of workers into their home states
- Socioeconomic imbalance created by the uneven distribution of remittances

The **economic benefits (positive) and economic complications (negative)** feature strongly in the research available, and the impact of remittances upon development is the key thread within these enquiries. Indeed, the topic of remittances runs throughout the research on RSE and PSWPS / SWP.

The RSE scheme was designed to give Pacific workers an opportunity for wage employment, with the recruitment of workers purposively focused towards people with limited access to waged employment. This “pro-poor” characteristic of the RSE scheme positions the potential developmental impact upon not only how many people participate but “who” participates. The RSE policy has been designed to offer an alternative migration access in comparison to the more permanent forms of migration possible through the Pacific Access Category (PAC). Gibson, McKenzie, and Rohorua (2008) undertook a comparison between the characteristics of those applying to permanently migrate under the PAC, and

those involved with the RSE scheme in Tonga.

The key finding was that recruited RSE workers were from largely agricultural backgrounds, and had lower average incomes and schooling levels than Tongans not participating in the programme. In regards to developmental impact, the pro-poor framing of RSE means that:

Participation of poorer and more rural households in the program makes it more likely that the RSE will have some of the positive development impacts that form one of the objectives of the policy. (Gibson et al., 2008, p. 18)

McLellan (2008) also argues that the development impact of RSE is influenced by who is recruited or put forward for participation in the scheme. For example:

One significant outcome of New Zealand's RSE programme is that some Pacific communities are nominating a number of workers at a time and encouraging them to commit a portion of their wages for community development projects. There are examples, such as the Lapaha Town Council in Tonga, and the Lolihor Development Council in Vanuatu where recruitment of seasonal workers is being coordinated by communities as well individuals and families. (p. 51)

It was in the early phase of the RSE programme that the “work-ready” pool of labour was established by communities in Tonga. In this way, the Tongan Ministry, at the district level, with involvement from the church and community leaders, created a group of people from which employers could directly recruit (Brickenstein, 2015; Gibson et al., 2008).

The development impacts of earnings from seasonal employment are addressed within the Pacific context in the following areas of research. Reducing the cost associated with participation in the scheme (Connell and Hammond 2009), increasing the financial literacy of the workers (Gibson et al., 2012), remittances behaviour (Karunaratne and Gibson, 2014), lowering the cost of remittance transactions (Abel and Hailwood, 2012; Gibson et al., 2012) and more accurate analysis of earnings and remittances (Bedford Consulting, 2016).

Financial Literacy

One of the reoccurring themes of the research in this SLR is the potential contribution that increasing levels of financial literacy can make to the economic gains of seasonal workers. In particular, the topic of ‘financial literacy’ emerges in response to discovering that many seasonal workers have a limited knowledge of the costs of sending remittances and the benefits of belonging to a bank (Karunaratne and Gibson, 2014; Gibson, McKenzie and Bial, 2012; Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua, 2013).

According to Karunaratne and Gibson (2014), in a study comparing the remittance behaviour of skilled and unskilled groups of migrants in Australia (Sri Lankan and Samoan), the findings were that Pacific Islanders were more likely to be “unbanked” and therefore reliant on fringe and more expensive financial institutions. Although this research does not specifically look at temporary seasonal forms of migration, the findings are included in this review because they speak to the larger issue of remittance costs in the Pacific. Costs associated with remittances are a constraint to development, for example:

The range of transactions costs and the substantial share of income remitted means that improved financial literacy that resulted in shifting toward lower cost remittance providers could save many immigrants several hundred dollars per year. Yet despite their financial stage in finding and using lower cost methods, the surveyed immigrants appear to have incomplete information on the range of remittance products and imperfect knowledge for calculating the transaction costs of remittances. (p. 62)

