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Perspectives on International Migration, Urban Social Transformation and the Research/Policy Interface

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The University of Waikato
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

International migration and the transformation of urban society is attracting considerable attention in all parts of the industrialised world. Several major international projects are focusing on this theme, including UNESCO's Management of Social Transformation (MOST) programme, the International Metropolis Project, and the Euro Cities Project.

The three papers in this *Discussion Paper* all address aspects of this research theme. All of them have their origins in the international linkages that have been established between the FRST-funded "New Demographic Directions Programme" (NDDP) and the MOST and Metropolis programmes. The Migration Research Group (MRG) at the University of Waikato is one of the national contact points with UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN), and is a member of the International Steering Committee of the International Metropolis Project. These linkages have ensured that the research that is being carried out by the MRG into international migration and urban transformation in New Zealand is being used to inform larger international debates on this theme.

The three papers are all invited presentations to conferences dealing with migration and urban transformation in Europe and North America. The first, "Globalisation and the transformation of urban societies in 'New World" cities on the Asia-Pacific rim" was presented at a workshop on *The Global-Local Interplay: Continuity and Change*, organised by the Department of Sociology and Human Geography at the University of Oslo (12-13 October, 2000) as part of the millennial celebrations of the city of Oslo.

The second paper, "Divided city? Tangata Pasifika in a New Zealand metropolis" was presented at a workshop on *Divided Cities: Best Practices for the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities in Local Communities* at the Fourth International Metropolis Conference at Georgetown University (Washington DC), 7-10 December, 1999. The co-authors, Associate Cluny Macpherson and Professor Paul Spoonley are in sociology departments at the University of Auckland and Massey University (Albany Campus) respectively.

The third paper, "A robust research/policy interface: international migration and social transformation in the Asia-Pacific region" was presented in a UNESCO-MOST sponsored workshop at the OECD/Council of Europe conference on *The Contribution of the Social Sciences to Knowledge and Decision-Making* in Bruges (Belgium), 26-28 June 2000. It features UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network.

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GLOBALISATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN SOCIETIES IN 'NEW WORLD' CITIES ON THE ASIA-PACIFIC RIM

Richard Bedford

Context for an argument

The city of Oslo -- 'The Tiger City: a city which leaves a mark' -- is celebrating its 1000th anniversary in 2000. The Department of Sociology and Human Geography's workshop, "The Global-Local Interplay - Continuity and Change", is part of a series of events marking Oslo's millennium. The official programme for the 1000th anniversary states that "The theme during the autumn is Oslo as a city in which everyone can be influential and influenced, a city where important decisions are made" (Oslo 1000 ar, 2000). A critical issue that is being explored by urban researchers at the University of Oslo is how the various ethnic groups within an increasingly divided city can be influential as Oslo enters a millennium when ALL populations in the major cities of the industrialised world must become more ethnically diverse and cosmopolitan.

The 'era of the whites', as Anthony Browne (2000) put it in his provocative examination of "The Colour of the Future", is passing even for cities such as Oslo. Browne (2000) goes on to observe:

> In its *World Population Profile 1998*, the US Census Bureau predicts that by the second decade of this century all the net gain in the world population will be in developing countries. … The global center of gravity is changing. In 1900 Europe had a quarter of the world's population and three times that of Africa. By 2050, Europe is predicted to have just 7 percent of the world population, and a third that of Africa. The ageing and declining populations of predominantly white nations have prompted forecasts of -- and calls for -- more immigration from the young and growing populations of developing nations to make up the shortfall. …
>
> One demographer, who does not want to be named for fear of being called racist, says: 'It's a matter of pure arithmetic that, if nothing else happens, non-Europeans will become a majority and whites a minority in the UK. That would probably be the first time

> an indigenous population has voluntarily become a minority in its historic homeland'. ….
>
> In California, in a land built by immigrants, [and where the Anglo-Saxon whites are already a minority], lieutenant governor Bustmente puts a positive spin on the end of the white majority: 'If there are no majorities, there are no minorities'.
>
> In Europe, with its 40,000 year old indigenous white population, the rise of a non-European majority may not be greeted with such equanimity.

Throughout Europe, North America, Australasia and parts of Asia (especially Japan and Singapore) the implications of persistent sub-replacement fertility levels for the long-term social support and sustainability of their populations is prompting interest in what has been termed 'replacement migration'. In the conclusion to their recent study, *Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* The UN Population Division (2000, 95) points out that:

> The new challenges being brought about by declining and ageing populations will require objective, thorough and comprehensive reassessments of many established economic, social and political programmes. Such reassessments will need to incorporate a long-term perspective. Critical issues to be addressed in those reassessments would include: (a) the appropriate ages for retirement; (b) the levels, types and nature of retirement and health-care benefits for the elderly; (c) the labour-force participation; (d) the assessed amounts of contributions from workers and employers to support retirement and health-care benefits for the increasing elderly population; and (e) policies and programmes relating to international migration, particularly replacement migration, and the integration of large numbers of recent migrants and their descendants.

Immigration as a solution to declining and ageing populations is a highly contested issue. Not only are the levels of immigration required to maintain the current size of the working population per million inhabitants extraordinarily high in many countries, but the persistence of low levels of fertility amongst all of the 'white' populations means that most countries will experience very significant changes in the ethnic mix of their populations as a result of replacement migration. The 'colour of the future' is something that is attracting

increasing public and political comment in most parts of the European world. It is an important part of the wider context that surrounds the intense competition for skilled immigrants in many parts of Europe as well as in North America.

Intensifying mobility, globalisation of economies and widening disparities between high-skilled professional elites and low wage service workers are features of contemporary urban transformation in most parts of the industrialised world. Even in countries with strong state-supported welfare traditions, such as Norway, Sweden and New Zealand, reducing inequalities in opportunity and access to services has become a critical political issue. Far from reducing social inequalities, and promoting greater social cohesion, globalisation everywhere is exacerbating disparities and entrenching social exclusion (Sassen, 1998).

A focus

This paper examines some characteristics of social transformation in cities on the Pacific rim, especially Los Angeles, Vancouver, Sydney and Auckland. At the beginning of the new millennium, these cities are all experiencing massive social changes associated with the effects of several decades of extensive immigration, substantial restructuring of both the economy and welfare systems and, in some cases, extensive emigration of highly skilled young professionals responding to an intensely competitive market for their skills.

Governments in New Zealand, Australia and Canada are all concerned about a 'brain drain' of their professional workers (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard, 2000a). All three countries have modified their immigration policies in recent years to attract more short-term workers, especially those who can contribute to development of IT industry and the 'knowledge economy' more generally. The United States, the world's greatest magnet for immigrants', has recently doubled the number of temporary work visas for high-skilled IT workers. European countries, such as Austria and Germany, are also bidding for such workers. The competition is very intense.

The circulation of labour, much more than the permanent relocation of workers from one site of production to another, is the hallmark of globalisation, especially for those with skills in demand in the burgeoning knowledge economy. As Graeme Hugo (1999) has recently argued, the old paradigm of international migration as movement of settlers from one country to another is no longer very useful; we need new paradigms that allow for much more temporary movement for education and skill acquisition as well as for professional work.

We also need to link much more effectively the flows of unskilled and semiskilled people entering countries both through transnational arrangements in the globalising service industry as well as through family reunion, humanitarian and refugee policies, together with the extensive undocumented and illegal flows, into our international migration frameworks. Focusing on only one part of the mobility system leads to a tendency to over-exaggerate the importance of either the low skilled, low wage components or the high-skilled professional elites. Both components are transforming urban societies and economies.

Both components of contemporary international migration systems are significant for the populations of all advanced industrial economies as their domestic workforces age. The process of replacement migration in such societies will become highly contentious for at least three reasons. Firstly, competition for 'European' (white) skilled workers will be very intense. Most of those who move from one part of Europe (or from an overseas European 'enclave' such as New Zealand) to another will be temporary residents, often working in several countries. They will provide essential skills in the labour markets of several places, but will not 'replace' the ageing domestic labour forces as permanent workers and long-term tax payers.

