Pacific Labour Mobility:

Towards a future research agenda

Solomon Islanders at a recruitment drive for Australian Jobs
February 2019

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the last ten years, the New Zealand and Australian governments have progressively introduced temporary labour migration schemes to meet local labour shortages. New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme was introduced in 2007, while Australia's Seasonal Worker Program (SWP) commenced in 2012 after a three-year trial period. The Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS) was launched in 2018. These schemes were **initially aimed at the horticultural sectors**, but in Australia are **now expanding** into other industries including **tourism, hospitality, meat processing, forestry and aged care**. Participating countries include Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

It is not clear how representative existing studies are of Pacific Island Country (PIC) experiences of labour mobility. Labour mobility is complex and research has tended to focus on a few countries or regions, particularly Vanuatu and Tonga, and hence does not account for the **cultural diversity of PICs.** Furthermore, existing research has been restricted to the horticultural industry. Much of this research is now five to ten years old, and the **conclusions are not necessarily still valid**. Virtually nothing is known about the impacts of the Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS).

It is essential that the existing quantitative data be linked to good qualitative studies. **Most, but certainly not all, of the better known previous studies related to the SWP have been centred on the political economy of migration** (eg. Curtain et al, 2018; Gibson and McKenzie 2011; World Bank 2017). Invaluable though they are, these studies have neither taken account of some of the social consequences of labour migration in both the sending and receiving countries, nor linked migration to gender and environmental issues and broad issues of sustainable development. **This new interest in labour migration is an opportunity to draw in a wider cohort of researchers, several of whom are presently actively working in this area, and broaden the scope and contribution of expertise.**

This report draws upon existing literature to identify research gaps and directions in PLM to and from Australia and New Zealand. In so doing, it highlights academic contributions to PLM research, which have been overlooked in many of the larger studies. We suggest here a proposed – and preliminary - research framework which would begin to rectify these omissions and address key areas. Eventually that should lead into identifying **potential research partnerships and ways to strengthen PIC research capacity** as part of undertaking future research on labour mobility.

Research should work towards a better understanding of the **development impact over time in key socio-economic variables** (e.g. household income, consumption – including key services such as health and education - and also investment) and the **differences between sending and non-sending households and communities and regions**. These evaluations will increase understanding of how labour mobility can more **effectively promote economic development in PICs**, and support movement towards **implementing the SDGs**, and also make a superior contribution in Australia (and New Zealand): the much vaunted 'triple-win' situation.

It is anticipated that funded research should **inform both ongoing implementation of the PLF, Australian government policy, PIC government policy, and the debate on**

migration and development more broadly. Some of that may well be undertaken in collaboration with New Zealand partners and may benefit from a better understanding of similar schemes elsewhere, such as in Canada.

Broadly **qualitative and quantitative research considering the socio-economic and political impacts, as well as intended and unintended positive and negative impacts of labour mobility for the PICs, will be valuable**. As the PLS begins it is crucial that this research accompany it (as it failed to so with the SWP scheme). It is imperative that much more of this be undertaken **by researchers conversant in the languages and cultures of the migrants.**

As Australia's two PLM streams continue to expand we anticipate the following research needs, summarised in Table 1, both for new industries and workers, but also to cover existing gaps in SWP research. Due to the recency of the PLS, research directions below are listed primarily in chronological order of implementation/possibility: it is simply essential to start at the beginning. In the first instance, utmost priority should be given to research addressing **the social and economic impacts of PLM in home and host communities. Gendered experiences of the schemes should be a theme underpinning all the research directions listed below. In addition, long-term studies are urgently needed** to assess how these themes change over time, hence tracer studies will be valuable.

It will be essential that research targets a **variety of geographical locations** within and across PICs and host communities, however we believe priority should be given to research targeting the following PICs:

1. **Vanuatu** as this is the only PIC where existing research allows for a longitudinal view of PLM impacts.
2. **Tuvalu** and **Kiribati**, the poorest PICs where the impacts of PLM are likely to be greatest.
3. **Timor-Leste** as participation rates are high and growing significantly.

Table 1. Summary of future research directions for PLM

Research Direction	Data Type Required	Significant Existing Research
<u>Selection and recruitment of workers: who are the workers and where do they come from?</u> - Research should consider the **rationale for selecting certain regions or villages** and **how workers themselves are chosen** (community/household involvement etc). - **Control households** who do not participate or are rejected from the scheme should be included. - **Longitudinal data** should be collected on the **characteristics** (age, gender, marital status, existing skills sets, level of education etc) of workers, rejected applicants and control households to chart changes over time. - Labour recruiters and employers should be surveyed about their **priorities and preferences** for employing Pacific seasonal workers.	Quantitative data is needed to understand large-scale recruitment trends over time. This should be complemented by qualitative case studies across a variety of communities to understand the social aspects of recruitment.	Little accessible research exists into recruitment practices. Most existing research treats recruitment as an aside. In Vanuatu, communities once played a role in the selection of RSE workers (Bailey, 2014; Hammond & Connell, 2009). More recently, The World Bank (2017) found communities may not have as much say in selecting seasonal workers as they would like. In Tonga & Vanuatu gender stereotypes play a role in recruitment (World Bank, 2018a). In Vanuatu (Petrou, 2020; Petrou & Connell, 2018; Smith, 2016, 2019) and elsewhere (World Bank, 2017) personal networks are important in accessing PLM opportunities.
<u>Experiences of workers in Australia</u> - The **quality of pre-departure and arrival training** varies widely (World Bank, 2017). More research is needed into the effectiveness of this training, what it includes and how it could be improved. - **Workplace experiences** in Australia and New Zealand are poorly understood and appear to vary considerably (Petrou & Connell, 2018; Smith, 2016). It will be crucial to understand the range of these experiences, how seasonal workers can be made to feel welcome, and **how they interact with domestic employees**. - **Social problems including boredom & isolation are common** to temporary labour migration schemes around the world (Petrou & Connell, 2018; Reid-Musson, 2017). It is essential to consider **how workers interact with host communities, how effective pastoral care is, how accessible goods, services and social amenities are and how workers utilise them.**	In-depth, longitudinal qualitative research is required to understand the workplace experiences of workers, how they interact with their host communities and how they cope with separation from their families. Large scale quantitative studies will be vital to understanding remittance flows and savings. This should be complemented by qualitative research into the rationale for remitting and how these decisions are made.	The World Bank (2017) recently assessed pre-departure training for the SWP and found it varied in quality. Research into the social life of workers in Australia and New Zealand is *ad hoc*, qualitative in nature and largely focuses on ni-Vanuatu in Australia (Petrou & Connell, 2018; Stead, 2019) and New Zealand (Bailey 2009, 2014; Smith, 2016, 2019; Williams, 2010). Other research has concentrated on the experiences of Tongans in Australia (Holani, 2017; Nishitani & Lee, 2017, 2019). The social impact of family separation has figured as a small aside in some of these projects (Bailey, 2014; Stead, 2019). Issues of underpayment and illegal deductions have

- **Separation from families takes an emotional toll** (Bailey, 2014; Stead, 2019). As periods of absence lengthen under the PLS, it will be vital to consider how separation is dealt with and **the role communications technologies might play.** - **Issues of underpayment and illegal deductions** have plagued the SWP (Doherty, 2017; Holani, 2017). It will be important to monitor this as the PLS expands into new industries. In addition, it will be **crucial to monitor issues relating to dispute resolution, access to unions and how health and OH&S issues are managed.** - **Economic motivations are central to participation in PLM** (World Bank, 2017) and it is thus **imperative that remittance flows and savings are understood** and recorded. - In each of these themes it will be vital to consider **how experiences of first-time workers might differ from repeat workers and how other variables** such as age, gender, marital status, culture, industry of employment etc **might influence these experiences and outcomes.**		received much attention in the media (e.g. Doherty, 2017) and have been recorded in a number of academic studies (e.g. Holani, 2017; Petrou & Connell, 2018; Smith, 2016). However, this work is again *ad hoc* and a more extensive survey of these issues is needed. Remittance flows have received relatively more attention (e.g. Gibson & McKenzie, 2011, 2014), but more up-to-date data is required. The World Bank plans to collect some of this data. Studies of remittance use at small-scale are rare.
<u>Experiences of host communities in Australia</u> - Employers have the final say in determining who is recruited for PLM. **It is essential to understand how PIC workers are viewed by their employers**, if there are certain skill-sets or other factors (age, nationality etc) that influence their employability. Conversely, it is important to understand if there are certain jobs for which seasonal workers are considered inappropriate. - **Perceptions of workers by host communities** are poorly understood and range from largely positive (Bailey, 2014) to negative (Williams, 2010). It is crucial to understand **how workers are perceived** by their receiving communities, **what kinds of relationships are formed** and whether they are sustained or alter over time. - **The economic impact** of a large semi-permanent workforce has not been investigated, although there is some indication that it may be positive (Bailey,	Qualitative data is needed to understand, employer preferences and hiring patterns. This could be complemented by large scale surveys or questionnaires. The perceptions of workers by host communities and the relationships they form need to be addressed through longitudinal qualitative research. Spending patterns should be recorded via quantitative surveys.	Several surveys have been conducted into employer perceptions and experiences of the SWP (Doyle & Howes, 2015; Howe et al., 2019) and RSE (Research New Zealand, 2017, 2018). More extensive research is needed on the SWP and PLS. Research into perceptions of workers by host communities is scarce and focuses on ni-Vanuatu employed through the RSE scheme in New Zealand (Bailey, 2014; Williams, 2010) and existing Pasifika communities in rural Australia (Nishitani & Lee, 2017, 2019). The economic impact of PLM on host communities has been addressed in one small section of a study of ni-Vanuatu workers in New Zealand (Bailey, 2014) and rural

2014). Spending patterns of seasonal workers need to be understood.		Victoria, Australia (Bailey, 2019).
<u>Social impacts at home</u> - **Social impacts** are perhaps the **least understood** aspect of PLM. - **Understanding the consequence of long-term family separation** is imperative, particularly as periods of separation lengthen under the PLS. It is critical to consider **how variables** including age, gender and relationship to the worker **influence coping strategies at the household and community level.** - Along with emotional issues, **household and community labour adjustments** need to be better understood. - Issues of **worker reintegration** remain poorly understood. This are particularly important for workers who drop out of the scheme after long-term participation. - It is necessary to consider the impact of **social remittances, including their potential for triggering domestic violence** (World Bank, 2018a). - Little has been written about **skill utilisation upon return**. It will be crucial to chart the **most and least 'useful' skills**, how they are employed and whether and why they are successful (or not) over the long term. - If **education levels rise** as a result of investment in schooling, it will be important to monitor the implications of this. - The **social impacts of PLM simply cannot be understood without detailed, longitudinal case studies** across a variety of locations (rural and urban), communities, countries and PLM schemes.	Longitudinal qualitative research is key to understanding the social impacts of PLM.	Very little has been written about the social impacts of PLM on home societies. The World Bank (2018a) conducted a study into the social impacts of seasonal work in Tonga and Vanuatu, with a focus on gender. As a one-off study, it offers little insight into the impact of seasonal work over time. Chattier (2019) contributes some qualitative insights from Tonga and Vanuatu based on the same survey data. Qualitative academic studies have considered the moral ambiguity of cashflow and investment in housing by returned RSE workers in Vanuatu (Smith, 2016, 2019). Craven (2013, 2015) and Craven & Gartaula (2015) consider the relationship between seasonal work and increased vulnerability in Vanuatu, particularly in relation to food insecurity. Much of this work is now out of date.
<u>Economic impacts at home</u> - **Cashflow from PLM is significant**, and it is essential that we continue to track, and expand upon existing quantitative studies documenting remittances flows and savings. - It will be important to build upon this research by documenting **how remittances are used while workers are away and after they return, how these uses may vary over time, and who is involved in decision-making processes.**	Quantitative data is needed to track cashflow and remittances. This should be complemented by qualitative studies aimed at understanding the 'why' behind these flows. Qualitative research is needed to understand the social impact of	Remittance flows to Tonga and Vanuatu have received some research attention (e.g. Gibson & McKenzie, 2011, 2014) and work is underway by the PLF to incorporate remittances from seasonal work into household income and expenditure surveys. The new relationships that can result from RSE associated cashflow in Vanuatu have been described by Bailey (2014) and

- The **social impacts of increased cashflow** from PLM remain poorly understood. Clearly, cash can be used to reinforce or re-negotiate social relationships (Bailey, 2014; Cummings, 2016). Whether these new social relationships are viewed as positive or negative, and their **potential to lead to gender violence** have not been investigated in any detail.	remittances and savings from PLM.	Cummings (2016) but more longitudinal, detailed and up to date research is needed.

In total, these research directions should facilitate the following policy outcomes:

1. Effective and equitable recruitment practices and governance processes.
2. Provide a world class example of best practice in worker well-being and experiences of labour mobility.
3. Minimise negative impacts on host communities, and ensure that workers match opportunities.
4. Minimise negative impacts on home communities arising from worker absences, skills acquisition or social remittances.
5. Minimise negative impacts on home communities relating to increased cashflows from PLM.
6. Evaluate whether schemes are achieving the aim of securing (economic and social) development in PICs.

INTRODUCTION: CONTEXT OF THE REPORT

This report was commissioned by the Pacific Labour Facility (PLF) to review the literature and research underway on Pacific Labour Mobility (PLM) with the aim of identifying key findings and gaps in areas which include, but are not limited to, the following:

Sending Country Impacts

a. The differential social impacts (e.g. empowerment, gender equality) of male and female labour mobility.

b. The impacts of labour mobility of varying durations on children, families and communities such as: social cohesion; agricultural productivity; diet and health; and children's education outcomes.

c. The contribution of returning migrant workers to social and political change through "social" remittances, including through migrants becoming agents for change in governance, accountability and gender norms.

d. Comparisons of sending country resourcing and regulation of labour mobility: models of recruitment, differences in participation and development impacts.

e. Knowledge and skill transfer between sending and receiving countries.

f. Future regional data collection needs (if appropriate).

g. International best practice in inclusive recruitment and reintegration systems, and implications of unequal distribution of labour mobility benefits for women and people with disability in sending countries, and between geographic areas with high and low levels of participation in labour mobility.

h. Long term international best practise approaches/models for building robust future labour mobility systems.

Receiving Country Impacts

i. The contribution of labour mobility for receiving countries and regions on industry productivity, investment and sustainability.

j. The impacts of labour mobility on receiving regions/communities on e.g. social cohesion.

In addition, the report is intended to assess the extent to which existing literature examines these topic areas as they relate to women (either as migrants, or partners of migrants) and people with disabilities. It focuses on research from the Asia-Pacific region and from small island states (mainly Pacific Island countries (PICs) but including Timor-Leste). Particular attention is paid to the context and specificity of findings with a view to identifying where research in one country/region is transferable to others. Overall, the aim of this report is to examine the present circumstances and impact of PLM, with reference to the existing and

proposed expansion of migratory labour schemes through the PLS. It seeks to review existing experiences, provide an overview of recent research and suggest a proposed future research framework. The report is undertaken in a context where it is widely anticipated that PLM will both expand numerically, potentially also geographically and increasingly include different forms of employment. The complete Terms of Reference for the report are included here as Attachment A.