Abel and Hailwood (2012), in their research of the New Zealand-Pacific corridor, argue that the Pacific region has some of the highest remittance fees in the world. The costs associated with remittances are viewed in this study as a major obstacle of development in the Pacific, and there needs to be more recognition of the role of financial literacy, and inter-country banking relationships. Gibson (2006) also made a call for a review of financial services in the Pacific. He argues that a lack of knowledge of alternative methods of sending remittances was keeping transaction costs high and contributing to (at that time) a loss, for the region as whole (although those who facilitate the costs are benefitting) of up to NZ\$60 million per year from having remittances sent via costly rather than cheap channels. Furthermore, Gibson et al. (2006) argue that it is important to also consider the cost-elasticity of remittances. For example,

remittances have a negative cost-elasticity with respect to the fixed fee component of money transfer costs. Thus Pacific Island countries can expect a more than proportionate increase in remittances if the costs of sending money could be reduced while

maintaining other features such as transfer speed and ease of use. (p. 113)

Financial literacy education is part of the pastoral care (see next section) provided to the Pacific seasonal workers. This education has produced positive economic outcomes for the workers, and, in addition, research into the RSE and remittances relationship has contributed to new innovations which aim to assist migrants to make better economic decisions regarding how they send their remittances (Gibson et al., 2012). The main example of this is the website www.sendingmoneypacific.com.

Pastoral Care

One positive response to the costs associated with remittances and the low level of financial literacy is that, in New Zealand, there has been subsequent research on the New Zealand-Pacific remittance corridor, and the implementation of financial assistance as part of the wider policy of providing pastoral care. The pastoral care requirement, which is a critical feature of both the Australian (SWP) and New Zealand's (RSE) scheme (see Bailey, 2015c), was a response to the learnings from the first year of the RSE (C. Bedford, 2013), whereby it was discovered that more attention needed to be given to labour rights, welfare services, and pastoral care (Maclellan, 2008). Developing coping measures to help workers adjust to being absent from family and home communities is an important role of the seasonal employers (Hugo, 2009a; Rohorua et al., 2009).

According to Gibson and McKenzie (2014):

Under the “pastoral care” requirement in the RSE, employers are required to provide arrangements to help workers

arrive, settle in, and have access to adequate facilities while in New Zealand. This includes arranging transport to and from the port of arrival and departure, providing access to suitable accommodation (which workers pay for), arranging transportation to and from the worksite, providing safety equipment when needed, providing access to banking facilities and opportunities for recreation and religious observance. (pp. 6-7)

For the RSE employers, pastoral care is easier to deliver and more effective with experienced repeat workers from similar cultural backgrounds. When the delivery of pastoral care is not done well, RSE employers have noticed negative health outcomes, lowered productivity, and participation outcomes (Bailey, 2009).

Agricultural Production and Absent Community Members

Seasonal work abroad has an impact on agricultural production in the islands when some of the most productive members are absent. “This high percentage of selection of farmers indicates a biased preferential selection of farmers as seasonal workers which is a significant loss from the farming population” (Taufatofua, 2011, p. 13). Rohorua et al. (2009) argue that “if these absences are costly for the family left behind, the net development benefits of seasonal migration will be less than what they appear from remittances” (p. 19). Furthermore, the gender roles in food production arise when seasonal migration of men shifts agricultural workloads to women (Rohorua et al., 2009).

The impacts of seasonal migration upon agricultural production are differentially experienced. In a comparison of RSE

households in Tonga and Vanuatu, Rohorua et al. (2009) found that while many Tongan households had been able to adjust relatively smoothly to the absence of family members, in Vanuatu the impact had been more negatively experienced. This impact is due in part to households being less likely to receive regular remittances and more likely to receive higher amounts when the seasonal worker returned. For example:

The greater remoteness and poorer infrastructure of islands in Vanuatu mean that less than 40 per cent of the surveyed ni-Vanuatu households were able to rely on remittances from the migrant as a means of coping with their absence and only one quarter of the households were able to communicate regularly with their household member. (p. 36)

Brain Drain

The flow of new information, and the circulation of skills and knowledge, are important contributions to the Pacific Island countries (Allegro, 2006; Gibson et al., 2010a). However, the relationship between migration and “brain drain” speaks to more permanent forms of migration by skilled migrants (Gibson and McKenzie, 2009a),

and, in the Pacific context, the research in this area focuses upon the mobility of health-care workers (Connell, 2010b), and teachers. However, the circulation of labour, even in more temporary and seasonal forms, should consider the development impact of shifting skills from one country to another (see Tipples and Rawlinson, 2014). There is also an argument to be made that with repeat participation in schemes such as RSE, workers are increasingly becoming more skilled and more experienced in horticultural and viticulture methods.