Secondly, the largest pools of potential skilled labour are in the Asian countries, especially India and, longer-term, China. These two countries, each with populations in excess of 1 billion, will be the sources of increasing numbers of skilled professionals. Indeed, the biggest source of temporary IT professionals in the United States under the H-1B visa programme is India. Africa and Latin America will also make contributions to these flows of skilled professional workers, but they are likely to be more important as sources of unskilled/semi-skilled labour, especially in Europe (from Africa) and the United States (from Latin America). All national or sub-national populations experiencing declining labour forces, and wanting to augment these, must anticipate considerable cultural and ethnic diversification of their societies.

Thirdly, the semi-skilled and unskilled workforces will increasingly be dominated by people of colour, large numbers of whom will have been born in Europe and be eligible to move at will between countries. Their contributions to the service and manufacturing industrial sectors will be of critical importance but, like the professionals, many will be transient or temporary members of national workforces as they move between countries responding to increasing demands for a flexible, low wage workforce. These members of the workforce will continue to exhibit high levels of dependency on state-provided welfare support, especially given the ephemeral nature of their work. This will not be

the best group on which to base planning for a future national tax take to support an ageing domestic population.

European cities, which are already witnessing very rapid growth in their Asian, African and Latin American tourist markets, will inevitably be faced with absorbing much larger workforces from these areas. What will this mean for urban society in these cities? What will it mean for relations between domestic (or 'indigenous') citizens and the immigrant, often transient, residents? What will it mean for social cohesion in societies that place a lot of store on the privileges of citizenship? These debates are already raging in Europe as policy makers recognise the need for significant levels of immigration to sustain populations and workforces. The debates will intensify over the next 20 years.

Relevance of the New World city experience

In a sense some of the issues that might become relevant for European cities, such as Oslo in the early decades of its second millennium, are already being grappled with in the 'New World' cities on the Pacific rim: Los Angeles, Vancouver, Sydney and Auckland. Los Angeles, one of the United States' 'world cities', now has a minority non-Hispanic 'white' population. Thirty years ago almost 70 percent of Los Angeles' population was Anglo-white. Indeed, according to the US Bureau of Census figures for 2000, less than half of California's population is non-Hispanic white. As Browne (2000) noted:

> It was one of the most significant milestones in the United States in the past century, yet it was a non-event. This month the US Census Bureau issued figures showing that non-Hispanic whites are now a majority in California.
>
> Anglo-Saxon whites are already a minority in Hawaii and the District of Columbia. Now, at 49.8 percent of California's population, they are an ethnic minority in the country's most populous state, the one most usually identified with the American dream. …
>
> Where California goes, the rest of America is predicted to follow. At present 72 percent of the United States population are non-Hispanic whites. The Census Bureau predicts they will become a minority between 2055 and 2060.

California, and more specifically Los Angeles, is now home to the largest Filipino, Thai, Japanese, Taiwanese and Korean populations living outside Asia. This 'world city' will soon be home to the largest Samoan and Tongan

Pacific populations as well. As Soja (1989, 223) has argued in his postmodern geography of Los Angeles:

> Los Angeles has become an entrepot to the world, a true pivot of the four quarters, a congeries of east and west, north and south. And from every quarter's teeming shores have poured a pool of cultures so diverse that contemporary Los Angeles represents the world in connected urban microcosms, reproducing *in situ* the customary colours and confrontations of a hundred different homelands. Extraordinary heterogeniety can be exemplified endlessly in this fulsome urban landscape. The only place on earth where all places are?

A visit to Los Angeles' airport reveals immediately the cosmopolitan nature of the population coming into and leaving this city; it is a very different experience from many of the European cities despite their much longer histories of urban development.

Vancouver, Sydney and Auckland are all heading in the same direction as Los Angeles in so far as the development of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural populations go. There have been very significant increases in the Asian and Pacific populations of all these cities during the past three decades, partly encouraged by pro-active immigration policies. New Zealand, for example, still has an official annual immigration target (38,000 residence approvals) that is equivalent to one percent of population. This is the highest per capita immigration target in the world, a long way ahead of current official targets in Australia, Canada and the United States on a per capita basis. Interestingly, New Zealand had a net gain of 600,000 citizens of other countries (immigrants) between 1 April 1961 and 31 March 2000. During the same 40 year period the country experienced a net migration loss of over 400,000 New Zealand citizens (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard, 2000b). This means that two thirds of all immigration since 1961 has simply been 'replacement' migration, at least in numerical terms.

Immigration has been contributing significantly to diversification of the population in New Zealand, especially since 1986 when traditional source country preferences of the United Kingdom and central/northern European states were removed from policy, and Asian immigration actively encouraged for the first time in a century (Burke, 1986). Emigration of New Zealanders is exacerbating this process of ethnic diversification, and heightening a sense of significant social transformation, especially in Auckland. Similar processes are operating in Sydney and Vancouver where emigration of citizens is being more than compensated for numerically by immigration of people of different

cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Urban social transformation is proceeding apace in these New World cities (Bedford, 1999).

Themes

In examining this urban transformation it is useful to reflect briefly on the histories of Los Angeles, Sydney and Auckland, and to place these histories in the context of Oslo's much longer history as an urban place. It is also useful to recall that all of these urban places had an earlier history -- an 'indigenous peoples' history which, in all of the New World cities, is an integral part of the complex politics of identity driving debates about contemporary social and environmental transformation.

The New World cities are cities of immigrants. All were 'founded' in the 19th century; all have majority populations that date back no more than 5 or 6 generations in terms of their residence in North America or Australasia; and all are facing significant challenges from their indigenous minorities for greater recognition of special rights under treaties or on the grounds of prior occupance of land. The issue of continuing high levels of immigration is a contentious one for indigenous minorities -- it simply makes them more of a minority in their own places. In New Zealand some prominent Maori academics want the 'human resource', as well as natural resources, brought under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, the nation's 'founding document', and for immigration policy to be subjected to scrutiny from the point of view of Maori interests (Walker, 1995).

Another feature of New World cities that has perhaps made it easier for them to absorb immigrants than might otherwise have been the case is that they have all developed as cities of mass consumption of land for their sprawling suburbs. Los Angeles, Sydney and Auckland are suburban cities par excellence. They are cities with considerable spatial and social segregation and growing social polarisation. In the Old World cities of Europe, with their traditions of much denser multi-storey residence, neighbours are 'closer' and more visible. Spatial segregation and the associated intensifying social polarisation, which can be rendered invisible to large parts of the New World city's population by the sprawling suburbs, is more obvious in the Old World city.

Finally, the New World cities of Los Angeles, Sydney, Vancouver and Auckland are all linked strongly into the global economy. Their global connections are often more important than their connections with the local region or the nation, especially for businesses. This applies particularly in the case of the 'world cities' of Los Angeles and Sydney, at least with respect to their urban functions. These are cities with very considerable economic and cultural reach. A significant factor in their attainment of world city status has

been their immigrant populations, especially the development of transnational communities amongst the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean and Pacific Island populations.

This trend towards transnationalism in community development is another prevailing characteristic of globalisation, and a further threat to the sovereignty of nation states. As Castles (2000, 1) notes in his recent assessment of 'the myth of the controllability of difference':

> A core feature of the classical nation-state is its claim to manage ethnic difference -- through border control as well as by means of processes of cultural homogenisation or subordination of minorities. This capacity has been eroded by the mass migrations of the second half of the twentieth century and by the resulting emergence of multicultural societies. Transnational theory points to a new and higher stage of the erosion of controllability of difference: the proliferation of groups which have affiliations -- of political, economic, social and cultural nature -- in more than one country. This may hinder homogenisation, lead to permanently diverse and mobile populations, and recreate on a new level the nemesis of nationalism: groups with multiple identities and divided loyalties.