Methodology

Initially, studies of PLM were selected based on the authors' existing knowledge and expertise on the topic, and included academic studies, theses (predominantly doctoral and masters level), conference proceedings and published reports. Further studies were recommended by the PLF or passed on by researchers actively working in the field. Key word searches were conducted on Google Scholar as were searches for research citing known studies. Literature was included or discarded based on academic rigour (as assessed by the report's authors) and its relevance to research questions outlined in the report's TOR. Searches were also made of archives from local news media in the region. Several media reports have been included, as these are often more up to date than academic research or commissioned reports, despite their lack of rigour. A particular attempt was made to highlight academic contributions to PLM research, as this is often overlooked in existing commissioned and public policy focused reports. There are inherent biases in academic research including the tendency to involve only a single researcher and to favour qualitative research techniques, but this is often compensated by the ability to spend a longer time in the field, be more familiar with PIC cultural contexts, get to know communities intimately, and be well-positioned to observe and comment on social impacts and other topics that are difficult to investigate via large scale questionnaires and similar approaches. Where possible, this report's focus on academic research is complemented by the inclusion of commissioned reports with a public policy focus. Such reports tend to focus on the policy or program operation or impact, tend to involve multiple researchers and are generally well funded. Multiple data collection techniques are often employed. However, researchers often possess a less thorough understanding of community functions, and the focus tends to be on large scale impacts. It must be noted that much of the research cited throughout this report focuses on certain communities at specific points in time, and caution must be exercised in drawing broad conclusions. In addition, much research is now dated, hence, as is highlighted throughout the pages that follow, investing in more extensive, recent research should be a priority. Inevitably, this report cannot be comprehensive; inaccessible grey literature and manuscripts prevent a full coverage.

BACKGROUND

Temporary migrant agricultural 'guestworker' schemes have existed for well over a century, but have been typically associated with the post-war migration of workers from Turkey into Germany (from where the word comes). Rather earlier in 1942 the United States introduced a Bracero Program, initially created to alleviate wartime labour shortages, but which lasted until 1964, bringing some 4.5 million Mexican workers into the United States during its lifespan. That was followed by an H-2 Visa Program that has brought smaller numbers of both agricultural and non-agricultural guest workers into the United States, and remains in place. Many European countries had versions of one or other of these schemes. Canada introduced a Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) in the mid-1960s to respond to labour shortages in the Canadian agricultural sector (which much later became a partial model for New Zealand and Australian schemes). Around 18,000 farm workers from Caribbean island states and Mexico annually arrive in Canada to work in fields, orchards and greenhouses. The United Kingdom had a similar Seasonal Agricultural Scheme (SAWS) between 2005 and 2018 that was then formally replaced by a new version, after the UK's decision to leave the European Union meant that potential labour shortages had become a key concern for many people in the agricultural sector. The new scheme allows employers to take on migrants for a six-month period each year, and is expected to bring an annual 2,500 workers into the country. Several European countries have similar schemes. Most developed countries have experienced shortages of agricultural workers in the past half century and have chosen to resolve this problem with short-term temporary migrants. Present schemes in Australia have multiple parallels and precedents.

The Pacific has experienced a much longer history of temporary labour migration. Late nineteenth century migration ('blackbirding') brought Melanesian migrants to Queensland cane plantations, notably from the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), especially from the island of Tanna, and to a lesser extent from the Loyalty Islands (New Caledonia) and the Solomon Islands (especially Malaita). Migrants moved from semi-subsistence agricultural systems in search of incomes, goods and experiences, a process that continued until 1904, when most migrants were repatriated. The end of blackbirding early in the twentieth century brought a hiatus in agricultural labour migration for almost a century. For much of the twentieth century however, labour migration was typical of the two small atoll states, Kiribati and Tuvalu, from where migrants under temporary labour migration contracts in the phosphate mining industry on Banaba (Kiribati) and Nauru. Workers from Kiribati and Tuvalu were also trained in their countries' Marine Training Schools. In various parts of the Pacific, typically in Melanesia, temporary migrant workers were contracted to work on plantations, in different cultural regions but usually in the same country.

Temporary labour migration continued from several PICs throughout the twentieth century, but from the 1960s onwards a more permanent, long-distance migration increased from some PICs, notably Samoa and Tonga, mainly for employment in New Zealand, Australia and the United States. Though usually initially intended to be temporary much became effectively permanent migration and the demographic balance of many states shifted outwards. By the end of the century most PICs had experienced limited economic growth, despite independence which usually occurred in the 1970s, and many, especially in Polynesian PICs, had become more dependent on remittances from overseas migrants in the Pacific rim. Patterns of international migration, first emerging in Polynesian, where something of a culture of migration exists, are now becoming more widespread.

As demand for agricultural workers increased in New Zealand, temporary agricultural schemes were briefly introduced there in the 1980s and revived in 2007 after PIC pressure and further domestic agricultural labour shortages. In 2008 Australia followed suit. In recent years, economic growth in most PICs has not kept pace with population growth (Ball, 2015). That has resulted in significant rural-urban migration and urbanization, and a search for wage and salary employment at home or overseas. Part of that constitutes what appears to be a greater interest in (and familiarity with) short-term (and longer) overseas employment, symbolised in the cover photograph. The present agricultural labour migration schemes in New Zealand and Australia have therefore been timely in opening up new temporary migration opportunities for many island states for the first time in this century, and for some countries for the first time ever.

Australia's Foreign Policy White Paper (2017) emphasised the importance of stepping up engagement with PICs to improve economic resilience, security and stability of the Pacific region. Circular labour mobility from Pacific island countries and Timor-Leste to Australia is a central pillar of this strategy. Increasing circular labour mobility has the potential to build links and support increased economic growth, employment and investment across the region. Realising that potential may prove challenging, not least because labour mobility schemes involve a range of stakeholders and are thus highly complex. Stakeholders must operate across two countries and hence are bound by different legal and regulatory systems and are responsive to different sets of expectations and cultural understandings. Sending and receiving governments must invest considerable time, effort and funding in order to make the system work, and often have differential access to resources to invest in this process. In addition, a strong commitment is required of employers, intermediaries, workers, their families and communities.

Australia intends to increase circular labour mobility with Pacific countries through the expansion of the Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP) and the creation and expansion of the Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS). The new Pacific Labour Facility (PLF), will facilitate this expansion. The PLF connects Australian employers with Pacific workers, supports the administration of the PLS and provides targeted support to the SWP (Ball, 2019c). The PLF is managed by Palladium and is accountable to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

Under the direction of the Department of Jobs and Small Business (DJSB), the SWP provides approved Australian employers access to low- and un-skilled workers from Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. The Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS) was established in August 2008, and the first workers arrived in February 2009. The PSWPS ran for three years, until the SWP was launched on 1 July 2012. Under the SWP, workers are employed in the horticultural industry for up to nine months. Potential employers must show that they are unable to find enough local Australian labour. Visa numbers for the scheme are uncapped, allowing for potential and unlimited expansion.

The PLS commenced on 1 July 2018. It enables citizens of Pacific countries to take up low- and semi-skilled work opportunities in rural and regional Australia for up to three years. The PLS, originally designated the Northern Australia Worker Pilot Program, was initially available to Kiribati, Nauru and Tuvalu, with access to be progressively extended to other Pacific countries based on employer demand, need, impact and progress against the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations - Plus (PACER Plus) regional trade

agreement. The PLS is currently available to Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, PNG, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. Implementation of the PLS is open to all sectors but it is intended to focus on placing workers in sectors with projected employment growth in Australia and which match Pacific skill sets. As for the SWP, PLS visa numbers are uncapped.

PLM schemes have been billed as a 'triple win' bringing economic gains for employers, workers and their home communities. With this in mind, the report below presents a 'chronological' outline of PLM schemes, considering how selection works and who benefits through selection procedures; the social and economic impacts on sending countries; and the impacts on receiving countries. It assesses to whom these 'wins' or benefits accrue and, conversely, who may be left out. It begins by considering the extent of participation in PLM and current research underway.

RATES OF PARTICIPATION IN PLM

Early preliminary data indicate that the PLS has drawn in a range of workers in different skills categories and economic sectors. By June 2019, some 190 workers were employed through the PLS in industries including aged care, hospitality and forestry (Figure 1). It is projected that both the number of workers and the variety of employment types will continue to expand exponentially (Ball, 2019a, 2019b; Ball & Bailey, 2015). Kiribati has benefitted from being one of the first countries to participate in the PLS pilot, and has continued to be one of the main labour suppliers (Figure 2). That is a significant shift from the structure of participation in the SWP scheme and potentially extremely beneficial for the poorest PIC. In mid-2019 there were 104 i-Kiribati participating in the PLS. This was significantly more than the number of workers from other PICs, however it is likely that the distribution of participation will vary over time as the scheme expands.

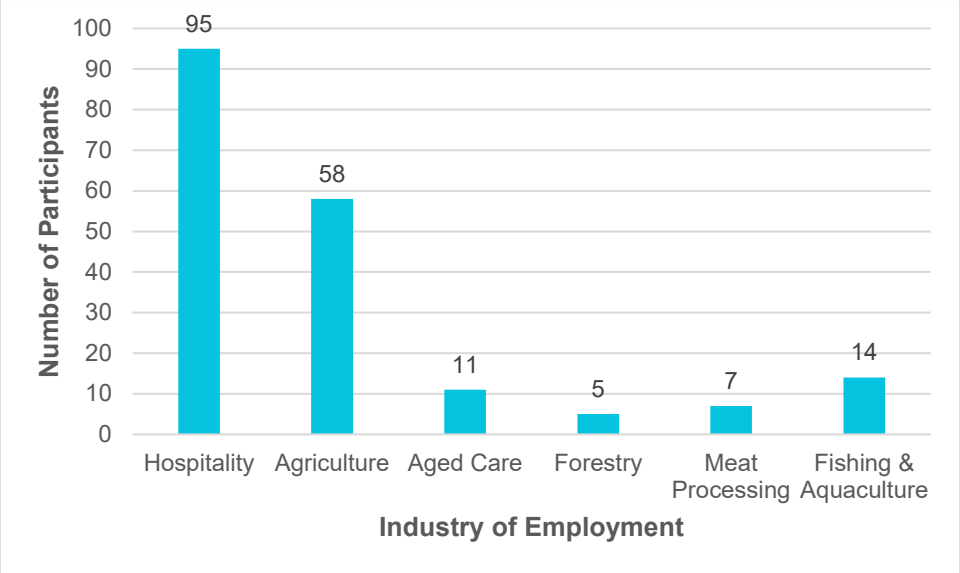

Figure 1. Participation in the PLS by industry of employment, June 2019

Source: Pacific Labour Facility

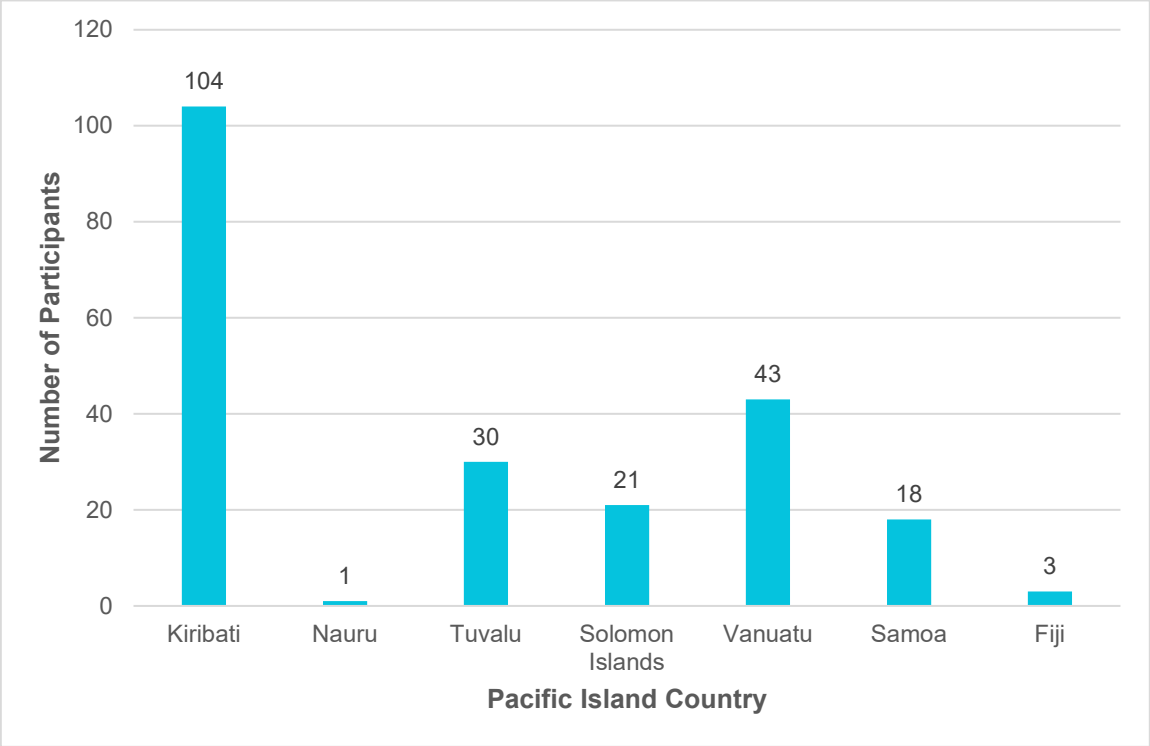

Figure 2. Participation in the PLS by country of origin, June 2019

Source: Pacific Labour Facility

The experience of the SWP thus far indicates that numbers of participants vary significantly between countries. Thus, the largest PIC, PNG, has very few participants in the SWP, with numbers little different from those from Kiribati, despite having a population eighty times larger (Figure 3). It is unclear why PNG has not been more involved, but this may be a function of overly trusting in its own work-ready lists and a lack of intermediaries (Curtain 2018). Otherwise the two relatively low-income atoll states, Kiribati and Tuvalu, have few participants. They are clearly disadvantaged by distance, however preliminary numbers from the emerging PLS indicate that this barrier to entry is not necessarily insurmountable. Nonetheless Kiribati has recently requested greater access to the schemes, with a parliamentary motion calling for greater equity between PICs (Radio New Zealand, 11 April 2019). By contrast Tonga and Vanuatu have consistently taken up the larger numbers. That pattern correlates almost exactly with the situation in the New Zealand Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme (Figure 4). Tonga has had longer experience of labour migration through the RSE scheme, and more generally, but the Vanuatu take-up rate is distinctive, and it has benefited from 'first mover' status (and follows hitherto limited overseas employment experience, at least for a century). Nauru has not expressed significant interest in participating (and agricultural work is non-existent in Nauru).