Gibson and McKenzie (2011b), while not focusing specifically upon RSE, address questions such as these in a conceptual piece of research titled “Eight Questions About Brain Drain”. This study addresses the complexities behind the decision to migrate, which are significant in temporary as well as more permanent forms of migration. Informal networks which have been created as a result of seasonal employment transfer knowledge about the migration experience, and facilitate skill transfers, and while the absence of community members whilst away is significant, the draining of skills does not manifest in the same permanent form as from long-term migration.

5.2 Other Forms of Circular Labour Mobility and Research From the Pacific.

Within the literature on circular mobility in the Pacific region, studies have been conducted which address different temporary employment programmes within other labour market sectors. These studies provide insight into the development impact other forms of circular labour mobility have made to Pacific Island countries.

Seafarers

Within the Pacific mobility field, the most widely cited research is the work of Maria Borovnik on merchant seafarers from Kiribati and Tuvalu (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011a, 2011b). The research arises from a series of field studies amongst seafarers. The work provides many nuanced accounts of the lived experiences of migrants

in this industry. The research also speaks more broadly to the transnational conceptualisation of circular mobility in the Pacific (2009) and shifting Pacific identities (2005). Borovnik's research is useful in the context of the RSE scheme in New Zealand because it offers many insights into the personal and development impacts of participation in temporary work schemes. Borovnik's analysis can be divided into addressing the impacts of health and safety (2011b), family and community transformation (2007), lived experiences of mobility (2011a); and remittances (2006). Ware (2007) also conducted research among seafarers from Tuvalu and found that remittances were making contributions to everyday commodities, as well as to savings and investments.

Cruise Ships

Kagan (2015) provides a gendered analysis of i-Kiribati women employed on international cruise ships. The study suggests that women highly value their experiences and believe that more women from Kiribati should have access to migration channels. In addition, Kagan (2015) suggests that the migrants' experiences could benefit from more robust pre-departure training, including sexual and reproductive health, financial literacy, and business development training.

Teachers

Voigt-Graf, Iredale, and Khoo (2007) and Iredale et al. (2012) are interested in contemporary international teacher migration in the Pacific region. Although the research is outside the scope of this SLR, these studies have been highlighted because they demonstrate that circular and

permanent forms of highly skilled migration also exist within and around the Pacific. In particular, both of these pieces of research provide insight into the decision-making processes which influence a person's decision to stay within their home island community or to migrate.

Dairying

In the New Zealand context, Tipples and Rawlinson (2014) consider the potential for RSE to be used as a policy tool within the dairy industry. This research has been included in this SLR because it includes a review of the development of RSE and how growers have adapted to temporary forms of labour from Pacific Island countries.