Transnationalism will become increasingly common; indeed I suspect it has been much more common in the past than has been acknowledged, at least in the international migration literature. The notion of migrants as settlers has been very pervasive, especially in influencing the thinking of policy makers and their approaches to issues such as settlement, labour market outcomes and social integration. Recent evidence of this can be seen in the fact that all of the New World countries of immigration (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States) are planning for or in the process of conducting longitudinal surveys of migrant adjustment. A weakness of all these surveys, however, may be their focus on the migrant as a settler -- temporary movers are excluded from the sampling frames. There is likely to be a lively debate about this issue at the Fifth International Metropolis Conference in Vancouver, November 2000, where there is a workshop devoted to such surveys and the policy relevance of the data they generate.

Perspectives on city histories

Oslofjord, according to Tor Dagre (1996), has been home to humans for thousands of years -- much longer than the 1000 years being marked in 2000 for 'The Tiger City'. However, the birth of the settlement that became the city

of Oslo is registered as 1000 AD, just as Sydney's origin is marked by the arrival of British convicts in the 1780s, and Auckland's with the arrival of traders and later settlers from Australia and the United Kingdom in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Los Angeles, premier New World city on the west coast of the United States, was little more than a nondescript village of about 1600 people in 1840 -- considerably smaller than Sydney or Auckland (Bedford, 1999).

New World cities have histories that date back 200 years or less -- at least in so far as their histories of European settlement go. If indigenous histories are also included, then Auckland, like Oslo, has celebrated its millennium, and the area where Sydney is, with its Aboriginal legacy, has a history that goes back tens of thousands of years. These are both 'new' cities and very 'old' places. It all depends whose history counts. Urban geography in the New World began with European settlement; settlement geography is much older. It is this settlement geography that became increasingly important in the politics of identity, especially place identity, in the late twentieth century. Indigenous peoples are reclaiming their *whenua* (land), their *mana* (dignity) and their *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), based on prior occupation. They are challenging the right of the State to continue offering opportunities to migrants to compete with them for jobs, for resources and for power.

Indigenous heritages

Indigenous peoples, universally, were dispossessed of their resources, rights and power by European colonialism. For many, the colonial experience was devastating, especially in the New World countries that became significant centres of European settlement. In the area where Los Angeles has developed as an urban place, the indigenous population was effectively removed from sites where European settlement was established. In Sydney Aborigines, a nomadic people, retreated inland to escape the harassment and diseases accompanying convict settlement. In Auckland local tribes were encouraged to sell their land and were effectively dispossessed of property for over 100 years.

Movement to cities by indigenous peoples in these countries is essentially a post-1950s phenomenon associated with demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour to work in state-subsidized industries that boomed during the era of import-substitution industrialisation. These new urban dwellers remained at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy, however, with their disadvantaged position being disguised by the assimilationist ideologies that prevailed in all of the key policy domains. It is only in recent decades (since the 1970s in New Zealand) that there has been much cultural renaissance amongst indigenous populations in the cities. During the 1980s and 1990s the challenge

of indigenous rights to land and other natural resources, as well as language preservation and cultural maintenance, intensified.

These concerns with the rights of indigenous peoples may seem irrelevant in the context of contemporary urban development in Europe. I am not so sure about this, however. I think Europeans will become very conscious of 'prior occupation' and rights by dint of 'being there for a long time' in the coming decades as transnational workforces become increasingly important in their societies. The debate about indigenous versus immigrant rights and entitlements has some history in Germany and France, although it is just beginning in many other parts of Europe. It is an old debate in the New World cities -- a debate that challenges the very foundations of a multicultural society by insisting on a bicultural heritage based on indigenous/non-indigenous rights and privileges.

Immigration, mass consumption and segregation

New World cities are, by definition, cities of transplanted cultures. The European descent populations transformed the landscape endeavouring to recreate the places they had come from. They were not homogeneous populations -- in Los Angeles, for example, Spanish influences from Mexico dominated early, before other European influences penetrated from the east. Later came the influxes from Asia and the quite distinctive building styles with which different Asian cultures marked their residential and commercial spaces. Similar transformations occurred in Sydney and Auckland, with some novel Scandinavian influences such as Sydney's famous opera house.

In all New World cities assimilationist ideologies prevailed until quite recently. A classic strategy to incorporate diverse immigrant populations into the dominant culture's ways of doing things was to encourage the development of state housing and the provision of this to migrants, especially low-wage, low-skilled workers in heavy demand after the Second World War. Polynesian immigrants, for example, were 'pepper-potted' (scattered) through the state housing areas in the 1950s and 1960s in an attempt to avoid ethnic concentration and the development of 'ghettos'.

Two things challenged this attempt to create a homogeneous society. The first, already mentioned, was the renaissance of indigenous cultures and rights, especially in New Zealand and Canada. The second was the distinctive way these cities developed through their suburban sprawl. The low-rise residential neighbourhoods lent themselves to 'invasion and colonisation' by particular groups over time. Ethnic enclaves quickly became features of the urban landscape, especially from the 1950s. By the 1990s some of these enclaves had developed into distinctive 'ethnoburbs', to use Wei Li's (1998) evocative term.

A classic example of such a development in Auckland is Otara, home initially to low-income Europeans, then Maori and now Pacific Islanders.

All of the major New World cities are 'bungaloid' cities, as Paul Theroux (1992) rather unkindly referred to them. These are low-rise cities that have consumed vast amounts of productive land to house their populations by comparison with European cities. Two processes have contributed to the development of what have become decentralised cities:

1. The emergence of the automobile during a stage of significant development in all of these cities, and the realisation of Henry Ford's dream that the car would be affordable to workers thus allowing it to become a vehicle of mass transit. From the 1930s Los Angeles became a city of highways and later freeways. Suburban sprawl proceeded apace.

2. The development of industry and retail complexes closer to where people were living rather than in the centre of town. The development of the suburban mall and the suburban industrial centre was very much a New World city phenomenon.

The Fordist era brought with it a massive influx of black labour into Los Angeles, Maori and Pacific Island labour into Auckland, and southern European labour into Sydney. Ethnic concentration was inevitable, despite assimilationist ideologies. The Watts riots in the United States in 1965, the Maori land marches of the 1970s in New Zealand, and the Aboriginal claims for recognition of prior settlement all put paid to the pretense of 'one society' in these cities. These were sharply differentiated urban societies, as the 1992 Los Angeles riots showed once again. Social polarisation was increasing as ethnic diversity also increased.

Social polarisation is not necessarily an ethnic or migrant divide, although concentrations of recent immigrant Mexicans in Los Angeles, Pacific Islanders and Maori in Auckland, and Aboriginals, Maori and Pacific Islanders in Sydney are in the underclass of these cities. There are also increasing numbers of poor whites in this underclass -- a phenomenon associated with globalisation and the massive changes in urban economies since the early 1970s. Economic restructuring, and the withdrawal of state/federal funding for many productive and welfare activities in New Zealand and the United States especially has contributed to the development of cities of great contradictions. These contradictions are captured well in the following comment by Mike Davis (1992, 223) in *City of Quartz* ….

> Welcome to post-liberal Los Angeles, where the defense of luxury lifestyles is translated into a proliferation of new repressions in space and movement, undergirded by the ubiquitous 'armed response'. This obsession with physical security systems, and, collaterally, with the architectural policing of social boundaries, has become a zeitgeist of urban restructuring, a master narrative in the emerging built environment of the 1990s. Yet contemporary urban theory, whether debating the role of electronic technologies in precipitating 'postmodern space', or discussing the dispersion of urban functions across poly-centered metropolitan 'galaxies' has been strangely silent about the militarization of city life so grimly visible at street level.

New 'world' cities

Los Angeles and, more recently, Sydney, have attained the status of 'world cities' -- cities with functions that have global reach. Contributing to this development have been their transnational connections, partly associated with colonial heritages, partly linked to their domination by people of immigrant origins and backgrounds, and partly because the expansion of Asian economies on the Pacific rim since the early 1970s has given New World city residents new opportunities and new salience in the global economy. These opportunities have been exploited aggressively by residents and new immigrants alike, and this is reflected at one level early in the new millennium in the intense competition for skilled and wealthy immigrants from countries in Asia.