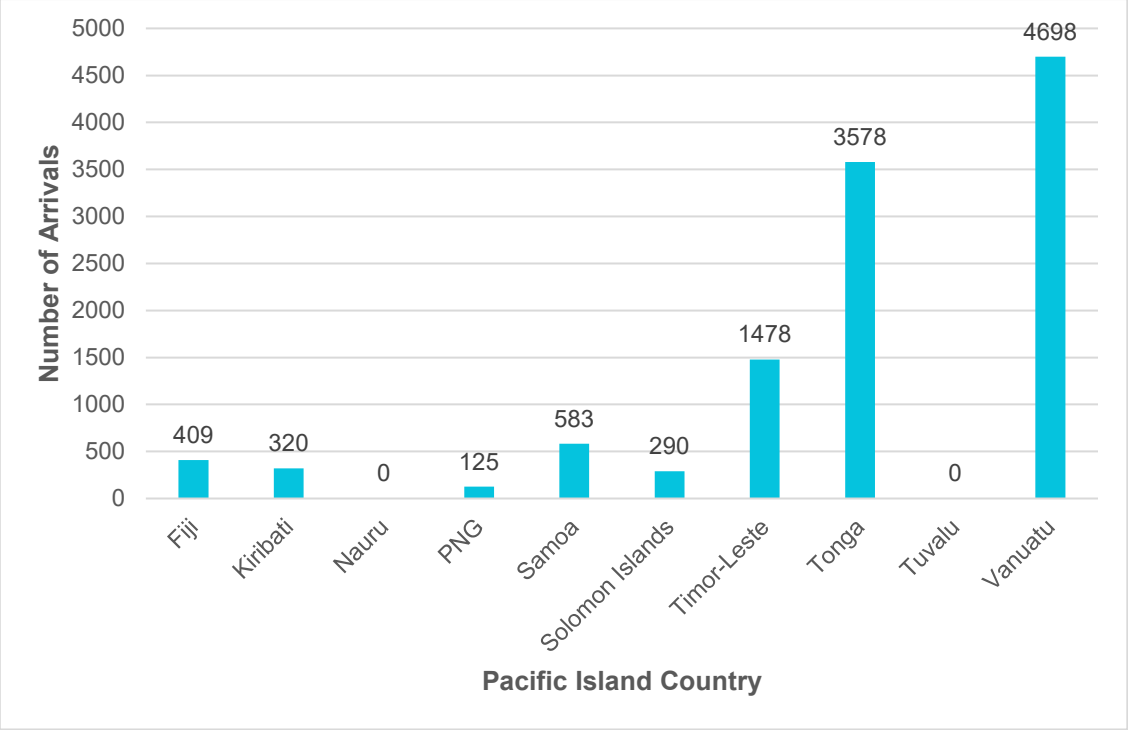

Figure 3. SWP arrivals by country of origin, 2018- 31st May 2019

Source: Department of Home Affairs

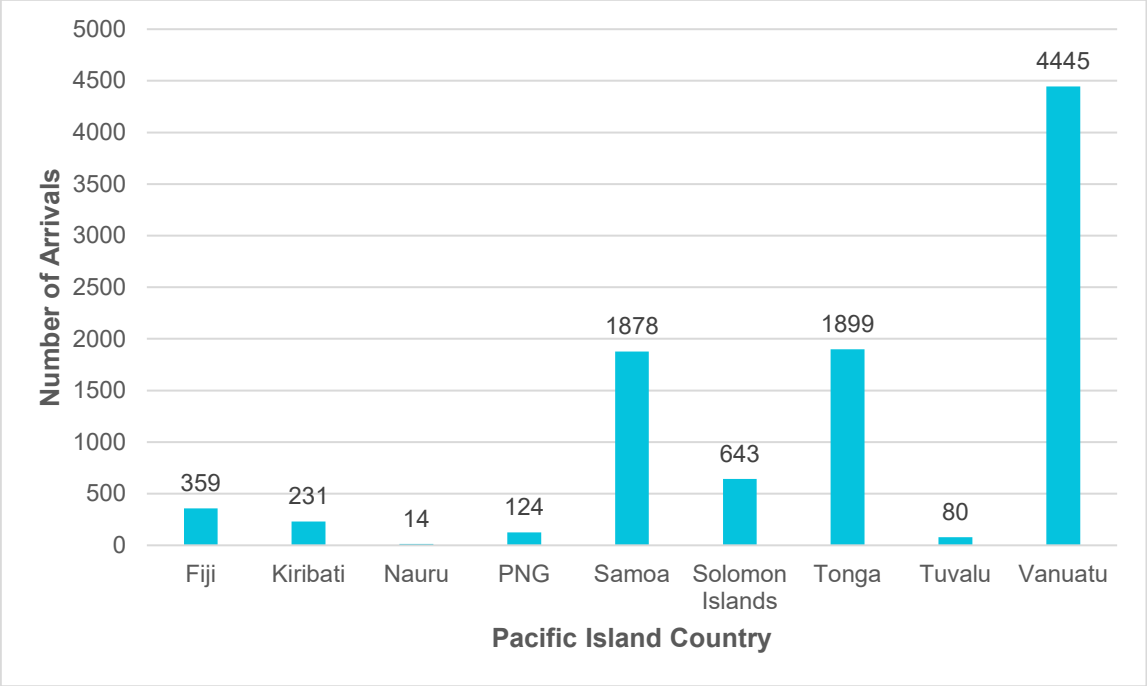

Figure 4. RSE arrivals by country of origin 2017-2018

Source: MFAT, New Zealand

THE STATE OF PLAY

Over the last ten years or so, there have been a number of research projects into PLM, first in New Zealand, and more recently, in Australia. This research has not been exhaustive, and while it enables some definite and some tentative conclusions, it also reveals a number of significant gaps (Table 2). There are obvious biases in the locations of existing research, and the majority has focused on the two largest labour contributors, Vanuatu and Tonga, with nations such as PNG and the Solomon Islands notably absent from research agendas. In addition, much of the research cited throughout this report is based on data that is now five to ten years old, making it difficult to ascertain whether findings are still relevant. Indeed, it is unlikely that conclusions made a decade ago still apply to a fast-changing situation. Similarly, it is reasonable to assume that findings relating to short-term agricultural work, may not apply to longer-term contracts in industries included under the PLS. There is an obvious need for research specific to the PLS, and to establish this while the program is emerging. At the same time, it will be vital to expand research efforts into the SWP.

Much of the existing data on the SWP and RSE comes from government or commissioned reports and the media (e.g. Bolton & Ball, 2017; Curtain et al. 2016, 2018; Doherty, 2017; Pacific Periscope, 2018; Research New Zealand, 2017, 2018; World Bank, 2017, 2018a). Several authors dominate the academic literature but most of this research has been at the national macro-economic scale and has focused on themes including the political economy and governance of short-term labour migration. Relatively little involves qualitative analysis, or reflects the views of the workers and PICs involved. Nonetheless these studies are extremely valuable, and the present report must be read in the context of the key existing studies (e.g. Curtain et al. 2016, 2018; Doyle & Howes, 2015; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011, 2014; World Bank, 2017, 2018a). It has been and remains extremely important to collect this quantitative data, but, as is highlighted below, there is a clear lack of qualitative research; we know ‘how much?’ (for a few PICs at certain points in time) but we do not know ‘why?’ or ‘what was the outcome and are particular trends emerging?’.

Table 2. Significant existing research by topic area and PIC

Pacific Island Country	Topic Area											
	Recruitment	Briefings	Workplace Experiences	Impacts on Host Community	Family Separation	Home Community Coping Strategies	Worker Reintegration	Skills Transfers	Gender	Economic Impacts at Home	Food Security	Remitting
Fiji	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kiribati	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nauru	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Papua New Guinea	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Samoa	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	✓
Solomon Islands	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Timor-Leste	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X
Tonga	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tuvalu	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vanuatu	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Several significant projects are currently planned or underway in the PICs. Many of the projects are ongoing and only preliminary results are available. Table 3 provides a brief summary of proposed and ongoing research into PLM. It must be noted however that some of these projects may never happen and they are very different in sources of support and fields of expertise. A more comprehensive version of this table is provided in Appendix 1. New projects will include Samoa, Kiribati and Tuvalu, and some research is planned with Tongan workers, however this is primarily within Australia. The Solomon Islands are included as only one study site within a larger project, despite growing levels of participation in seasonal labour mobility, and PNG and Fiji receive only scant attention. Vanuatu is again the location of a few projects, but research gaps remain. These are elaborated on below. While there is some interest in the significance of care work, other forms of PLS employment are presently absent from research agendas. There is an undeniable need for more geographically varied research within and across participating countries, industries and destination societies. The proposed research program by the World Bank and ANU will go some way to remedying this, but it will be important to involve and foster wider networks of researchers as well.

Table 3. Summary of known PLM projects underway

PIC	Receiving country included?	PLM Type	Project Focus/themes
Fiji	Australia		Mapping & analysing social & cultural connections created through migration
PICs (not specified)	New Zealand	RSE	Social & economic impacts of RSE in NZ and PICs
PICs		All	PLM remittances to be incorporated into World Bank income & expenditure survey.
PNG		SWP (&PLS?)	Australia-PNG borderland & its effects on PLM,
Samoa		All	Government & community perceptions of the value & effectiveness of aid contributions & PLM schemes.
Timor-Leste		SWP	Evaluation of the nexus between labour migration, remittances and the wellbeing of migrants and their families in Timor-Leste
Timor-Leste	Australia	SWP	Remittances between Australia and Timor-Leste.
Tonga		SWP & RSE	Demography of workers

Tonga	Australia	SWP	Impacts on families, family relationships & Australian communities
Tonga, Kiribati & Solomon Islands		All	Adaptive capacity of labour mobility & transnational family networks.
Tonga, Kiribati, Solomon Islands & Fiji			Labour migration & adaptation to climate change
Tuvalu			Effects of PLM on sustainability of small economies & how to target remittances to particular areas.
Unknown	Australia	PLS & SWP	Care chains, transnational family life, care economy, care infrastructure, informal economy
Vanuatu	Australia & New Zealand	SWP & RSE	Reintegration of workers, economic and social impacts on home and host communities, demography of workers.
Vanuatu	Australia	PLS	Care and work implications of participation in the PLS in terms of time allocation of tasks in home households.
Vanuatu & Tonga		RSE & SWP	Information gaps in PLM schemes for workers and their families.
Tonga	New Zealand	RSE	Strengthening pastoral care provision in New Zealand.
Various (unspecified)	Australia	SWP & PLS	Extensive research proposed by World Bank and ANU to examine the social and economic outcomes of PLM in Australia and participating PICs.

Once again, other than in Vanuatu and to a lesser extent Tonga, almost none of the existing research has been undertaken by researchers familiar with either the indigenous languages or the lingua francas of these countries. That has prevented deeper insights

being developed on the social context of labour mobility, the assimilation of migrant workers and the social outcomes (including reintegration) especially in the sending countries.

PICs are characterised by their cultural heterogeneity, and it is difficult to generalise experiences and outcomes – particularly culturally specific ones such as 'social impact' – between but also within countries. The research discussed below addresses only a few of the communities that have participated in PLM, and caution must be exercised in drawing general conclusions. More extensive (qualitative) research that highlights commonalities and differences is needed.

SELECTION PROCEDURES

Recruitment

Local recruitment procedures for both the SWP and RSE are determined by participating PICs, and have differed between countries and over time with varying levels of input from national governments, local councils and communities. Vanuatu recruits potential workers through both agents and the Department of Labour's Employment Services Unit, and has been the only country to introduce legislation around licencing recruitment agents and participating in seasonal work. It seems likely however that other PICs will follow (Bedford, 2013, Bedford et al 2017). Licensing and ongoing monitoring of recruitment agents such as this helps to protect workers' rights, and is considered international best practice in bilateral temporary labour mobility programs (Hugo, 2009). Vanuatu has experienced issues with fake agents taking money in exchange for the promise of employment that does not eventuate. The Vanuatu government has responded with threats of jail time and fines of several thousand dollars (Radio New Zealand, 2019d).

In the Solomon Islands recruitment relies solely on agents whereas in PNG, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga, Timor-Leste and Samoa, governments insist on 'work-ready' pools where workers are kept on standby to be deployed at short notice. Australian and New Zealand employers' growing preference to recruit cohesive groups of workers from a single community, along with the increasing competitiveness for limited spots in the scheme, has meant these work-ready pools are often of limited utility (Bedford, 2013). In addition, some Australian employers have expressed concern over the quality of workers recruited from these pools, and nepotism in the selection process (Cardno, 2017). While PNG does not allow third-party recruiters, in Tonga and Samoa direct recruitment by employers is discouraged but tolerated. In sum, and even as the specifics vary, PIC governments have adopted varying mixes of similar recruitment strategies. Preliminary research by Howes and Curtain (2019) suggests less government intervention in recruitment may lead to higher participation rates, but more research is needed. It is not yet clear whether recruitment for the PLS, follows similar lines to that for the SWP.

Government policies around recruitment have influenced where workers are chosen from; in PNG stringent educational and English language requirements have skewed recruitment towards urban areas (Curtain, 2018). In contrast, governments in Tonga, Fiji and Timor-Leste have tended to recruit from rural agricultural areas, and have taken deliberate steps to do so (Bedford, 2013; Curtain, 2018). In the early years, recruitment practices opened up seasonal migration opportunities to poor, rural households at least in Vanuatu and Tonga (McKenzie et al 2008, Gibson et al 2008, Connell and Hammond 2009, Blanco 2009). Whether that has been sustained is unclear, but it seems urban residents are now

commonly participating in seasonal labour mobility (Petrou & Connell, 2018). Fully 63% of ni-Vanuatu workers interviewed in the LMAP (n.d.) study normally lived in Port Vila, a vastly different distribution to that of the country as a whole. This may not in itself be a problem, as urban areas of the Pacific are increasingly characterised by poverty and hardship (Asian Development Bank, 2003). However, it does raise questions on how workers are chosen and of geographical equity.

It is likely that as the PLS expands, and more workers are recruited into industries such as tourism and care work especially, but also fishing and meat processing, where English is more of a requirement and pre-existing hospitality (or other) skills may be an advantage, the trend towards urban recruitment will continue. Certainly, many of the i-Kiribati employed on Hayman Island reputedly had pre-existing skills in hospitality (DFAT, 2018), though since Kiribati is without hotels it is not clear what skill sets they had or how that was acquired. More research is needed to track these trends.

It is often unclear however, how PICs select workers within regions or if any consistent criteria are employed. In highly dispersed archipelagic states such as Vanuatu, accessibility appears to be important for recruitment, and communities that are easier (and hence cheaper and faster) to access are often at an advantage (Rockell, 2015). Similarly, islands, villages and individuals with contacts to a recruiting agent appear more likely to participate (Petrou, 2020; Petrou & Connell, 2018; Smith, 2016, 2019; World Bank, 2017). This is a common feature of labour mobility schemes more widely, and personal networks are often crucial for securing work (Brickenstein, 2017). How recruitment agents themselves are selected however, is not known. Indeed, there is almost no information on who they are and how they are chosen.

Selection processes may differ between rural and urban areas. In Vanuatu, urban applicants are often ‘walk-ins’ who have applied through Vanuatu’s Department of Labour (Gibson & McKenzie, 2014). The cover photograph suggests that the same may be true in Honiara (Solomon Islands) but there are no data to support this conclusion. In rural areas however, communities have often played a role in selecting reliable workers (Bailey, 2014; Hammond & Connell, 2009). In rural Tonga in 2009, Town Officers played a key part in the selection process. Workers were chosen according to whether they were ‘strong and healthy, good, trustworthy and reliable workers’ and privileged those who might ‘represent the village with distinction’, and tended to be poorer than non-SWP households (Blanco 2009: 45). Gender stereotypes are likely to have also been important, and remain involved. It may still be true that communities play a role in selection, however it appears that they do not always have as much input as they might like (World Bank, 2017).

While government policies on recruitment are relatively well known, how recruitment works at the level of the village, community or household is largely undocumented. Indeed, most existing studies fail to even consider how workers are recruited, and take arrival in the host country as a starting point for research. It is thus difficult to determine whether this lack of information on recruitment is due to reluctance on the behalf of PICs to divulge this information, or if it is simply because no one has ever asked. In many respects, recruitment practices are the elephant in the room; we know that the schemes are popular, and that workers want to participate, but how they make the step from desire to actualisation has been largely ignored. This is significant because recruitment processes as well as the demographic profiles of workers and rates of participation (absolute numbers of participants, genders, region/island of origin, life-cycle stage and so forth) will influence

development outcomes. More research is needed into the processes behind recruitment and the implications for households or individuals who are unsuccessful in their applications.

Costs of participation

Participating in (or even just applying for) seasonal work requires an initial economic outlay to cover application, visa and other fees. Urban applicants, who do not have to pay for transport and accommodation to attend selection meetings and pre-departure briefings, face fewer barriers to participation than do rural villagers who must pay significant sums – often equivalent to several hundred dollars – to travel (Bailey, 2014; Bedford, 2013; Curtain, 2018). While PLM schemes subsidise or cover the costs of airfares, passports and so forth, they do not contribute to costs such as domestic travel attend recruitment drives, or urban accommodation and meals while workers await departure. By contrast, in Mexico, first-time workers in Canada's SAWP are given a small sum by the Mexican government to cover domestic travel to Mexico City. Much as in PICs, this travel is necessary to obtain passports and other documents needed to participate in labour migration (ILO, 2012). It would be useful to explore the possibility for similar economic support, provided by home/host governments or employers, for Pacific labour scheme participants.