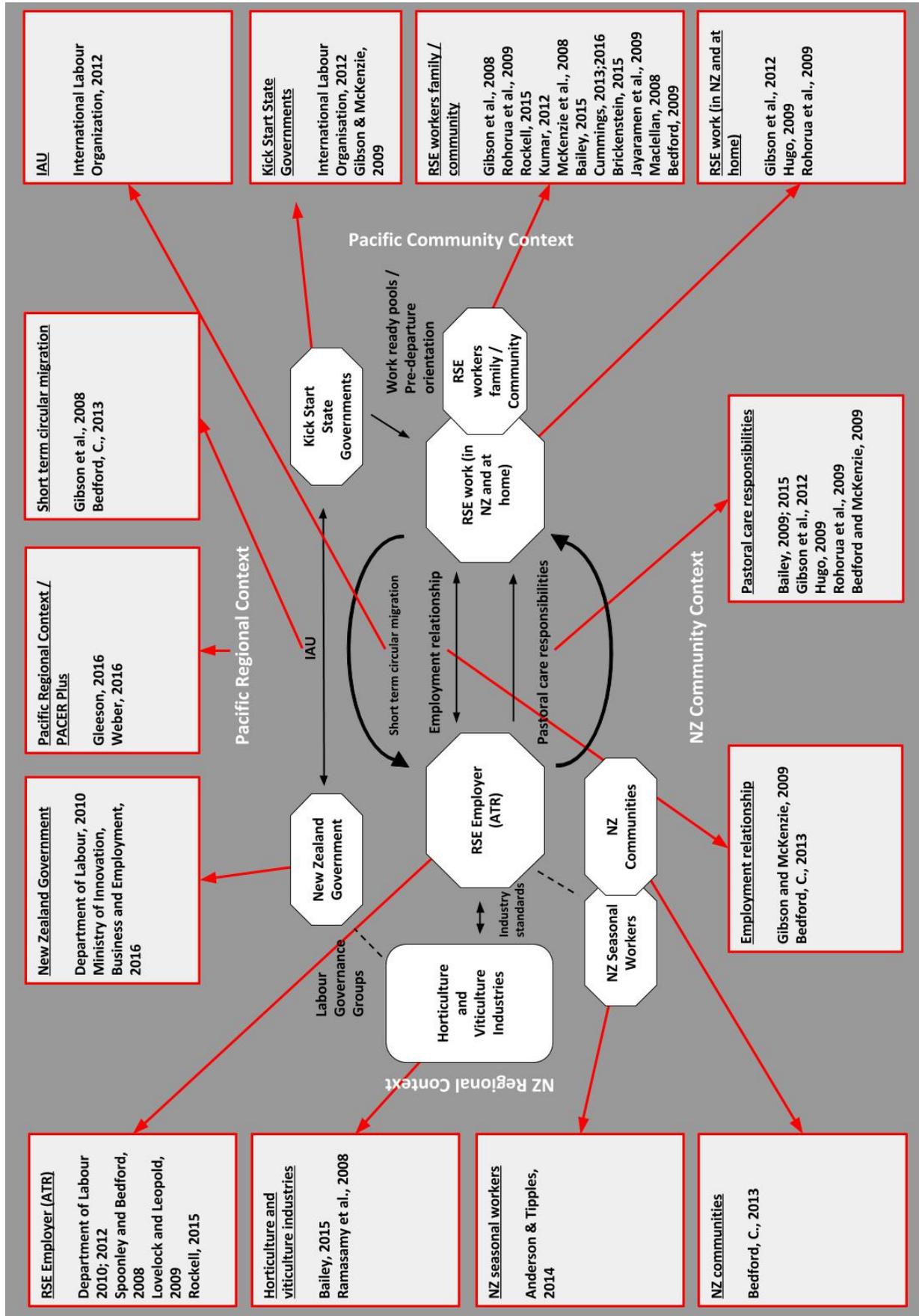
Health Workers

There are numerous studies on the migration of health workers from Pacific Island countries to Australia and New Zealand, and although these studies look at migration in its more permanent forms, it does provide some insight into other migratory processes which respond to labour shortages of unskilled workers, and the population pressure of ageing populations (Badkar, Callister, and Didham et al., 2009; Connell, 2007, 2010b, 2014; Connell and Walton, 2016; Hugo, 2009b; Yamamoto et al., 2012). This body of research is connected to the global research on health worker migration, and care chains. The research by these authors describe the regional phenomenon (Connell, 2014) as highly gendered (Badkar et al., 2009) and lacking developmental cooperation (Hugo, 2009b), and the transformational impact this migration can have on the health systems of the migrant-sending countries (Connell, 2007; Yamamoto et al. 2012).



6. Mapping the Research onto the RSE Research System

This section provides an easy to follow diagram of where to locate research as it pertains to specific sections of the RSE system. The diagram has been developed as part of this SLR, as a way to visually represent the significant pieces of research in this field. It is important to note that, because of the inter-linkages in the RSE system, the research is multidimensional, and this diagram is only an indication of where some of the significant research is located. The mapping of the research onto the RSE system uses both this document, and the bibliography (Appendix 2).



7. Recommendations

This report has focused on the research which attempts to link RSE with development impacts in the Pacific Island countries. Over 180 research studies were distilled to highlight useful insights into the New Zealand RSE scheme. Recommendations for future research kept appearing such as more robust and longitudinal research and research which makes use of available time series data. As new Pacific Island countries join the RSE scheme, co-ordinated attempts should be made to gather data, and evaluate the development impact. The growth of the RSE scheme into the future also needs to be examined in relation to PACER Plus. Research which is designed and conducted by the Pacific Island countries participating in the RSE scheme should be encouraged.