Los Angeles, Vancouver, Sydney and Auckland have become important bases for transnational communities of Pacific Islanders, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos and Thai. Multi-local strategies have influenced destination choices for different groups. For example, depending on where the 'centre of gravity' is for their family, Pacific Islanders favour Auckland, Los Angeles, Sydney and Vancouver as a destination in that order. Chinese and other Asians tend to favour Los Angeles, Vancouver, Sydney and Auckland.

The theme for this workshop, "global-local interplay: continuity and change" is being played out in all sorts of ways in the contemporary development of New World cities. Global forces, such as the increasing mobility of labour and capital, intersect in complex ways with indigenous resistance to new forms of imperialism and new waves of colonisation. Continuity is present in the persistence of preferences for sprawling suburban development -- development that ensures on-going crises in the development of public utilities such as roads,

water supply and effluent disposal. While local differences emerge from this global-local interplay, and the tendency for there to be continuity through change, one thing is clear in all these cities: they will continue to become more diverse ethnically and culturally through the coming decades.

A concluding comment

In concluding this brief overview of globalisation and the transformation of urban societies in New World cities on the Asia-Pacific rim, it is useful to return to Castles' (2000, 9) argument about the controllability of difference in the contemporary nation state:

> At the dawn of the 21st century, globalisation and the proliferation of transnational communities undermines all of the modes of controlling difference premised on territoriality -- even the most recent one, multiculturalism. Increased mobility; growth of temporary, cyclical and recurring migration; cheap and easy travel; constant communication through new information technologies; all undermine the idea of the person who belongs to just one nation-state or at most migrates from one state to just one other (whether temporarily or permanently). Transnational communities are groups whose identity is not primarily based on attachment to a specific territory. They therefore present a powerful challenge to traditional ideas of nation-state belonging.

Transnational communities also present a powerful challenge to ideas about city societies, immigration policies, and the long-term resolution of labour force and population declines associated with on-going sub-replacement fertility in all advanced industrial societies, including Norway. New World city experiences of the late twentieth century have considerable relevance for the Old World cities in the early twenty-first century.

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DIVIDED CITY? TANGATA PASIFIKA IN A NEW ZEALAND METROPOLIS.

Richard Bedford, Cluny Macpherson and Paul Spoonley

A point of departure

In February 1997, Richard Bedford had an opportunity to visit a housing estate in the city of Gothenburg with Kristine Dosen, then a Senior Adviser in the City of Gothenburg. The estate was a typical medium-rise Swedish housing estate -- an extensive block of low/medium cost apartments. Styles of low and medium-cost housing in this Swedish city (750,000) and New Zealand's largest city, Auckland (1 million) differ markedly. Until recently, apartment living has not been a preferred style of living for any social class in New Zealand.

Cities in New Zealand, in common with those in Australia and along the west coast of the United States and Canada, are what Paul Theroux (1992) has rather unkindly called 'bungaloid cities' -- cities of sprawling small houses, each on their own section with its garage, lawn and garden. In Auckland, as in other so-called 'New World' cities, there are expansive estates of medium and low-income housing. In places, especially in the larger cities, these areas have been classed as 'ghettos of disadvantage'. These are places where residents have high levels of unemployment, low health status, low levels of education attainment, high incidences of crime and, in some, high percentages of people of colour other than white. Stereotypes about these areas abound. They are often perceived to be 'migrant enclaves' especially, in Auckland's case, enclaves of immigrants from the Pacific Islands.

Yet, in Auckland at least, it only takes a brief visit to these 'ghettos' to discover that they are neighbourhoods of enormous diversity, both in terms of people as well as quality of the built environment. New Zealand's cities, in spite of a long history of immigration from the Pacific Islands, parts of Asia and Europe, and especially the United Kingdom, do not have extensive ghettos as these are known in some North American cities. Low-cost housing does not always equate with 'bad' neighbourhoods although there are some 'bad' streets and notorious 'houses'.

This is not to say that social deprivation, conflict and division are not present. They are, and all the dimensions of social exclusion have worsened in New Zealand over the past 20 years as they have in most other parts of the world. The country that led the world in policy initiatives to reduce social inequalities

for most of the twentieth century, was to become the base for an experiment in Adam Smith style free-market capitalism from the mid 1980s, and one consequence has been a significant increase in social and economic polarisation. By comparison with similar economies, the extent of this polarisation has grown more rapidly and has produced significantly enhanced economic disparity.

The 'New Zealand experiment', as Jane Kelsey (1995) calls it, has not achieved its social and economic goals, and in the elections in November 1999 the New Zealand public voted convincingly for a 'softer capitalism'. People appear to matter again, and the state is destined to play a more active role in regulating some of the forces of the market. One of the first acts of the new left of centre coalition government was to return rents on State houses to a maximum of 25percent of earnings. The previous government required full market rents to be charged of all tenants living in the Government's low cost housing estate. It also set about selling this estate as part of the on-going privatisation of state assets.

The impact of the privatisation and market rent policies was dramatic. Many low-income families were effectively dispossessed of their houses and either migrated out of the larger cities into small towns and rural areas where housing was much cheaper (Waldegrave and Stuart, 1997), or moved in with relatives, or ended up on the streets. If nothing else, the proportion of income spent on housing increased substantially and left less for basic commodities such as food or essential services including education and health care. However, this was not something associated particularly with immigrants. It was a problem for all state housing tenants, and the majority of these are not immigrants. Maori and poor white residents, as well as New Zealand-born descendants of immigrants, greatly outnumber migrants in state houses.

By the mid-1990s, more than half of the Pacific peoples[1] who self-identified through their response to a question on ethnicity in New Zealand's census, were New Zealand-born (Bedford and Didham, 2000). They are now an integral part of the 'resident population' -- not immigrants as such (see Fleras and Spoonley (1999) for a useful discussion of this point). But like many groups that are not white or Maori in New Zealand, they still tend to be stereotyped as 'immigrants' who are clustered in particular low-cost housing neighbourhoods in the larger cities.

[1] Pacific peoples are migrants or descendants of migrants from the Pacific Islands, typically in the New Zealand situation, from Polynesia. The largest communities include Samoans, Tongans, Cook Islanders, Fijians, Niueans and Tokelauans.

Divided cities

In a paper presented in Gothenburg at the Metropolis Inter-Conference on *Divided Cities and Strategies for Undivided Cities*, Saskia Sassen (1998) emphasized that societies in cities were becoming more divided. Underlying these divisions were new forms of social stratification that have a critical transnational dimension. Thus immigrants in the cities are part of the transnationalisation of economies and societies -- something which Sassen (1998, 38) argues is often overlooked in the literature on globalisation of the economy and the privileging of capital in this discourse. She notes:

> … analysis overlooks the transnationalisation in the formation of identities and loyalties among various population segments that explicitly reject the imagined community of the nation. With this come new solidarity and notions of membership. Major cities have emerged as a strategic site for both the transnationalisation of labour and the formation of new transnational identities (Sassen, 1998, 38).

The contemporary 'divided city' thesis, as Dosen and Herlitz (1998) point out, is firmly rooted in the debate about globalisation and the development of transnationalisation in all facets of economic, social and cultural life. In the following sections we explore briefly some dimensions of this transnationalism with reference to Pacific peoples in Auckland. We question whether one should conceptualise this city as 'divided', however. While it is possible to produce maps which show clear evidence of concentrations for particular ethnic groups in different parts of Auckland (Kirkpatrick, 1999), these are not evidence in their own right of spatial segregation.

There is considerable overlap in New Zealand's 'ethnic' neighbourhoods, and while some suburbs are known for their 'Pacific' residents, it is important to appreciate that Pacific peoples can be found in most neighbourhoods. 'Spatial' divisions can be identified in census tract data, but the diversity of people in any street or in the market place in these neighbourhoods suggests that globalisation has not been producing more segregation on the basis of ethnicity except in some quite specific cases (such as the housing built for immigrant Asians in the early 1990s).