Travel itself is particularly difficult in the archipelagic states of Kiribati and Tuvalu, and to a lesser extent Vanuatu, while Tuvalu has no Australian diplomatic presence. Those who hold steady employment are more able to cover the costs of participation, and it appears some workers have left steady skilled or semi-skilled positions to participate in seasonal work (Calnitsky, 2016; McKenzie et al, 2008; Petrou & Connell, 2018; World Bank, 2017). In New Zealand, more than half of all workers surveyed had a job or had started a small business within the two years before participating in the RSE (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, n.d.). Indeed, seasonal workers are much more likely to be in formal employment than the national average in their respective home countries. Some workers 'share' their home country jobs with kin, and take it in turns to work in these jobs and travel to Australia/New Zealand (World Bank, 2017). It is not clear whether this job rotation occurs in skilled positions, but it is likely that the recruitment of skilled and semi-skilled workers into Pacific labour mobility schemes may contribute to skill loss in some key areas (see below).

'Application costs' (including domestic travel and accommodation, obtaining passports and other documents etc) are recouped once workers begin their contracts, but demand far outstrips the number of available positions, and not all applicants are successful. While it seems that applications are rejected for reasons such as missing documents or paperwork, negative assessments by employers in previous years, criminal convictions or being blacklisted from the scheme (Bailey, 2014), little is known about the proportion of applicants accepted, nor the characteristics (age, gender, marital status, occupational profile etc) of those who are not. Nor has there been any research into the implications, financial or otherwise, of these rejected applications. Understanding these recruitment trends is particularly important where participation rates are low relative to population size (as in PNG), or when outer islands in archipelagic states may be disadvantaged.

Equity in recruitment

Recruitment processes are not always equitable, and local selection methods have discriminated against certain groups on the basis of gender, age, place of residence and

physical disability, although significantly, the nature of this discrimination seems to vary between countries (World Bank, 2018a). Little is known about the recruitment of 'minority' groups such as people with disabilities, however selected agents in Vanuatu have employed a handful of physically disabled workers (Garae, 2018b). With high competition for places, unless specific quotas are set, it is unlikely that disabled workers will be considered competitive. Indeed, they are most likely to benefit indirectly through access to health care services or goods (such as wheelchairs) that remittances make possible; in Vanuatu, some returned workers have made donations to organisations helping the disabled (Garae, 2018a). How common this practice is however, is not known.

There is a clear bias towards recruiting men; the 'average' Pacific seasonal worker is male, aged in his early thirties (age being a proxy for maturity) and married or partnered (denoting 'responsibility' at home and hence a decreased likelihood of absconding) (World Bank, 2017). The proportion of men and women participating in labour mobility varies between PICs (Figures 5 and 6). Until 2019, women accounted for around 13% of SWP participants (World Bank 2018a), however this has now increased to 18% due in large part to Tonga. An unusually high proportions of women from PNG, Solomon Islands and Kiribati have participated in PLM. These higher proportions may be an anomaly, reflecting choices made by a small number of employers; however in none of these countries are selection procedures transparent.

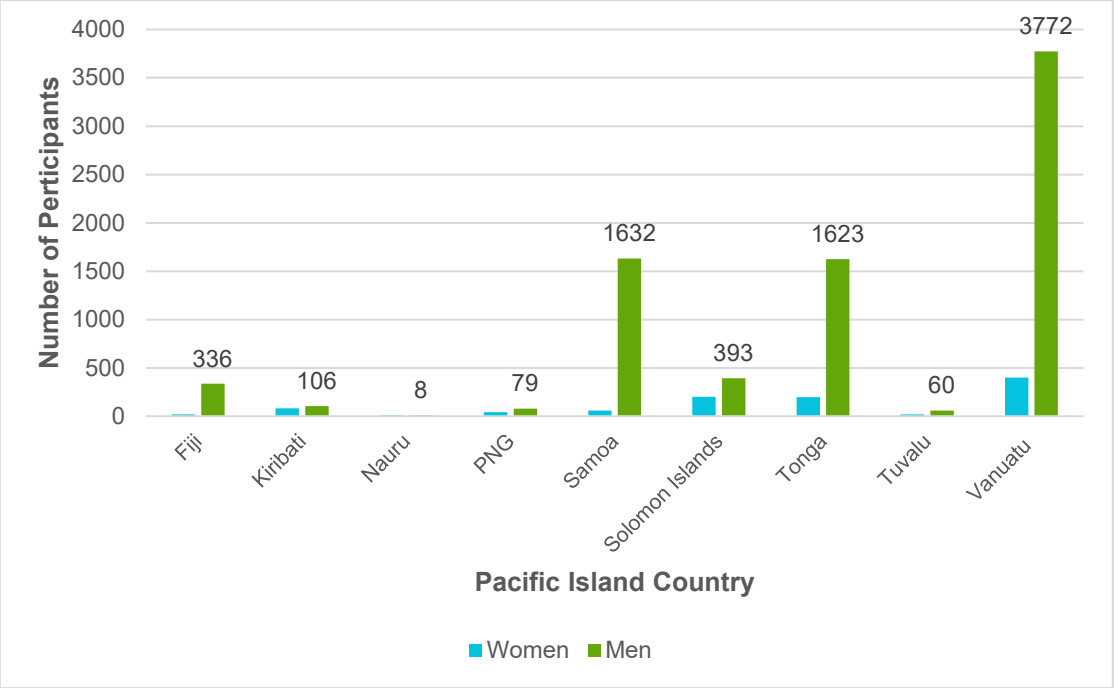

Figure 5. Female Participation in the RSE 2017-2018

Source: Nunns et al. (2018)

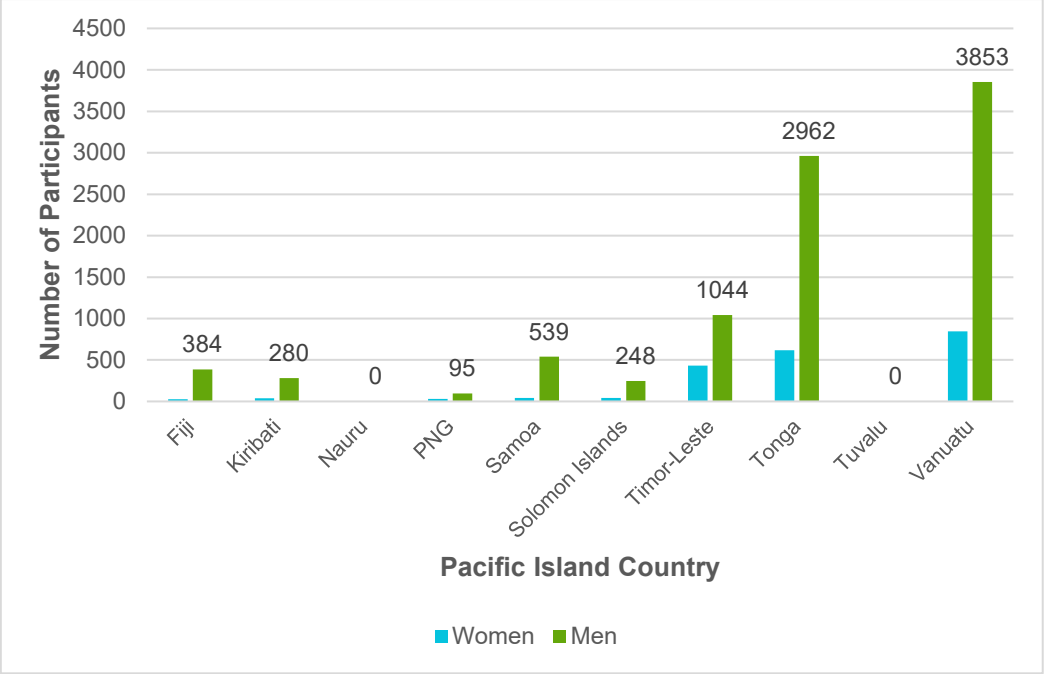

Figure 6. Female participation in the SWP 2018 – 31st May 2019

Source: Department of Home Affairs

For ni-Vanuatu, male recruitment bias mirrors trends from past engagement in circular labour mobility, both during Australia's 'blackbirding' era (Jolly, 1987), mobility to New Caledonian mines in the 1960s and 1970s and historical internal mobility patterns (Bedford, 1973; Haberkorn, 1989). Similar historical patterns are also evident in Polynesia, notably in Samoa (Macpherson, 1981). It is unclear whether the contemporary male bias is due to cultural norms, employment structures, labour demands at home or otherwise, although there is some evidence that employers tend to avoid hiring women for physically demanding roles (World Bank, 2018a), but prefer them for others, such as grading and packing. Gender stereotypes are no doubt involved. These employer preferences and gender biases are largely mirrored in Canada's SAWP (ILO, 2012).

Wider communities also play a role in gender norms around recruitment. In Tonga and Vanuatu, negative stereotypes about appropriate gender roles restricted women's ability to partake in labour mobility; women could only participate in the SWP if they were single, or had permission from their husband to participate (and had convinced him or other family members to take over their domestic roles), or had no domestic 'responsibilities' to attend to (Chattier, 2019; World Bank, 2018a). Certainly, men have been reluctant to take on 'women's work' themselves should their wives (or sisters or mothers) participate (Chattier, 2019; World Bank, 2018a; Hammond & Connell, 2009). Importantly, while women are often interested in the scheme, and want the opportunity to be included, not all women have a desire to take this up (Bailey, 2014; World Bank, 2018a).

If past patterns of labour mobility are anything to go by, it seems likely that women's participation will increase as communities become familiar with the scheme and more 'feminised' labour opportunities (such as tourism and care work) present themselves (Bedford, 1973; Haberkorn, 1989). Indeed, early results from the PLS support this hypothesis (Figure 7), but that may reverse again if employment in fisheries and the meat

industry expands as is predicted. In early 2019, no men were employed in aged care positions, while slightly more women than men were employed in hospitality. These trends mirror employment gender norms from PICs. It will be important to monitor this and investigate the wider social impacts of women's increased short-term mobility, and what this might mean for women's participation in the PLS, particularly given the important caring and nurturing role they perform in most families.

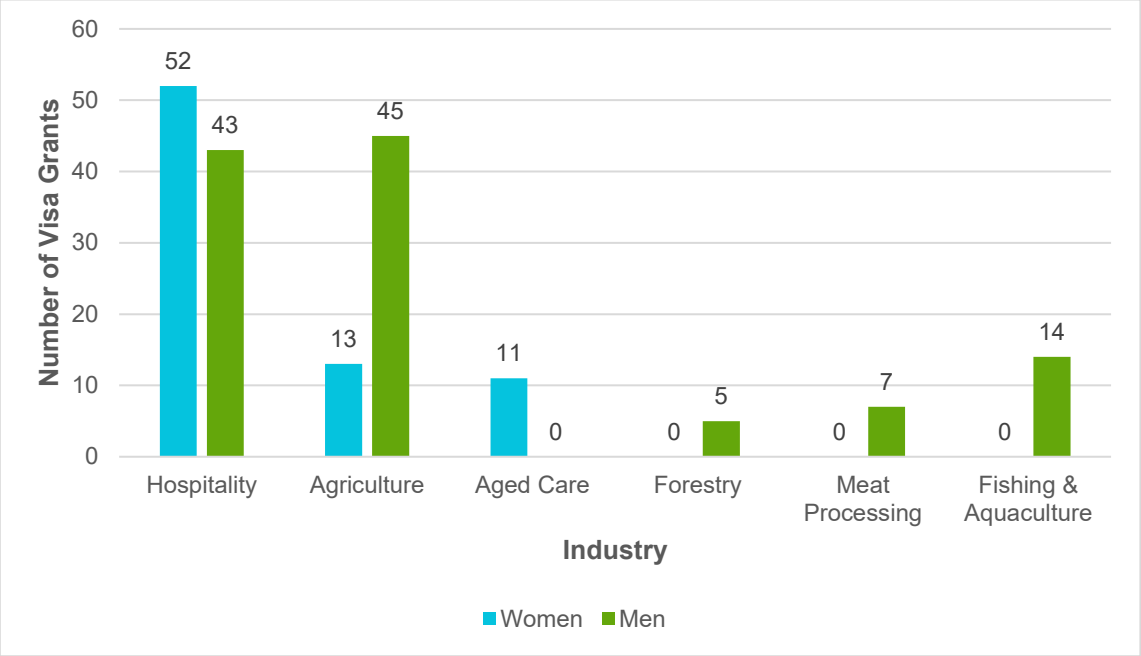

Figure 7. PLS participation by gender and industry of employment, June 2019

Source: Pacific Labour Facility

The role of employers

Employers play an important role in the final stage of recruitment, and determine how many and which workers they hire, the contract length and so forth. Employer recruiting practices differ somewhat between Australia and New Zealand, and the initial uptake of the scheme has been slower in Australia where illegal underpayments and undocumented workers are more common (Doyle & Howes, 2015) and backpackers and others often fill temporary labour shortages (Doyle & Howes, 2015; Howe & Reilly, 2018). Similarly, long-term reliance on working holiday maker labour has led to expectations amongst Australian employers that labour should be flexible, costs should be low and productivity should be high (Reilly et al., 2018). These beliefs are often at odds with what temporary labour migration schemes hope to achieve, in terms of development in PICs.

Labour hire companies account for around 60% of employment in the SWP, whereas roughly two thirds of New Zealand employers recruit their workers directly. New Zealand RSE employers often initially recruited from populations they were familiar with (such as Tongans and Samoans) and areas where they had pre-existing contacts. The complete lack of such contacts in PNG, for example, has contributed to the country's poor

performance in the schemes (Curtain, 2018). Negative experiences with workers from a particular country or region may result in employers choosing to recruit elsewhere (Bedford, 2013; Cardno, 2017). The consequences of this practice for villages or households who fall out of favour are unknown.

As workers have gained skills, and productivity has consequently increased, employers have tended to recruit the same workers each season (Bedford, 2013; Cardno, 2017). These returnees often act as informal recruiters for new workers (Curtain, 2018). On average, SWP workers return only 1.9 times and RSE workers 2.6 times (Howes 2018), but returnees are invaluable. Returnees are often given roles with greater responsibility; amongst Timorese, returning workers were often assigned to be team leaders (Annie Wu, pers comm, 2019). In addition, returnees provide both pastoral care and on-the-job training for new workers. While experience is no doubt beneficial for employers, and the workers, the preference for return workers raises questions around equity and the sharing of opportunities for seasonal work. Should certain populations (such as those who are not early participants in the scheme) be 'locked out' of seasonal work opportunities, it is possible that repeat recruitment will lead to entrenched inequalities. As noted above, very little is known about labour recruiters, despite their role as key gatekeepers.

Pre-departure & arrival briefings

Prior to their departure, Pacific seasonal workers receive a pre-departure briefing. These briefings cover topics including working conditions, host country/community culture, employment contracts, remitting and budgeting. The ILO found that pre-departure briefings functioned adequately, and had evolved in response to workers' needs. Thus, RSE briefings now include training DVDs in local languages, more detailed information about employment contracts, the involvement of returned workers and financial management training (ILO, 2012). However, other literature suggests that the quality of these briefings varies widely.

In 2009, Tongan workers were briefed using materials compiled by DFAT, AusAID, Westpac and a significant Australian intermediary company, Tree Minders. This briefing covered topics including financial matters, medical insurance and working conditions. Once in Australia, workers received further briefings, meeting police officers, union officials and community contacts (Blanco, 2009). There is evidence that some workers found this onslaught of information overwhelming, particularly when delivered in English, a language that most speak, but with varying levels of proficiency (Petrou & Connell, 2018). Working and living in Australia booklets have now been translated into workers' home languages, but it appears these versions are not always utilised. In Timor-Leste pre-departure briefings utilised untranslated DFAT materials, and were delivered by officials who had no experience outside Timor-Leste. This information did not include financial advice (Annie Wu, pers comm 2019). To some extent, the variation between briefings appears to be related to funding, (World Bank, 2017).