One key finding from this SLR is the limited amount of qualitative research which gives voice to the lived experiences of those engaged in forms of seasonal employment in the Pacific region. Of the work that is published, a limited number is by researchers of Pacific heritage. Within this SLR, there are suggestions on how

these future studies could be designed. Borovnik's (2007, 2009, 2011b) research among seafarers is one example, and this research suggests that more research attention should be directed towards:

- The health and safety of the workers, including workers' rights and unionisation
- Family and community transformation
- The lived experiences of seasonal employees
- How remittances are divided between family, extended family, and the community

In addition, this SLR suggests that Pacific Island countries need to monitor the development impacts of seasonal employment, and to modify remittance research so that it separates the flows of remittances from permanent and seasonal forms of remittances. This would be most beneficial from a research point of view if the monitoring and evaluation frameworks capture information that can be compared across the region.

8. Conclusion

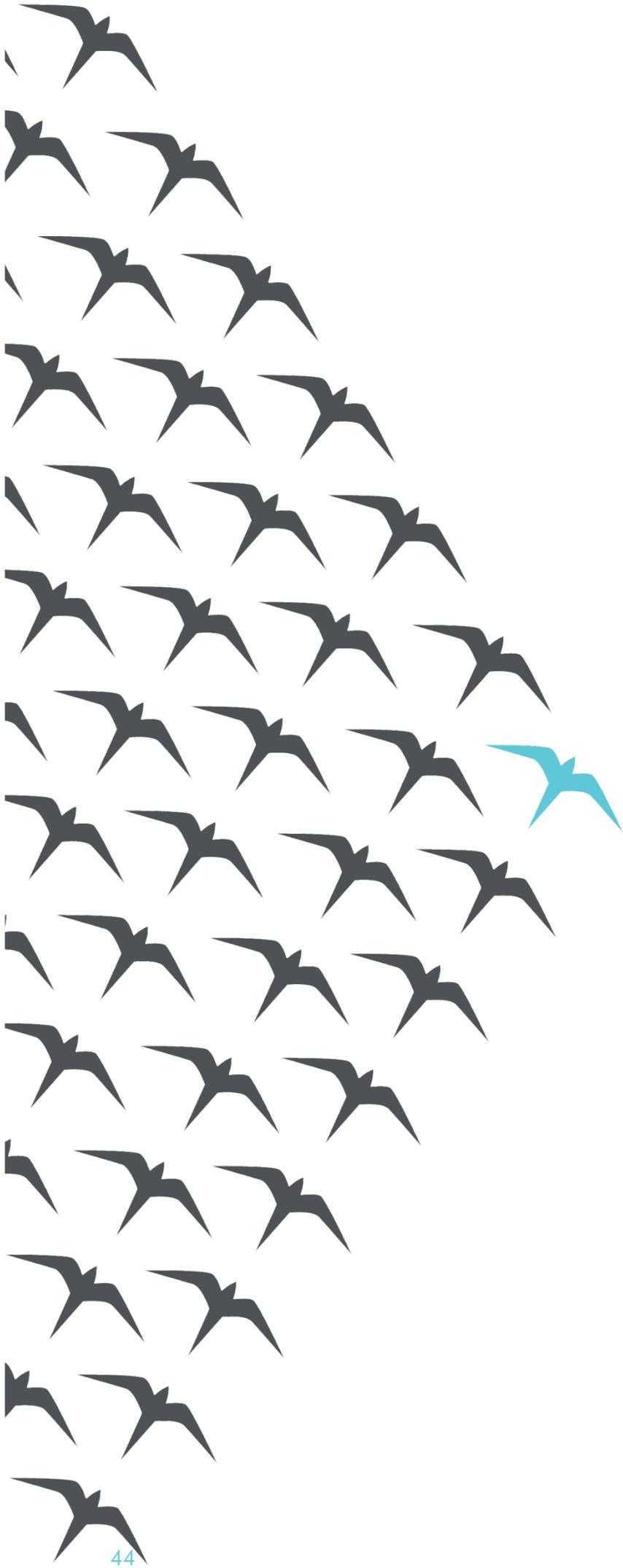
This SLR brings together what we know about the New Zealand RSE scheme after 10 years of operation. The review provides a thematic guide based on the triple wins logic and points towards some global and regional trends in the field of seasonal employment. The studies which appear emerged during a rigorous search methodology driven by key research questions. A number of theoretical, evaluative, and empirical research studies have been included to create an informed platform for understanding the links between Pacific seasonal employment and Pacific Island development.