Rather than exploring spatial segregation as the basis for a 'divided city', we focus on the emergence of transnational or 'meta-societies' as a more important basis for 'division'. The process of transnationalisation of identities and loyalties in New Zealand's cities has been occurring for at least 50 years, especially for Pacific peoples. There is a considerable literature on what has been called the 'transnational corporation of kin' amongst New Zealand's

Pacific residents (see, for example, Bertram and Watters, 1985, 1986; Macpherson, 1997a; Bedford, 2000; Spoonley, 2000). We discuss aspects of this transnationalism with reference to four themes:

1. Pacific vision, 1999
2. Establishing transnational Pacific societies
3. Changing ideologies and contexts
4 Challenges for the new millennium

Pacific vision, 1999

In July 1999, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs (2000) convened a major conference of Pacific peoples as part of its strategic planning programme. This was a very significant event; over 600 people, mainly of Pacific ethnicities, participated in a conference which was dominated by workshops and intensive debate about futures for different generations of Pacific peoples.

Two things stood out in the plenary presentations: firstly, the sorry statistical picture which was given of a marginalised minority in New Zealand society -- an 'underclass' with some intergenerational dimensions of deprivation and disadvantage; secondly the much more positive stories of achievement in business, music, art, sport, education, fashion (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2000). The latter stories chronicled family and household successes in an increasing range of spheres more than just individual ones.

The workshops at this conference highlighted the social life of Pacific communities in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand. As David Ley (1999, 10-11) has argued in a powerful critique of the myth of an immigrant underclass in Vancouver, and as Mary Chamberlain showed so well in her Plenary Address to the Fourth International Metropolis Conference with reference to Caribbean families: "Immigrant communities are commonly locales of dense social bonds, of family and friends, of networks that are embedded and extended institutionally in self-help voluntary organisations and ethnic churches and other places of worship". This is certainly the case within Auckland's Pacific communities, where the networks and bonds are firmly embedded in transnational exchanges of people, money and commodities which link Auckland's Pacific peoples to other enclaves in cities on the Pacific rim as well as back to communities in the islands (Bedford et al, 1999).

Epeli Hau'ofa (1994, 155-156) captured the essence of this transnational dimensions well when he wrote about a deliberate strategy of 'world enlargement'.

> Everywhere they go, to Australia, New Zealand, Hawai'i, mainland USA, Canada and even Europe, Pacific peoples strike roots in new resource areas, securing employment and overseas family property, expanding kinship networks through which they circulate themselves, their relatives, their material goods, and their stories all across the ocean … This is as it was before the age of Western imperialism

By the mid-1990s this process had resulted in a situation whereby around half a million Pacific peoples were living in cities on the Pacific rim (Ward, 1997). This was a larger population than the total number resident in the thousands of small islands that comprise the region of Micronesia in the northern Pacific, and was almost as many as were resident in Polynesia. However, census statistics cannot adequately capture the dimensions of these transnational networks and exchanges, which are now so critical for the well-being of Pacific peoples in the islands as well as in the cities on the Pacific rim.

The essential ingredients of the vision for the new millennium which Pacific peoples were articulating in July 1999 acknowledged significant social tension and economic disadvantage, especially in New Zealand's much more polarised society (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2000). Pacific peoples had been more profoundly disadvantaged than other groups in New Zealand by almost 20 years of restructuring that resulted in severe contraction of the sectors of the labour market into which they had been recruited and by social and welfare disinvestment, such as the State housing rental policies outlined earlier.

The regional economies lacked the absorptive capacity that had previously marked their labour markets, and there was considerably more pressure on familial and community welfare systems as the State's welfare policies became more restrictive. Solutions to the problems exacerbated by restructuring were seen to rest with innovative and dynamic communities, not with increased assistance from the State. The transnational communities that had evolved over the previous 50 years were seen to offer new opportunities, especially in an economy that placed a premium on transnational linkages, multilingual abilities, and familiarity with working in different cultural contexts (Bedford, et al., 1999).

Establishing transnational Pacific societies

The foundations for the Pacific meta-societies were laid in an international vision embedded in the Charter of the United Nations. Self determination and

'development' for colonised peoples was to drive the formation of Pacific communities in cities in New Zealand, Australia and on the west coast of North America. A Department of Island Territories was overseeing the development of New Zealand's Pacific colonies, and by the 1950s was inching towards preparing the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelaus and the mandated territory of Western Samoa for self-government or independence.

In the 1950s and 1960s these islands, plus neighbouring countries such as Tonga and Fiji, were important sources of cheap labour in the post-war development of New Zealand's manufacturing base under a policy of import-substitution industrialisation (Gibson, 1983). Between 1945 and 1971, New Zealand's Pacific island population increased from just over 2,000 to around 44,000 -- the great majority of whom were living in cities, especially, Auckland. During the same period, Samoa became independent, and a Treaty of Friendship with New Zealand gave continued preferential access to a quota of Samoan immigrants every year. The Cook Islands and Niue became self-governing a little later, with their citizens retaining New Zealand citizenship.

The foundations for the transnational societies were well and truly laid during this period of intensive circulation of female as well as male labour between the islands and New Zealand. By 1996, New Zealand was home to many more Cook Islanders, Niueans and Tokelauans than their island homes, and there will shortly be as many Samoans in New Zealand as there are in Samoa. The progress of migration saw Pacific communities established in other Pacific rim sites, especially Sydney, Los Angeles and Vancouver. If the Samoan populations in Australia and the United States are counted, the overseas communities, in aggregate, exceed the local population.

Building a new base

The initial destination for many Pacific migrants in New Zealand was not the cities, but rather remote rural areas where unskilled labour was in short supply (Bedford and Heenan, 1987). This was not work which appealed for long, especially for migrants who wished to bring their children to New Zealand for education. There was a fairly relaxed attitude towards staying on after the initial contracts were fulfilled, and the two main bases for most Pacific peoples quickly became Auckland and Wellington.

The earliest concentrations of migrants in the cities were in central areas of older housing. However, massive suburban development after the Second World War, especially areas of State-built housing, led to a tendency for migrants to leap-frog the central city and move directly into low cost housing in the suburbs. Initially, a deliberate strategy of 'pepper potting' neighbourhoods with immigrants, which was possible because the state owned

and controlled significant amounts of the low-cost public housing stock, was followed as part of a wider policy of assimilation. However, by the 1970s, distinctive concentrations of urban-based Pacific Islanders were emerging, especially after the abandonment of assimilation as an official policy, and the promotion of new policies biculturalism, especially after 1986, and an increasingly diverse society.

The last 20 years has seen another significant influx of Pacific Islanders into New Zealand, especially after some major amendments to immigration policy in 1986. New criteria for family reunion and adoption were approved, and these favoured extensive immigration from Pacific countries. The introduction of a points system in 1991, similar to the ones operating in Australia and Canada, did not offer much scope for Pacific Islanders (aside from their educated elite). However, by this stage the residential population base in New Zealand was so substantial that the sorts of unstoppable flows that Portes mentioned in his keynote address to the Fourth International Metropolis Conference were well established. In fact, during the 1990s, while Asian immigration into New Zealand was running at its highest levels yet recorded, there was a net loss of Pacific peoples back to the islands (Bedford, 1994). Return migration is also an important process, thereby reinforcing the circulation of people as well as goods.

The initial concentration of Pacific peoples in inner suburbs has long gone. This is very much a suburban population. There are some interesting patterns of concentration of different Pacific groups -- Fijians, Tongans, Samoans, Niueans -- reflecting family connections and the locational choices of early migrants. However, it is difficult to find in Auckland an 'ethnoburb' of the kind Wei Li (1998) describes for Chinese migrants in Los Angeles.

The formation of such a concentration in the foreseeable future is less likely as a consequence of recent economic restructuring which has transformed the housing and labour markets which has led, in turn, to the dispersal of the Pacific population. A significant number of families have moved into smaller centres in search of jobs in the primary sector and less expensive housing. Some have moved to escape the sometimes heavy obligations of kinship groups and still others have sought to escape social stereotypes which are associated with Pacific ethnicity and which are felt to limit opportunities within the city.