Pre-departure briefings are only given to workers and there would be real advantages in including the families (or partners) of the workers in such briefings, since this would be likely to provide a better and wider understanding of the financial benefits from the schemes and increase the possibility of using remittances more effectively. They would however be rather more difficult to organise. Work underway by Prashant Pillay of ABC ID in Vanuatu and Tonga (see Appendix 1) is beginning to address these household information needs.

Host country induction briefings are similarly inconsistent, and many do not include presentations by the Fair Work Ombudsman or union representatives (Howe et al., 2019). The Fair Work Ombudsman is looking into ways to better deliver more appropriate information. It is imperative that workers understand their contractual obligations and rights, so that they can take action if they are treated unfairly (Wigglesworth, 2018). Pre-departure briefings have an important role to play here.

Significantly, it is not known how useful workers find the information conveyed in existing pre-departure and arrival briefings. More research is needed into this, and possible ways to improve information delivery and consistency. Ensuring workers receive adequate and appropriate training will be increasingly important for the skilled and semi-skilled positions included under the PLS. That potentially offers a valuable role for the APTC, in developing and managing effective training programmes.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS IN SENDING COUNTRIES

Incomes

Income earning opportunities are one of the key 'wins' of temporary labour mobility schemes such as the RSE and SWP (Gibson & McKenzie, 2014; Ramasamy et al., 2008). It is therefore hardly surprising that income generation is the primary motivation for participation in seasonal labour mobility (Connell, 2010; McKenzie et al., 2008; World Bank, 2017). Earnings from PLM vary somewhat between PICs, and are influenced by the type of work (picking, packing, pruning etc) undertaken, the particular crops (from strawberries to citrus fruit), weather conditions and the duration of employment. Income estimates vary somewhat between research reports, and some early ni-Vanuatu RSE workers brought home as little as A$4,000, although in rural Tanna that was invaluable and far in excess of what might be earned locally (Connell & Hammond, 2009). More recent figures from the SWP suggest little has changed, and some PIC workers may only take home A$4,170 in combined remittances and savings. In Australia, gross earnings for a six-month contract in 2016 averaged A$19-20,000 for Tongans and ni-Vanuatu (who were more likely to be returned workers and hence more productive) and A$14,000 for other PIC workers (World Bank, 2017). Pay rates are higher in Australia than New Zealand, but so too are weekly costs and deductions, and consequently RSE and SWP workers earn a comparable take-home income (Bedford, 2013). There is however a belief, in parts of Vanuatu at least, that potential incomes are greater in Australia. This perception is likely to be reinforced by the longer contracts available through the PLS, and the differing pay rates between industries. Ni-Vanuatu workers who spent six months at Cable Beach Resort in northern Western Australia reputedly returned with around A$15,000 in savings after tax and other deductions were accounted for (Toa, 2016). That is likely to further increase the attractiveness of Australia, with possible detrimental outcomes for New Zealand.

Overall, there is some variation in whether workers think they have earned as much as they expected (e.g. Connell & Hammond, 2009; LMAP, n.d.; Rockell, 2015; World Bank, 2017). Feelings of frustration are certainly widespread when weather or other seasonal conditions mean workers have 'too much' down time and hence cannot work (or earn) (Holani, 2017; Petrou & Connell, 2018; Williams, 2010). There has been concern over Australian employers illegally deducting payments, so reducing workers' earnings (Holani, 2017; Howe et al., 2019), however it is unclear how widespread this practice is. It is likely that as the

PLS expands, and seasonal workers are employed in industries less susceptible to seasonal variation, earnings will become more predictable from year to year. That may also result in seasonal agricultural work becoming much less popular. Research will be needed to confirm such trends.

Remittances

There is no doubt that, even as they may vary between PICs, earnings from RSE and SWP employment are significant. This situation probably remains true even when opportunity costs relating to lost wages and/or labour in home countries are accounted for (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; World Bank, 2017). A high proportion of earnings go into remittances. Even so, most of the research into remittances from PLM has been relatively short-term (for an exception see Bailey, 2018), and has focused on quantitative analysis (e.g. Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; McKenzie & Gibson, 2010). As a result, and while it is clear that remittances are being sent, there is little consideration of how they might vary over time as immediate savings goals, where these exist, are met, or how objectives may change. While extensive literature on remittances and PICs exists (e.g. Brown & Connell, 1993; Connell & Brown, 2005; Muliaina, 2003), almost all of these studies relate to more permanent migration. It is therefore unclear how well or even whether these results can be extrapolated to the case of short-term labour mobility.

Existing research has also failed to address in any detail how variables such as gender, age, marital status or community of origin might influence remitting. In a rare exception, the World Bank (2018a) found that women from Tonga and Vanuatu tended to remit lower amounts than men, in part due to the allocation of employment in Australia; men worked higher paying jobs and hence could save more. Working with Samoans, Tongans and ni-Vanuatu in New Zealand, Bedford and Bedford (2017) concluded that older workers and those who were married tended to remit more frequently and send home larger total amounts than single workers. As one-off studies however, these reports raise more questions than they answer, and in the absence of detailed qualitative analysis (for notable exceptions see Bailey, 2009, 2014; Cummings, 2016; Smith, 2016, 2018), it is difficult to truly understand the social impacts of these flows (see below).

Remittance fees in Australia and New Zealand are high, and in small rural places, workers are often limited to using the only bank in town, or money transfer operators such as Western Union, that charge significant fees. As a result, most workers tend to remit only infrequently, and transfer the bulk of their savings towards the end of their contract (Bedford, 2013; Holani, 2017; Wigglesworth & Boavida dos Santos, 2016). Indeed, one New Zealand employer reported that his workers, who preferred to carry their earnings home in cash, cleared out the local bank's cash reserves when they all went to withdraw their savings at once. However, taking savings home as a lump sum is not always financially beneficial; when Timorese workers brought a large sum of money back at the end of their contracts, some of their savings were diverted into 'wasteful' expenditure (Annie Wu, pers. comm, 2019). At the same time, workers who remit frequently may return home to find their savings have already been spent (Brickenstein, 2017), indicating that remitting 'too much' may not be beneficial. In what circumstances and how workers and their families discuss and account for remittance uses is not known.

Cultural expectations, contract lengths and access to banking facilities all influence remitting practices. Timorese who were employed in Australia on four-month contracts did

not bother remitting but returned with lump sums of cash (Wigglesworth, 2018). The amounts remitted by Samoans and Tongans in New Zealand varied over the course of their contracts, and tended to increase towards the end of their stay (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, n.d.). Tongans have been some of the most regular remitters (Bedford & Bedford, 2017). In 2009, Tongan workers in Robinvale sent most of their income home, missing out on many local activities including food consumption, and trying to maximise their working hours, not least because the remittances were available to them on return (Blanco, 2009).

For those who do remit cash while they are away, remittances are generally used to meet the household's immediate needs (LMAP, n.d.), and often aid multiple relatives. For Tongans in New Zealand, remittances supported an average of nine other people at home, while Samoans supported more than ten (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, n.d.). More research is needed on varying remittance practices, how they may have changed (and be changing), the rationale behind them, and how they might influence development outcomes and the attainment of savings goals.

In addition to cash remittances, seasonal workers often remit goods or return with them. These vary regionally; in Vanuatu, workers from Tanna often favoured chainsaws (Hammond & Connell, 2009), as did some workers from PNG (Brickenstein, 2017) while those from North Ambrym invested in mattresses (Bailey, 2014). Timorese, on the other hand, tended to purchase consumer electronics, particularly mobile phones or computers (Wigglesworth & Boavida dos Santos, 2016). Certainly, some of these goods may improve short-term development outcomes; chainsaws for example, may make it easier to clear land and build houses, however the longer-term ecological impacts may be less positive. Indeed, some employers have raised concerns over their role and culpability in facilitating such environmental degradation (Brickenstein, 2017). Yet the environmental implications of these in-kind remittances, whether potentially positive (better sleep, technological change) or more negative (perhaps increased deforestation, rotting mattresses, e-waste disposal) have not been explored.

Savings goals

Overall, seasonal workers appear to have similar aspirations for their savings regardless of nationality, which mirror trends from wider Pacific remittance flows (Connell & Brown, 2005) as well as seasonal worker schemes elsewhere (Binford, 2002, 2003). Education, consumption, welfare gains (improved housing) and small businesses are all common goals (Bedford, 2013; Blanco, 2009; Hammond & Connell, 2009), while reinforcing and investing in community relationships and obligations are also important (Bailey, 2014). Again however, it is not clear exactly how variables such as age or marital status might influence these patterns. Gender clearly plays a role however, and amongst Tongans and ni-Vanuatu in Australia, women tended to spend more on immediate family needs, school fees, customary obligations and small businesses while men were more likely to invest in building and hardware supplies as well as community obligations and leisure (World Bank, 2018a). These gendered (and other) differences are particularly important as cashflow from seasonal work has become increasingly viewed as a necessity in order to finance community or individual needs that cannot be met through domestic income earning opportunities (Bailey, 2014). Yet they remain poorly understood, and the implications of increased economic reliance on seasonal work are under-researched.

Seasonal work does not appear to have led to infrastructure improvements for participating communities, and churches seem to be the main beneficiaries for 'community' investment (Blanco, 2009; World Bank, 2017). At the same time, there has been some evidence of participation in seasonal work leading to investment in small businesses (Bedford, 2013; World Bank, 2017), community development projects (Bailey, 2014) and possibly in increased agricultural productivity (Dun & Klocker, 2017). Such investments and projects appear to have been most successful when they were encouraged by community leaders or made a condition of participation in the scheme (Bedford, 2013). Sometimes participation in PLM has little impact on lifestyle or earning opportunities; Rockell (2015) describes several returned workers in Port Vila, Vanuatu who, after participating in seasonal work, had returned to much the same jobs and lifestyles as before. Indeed, Holani (2017) suggests that participation in the SWP provides a disincentive to diversify household incomes, as local development opportunities fade in significance when compared to overseas earnings. This is a familiar but inconclusive debate in the wider context of remittances in PICs (Connell and Brown 2005) as is the discussion over remittances as poverty alleviation (Brown et al 2014) and it is too soon to reach conclusions for PLM on the basis of scant data.

Savings

Long-term savings have been limited (Connell, 2010); in Tonga, for example, savings were often accrued for a specific purpose or goal, and then spent (Holani, 2017). However, while it is generally implied that this lack of savings is a failure on behalf of the schemes to teach financial literacy, this is a Eurocentric view of how money 'should' be used. Rather, as Bailey (2014) observes in North Ambrym, Vanuatu, hoarding money for oneself can bring bad luck and community disapproval. Instead, the culturally appropriate way to utilise this income is to share it amongst kin, thus investing in and reinforcing kin ties while also effectively contributing to equity. Even so, as employers tend to preference experienced workers, the lack of opportunity for 'new' households to become involved can increase inequality in villages (Smith, 2016); sharing profits can only go so far.

In order to fully understand the economic implications of the Pacific seasonal labour mobility schemes, and measure their success, it is necessary to understand local conceptions of money and its appropriate uses. Existing macroeconomic studies of remittance flows cannot answer these questions. More long-term and qualitative studies into the economic impacts and outcomes of seasonal labour mobility are needed.

Skills and brain drain

Without detailed data on the prior skills of PLM participants it is difficult to determine the extent to which temporary employment contributes to a significant loss of skills. Nonetheless, and as noted above, there are clear indications that SWP workers are increasingly coming from more skilled occupations, whether in rural or urban areas (World Bank, 2017). However, that evidence is mostly anecdotal and there is no information on what a skill loss might entail. Since all PICS have a shortage of skilled human resources, the loss of white-collar workers into PLM schemes may be a real loss for the public service, and possibly parts of the private sector. In earlier phases, in Tonga and Vanuatu at least, village leaders chose or encouraged men from more impoverished households to participate (Blanco, 2009; Hammond & Connell, 2009) to reduce the possibility of serious skill shortages ensuing. A bias in favour of skilled urban workers would do little for national development, reduce equity, and may even result in less valuable and competent

workers. This is potentially a significant problem and, once again, data on the skills of migrants and the form of recruiting need to be much better understood.

The migration of skilled workers has raised questions about whether migration constitutes a skill drain of unacceptable proportions that hampers national development. Were migration opportunities to be extended beyond agriculture that would be more likely to be true. Small states lose disproportionately more skills than larger states. Shortages and losses of skilled labour, especially in health services, are serious in several PICs, and are partly the outcome of migration. Ironically, many migrants become part of a 'brain loss' or 'brain-waste' because their qualifications, despite gaining them entry, are deemed inadequate for employment in the destination: a lost investment in human capital. That has been particularly true in PICs with the 'loss' of nurses who become carers in destination countries, a poor labour market outcome. The extent to which this constitutes a skill drain has been debated in detail for PICs (Connell, 2009), but the conclusions, that pointed to a problematic drain, are now quite dated. Skilled migration is unlikely to decrease, irrespective of any new opportunities, and much more likely to increase. Limited return migration has not remedied this problem and remittances may not always compensate for skill drains.

Agricultural skills losses and food security

It is evident that the loss of (mainly) male labour may well reduce agricultural production and thus challenge short-term food security, but much depends on the role of male labour. There is some evidence that, in Tonga at least, men who expect to participate in the SWP program engage in additional valuable agricultural work beforehand to ease the burden for those who stay behind (Blanco, 2009). Some recurrent activities that are regarded as men's work – such as copra or cocoa production - may decline, while tasks such as house repair may be foregone. Where fishing is significant, it is invariably men's work, hence loss of male labour is almost certain to reduce fish takes, with negative nutritional consequences. Much depends on the division of labour, the nature of agricultural and other work and the extent to which there is 'surplus' agricultural labour. In all these contexts the existing research is inadequate.

In some PICs, the widespread and repeated absence of male workers is altering traditional gender roles. In Tonga and Vanuatu, women have taken on roles traditionally performed by absent husbands such as, in Vanuatu, maintaining kava gardens. Women (and sometimes even children) have begun to shoulder (some) men's responsibilities (Chattier, 2019). As the proportion of female absentees increases through the PLS, it will be particularly important to consider the gendered implications of these skill losses.

Household coping strategies in the face of labour losses vary regionally, and are influenced by factors including culture, infrastructure and remoteness. Households in Tonga, which tended to receive regular remittances from absent family, were more able to adjust to temporary absences of members than those in Vanuatu, where lack of banking infrastructure meant remittances were infrequent at best (Rohorua et al., 2009). In this sense rural Melanesia tends to lag behind Polynesia.

Labour losses are not necessarily restricted to times when seasonal workers are overseas; in Lamen Bay, Vanuatu, returned workers wanted to use their time at home to 'rest', and so did not plant subsistence gardens. This led to an increased reliance on imported foods, and

associated vulnerability should shipments be delayed (as they often are in the Pacific) or households drop out of the scheme (Craven, 2013). In this instance labour was lost not only while workers were physically absent, but also after they had returned, and had a real impact on food security (Craven & Gartaula, 2015). More research is needed into the impacts of labour losses for seasonal worker households to ensure that the schemes do not inadvertently increase vulnerability (Craven, 2015). As absences lengthen under the PLS, it will be important to consider the impacts of these longer-term labour losses on both social organisation and economic activity.

SOCIAL IMPACTS IN SENDING COUNTRIES

Social impacts

As the discussion above implies, the social impacts of temporary labour mobility remain poorly understood, and only a few detailed qualitative studies of contemporary PLM schemes exist. Most of these take the form of doctoral, honours or masters theses, and focus on rural areas of Vanuatu (e.g. Bailey, 2009, 2014; Craven, 2013; Smith, 2016) and Tonga (e.g. Blanco, 2009; Holani, 2017). Only a handful of studies have addressed the social impacts of temporary labour migration on urban areas, and these have been limited to Port Vila, Vanuatu (e.g. Cummings, 2016; Rockell, 2015). The nature of postgraduate student research however, means that most of these studies have been relatively short-term and have taken place only after the schemes began. Consequently, there is no 'baseline' data for comparison of social organisation and impacts before, during and after participation in seasonal work, nor any comparisons between social impact (or any other outcomes) in rural and urban areas. Nor is there long-term research with a single community (for an exception see Bailey, 2018). As new communities and households become involved in seasonal labour migration, it will be important to document their experiences and compare them to households or communities that have not participated (or been rejected from participating) in seasonal labour mobility. The early stages of the PLS provide the perfect opportunity for the establishment of such long-term research projects.