Overall, the research in this SLR repeatedly draws upon an argument of seasonal employment solving pressures of youth unemployment and constrained access to labour markets for some Pacific Islanders. There is evidence for both positive and negative development impacts, although the results are time and country specific. Field research undertaken by graduate students provides examples of the broader development aspirations of the diverse Pacific communities. The data and

knowledge contained within these theses needs to be submitted to peer review journals so that the analysis is more easily accessible.

It is expected that this SLR will create a renewed interest for continued but nuanced and policy-relevant research. Such research will be useful if it takes account of the widely used logic of ‘triple/quadruple-wins’; the different and often internally paradoxical imperatives that drive the analysis of labour markets; as well as the specificities of each country and their internal diversity.

While it is clear that labour mobility, and particularly RSE in New Zealand, provides people from the Pacific with the economic right to work in a developed country, it is less clear if this compensates for their loss of social and other rights in the destination country. It is important to address this issue, in all its complexity, because for economic development to be sustainable in the Pacific, the gains from having economic rights must sit equally alongside advances in the social and environmental context.



9. Appendix 1: Outline of Systematic Literature Review (SLR)

9.1 Introduction

A key feature of an SLR is a well-documented, transparent methodology which has been designed in such a way to minimise bias and to prioritise a peer review process. The methodology used for this project is outlined below.

9.2 Key Questions

A SLR is guided by key questions which have been formulated to establish what is known about a specific phenomenon and to identify the associated implications. This SLR located and analysed the best available research studies on the following questions:

1. What is known about the development effects (impacts, outcomes, cost-effectiveness – directly and indirectly on different stakeholders) of the RSE and the Australian Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP) initiative in the Pacific since 2005?
2. What is known about how RSE contributes to wider development aspirations of Pacific countries?
3. What are the main gaps in the evidence on effects and on the wider development aspirations?

9.3 Peer Review.

Channels for peer review were a key part of this process. Qualified and independent researchers, policy advisors, and scholars,

referred to as the informal expert group (IEG), provided this research with:

- A review of the bibliographic data for inclusion and exclusion of certain pieces of research
- Feedback on the complete draft of the SLR

9.4 Audience

The audience for this SLR comprises Pacific policy makers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), the New Zealand Institute of Pacific Research (NZIPR), the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), and Pacific peoples.

9.5 Search Strategy

The search strategy for this research included four methods to locate as many of the relevant research studies as possible. All of the sourced literature has been stored in a RefWorks database according to bibliographic convention, and, if possible, a digital copy of the literature has been saved to a Dropbox folder using a consistent file naming convention.

Initiating the Search Strategy

The search strategy began with requesting access to the specialised and expert knowledge of the project's principal investigator (PI). The PI was asked to provide:

1. Bibliographic references of research studies which relate to the above key questions.
2. Theoretical literature which relates to the overarching theme of labour mobility.
3. Examples of organisational/institutional websites which contain relevant research studies.

Although the usage of this material by specialists in the field is a proxy measure of reliability, usefulness, and quality, it is important that these pieces of research are subjected to the same process of inclusion and exclusion criteria as the other research studies located via alternative methods.

“Drilling down”

The second search strategy was to drill down into the bibliographic references contained within specific items of research provided by the PI to locate more literature which related specifically to the key research questions.

Organisational Scanning

The third search strategy was to scan the websites of organisations/institutions which operate in the field of labour mobility, development, and sustainable economic development in the Pacific. Previous and subsequent steps in the search strategy are expected to highlight more organisations for scanning. This part of the search strategy was iterative in nature and occurred throughout the entire search phase of the research.

Database Searches.