The closest New Zealand example of an ethnoburb is a suburb in Auckland, Otara, which comprises a mix of state-owned public and low cost owner-occupied housing, and which is marketing itself as New Zealand's Pacific 'heart'. Here there is a concentration of business activity, cultural and social institutions, and marketing of distinctive events that are run by Pacific

Islanders. However, a visit to the longest established distinctive economic activity in Otara, the Pacific flea market, quickly reveals that Asian immigrants are rapidly assuming prominence as sellers. The market is becoming much more of an international event, rather than a distinctively Pacific one.

A characteristic of New Zealand's residential neighbourhoods is the close proximity of high and low status housing areas. The new suburbs built for Asian immigrants in the early 1990s are very close to the low cost housing estates characteristic of Otara. There is some residential segregration, but little separation in the market place.

Changing ideologies and contexts

One of the reasons for this mixed neighbourhood structure is the assimilationist ideology that underpinned New Zealand social policy through much of the post-war period (Bedford and Heenan, 1987). From the early 1960s, integration of Maori and immigrant minorities into the majority urban culture of white, middle class New Zealand was pushed actively on the assumption that "people understand and appreciate one another better and mutually adjust themselves easier, if living together as neighbours than if living apart in separate communities" (Hunn, 1961, 16). It was this attitude which drove the policy of 'pepper-potting' in the allocation of state housing.

This philosophy was to be severely challenged in the 1970s, however, by a strong Maori backlash to continued marginalisation in the wider society -- a marginalisation they perceived was being exacerbated by immigration of Pacific Islanders. There was extensive competition for unskilled jobs and cheap housing between Maori and Pacific Islanders, especially in Auckland. By 1971, around 70 percent of Maori were living in urban places (compared with 10 percent in 1945). Their urbanisation was occurring at the same time as Pacific Islanders were establishing a base in Auckland's economy and residential neighbourhoods. Inevitably, Maori and Pacific migrants ended up living in the same neighbourhoods and conflict was common.

Unlike Australia and Canada, New Zealand has never had an explicit government policy promoting development of a multicultural society. Multiculturalism in New Zealand is embedded in a discourse about biculturalism -- a distinction which often confuses visitors, but one which is well understood in the Pacific. The indigenous 'people of the land' (*tangata whenua*) have a distinctive status in island countries and New Zealand -- a status that establishes the philosophical and legal bases for biculturalism (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999). This dates from the signing of the Treaty of

Waitangi in 1840, although the effective recognition of that Treaty has been quite recent. All other peoples are, by definition, not 'people of the land', and therefore have a different status.

This is a contested discourse in New Zealand's increasingly heterogenous population, but we should note that, generally, Pacific peoples are very sympathetic to the aspirations of Maori – after all they are linked by cultural heritage and, in some cases, language. The main difference is that Samoans, Tongans, Cook Islanders, Niueans, Tokelauans and Fijians, for example, retained ownership of most of their lands under colonial rule, while Maori lost most of theirs.

By the 1990s there was a much easier relationship between Maori and Pacific peoples in Auckland than had been the case in the 1970s. One, and in some cases two, generations of Pacific migrants' children have been exposed in their school education to the history of the causes of the Maori situation and are more aware of parallels between their respective situations. There was also extensive intermarriage, a reality that is reflected in the answers given to the New Zealand census question on ethnic identity.

Pacific peoples are seen to be an increasingly significant component of New Zealand's society; they are no longer mainly seen as immigrants competing for unskilled jobs in the urban economy. In this sense, it is not useful to talk of a 'divided city' on the grounds of residential segregation, economic differentiation, and social discrimination between Maori and Pacific peoples. There is greater comfort with difference generally, especially now that some progress, albeit very slow, is being made to redress some of the injustices of the colonial era.

Innovative responses

In coming to grips with urban living in New Zealand, Pacific migrants have had to deal with a great range of different customs, conventions and covenants. Many of these were very offensive to Pacific peoples, but they adapted to them, where they represented accepted 'majority' behaviour, or have adapted local practices to suit their own needs.

Cluny Macpherson (1997b) provides an excellent illustration of the latter process in his paper entitled "A Samoan solution to the limitations of urban housing in New Zealand". Here he explores an increasingly popular solution to the problems of space for a number of activities at the centre of Samoan social organisation: the use of garages as social spaces. The houses available to migrants in New Zealand are designed for and suited for small, nuclear family units with a generally stable composition that are only loosely affiliated with

various kinship and community groups. By comparison, Samoan families are typically larger, extended units with a constantly changing composition, and comprising groups which are tightly affiliated with and involved in activities connected with the village of origin, extended kin group and church congregations.

This is not the place to go into the garage solution in any depth, but Macpherson (1997b) notes that as more Samoans came to acquire cars and needed protection for them, an industry in providing semi-detached out-buildings emerged. While there were, of course, formal legal limitations on what could be added to garages without consent, local government officials paid little attention to what happened to them after the final construction inspection. Families could then line the walls and ceilings, build interior partitions, and add water, electricity and other amenities as funds permitted. At this stage, the garage became a much more versatile space in which some of the shortcomings in house design could be addressed.

Fortunately little official notice was taken of the transformation of the garage into a prestige asset for a Samoan household. There is a well-established tradition of detached and semi-detached buildings associated with houses in New Zealand (garages, tool sheds, garden sheds, play houses) and little notice is taken of these until there is a disastrous accident (such as death following fire). This is one example of 'good practice' in overcoming limitations of culture-bound housing styles, without offending local conventions and, for the most part, covenants.

Other innovative responses to the challenges of living in an increasingly multicultural city are making the most of talents on the sports field, the production of distinctive music that has appeal to a wide audience, and capturing a slice of the fashion market that currently is favouring an 'indigenous' look. Maori and Pacific motifs and designs are gaining increasing international recognition. Pacific peoples have not been slow to exploit their transnational networks to promote aspects of their culture and heritage in a number of countries. Pacific sports men and women are gaining a greater profile, especially as they are heavily represented in most of the major international team sports fielded by New Zealand, as well as their own origin society national teams that are frequently full of New Zealand-based players or athletes.

Challenges for the new millennium

The challenge for Pacific peoples into the new millennium is to make the most of the fact that the Asia-Pacific region (including the west coasts of the US and Canada) will be the most significant centre of world trade in the twenty-first century. Pacific peoples are already a player in the region in terms of specific activities such as sports, entertainment and tourism. They have skills and networks that could be more widely and effectively utilised given the nature of the information age, including skills in management and communication, in policy and cultural sensitivity, and in terms of being multilingual (Bedford et al., 1999). Pacific peoples, or at least some, have a certain advantage in these areas, compared with white (Pakeha) New Zealanders and Australians, for example. The skills that they have need to be enhanced to capture the opportunities that will be provided in the service sector that is so central to the information age.

There are major challenges to overcome, including the need to gain adequate income and employment in order to access the information age, overcoming the existing poverty traps, and ensuring that basic requirements of the information age, such as technological literacy, are being met. Leadership and vision are required to capture the opportunities, and there is keen awareness of this amongst those gaining tertiary education. Fortunately, education is accorded very high priority in Pacific families; indeed, it was one of the major reasons for Islanders seeking employment in New Zealand in the first place -- to educate their children (Macpherson et al., 2000).

Pacific meta-societies have enormous energy and vitality. Channelling this energy and vitality towards the achievement of some common strategic goals in what will be a very competitive global information economy will not be easy. However, Pacific peoples have never been afraid of challenges; they are great travellers and organisers. They have experienced discrimination and hardship in all of the cities on the Pacific rim, but they have avoided becoming completely ghettoised and marginalised in 'divided cities'. The adaptation of Pacific peoples to life in the city offers many clues to successful strategies for undivided cities.

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A ROBUST RESEARCH/POLICY INTERFACE: INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

Richard Bedford

The theme of this Second Workshop on "Re-inventing the Social Sciences" is the contribution of the social sciences to knowledge and decision-making. The central focus of the Bruges Workshop has been on the knowledge generated by the social sciences and the ways to improve and enhance the contributions of social sciences in decision-making in different sectors of society at the local, regional, national and global levels.