Social impact of increased cashflows

The social impacts of remittances from seasonal work are complex and remain poorly understood (Underhill-Sem & Marsters, 2017). Research from Vanuatu indicates that where cash from seasonal work has been used in socially preferred ways (such as supporting kin and investing in education or housing) it has generally been viewed as 'good' (Petrou, 2020). Indeed, in Tonga and Vanuatu men now face pressure to participate in seasonal work so that they can provide for their families and fulfil the role of a 'good' husband and father (Chattier, 2019). However participation in seasonal work itself is not enough to bring prestige, and workers who 'waste' money on consumables such as mobile phones or DVD players are often criticised by community members for 'not achieving anything' with their savings, despite mobile phones being now essential (Petrou, 2020). In Ambrym, Vanuatu, those who did not share their earnings with kin, were harangued by relatives who made jokes at their expense or exerted other social pressure until they relented (Bailey, 2014). Sharing cash resources with kin and community members has led to higher social status for some (Bailey, 2014; Cummings, 2016), and a renegotiation of intra-community relationships.

Increased social status resulting from PLM has not been without repercussions as elders, chiefs, and others of high social status may feel undermined. It is possible that inequality and threats to the existing social order that result from increased incomes may lead to disagreements and even violence; in PNG, for example, incomes earned by women and young men from domestic labour migration have sometimes resulted in violence at the hands of older villagers who feel the social order has been disrupted (Jolly et al., 2012). It is not clear if this has been the case for returned seasonal workers, but anecdotal evidence suggests that some ni-Vanuatu women have experienced domestic violence for participating in seasonal work - or even just expressing the desire to do so (Craig Lind, pers comm 2018). Violence of this nature has not been addressed by existing research.

A very real tension exists between the large cash incomes earned from seasonal work and traditional values (*kastom*, in Vanuatu), and negotiating these tensions is an ongoing, and sometimes fraught, process. Even some of the supposedly 'good' development outcomes of seasonal work, such as new housing, are not uncomplicated; in Lamen Bay, Vanuatu, houses were viewed as 'good' because they provided a sturdy home that safeguarded the family's future. At the same time, investing in housing neutralised wealth, and meant cash could not be shared amongst kin to reinforce social relationships. As a result, there was some ambivalence amongst villagers over how 'good' these new houses really were (Smith, 2018). These tensions, and how individuals negotiate them, vary with gender, culture, age and life-cycle stage. In-depth qualitative studies that address these variables are needed to better understand the impact of remittances and increased cash flows on stability and change in home communities.

Increasing educational attainment

As noted above, education and paying school fees are key goals for many seasonal workers (both for themselves and their children). The impact of increased educational levels in the absence of job market growth however, is unknown. It is very likely that, should all else remain the same, increased education will merely lead to 'diploma disease', whereby increasingly high qualifications are required even for unskilled jobs, and greater pressures to migrate. The potential impacts of increased education are not limited to (urban) job markets however; in Lamen Bay, Vanuatu, education was considered a way to secure and improve children's futures. However, education was also associated with a disinclination to learn or partake in subsistence agricultural practices, and other facets of indigenous knowledge, which conversely contributed to insecure futures should children be unable to secure formal employment (Smith, 2018). Furthermore, as higher education facilities and employment tend to be concentrated in urban areas, it is very likely that increased educational attainment will drive rural-urban migration and exacerbate problems of urban over-crowding, inadequate infrastructure and so forth. Existing research has not addressed these issues. If educational attainment increases as a result of seasonal work, it will be necessary to consider the wider implications of these trends in rural and urban areas alike.

Family separation

In addition to adjusting to the labour losses outlined above, workers and their households must deal emotionally with extended periods of separation. In Vanuatu, Bailey (2014) briefly notes that households with children under the age of ten faced the most difficulties adjusting to absences; mothers from North Ambrym, Vanuatu reported that their young children often cried for their absent fathers, while the women found it particularly difficult to

make up for their husband's absent labour. In Shepparton, Australia, SWP workers 'ached' for the children they had left behind even as they were simultaneously glad of the opportunity to participate in the SWP (Stead, 2019). Likewise, for Timorese men who could not find work in Timor-Leste, the SWP provided a valuable means to escape unemployment 'limbo' and contribute economically to family well-being. However, some men stated that participation in the scheme was best only while children were young; they had no desire to become long-term absent fathers once their children were in school (Wigglesworth, 2018).

There appear to be some differences in how rural and urban households cope with absences; in Vanuatu, Bailey (2014) found rural households were slightly better off than their urban counterparts, who could not always rely on support from an extended community. This correlates with research from the World Bank (2018a) that found spouses or other relatives generally took over caring duties in rural areas of Vanuatu and Tonga. Nonetheless, this varied between countries, and probably also between communities. How parental absences might affect children has not been studied in the Pacific region. This again highlights the need for more studies of the social context of seasonal worker migration.

There is some evidence that participation in seasonal work can have a negative impact on marriages and partnerships. This is in part due to distrust between couples about extramarital relationships that may have occurred - or been suspected to occur – during absences. In Samoa, authorities have claimed that the problem of extra-marital affairs is manageable, and have warned seasonal workers that they could be banned from participating in the schemes or face other (unnamed) penalties if affairs occur (Radio New Zealand, 2019c). In Vanuatu, disagreements over perceived love affairs are not uncommon amongst the general population, but seem to be more pronounced amongst seasonal workers. Indeed, in Port Vila, Vanuatu, Rockell (2015) claims that seasonal work was anecdotally associated with a spike in domestic violence, however more research is needed to confirm this. Nonetheless, the World Bank (2018a) suggests that amongst ni-Vanuatu and Tongan households, women's increased confidence after participating in the scheme could result in violence. This was a difficult topic to investigate through focus group discussions, and more research into the possible link between seasonal work and domestic violence is needed.

The threat (and reality) of domestic violence is perhaps tempered by the fact that seasonal work is said to change attitudes towards gender relations, and empower women. Whether this is true, and how it works in practice, is unclear, although Cummings (2013) found that urban ni-Vanuatu women felt more connected to transnational futures as a result of their earnings and participation in the scheme. Furthermore, the LMAP (n.d.) tracer study of ni-Vanuatu workers found that three quarters of workers considered women 'more equal' to men as a result of seasonal work, and claimed that it would impact on their behaviour at home. At home however that empowerment might be resented. What behavioural 'impacts' might be, and how (or even if) they are enacted is impossible to know without detailed qualitative data about community social organisation before, during and after participation in seasonal labour migration. It is likely to vary considerably within and between the PICs. While women inevitably had more autonomy in the absence of husbands that may not have been sustained after return.

Some insight into the impacts of family separation can be gained from studies of other seasonal labour programs. Research on Mexican seasonal agricultural workers in Canada

indicates that the emotional costs of seasonal absences can be huge, even where material gains are significant (Basok, 2003; Binford, 2009). Household members are affected differently by workers' absences, and for Jamaican workers in Canada, the emotional toll of long separations was most pronounced for spouses and children (Russell, 2003). In countries where engagement in international labour migration schemes is widespread, long-term changes to family structures can result. In the Philippines it is common for workers to sign up for multiple two-year long work contracts, with the result that parents may be away for years on end. Working with a group of 69 children of migrant parents, Parreñas (2005) found that over a ten-year period, very few had spent time living with both of their parents. The social impact of these absences varied depending on which parent had migrated. Mothers tended to transnationalise their caring role more than fathers through, for example, regular phone calls and directing how remittances should be spent. Even so, children found having an absent mother to be much more difficult emotionally, than an absent father. While this is a different context, it indicates the need for similar research in PICs. This will be particularly important as more women begin to participate in the scheme, and absences become longer through the PLS. It will be vital to consider the impact of these absences on spouses and family structures at home (Ball, 2009).

Future migration into what will be more skilled and non-seasonal employment, raises new issues that relate to family structures, if migrants are away much longer, and the likelihood of many migrants wishing to convert short-term opportunities into long-term migration. Indeed, comparing the PLS to the similar TSS visa, Howes (2018) argues that it is an 'oddity' that PLS workers are not allowed to bring their families. Longer-term migrants will also require access to superior accommodation and other services, and be less tolerant of social problems. It is also likely that one outcome will be overstaying or, minimally, the demand for greater permanency.

The role of telecommunications

As mobile phones have become more accessible, and reception has improved in some rural areas of PICs, though certainly not in all, it has become easier for seasonal workers to keep in contact, and even participate in decision making in home communities – although this is hindered by the cost to call home, and most workers may still rely upon receiving calls (Bailey, 2018; Hammond and Connell, 2009). Many RSE workers in New Zealand kept in contact with home on an almost daily basis. Mobile phones, text messages and Facebook were the most common means of communication, but roughly a quarter of workers still relied upon landlines (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, n.d.). Conversely, the World Bank (2018a) identifies a lack of communication between absent husbands and their families as a key source of household conflict. Much more qualitative research is needed to discover how households cope emotionally (or do not) during the several months of the year that workers are away, and how or whether communications technologies might ease the pain of separation. This will be particularly important as more workers are away for longer periods under the PLS.

Extent of engagement in PLM

Little is known about how the proportion of migrant workers in a given community might influence social impacts and development outcomes. To date research has almost exclusively focused on areas or communities where participation has been high, and the effects of seasonal work relatively obvious (e.g. Bailey, 2014; Craven, 2013; Hammond & Connell, 2009; Smith, 2018). It seems however, that where participation in seasonal work

is limited, so too are its impacts. In Paama, Vanuatu only a handful of households had participated in the RSE, although many more were interested. Earnings had been used to establish a small business and support another existing business, but returned workers seemed no better or worse off than their non-migrant counterparts (Petrou, 2020). More research is needed to properly understand the influence of differing rates of participation within and between communities.

Some workers have now been involved in seasonal labour mobility for close to ten years, and for these individuals RSE work has become a 'career' (Bailey, 2018). Similarly, multi-generational involvement in PLM (where children follow their parents into seasonal labour mobility) is now occurring. However, the long and short-term social impacts of such employment remain poorly understood, and there is no research into what happens when workers drop out of the scheme, as they must inevitably do. In Tonga, there has been some concern over the need to provide 'exit plans' for workers who become too old to continue participating in seasonal work (Pacific Periscope, 2018). As this demographic group increases, it will be important to monitor the outcomes.

Health implications

There has been little consideration of the impacts of long (or short) term engagement in PLM on workers' health. The New Zealand government has been collecting data on health-related issues through their Recognised Seasonal Employer Surveys (Research New Zealand, 2018), and it would be wise for Australia to do the same. According to the 2018 survey, 76% of RSE employers reported that all of their seasonal employees arrived in good health. The most common health complaints were dental problems and boils, while a few female employees were pregnant upon arrival. Boils were certainly not uncommon amongst ni-Vanuatu workers in Otago, but many workers were reluctant to take time off work for doctor's appointments which, they also believed, could be costly (Bailey 2014). In addition, there is some evidence that while working in Australia or New Zealand, workers may purchase cheap, nutritionally inadequate foods to save money, with associated health consequences (Bailey, 2014; Bedford, 2013; Blanco, 2009), although this has not been studied in any detail.

Concerningly, in Australia, and despite being charged compulsory health insurance fees, Tongan workers often found their insurance was 'useless' when they tried to use it, and were faced with large out of pocket expenses (Holani, 2017). This is particularly troubling as working long hours in physically demanding jobs, in a different climate, can have real health consequences; ni-Vanuatu workers in New Zealand reported ailments ranging from aching bodies and hands seizing up to nosebleeds and coughing blood. These men felt there was little concern for their welfare, and that they were treated as if they were 'just muscles' rather than human beings (Smith, 2016, 2019).

In the United States, health problems resulting from long-term exposure to agricultural chemicals have emerged as an issue for Mexican migrant workers (Holmes, 2013). Similarly, in Canada, where agricultural work is considered a 'dangerous' occupation, SAWP workers were exposed to hazards in the form of dangerous chemicals as well as machinery, which they had not been adequately trained to use (ILO, 2012). Whether this might also develop as an issue for PIC workers in Australia and New Zealand has not been considered. More research is needed to determine if seasonal agricultural work is resulting in ongoing health issues amongst PIC populations. In addition, as the PLS expands, it will

be important to monitor worker health and wellbeing with emphasis on any known OHS and health risks for the particular industries they are employed in.

Social remittances from skills training

Alongside economic gains, skills transfer has been promoted one of the key 'wins' for PICs participating in PLM. It has been assumed that these 'social remittances' (Levitt, 1996), are transferable, and will assist returned workers to bring 'development' to their home communities. To this end, workers are offered (in theory at least) the opportunity to undertake skills courses such as, in Australia, Certificate I or II in horticulture. In practice however, workers often have little time (or energy) to undertake these courses; taking time off work to attend courses during the day wastes valuable time when they could be working (and earning), while evening courses require an investment of energy after long hours of physical labour. Indeed, Holani (2017) cites one Tongan worker who described add on skills training as a 'waste of time' as the courses on offer did not lead to pay increases or other immediate tangible benefits.

Employers have suggested that courses, such as forklift driving or welding, that would provide workers with the skills to progress in the workplace and earn higher incomes may be more useful. That might also lead to their becoming urban workers on return home, where those jobs are more likely to exist. Even so, there appears to be something of a male bias in these skills, although no research exists into the differential uptake of this training by gender, age or other variables. Nonetheless, there does appear to be some variability in the uptake of courses; Holani (2017) found that few Tongans had participated in formal training courses, whereas Bedford (2013) reported some success in training courses that covered topics such as health, food and nutrition and worker's rights and responsibilities. Quite obviously, the uptake of courses relies in part on their being made available; a large proportion of workers are simply not offered skills training (LMAP, n.d.; World Bank, 2017).

To date, research on skills training has focused on workers in the horticultural industry. However it is likely that the availability and uptake of skills training will vary between industries. I-Kiribati employed on Hayman Island had earned Certificate III in Hospitality. This qualification formalised and ensured the portability of their training (DFAT, 2018), although it is unknown whether the workers went on to employ these skills or utilise these qualifications at home. More research is needed into the desirability of skills training, the types of courses that would be most 'useful' or attractive to workers, and how these courses could be delivered in a way that does not impinge on earning (or much needed relaxation) opportunities.

Informal and other skills

Even as participation in formal skills training has been limited, many workers report other, often 'informal', skills gains such as increased confidence in English, knowledge of how to use particular farm machinery, time management and organisational skills (Bedford, 2013; Holani, 2017; World Bank, 2017). The utility and applicability of these skills to rural community life however, is sometimes questionable. Smith (2016, 2019) found that amongst RSE workers from Lamen Island, Vanuatu, 'time management' skills and the view that 'time is money' were considered 'upside-down' logic. Workers simply could not understand why it was 'better' to continue working rather than take a break when they were tired, and considered their own, more relaxed approach to time management far superior.

In some contrast, working with SWP participants from Tonga, PNG, Samoa and Kiribati, Dun and Klocker (2017) claim that some seasonal migrants are successfully transferring skills learned in Australia to their home countries. They describe the case of 'Samson', from PNG, who applied some of his new horticultural skills in his own noni plantation at home. However, this research was undertaken solely in Australia, and without having visited home villages, it is difficult to determine the extent to which these innovations have truly been adopted or impacted agricultural practices. This same issue arises with the World Bank (2017, p.41) survey that reports 91% of workers believed informal skills could be 'put to good use' when they returned home. Given that no other research has reported extensive uptake of such innovations – indeed most records quite the opposite (e.g. Bailey, 2009; Cameron, 2011; Hammond & Connell, 2009; Holani, 2017) – it seems highly unlikely that such skills transfers are significant.