The fourth search strategy was to search databases via the University of Auckland library using defined search terms and research search strings. Four databases were

interrogated for references. The databases were:

- EBSCOhost
- Gale
- Google Scholar
- Taylor and Francis Online

The search terms include: (via all above search engines)

- New Zealand Recognised Seasonal Employer
- Australian Seasonal Worker Programme
- Pacific labour mobility
- labour mobility
- migration

The search strings include: (only EBSCOhost)

- development and labour mobility
- sustainable economic livelihoods and Pacific
- labour and Fiji / labor and Fiji
- labour and Tonga / labor and Tonga
- labour and Kiribati / labor and Kiribati
- labour and Papua New Guinea / labor and Papua New Guinea
- Pacific and remittances
- policy tools and labour mobility
- policy and labour mobility
- PACER Plus and labour mobility
- Pacific and labour mobility schemes

9.6 Inclusion Criteria

The system of deciding which literature to include and which literature to exclude

began with applying inclusion criteria to ensure that the literature was within the parameters of the research. This exercise ensures that the literature which will be analysed and synthesised relates to the guiding key questions.

The inclusion criteria for this SLR are:

- Time frame: 2005 - 2016
- Publication date range: 2005 - 2016
- Language: English
- Geographical scope: The Pacific region, Australia, New Zealand
- Main focus: Pacific labour mobility including, but not limited to, schemes such as the RSE scheme
- Types of labour: Seafarers, cruise liner crews, skilled professionals including teachers and nurses, unskilled workers
- Case studies: Fiji, Tonga, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu
- Type of literature: academic journals, books, research reports, unpublished conference papers, policy tools, and government programmes; also, theses, published and unpublished, at universities in New Zealand, Australia, and elsewhere, like USP

9.7 Extraction Strategy.

Once the relevant literature had been located and a list of bibliographic references and a Dropbox folder of files had been created, the next step was to extract data from the individual pieces of literature. This data was used to perform the analysis. The following items of data were extracted from each single research study or report:

1. The research abstract was extracted and stored in the abstract field of RefWorks

2. The notes field of RefWorks was used to document the following characteristics of the literature:
 - a. Type of research
 - i. Primary
 - ii. Secondary
 - iii. Theoretical conceptual
 - b. Type of publication
 - i. Journal article
 - ii. Report
 - iii. Conference proceedings
 - iv. Website
 - v. Policy document
 - c. Research design
 - i. Demonstrates a causal relationship
 - ii. Explains a causal relationship
 - iii. Describes political, social, and environmental contexts

9.8 Informal Expert Group Bibliography Cross Check.

Once the set of literature had been updated to reflect the changes from the PI, a draft final bibliography was sent to the IEG. This was the opportunity for the IEG to look closely at the draft final bibliography for any possible gaps or oversights.

9.9 Systematic Analysis.

The systematic analysis within this SLR involved a process of reading each study and assessing the quality, reliability, and usefulness of each single study. The principles of quality, reliability and usefulness provide a measure of control to ensure that each single study is of a high research standard and has the potential to inform a policy framework. This process

also allows for key guiding pieces of research to be identified which will be used to frame the narrative in the literature review. There are a range of metrics available to measure research quality, reliability, and usefulness.

This SLR used a matrix which had been modified from the Department for International Development’s (2014) *How to Note: Assessing the Strength of Evidence*.

Table 8: Literature Analysis Matrix

Principle of quality	Associated questions
Conceptual framing	Does the study acknowledge existing research?
	Does the study construct a conceptual framework?
	Does the study pose a research question or outline a hypothesis?
Appropriateness	Does the study identify a research design?
	Does the study identify a research method?
	Does the study demonstrate why the chosen design and method are well suited to the research question?
Cogency	Does the author “signpost” the reader throughout?
	To what extent does the author consider the study’s limitations and/or alternative interpretations of the analysis?
	Are the conclusions clearly based on the study’s results?

Whilst reading each single study, the matrix was consulted and the overall quality of the study was recorded into the notes field of RefWorks by using the summary table below:

Table 9: Study Quality

Study quality	Abbreviation	Definition
High	↑	Comprehensively addresses multiple principles of quality.
Moderate	→	Some deficiencies in attention to principles of quality.
Low	↓	Major deficiencies in attention to principles of quality.