In their background document on the Bruges Workshop Van Langenhove and his colleagues note that:

> a lot of researchers have not been sufficiently diligent in doing research that is relevant to practitioners and policy makers who in turn have not always been sufficiently discerning in distinguishing bad research and unreliable findings from high quality research. These problems have to be confronted more imaginatively if social science researchers, practitioners and policy-makers are to serve the public more effectively. (Van Langenhove et al., 2000, 3).

Those making presentations to Working Group 3, "Problem-oriented collaboration between social scientists and policy makers", were charged with illustrating how social scientists were engaging significant policy domains in ways which ensured that the findings of their research would make a valuable contribution to policy debates, and thus serve the public more effectively.

This paper outlines briefly one 'success story' in the interaction between policy makers and social science researchers. The story relates to an innovative network of researchers and policy makers with a common interest in understanding better the forces underlying international migration -- a process that is transforming societies everywhere. The Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network, one of a number of international initiatives sponsored by UNESCO's Management of Social Transformation (MOST) Programme, has been developed with the specific objective of "developing understanding of the long-term role of migration and ethno-cultural diversity as major factors of transformation of the societies of the Asia-Pacific region, in order to provide a

base of knowledge and analysis for forward-looking policy-making" (Castles, 1995, 3).

The discussion is presented in three parts. The first outlines three contexts within which this robust research/policy interface is situation: a policy context, a social science context and a research context. The second section details the specific objectives of the APMRN and provides a brief overview of its structure and operation. The third section contains some specific examples of the research/policy interface that has been facilitated by the APMRN. The paper concludes with some observations on the ways an international social science programme has facilitated the building of linkages between researchers and policy makers. The APMRN, at root, is all about building relationships through deepening our understanding of the research/policy interface, promoting researcher/policy maker interaction, and fostering researcher/policy maker collaboration.

Contexts

1. Policy: International migration is the only demographic process that is essentially defined and controlled by policy. Analysis of international migration requires researchers to engage policy discourses, especially if you live in a country, like New Zealand, where successive governments have actively encouraged immigration of certain groups by explicit policy interventions. In other countries, such as Norway, where there are no explicit policies to encourage immigration as such, there is considerable debate about the consequences of this process for the transformation of Norwegian society -- many countries are immigrant destinations without having explicit policies to attract migrants.

   Population movements across national borders are at the heart of much contemporary debate about social transformation. They will become even more important as increasing numbers of societies develop demographic conditions termed sub-replacement fertility and negative natural increase. Population movement is going to drive much more social and economic change in future, and this process will be a focus of much robust research/policy debate.

2. Social sciences: The late 20th century saw the state of the social sciences reviewed extensively by UNESCO's Social Sciences secretariat. In their introduction to UNESCO's *World Social Science Report, 1999*, Kazancigil and Makinson (1999, 14) note that "the main challenge that the social

sciences are to face in [this] century is to bridge [the] dichotomy between the intellectual and professional cultures … and to transform [the debate between them] … into a factor of strength and further advancement".

The social sciences remain the cinderella sciences, at least in the minds of many politicians, business people and members of the public. As Van Langenhove (1999, 45) observed in his assessment of the social sciences at the end of the twentieth century, the view that the social sciences are irrelevant, incomprehensible, low quality of simply wrong is "often shared by … those with responsibilities for funding social science research".

New Zealand's Minister of Research, Science and Technology, Hon. Peter Hodgson, expressed similar reservations when he announced the government's vision for science and technology in March 2000. He observed, with regard to the social sciences:

> The three problems [associated with social research] are insufficient academic depth, insufficient public engagement and insufficient co-ordination. The three problems are of course inter-related. They are however, resolvable. From my end I have an obligation to produce systems that allow researchers to better co-ordinate their efforts, be it operational research within the silos of departments of state, academic research in universities, or social research now being more actively contemplated by industry, especially primary industry. I don't yet know how to do that. If you do, let me know … I believe that if we can have a better co-ordinated approach to social research we can look forward to resolution of academic depth and insufficient public engagement (Hodgson, 2000, 7).

The series of workshops on "Re-inventing the Social Sciences" are designed "to stimulate change and progress regarding key aspects of social sciences and their use in the policy-making process" (Van Langenhove et al., 2000, 2). In this regard, it is appropriate to review some very positive developments with regard to problem-oriented collaboration between social scientists and policy makers that have emerged as a result of innovative developments associated with UNESCO's Management of Social Transformation programme, especially the quite robust research/policy interface that surrounds the debate about migration and social transformation in the Asia-Pacific region.

3. Research: The policy/research interface under discussion in this presentation is the long-term role of migration and increased ethno-cultural diversity as

major factors in the social transformation of societies in the Asia-Pacific region. The last two decades of the twentieth century saw massive transformation of the Asia-Pacific region, and one of the most significant elements in this change has been a substantial increase in both internal and international migration. As a consequence of this recent migration there has been an unprecedented increase in ethno-cultural diversity in many Asia-Pacific countries, and this is a major factor in social and political change.

Migration has significant effects on social relations, political behaviour and collective identities in both migrant-sending and receiving countries. In many the Asia-Pacific region these effects are not well understood because the dominant perspective in both research and policy has been on short-term labour market and migration-regulation issues. Emerging trends of longer-term settlement of former labour migration and refugees in several countries makes it important to find ways of recognising the rights of such groups and facilitating their economic opportunities and societal participation. At the same time, many migrations remain temporary in character. Protecting the rights of temporary migrants, and safeguarding vulnerable groups such as women and children is essential for the improvement of human rights regimes.

The Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN) is a response by researchers, policy makers and international organisations to a perceived need to better understand the contemporary migration process in the Asia-Pacific region, with particular reference to establishing an improved knowledge-base for policy formulation. Adaptive policy-making in this area requires an improved knowledge base, cross-national research collaboration, and improved analytical and theoretical approaches.

The APMRN: an overview

The APMRN is one of several international networks that owe their origin to UNESCO's endeavours to improve the transfer of policy-relevant information on critical social processes to national and international agencies seeking to design and implement effective solutions for sustainable and equitable development. The APMRN was established in 1995 in partnership with the UNESCO-MOST programme and has been linked most closely with the programme's theme: *management of change in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies*. The project also had clear links to the other two key themes underpinning the MOST programme between 1994 and 2000 -- *cities as arenas of accelerated social transformation*, and *coping locally and regionally with economic, technological and environmental transformation* (Castles, 1995).

The APMRN is based on collaboration between academics, policy makers, NGOs and other persons interested in international migration in 12 countries in the Asia-Pacific region. In 2000 the network included universities and other research bodies from Australia, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Pacific Island nations are included through the multi-campus University of the South Pacific with its headquarters in Fiji.

The APMRN's secretariat is based at the University of Wollongong, Australia, initially in the Centre for Multicultural Studies, now in the Centre for Asia-Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS). At the national level there are key contact agencies and individuals as well as national networks in some countries. The APMRN has run a major international conference since 1996 on a 12 to 18 monthly basis, and this provides the main forum for disseminating research findings and stimulating cross-national discussion about critical policy issues. The national networks, where they have been established (e.g. in the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia) provide important links between policy makers and researchers. An example of a national network's activities is provided in the next section of the paper.

Objectives

The specific objectives of the APMRN are to:

1 carry out comparative research projects on social and political dimensions of migration and ethno-cultural diversity;
2 develop research capabilities in the region and enhance the theory and methodology of migration and ethnic relations research, through exchange of ideas, international seminars, training for researchers, and graduate programmes for future researchers;
3 involve potential research-users (especially national policy-makers, inter-governmental organisations, non-government organisations and community organisations) in the research process at all stages, including research design, empirical work, analysis and dissemination of findings;
4 provide advice and consultancy services for policy makers;
5 assist in raising the quality of international migration data collection, storage and analysis, and encourage and facilitate data sharing between countries participating in the network;
6 establish migration research across the region as an ongoing part of dealing with change.