While it cannot be debated that workers learn some agricultural skills, such as pruning, picking and packing stone fruit and grapes, these skills are often simply not transferable to tropical countries where such crops cannot be grown (Brickenstein, 2017). This lack of skills transfer is not unique to PIC seasonal work programs, and is consistent with evidence from Mexican and Jamaican participants in Canada's SAWP (Downes & Clarke, 2007; ILO, 2012). More input from local communities is needed to determine if there are certain skills that they would like to learn, or that are appropriate to their specific needs, culture, environment and so forth. As the PLS expands it is likely that skills in tourism and caring will be useful in home contexts where tourism is a significant contributor to GDP and populations are aging. In Timor-Leste for example, it is anticipated that tourism will be a major sector for economic growth, and thus skills learned through labour mobility may prove invaluable (Wigglesworth, 2018); how this plays out however, is yet to be seen. Importantly, opportunities to harness these skills are likely to remain concentrated in urban areas, especially as the scheme expands, and thus the aim of bringing 'development' to rural areas may remain unmet.

Small business investment

Establishing a small business – such as a trade store – is a common goal amongst PLM participants, albeit one given lower priority than education or housing. Small trade stores are particularly popular in rural areas (Bailey, 2018; Hammond & Connell, 2009), while urban returnees have sometimes invested in taxis or buses (Cummings, 2016). Small business investment normally occurs after several seasons of labour migration; Bailey (2018) found that most of the ni-Vanuatu workers who she followed over ten years did not invest in small businesses (such stores, bakeries and transport services) until after at least three years of seasonal work. Prior to this, workers had other more pressing financial needs such as paying off loans. Conceivably the potentially higher earnings from new PLS employment will offer better opportunities for increased financial gain and more substantial business investment. This suggests that medium to long term participation in seasonal work is required before small business investment can occur, and that guidance and advice is likely to be needed by returnees, but more research is required.

Throughout PICs, small businesses are largely service scale enterprises, with little likelihood of contributing to wider economic growth; small stores generally operate at minimal profit, and instead provide a means for demonstrating social status and success (Cahn, 2008; Curry, 1999; Petrou, 2020). Furthermore, businesses are rarely long-term enterprises, and generally go under if deemed 'too successful'; Bailey (2018) reports that

many ni-Vanuatu RSE workers' small businesses were ultimately unsuccessful due to the 'home business environment' (social obligations, remoteness and so forth). Significantly, it is not clear how skills such as fruit picking or Western notions of financial literacy and punctuality might assist in establishing or running these small businesses that generally rely upon some form of kin collaboration (Cummings, 2016; Curry, 1999). The lack of small business establishment is also common to Mexican SAWP workers, who primarily invested in food, clothing, health care, housing and education. A lack of financial resources, along with home community characteristics meant small business investment (both agricultural and non-agricultural) was extremely limited (ILO, 2012).

Importantly, skill acquisition cannot overcome structural disadvantage, and small businesses in rural areas face the very same barriers that have meant economic opportunities are limited in these areas; isolation, poor transport connections, unreliable shipments and so forth are all very real challenges. Many stores face enormous competition, fail to survive loans to kin who 'eat the money', and tend to be short-term objects of prestige. More detailed longitudinal research is needed into the types of businesses (if any) that are established by returnees, and how they fare over the long term.

Migrants as agents of change

Overall there is little evidence (or research) documenting how returned seasonal workers might become agents of social and political change in governance, accountability and gender norms. Conclusions from studies in Asia and Africa are unlikely to be of much value in indicating Pacific directions. In Tonga and Vanuatu, the World Bank (2018a) recorded some changes and more openness to negotiating traditional gender roles; it was considered more acceptable for women to work outside the home, and women were participating more in intra-household decision making. However, the World Bank (2018a) provides little detail as to the wider implications of these changes, and it appears that they may not be long-term. In Vanuatu, Bailey (2014) and Cummings (2016) found that participation in the scheme led to new friendships and social networks being formed, but again, and although this seemed to be positive, the wider implications of this were not clear. More detailed qualitative research is needed to understand the outcomes of social remittances, and the extent to which they are being usefully transferred.

PLM and development

The effectiveness of PLM in delivering development impacts varies depending on how 'development' is defined. There is little evidence to suggest that the schemes have stimulated wider economic growth or improved infrastructure. However, if development is defined as welfare gains for participating households and communities, it seems that the schemes have been successful in bringing development to participating PIC communities. Nonetheless, it cannot be assumed that this 'development' is unproblematic or has not had negative impacts on communities or households (Smith, 2016; 2018). More research is needed to examine exactly what 'development' means in the local context, and what the long-term implications (if any), might be.

The RSE and SWP (and now the PLS) are not the first temporary labour migration programs to operate in the Pacific. Yet there have been no research or evaluations into what happens when these programs end, as they inevitably do. Given that 'development' has not come to PICs, it seems that these programs do not bring long-term change. Indeed, in Paama, Vanuatu the only legacy of temporary labour migration to New

Caledonia, which was popular amongst men during the 1970s, is a lot of once 'modern' now decaying housing (Petrou, 2020). This suggests that once income streams dry up, so too do development activities and opportunities. Considering what happens when households or communities discontinue in the scheme (whether through choice or not), and how they adjust to life post-seasonal work is an important future research direction.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS IN RECEIVING COUNTRIES

Workplace and community impacts

PLM has had some undeniably positive impacts for receiving countries. In Australia, seasonal workers were more productive, reliable and motivated than their working holiday maker counterparts. Furthermore, returned seasonal workers were found to be 15% more productive than new workers, and many employers felt that they would simply not be able to harvest all of their crops if they were required to rely upon the local workforce (Zhao et al., 2018). These findings are mirrored in New Zealand where productivity gains have led some employers to expand their area under cultivation (Bedford, 2013; Research New Zealand, 2018). Nonetheless, there is some evidence that seasonal worker incomes, and hence productivity gains, plateau and sometimes decline after four or more seasons (Bedford & Bedford, 2017). Indeed, some employers have reported that productivity is greatest when they recruit a mix of new and returning Pacific seasonal workers, backpackers, returning foreign workers and locals (Brickenstein, 2017). This suggests there are benefits to ensuring places are available for more 'junior' workers, however more research is needed.

While there are initial upfront financial and administrative costs associated with hiring seasonal workers – costs that have acted as a significant detractor to the uptake of the scheme in Australia (Doyle & Howes, 2015; Howe et al., 2019) – these are recouped through productivity gains, the reliability of the workforce and weekly deductions from workers' payslips: something of a hint of 'double dipping'. However, this success is tempered by the fact that, in New Zealand at least, fluctuating exchange rates mean that profits have not increased significantly. Furthermore, increasingly efficient workers mean that in some cases, fewer are needed to complete the same work (Bedford, 2013). Interestingly there is no research into the types of work that might best suit workers, although workers are generally segregated by gender with women often relegated to the (lower paid) packing sheds while men work in the orchards.

The money that workers spend on accommodation, food and household items can be significant; in Central Otago, Bailey (2014) found that the local Salvation Army store was so popular amongst seasonal workers that it expanded its operations. Much the same was true in rural Victoria (Bailey 2019), indicating how seasonal workers preferred to spend as little as possible in Australia. It is unclear however if seasonal workers contributed more to the economy than other groups of itinerant workers would have.

Despite similar patterns of success in both Australia and New Zealand, differences in regulatory regimes, geography and work types mean that symmetries cannot be assumed in every aspect of receiving country experiences. More comparative research is needed, both between Australia and New Zealand, but also including Canada, whose SAWP provided a model for the antipodean schemes. Canada recruits workers from both small island states in the Caribbean as well as some in the Pacific, making for an interesting

comparison (Radio New Zealand, 2019a). In addition, and as the PLS expands, it cannot be assumed that receiving country impacts will be uniform across industries of employment and economic sectors. More research will be needed across all industries included in the PLS.

SOCIAL IMPACTS IN RECEIVING COUNTRIES

Host community impacts

The arrival of a new, semi-permanent workforce has implications for receiving communities. In some places in New Zealand, seasonal workers have established and played in soccer tournaments (Brown, 2018), revitalised churches, an important social locus in Pacific Islands cultures, and brought music and other cultural experiences to host communities. Churches have often donated goods, such as food and warm clothing, to ni-Vanuatu workers in New Zealand, and have taken on many of the pastoral care responsibilities that can be otherwise neglected (Bailey, 2014; Smith, 2016). Indeed, providing pastoral care is not always easy for employers. New Zealand employers found pastoral care provision was easiest for returning workers as these workers already knew what was expected of them, and were familiar with the local community, area and culture (Research New Zealand, 2018). In Australia, many employers found the need to provide pastoral care difficult, leading Howe et al. (2019) to suggest that a more centralised or coordinated approach to pastoral care provision could be beneficial.

In Central Otago, ni-Vanuatu workers were generally viewed positively by the local community, and themselves felt welcomed by the towns (Bailey, 2009), however there is evidence that workers have sometimes been viewed as messy, unruly and difficult to control (Williams, 2010). As workers can return to the same town over several years, some have begun to form firm friendships and relationships with locals (Bailey, 2014). Many workers are proud of these contacts which, in some instances, have become 'kin-like' (Smith, 2016). The implications for these relationships, romantic and otherwise, on home and host societies have not been researched, but is an important avenue for future studies (Bailey, 2014; Rockell, 2015). Over the shorter time period of the SWP these relationships are yet to be similarly established in Australia, but the value and success of these kinds of relationships is central to wider support for the extension of such schemes. At the same time the development of such relationships may offer some potential for overstaying. It seems likely that the longer contract periods of the PLS will result in stronger and better-established social networks between workers and host communities. But again, more research is needed.

As seasonal workers form relationships with employers, and return year after year, it is possible that the scheme may disadvantage local populations – such as permanent Pasifika communities around the NSW-Victorian border – who rely upon the horticultural industry for employment (Nishitani & Lee, 2017). To date, relatively little has been written about the impacts of seasonal workers, either positive or negative, on host communities. More research is needed as the PLS expands, and so too does the size and geographical spread of these seasonal workforces and host areas.

Boredom & isolation

In Australia, more remote workplace locations imply that connections with the local community are not always possible, and with workers often tired at the end of the day, and uninterested or unable to travel to the closest town, problems of boredom have arisen (Petrou & Connell, 2018; Annie Wu, pers.comm, 2019). This immobility, isolation and disconnection from local communities is not unique to the Australian scheme, and analogous issues have been reported for the Canadian SAWP, where places of employment are often similarly remote (Reid-Musson, 2017). However, even in less remote areas of New Zealand, boredom and isolation have sometimes posed a problem (Ball et al, 2011). Bailey (2009) noted that although ni-Vanuatu workers tended to present a 'positive' face to the community, they were often bored and deeply missed their family members. Long work hours meant options to socialise with the local community were limited. Some workers dealt with this by sleeping long hours, others by spending equally long hours on Facebook.

Tongan SWP workers in Robinvale (Victoria) were frustrated at experiencing down-time when not enough work was available. This lack of work resulted in boredom, reduced incomes (since workers were paid according to the work), and a resort to violence, which wasted money and resulted in social problems. However, some breaks were used to attend training programs coordinated by the local TAFE with numeracy, English and first-aid courses being appreciated (Blanco 2009). This suggests that there may be solutions to this 'boredom', but more research is needed.

For ni-Vanuatu, opportunities to socialise with local communities are somewhat restricted by their official adherence to an 'alcohol free' policy. This policy was introduced by the Vanuatu Government in an attempt to give their workers a competitive edge over other PICs. This ban, enforced and monitored by employers, has been subject to much criticism, but in a context where competition for places is high, workers have little option but to toe the line or risk losing their place in the scheme (Bedford, 2013). Indeed, when an RSE employer deemed there had been 'too many' alcohol related incidents with his workers from Epi, Vanuatu, in one season, he recruited forty workers from Samoa for the next season, and warned his ni-Vanuatu employees that he would shift to hiring even more Samoans if alcohol related 'problems' continued (Smith, 2016).

More research is needed into the social lives of workers in New Zealand and Australia, and how widespread problems of boredom and isolation can be addressed. This will be particularly important as the PLS expands, and seasonal workers find themselves working in a variety of industries and experiencing different cultural and workplace environments within the same receiving country.

Labour rights & power imbalances

Seasonal worker schemes are characterised by unequal power relations, and this can have a serious impact on worker wellbeing. The media in particular have drawn attention to issues of underpayment, poor pastoral care, inadequate or inappropriate accommodation, and unsafe working conditions (e.g. Doherty, 2017). In Australia, workers are tied to a single employer, with the result that they are unable to leave should working conditions prove unfavourable due to a bad season or, more concerningly, violations of labour laws. Workers theoretically have the right to complain, but this is constrained by the fact that

many are unsure of what is appropriate, are uncomfortable using English or have been actively discouraged from joining unions that could support them in this (Petrou & Connell, 2018). SWP workers are thus not dissimilar from other migrant workers in Australian horticulture, whether backpackers or temporary Italian workers, who face health and safety risks associated with work organisation and payment systems, and a lack of compliance with occupational safety and health legal requirements. Both groups have experienced widespread and systematic underpayment of wages in breach of minimum wage regulation. Few challenge underpayments and other negative contexts, whether through collective or individual action. Fear of employer reprisals can provide a powerful barrier to action, alongside attitudes downplaying the significance of low pay in the current job, as merely a temporary phenomenon to be endured. The vulnerability associated with work and earnings uncertainty, and the harsh environment in which harvesting work occurs, are constant concerns, whatever the background of the workers (Ball, 2010; Ball et al., 2011; Campbell et al., 2015; Underhill & Rimmer, 2015). The Australian Government has taken reports of poor workplace conditions seriously enough that the SWP was included in their enquiry into Modern Slavery (Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence & Trade, 2017). Similarly, issues of possible worker exploitation were discussed during the parliamentary enquiry into the SWP (Commonwealth of Australia, 2016).

Repeat participation in PLM relies upon workers being invited back for subsequent seasons by their employer. It thus tends to be workers who do not plan to work for the same employer again who feel they can be most vocal about underpayment or other issues (Smith, 2016, 2019). Others try to avoid being placed in known 'bad' workplaces. Timorese workers, frustrated at being exploited (by long hours and no overtime payments and other matters) requested not to be sent to particular farms in Queensland and South Australia (Annie Wu, pers. comm 2019). Unfortunately, the current design of the SWP means seasonal workers are vulnerable to exploitation of this type (Howe et al., 2019).

Fear of jeopardising the scheme, along with cultural norms in PIC societies that seek to avoid open conflict or confrontation, and lack of knowledge of who to complain to, or how to complain, further decreases the likelihood that workers will complain. These fears are not necessarily unfounded, and Union Aid Abroad APHEDA (2017) highlights the case of Fijian workers who complained about underpayments (some earned as little as A$1.21/hour). In response, their employer tried to illegally deport the workers. Similarly, RSE workers in New Zealand have been told by employers not to report suspected underpayments or illegal deductions (Smith, 2016). Underpayments continue, and the Fair Work Ombudsman recently ruled that a group of nineteen ni-Vanuatu SWP workers employed between December 2017 and April 2018 had been underpaid by over A$50,000 (Fair Work Ombudsman, 2019). Yet sometimes the cost of complaining, versus the potential to keep earning and participating in the scheme, simply seems too high (Howe et al., 2019). As workers are employed in different industries with different regulatory standards and cultures, it is possible that issues of underpayment will lessen. However, more research is needed.