9.10 Framing of the Analysis and Written Narrative

Once the SLR had been conducted, the extracted information was synthesised into a narrative which directly addressed the key research questions of the overall project. The analysis of this SLR was organised,

analysed, and discussed according to the following questions:

1. How have Pacific labour markets changed since 2005, especially in Fiji, Tonga, and Kiribati?
2. What are the development impacts and learnings from regional labour mobility

schemes in the Pacific such as the New Zealand recognised RSE scheme and the Australian recognised SWP?

3. What are the likely outcomes of different economic and human investment policy tools for facilitating formal employment outcomes?

These questions arose from the larger New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research (NZIPR) research plan which specifically

focuses upon the changes to labour markets in the Pacific over the last 10 years, the impacts and learnings from labour mobility schemes, and the systems and frameworks which facilitate the labour mobility schemes.

9.11 Final Peer Review

Once a complete draft document had been produced, the IEG was given the opportunity to review the entire SLR.

10. Appendix 2: Bibliography

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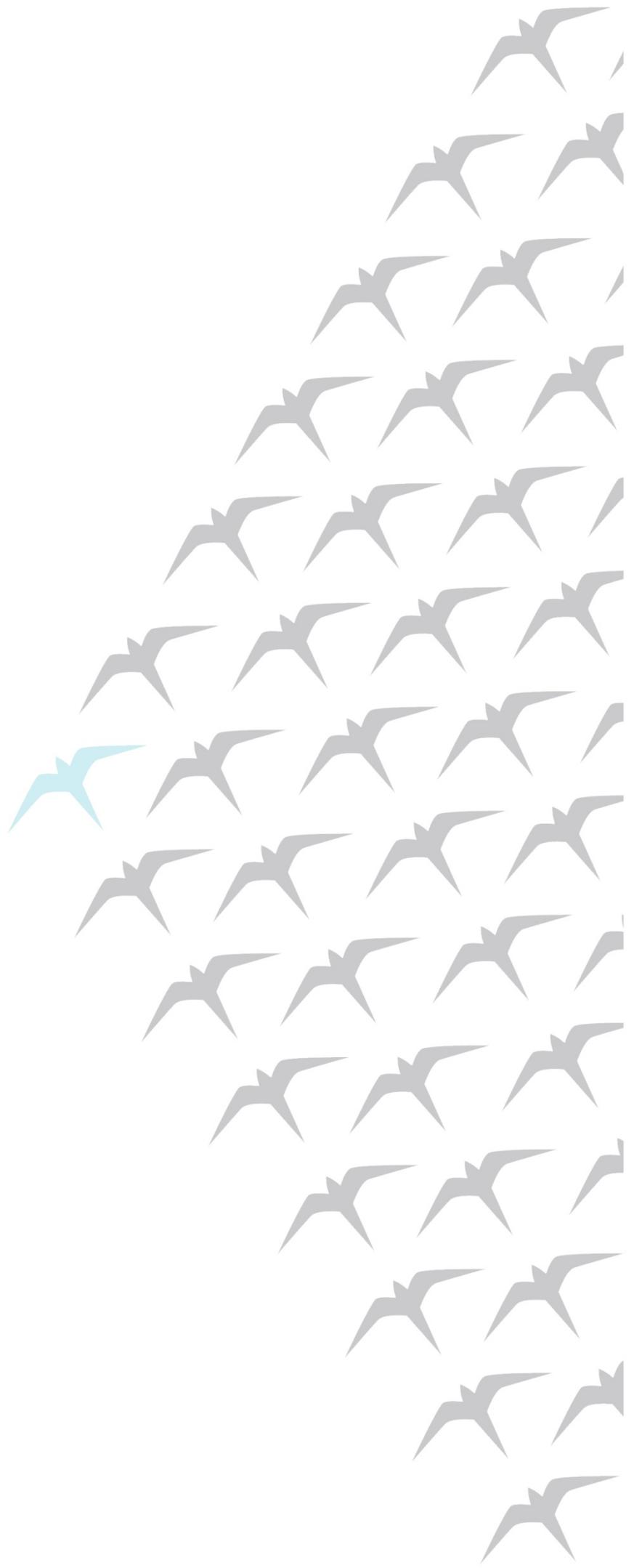
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