In order to achieve these objectives, four stages of development were identified for the network:

1. establishing the network (1995-1996)
2. developing research capabilities in the region (1996-1997)
3. international comparative research projects on social and political dimensions of migration and ethno-cultural diversity (1998-2002)
4. exchanging information on findings, policy development and improvements in the management of migration and social change (2000-2004)

The network's activities were reviewed as part of the MOST programmes external evaluation and audit in 1999, and the APMRN was considered to be an exemplar of UNESCO's work seeking to bridge the gap between research and policy.

APMRN-sponsored activities: some examples

The APMRN has stimulated interaction between researchers and policy makers in most of the countries involved in the network. Four examples will be outlined briefly in order to illustrate how the network has generated challenging research directions as well as interesting policy initiatives in some of the countries actively involved in the network. These are:

1. researching Hong Kong Chinese astronaut families
2. recognising 'invisible' migrants in Japan
3. examining labour exchanges between countries in the Asia-Pacific region
4. exploring the consequences of immigration policy in New Zealand

<u>Astronaut families</u>
During the late 1980s and early 1990s there was extensive migration of Chinese out of Hong Kong into countries on the Pacific rim, especially the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This was part of the lead-up to the transfer back to Chinese control of the British Colony of Hong Kong in the mid-1990s. Two critical policy issues, raised by contributors to Skeldon's (1994) collection of essays, *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the Overseas Chinese*, were:

1. was this 'exodus' of middle-class Hong Kong Chinese business people and residents a permanent movement overseas, or was it largely temporary movement seeking to establish additional residential bases for economic and social activity in countries on the Pacific rim?

2. was there a distinctive migration process, which became known as 'astronauting', associated with this movement of Hong Kong Chinese to countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States?

Cross-comparative research in Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand by APMRN academics and research networks established that there was considerable return migration to Hong Kong after reunification with the People's Republic of China (see, for example, Ho, et al., 1997; Lidgard et al., 1998). Significant shares of the migrants obtained citizenship rights in their countries of destination before returning.

Many men also left children and other family members living at the destination while they returned to Hong Kong to work. This produced the phenomenon of 'astronaut' families, where the adult males (or both parents) were living in Hong Kong while some of their dependents were living at the destinations taking advantage of education opportunities and other state-subsidised services and facilities (Ho et al., 1997). Research in New Zealand and Australia suggested that that the process of astronauting was not as common as some politicians wanted to believe, and that it was not a process designed to simply enable migrants to exploit a country's welfare infrastructure while avoiding contributing to the tax take (Ho et al., 2000). Some comparative results of research on Hong Kong Chinese migration were presented at the APMRN's conference in Hong Kong in 1998 (APMRN Secretariat, 1998).

Collaboration between researchers and policy makers interested in the astronaut family phenomenon in New Zealand, for example, ensured that a politically-motivated attack on Hong Kong Chinese migration did not result in any significant long-term policy shifts that disadvantaged Hong Kong Chinese migrants seeking residence in the country. The Aotearoa/New Zealand Migration Research Network (New Zealand's national component of the APMRN) published research on this issue and both researchers and policy makers were involved in a seminars and workshops where dimensions of contemporary Asian migration to New Zealand were reviewed.

Invisible migrants

The 1999 APMRN Conference was held in Japan, and explicit objectives of this conference were to raise the profile of migration research in Japan and to increase interaction between academic researchers and policy makers over migration-related issues. An important theme reviewed at the conference was the place of workers in the local society and polity from neighbouring countries, especially the Republic of Korea, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China, as well as descendants of Japanese migrants who had moved to Japan from Brazil.

Japan places considerable emphasis on citizenship for eligibility for benefits and access to certain opportunities and privileges. People who are not citizens, or not entitled to become citizens, have tended to be rendered invisible in debates about development in Japan. Generally they are considered to be temporary migrants who will return to their former homes after a year or two in Japan.

In recent years Japan's reliance on immigrant labour has increased, and a sizeable share of the supposed 'temporary' migrant population has, in fact stayed on. In turn, this has increased ethnic diversity in a number of Japanese cities, and highlighted the differences between citizens and non-citizens in terms of a number of rights and opportunities.

The APMRN's conference afforded an excellent opportunity for a significant debate about immigration and social transformation in a country with a rapidly ageing Japanese population and increasing dependence on a labour force either immigrant (employed on-shore) or employed overseas in Japanese businesses abroad. In this way an international social science programme has assisted with encouraging a more robust debate about some national dimensions of international migration amongst academics and policy makers.

Labour migration

The third example relates to an international comparative study of labour migration between countries on the Asian rim of the Pacific. Three members of the APMRN: Thailand, Taiwan and the Republic of Korea, are collaborating in a study of the exchange of labour between labour-surplus countries in southeast Asia (such as Thailand and the Philippines) and countries seeking to expand their labour forces (Taiwan and Korea). There is already an extensive labour migration from Thailand to Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea, and the key migration researchers associated with Thailand's Centre for Migration Studies at Chulalongkorn University, have a very good feel for this process.

The three country study is being carried out by a mix of academics and policy makers. The research is generating more broadly -based policy debates about labour circulation in a region that has considerable variations in surpluses/deficits of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. The APMRN has provided a forum for bringing together researchers in universities and in government departments to explore labour exchanges in different economies on the Asia-Pacific rim. The research is being supported by UNESCO's Participation Programme.

Immigration policy

In countries like Australia and New Zealand there have long been robust debates amongst researchers and policy makers about the role of immigration in building

up the human capital resources of the two countries. Both have had pro-active immigration policies for over 100 years, focusing on attracting new settlers to the countries.

In recent years a major debate has emerged over two issues linked to population dynamics -- the difficulty of sustaining high-skilled labour forces after many years of sub-replacement fertility; and the fact that large numbers of citizens are migrating overseas for work. Much immigration is already a form of 'replacement migration', at least in numerical terms.

In New Zealand at the beginning of the new millennium a major debate on a "brain drain" is occurring. Net losses of New Zealanders overseas have become much more noticeable following the drop in numbers of immigrants seeking to enter and reside in the country since the Asian economic crisis. Researchers and policy makers are working closely to examine the so-called "exodus" of New Zealanders, following on from the collaboration that characterised the debate about astronaut families.

The other immigration policy-related issue in New Zealand concerns entry of people on temporary work visas. The main short-falls in skilled professionals are being met by immigrants who do not plan to settle. There is a huge international demand for such labour and the majority of those in the high-skilled component of the industry are not necessarily keen to commit themselves to staying for lengthy periods in residence in one country. Both New Zealand and Australia have amended their temporary work visa policies in order to attract larger numbers of young people seeking work.

The Aotearoa/New Zealand Migration Research Network has facilitated the contact and interaction between researchers and policy makers in New Zealand. It has been keen to promote the underlying philosophy of the APMRN, namely to build relationships between researchers, to understand the research/policy interface and top promote researcher/policy maker interaction and collaboration.

Concluding comment

This paper has deliberately painted a fairly positive picture of the way that a particular international research network has contributed to problem-oriented interaction between social scientists and policy makers. Specific questions about this collaboration have not been posed here, although it can be noted that there are some major variations across countries in the network in the extent to which such collaboration has made a difference to policies.

In concluding it is important to emphasise that building problem-oriented collaboration between social scientists and policy makers requires excellent communication between universities and research institutes on the one hand, and policy agencies on the other. This requires a significant investment of time in relationship building by both groups. It is not just an issue of doing policy-relevant research. It is essential to build durable, dynamic networks that allow for effective and regular communication between the actors, both at the national and international levels. The APMRN is doing just this.

The door to greater public acknowledgment of the contributions that the social sciences can make to problem-oriented public policy debate is open wider in 200o than it has been for a long time. It is up to social scientists to take up the challenge of gaining this acknowledgment by using languages, concepts and research methods that policy makers and members of the public can understand. The UNESCO-MOST APMRN seems to be making progress in this regard, and several of its associated national networks, which include mixes of researchers and policy makers, are becoming important catalysts for robust research /policy interaction.

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