It is apparent that the SWP, like all guest worker schemes that limit the ability of workers to participate in the political life of the receiving country (Connell, 2010; Reilly, 2011), disproportionately benefits employers (Petrou & Connell, 2018). These issues recur often in the literature and feelings of 'unfreedom' extend both to the RSE (Rockell, 2015) and Canada's seasonal worker schemes (e.g. Binford, 2009; Caxaj & Diaz, 2018; Reid-Musson, 2017; Strauss & McGrath, 2017). If the Australian scheme is to succeed, and to provide an

example of international best practice, it will be important to consider how – or even if – these issues can be resolved. One option is to explore the potential for citizenship that will increase worker's rights and avoid the potential for them to become 'permanent temporary' workers (Reilly, 2011; Union Aid Abroad APHEDA, 2017) but that is unlikely to be acceptable. Alternately, Newman (2013) suggests labour law rights and protections in both Australia and Canada could be re-conceptualised to recognise non-continuous service of migrant workers through legislation and collective industrial instruments. Such reform would be particularly important for workers who may have quite long periods of service to the same employer. Brickenstein (2017) suggests that simply educating employers about the impact the scheme has on workers' lives can lead to better treatment in the workplace – although relying upon goodwill alone may not be enough to ensure rights are respected. Certainly these questions will arise with more 'long-term short-term' employment and with workers being employed in more skilled activities alongside Australian workers.

BEYOND HORTICULTURE

Moving into new industries

Currently the majority of short-term employment from the PICs entails contracts only for a maximum of around nine months and only exceptionally involves employment outside the agricultural sector. That is now changing and involves more workers, for longer periods of time in non-agricultural activities. In the early stages, less than twenty workers from Kiribati, both males and females, were employed in the Queensland tourism industry under the Northern Australia Worker Pilot Program. Anecdotally this appears to have been successful, in that the workers have remained in place and their work has been appreciated. Similarly, according to media reports ni-Vanuatu workers employed at Cable Beach Resort in 2016 were reported to have done a 'fantastic job' (Toa, 2016), however formal research is lacking. More recently, PLS numbers have increased, workers from other PICs have become involved, and industries of employment have expanded to include aged care, agriculture, fishing and meat processing. Unfortunately, no research yet exists into the outcome of this employment expansion. A more detailed evaluation of this would be invaluable.

Skilled migration from PICs, beyond agriculture, is not new. Acquiring marketable skills has played a valuable role in enabling migrants to gain better jobs. Since the 1960s, Tuvalu and Kiribati have had a policy of training workers for migration as 'seafarers', initially men and subsequently also women. Fiji and Vanuatu also train workers as seafarers. That has been the start of greater interest in and a wider process of training to achieve 'migration with dignity': employment in occupations which enable some degree of self-esteem and higher incomes than in low status, low income, entry-level positions. Such occupations are also likely to offer some potential permanency and prospects and enable a more substantial flow of remittances.

Kiribati and Tuvalu have been pilot countries in New Zealand for skilled employment opportunities in the fisheries sector. There has been previous consideration of the employment of Pacific islanders in the Australian fishing industry, but it has yet to occur despite considerable possibilities. In the maritime context, cruise-ships briefly provided employment opportunities for about 120 i-Kiribati women, between 2004 and 2012. Numbers were small, management was challenging and the scheme collapsed (Kagan 2016). Opportunities may recur in both areas.

Upgrading skills & training

Most PICs have given increased attention to training workers for employment either overseas or at home and TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training) has usually been upgraded in recognition of the need for more skills. Nonetheless most PICs experience a shortage of various skills, such as engineers and plumbers, for immediate national needs. Improving the quality of training both enables local employment and offers internationally recognised qualifications that would open up access to skilled labour market opportunities in Australia, New Zealand and also elsewhere. There have been at least two new initiatives in the past decade, notably the multinational Australia-Pacific Technical College (APTC) and the Kiribati Australia Nursing Initiative (KANI).

APTC has branches in several PICs, assisting Pacific island students to gain Australian skills and qualifications in various trade areas. While ostensibly the program upgrades local skills, an international qualification allows graduates to migrate more easily. Workers with such qualifications are likely to be attractive to overseas employers, although in the first few years almost all the graduates remained in their home countries, a situation attributed to the skills not being recognized, and potential migrants not being sponsored (Clemens et al., 2015), but a preference for local employment may have been as important. That may have changed in recent years, and research on this is required, especially as the schemes extend into more diverse employment areas.

Nursing & care work

KANI was a sectoral training scheme, where i-Kiribati nurses were trained in Australia, principally to remain there and generate remittances rather than transfer superior and much needed skills to Kiribati. The program was a response to Kiribati's concerns about climate change, youth unemployment and the need to give i-Kiribati the opportunity to gain internationally recognised qualifications. KANI proved extremely expensive, with doubtful benefits other than for the graduates. Beyond the seafarer schemes such training programmes have been valuable yet costly and have yet to contribute to migration with dignity, yet interest in skilled migration is considerable.

Significant labour shortages exist in Australia for such jobs as nurses, carers, and in the hospitality industry. All the available evidence indicates that demand in these sectors will continue to grow and will not be met by domestic workers, with a high proportion of all jobs in caring held by new migrants from a range of 'non-traditional' source countries (Connell & Negin, 2019). Moreover such needs are particularly significant in regional areas (Regional Australia Institute, 2019). Many Pacific islanders have already taken up such employment at home or abroad, and are now being employed under the PLS. The expansion of short-term and long-term employment for Pacific islanders in these areas would meet demand. Real gains exist in opening up the caring and hospitality industries to PIC migrants, as has been recognised in New Zealand (Callister, 2009; World Bank, 2018b). However it will be necessary to monitor this carefully in the PICs since, in Fiji at least, the government is already concerned about a lack of trained caregivers and is seeking to developed new training programs for them (Radio New Zealand, 2019b). In other PICs demand for caregivers is unlikely to be so acute at this stage.

CONCLUSION

Despite more than a decade of intermittent work on issues related to SWP and RSE labour migration it is evident that there are remarkable and important gaps in understanding. Almost nothing is known about whole countries, such as the Solomon Islands, albeit a relatively recent entrant. That is particularly so for research undertaken in the sending PICs. There is little indication for example that Ministries of Labour (or other relevant national organisations) have any practical capacity to undertake research on the impact of PLM programs, whether in terms of regional development or possible links to agricultural change, business development or other issues. Nor do they appear necessarily concerned over skill losses, and perhaps even the welfare of workers overseas (Nishitani & Lee, 2019). Research capacity in the PICs is limited and there is no obvious interest in this at USP or at other regional educational institutions. It is equally evident (Appendix 1) that relatively little work is being undertaken in Australia (and perhaps also now in New Zealand) on issues relating to PLM, and much of this is quite partial and fragmented (by geography, discipline etc). Virtually nothing is yet known about the early days of the PLS, and the only research currently underway focuses solely on care work. That is a problem given interest in the scaling up of the program.

Lack of qualitative research

It is particularly evident that good qualitative research and temporal data are lacking. What little detailed research exists for the PICs mainly comes from either Tonga or Vanuatu, but even that provides limited insight into whether the outcomes are significantly different between those two countries. Minimally more extensive research is needed to discover and highlight commonalities and differences, with a view to identifying where research in one country or region is transferable to others and can enable more effective policy formation.

Existing macro-scale studies provide a useful picture of large-scale trends (from certain countries), however, such research does not afford insights into the nuanced and complex experiences of seasonal workers. As Stead (2019) points out, in line with data reported by the World Bank (2017), most of the SWP workers she interviewed were keen to participate in the scheme again. However, this did not mean their experience of the scheme was entirely positive (as the World Bank study and similar quantitative data imply), nor did it mean there were things about the scheme the workers would not change if they could. Seasonal work was a valuable opportunity to earn high incomes over a relatively short period. However, it was not unproblematic. More detailed qualitative research is needed to understand these complexities, and to interpret the nuances behind the statistics; it is these ‘Yes, but…’ answers that are important for truly understanding the social and economic impacts of seasonal labour mobility.

Clearly, more and better data are required. For adequate development policy formation and practical implementation appropriate data are essential. There is a need for more knowledge of the status of poverty. Incomes and livelihoods, and the role of the urban informal employment sector are not always well understood, nor are the intersections between national labour markets and increasingly globalized Pacific labour markets. Useful Household Income and Expenditure Surveys need to include a migration and remittances module (that appears to be on the way), and it is essential that they have a spatial component so that the distribution of poverty, incomes and livelihoods, for example, can be better understood. A particular concern, and corollary of this, is that the needs of the

relatively poor and those displaced or potentially displaced in the region have rarely been afforded adequate attention. Curiously, exhaustive inquiries suggest that this particular data deficit is exactly the situation in small Caribbean island states, where circumstances are similar to those in PICS, and where labour migration to Canada has existed for even longer.

The current lack of research means making definitive or even useful conclusions about PLM is necessarily both limited and flawed. Tonga and Vanuatu have taken greatest advantage of the schemes, while various factors including remoteness, transport costs, English language proficiency and a lack of Australian contacts have meant PICs such as Tuvalu, Kiribati and PNG have been only marginally involved. Within these groups, married males aged in their early thirties have been the most likely to be recruited into horticultural seasonal labour opportunities. For the PIC communities that have been involved there appear to have been clear economic and welfare gains ('development') over the short-term. Similarly, Australian employers appear to have benefited from productivity gains and the reliability of the SWP workforce. The wider social impacts of the scheme for home and host societies remain largely unexplored, however some workers at least have had to deal with various problems including violations of labour rights and inadequate pastoral care, seemingly most often in remote settings. More qualitative and wide-ranging research is needed before definitive conclusions can be reached about the longer-term and social impacts, positive or negative, of involvement in PLM, and whether such schemes might require restructuring.

Entrenching inequality or delivering equity?

Migration tends to proceed from inequality and contribute to further inequality. Certainly, current PLM schemes cannot be entirely disentangled from past legacies of colonialism, and the perceived appropriateness of unskilled labour for Pacific islanders (Stead, 2019). Nonetheless, there is scope for these types of schemes to be used more effectively by sending countries to ensure that they contribute to equity and give preference to workers from disadvantaged regions, whether rural or urban. To date there appears to have been some urban bias in recruiting. This may not in itself be a problem as poverty and hardship are endemic in urban areas of the Pacific (Asian Development Bank, 2003). There is already some anecdotal evidence however that return workers do not always make it further than urban centres after their contracts end, notably in Timor-Leste. This is problematic as the economic benefits of seasonal work are not necessarily being felt in rural source communities as intended. The PLS may exacerbate this trend as workers learn skills in tourism and other industries which can only be utilised in urban areas of home countries. As the scheme expands, it will be important to ensure these regional inequalities within and between PICs and Australia are not further entrenched.

Short-term labour migration & development

Important questions on whether short-term labour migration contributes to development, however that might be defined, cannot yet be answered. Consequently it is difficult to engage in the debate on the relationships between migration and development more broadly, as they have been considered in the wider development literature (de Haas, 2005, 2007; Kilby 2008). It is important to analyse labour migration in the context of the evolution of the national economies of PICs. A broad unresolved policy debate concerns the role of international migration, and social and economic remittances, in contributing to development, and centres on the extent to which migration can be considered the most

effective means of reducing poverty and inequality, coping with environmental threats and stimulating sustainable development.

Long-term opportunities?

Nor can it be it assumed, and certainly not for the PICs, that policies that may now encourage migration for short-term opportunities in Australia (or elsewhere) and their possible extension into longer term opportunities in other sectors, may always be available or that their outcome contributes to a form of development that denies the need to establish greater sustainability at home. The establishment of the Pacific Labour Mobility Annual Meeting (PLMAM) in 2016, under the aegis of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, is a welcome (but partial) development that has the potential to 'market' workers more effectively, ensure that employment conditions are not exploitative, seek out new opportunities and monitor the overall effectiveness of existing and future schemes. PICs have also sought to broaden the scope of the regional trade agreement, PACER Plus, to include arrangements for the greater regional mobility of more skilled labour, especially to New Zealand and Australia. Thus far improved mobility of skilled and semi-skilled workers has largely been resisted by potential destination countries. As the PLS expands, it will be important to monitor how and whether this impacts home country skills bases, whether it benefits from existing skills sets and whether it contributes to them. It is likely that these longer-term visa arrangements will lead to a greater permanence of recruited workers. That raises wider questions over the benefits (and costs and challenges) of scaling up temporary employment opportunities, for more people, in more skilled categories and for longer periods (and in new labour markets).

The benefits of long-term migration

The increasingly permanent international migration of people from PICs, a proportion of which is to Australia, has largely been beneficial for the migrants and for the countries. That effectively stabilised populations, and reduced worsening environmental pressures in some PICs, while remittances have contributed to development and some reduction of poverty (Brown et al., 2014). The PLS pilot, known initially as the Northern Australia Worker Pilot Program, appears to have been a welcome development, and it has now been extended into a range of labour market activities. That there is some flexibility in migration systems is crucial and welcome.

The need for skills

More investment is required in skills formation in PICs to respond to domestic, regional and international demand for labour. Needs range from statistical expertise to the skills required in expanding hospitality programs, and other emerging labour market activities. That process has been stimulated by the emergence of the APTC but it could well be expanded, and would be a valuable use of aid. And the outcomes need to be monitored. The PLS needs to be evaluated to examine its successes and failures and the extent to which it might be a model for other parts of Australia, beyond its present extent (or, indeed, in other countries).

A continued commitment is needed from all national governments to work towards local employment generation in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), whether in caring, tourism, agriculture or fisheries, and support research in related areas. A continued commitment to good education, at all levels and in all regions, and to training,

remains essential for national needs and for the possibility of migration. More investment is required in skills formation within PICs to respond to domestic, regional and international demand for labour. Countries must develop their own labour mobility priorities in terms of the selection of workers according to considerations of equity and risk. This is not seen currently as a priority and had disadvantaged potential workers from more remote impoverished areas.

A PRELIMINARY RESEARCH AGENDA

Given the numerous gaps in the understanding of Australia's labour mobility schemes, and the virtual mantra 'more research is needed' that runs through this report, we suggest here a proposed – and preliminary - research framework which would begin to rectify these omissions and address key areas. Eventually that should lead into identifying potential research partnerships and ways to strengthen PIC research capacity as part of undertaking future research on labour mobility. It is essential that the existing quantitative data (though that too is very far from comprehensive) be linked to good qualitative studies.

Most, but certainly not all, of the better known previous studies related to PLM, have been centred on the political economy of migration and, invaluable though they are, they have neither taken account of some of the social consequences of labour migration both in the sending countries and in Australia, or linked to gender and environmental issues – and broad issues of sustainable development. This new interest in labour migration is an opportunity to draw in a wider cohort of researchers, several of whom are presently actively working in this area, and broaden the scope and contribution of expertise.

Research should work towards a better understanding of the development impact over time in key socio-economic variables (e.g. household income, consumption – including key services such as health and education - and also investment) and the differences between sending and non-sending households, communities and regions. This evaluation will increase understanding of how labour mobility can more effectively promote economic development in PICs, and support movement towards implementing the SDGs, and also make a superior contribution in Australia: the much vaunted 'triple-win' situation. It is anticipated that funded research should inform both ongoing implementation of the PLF, Australian government policy, PIC government policy, and the debate on migration and development more broadly. Some of that may well be undertaken in collaboration with New Zealand partners and may benefit from a better understanding of similar schemes elsewhere, such as in Canada.

Broadly qualitative and quantitative research considering the socio-economic and political impacts, as well as intended and unintended positive and negative impacts of the different PLM streams for the PICs, will be valuable. As the PLS begins it is crucial that this research accompany it (Ball, 2019c) (as it failed to so with the SWP scheme). It is imperative that much more of this be undertaken by researchers conversant in the languages and cultures of the migrants.

As PLM expands we anticipate the following research needs (also summarised in Table 1 above and Connell & Petrou 2019), both for new industries and workers employed under the PLS, but also to cover existing gaps in research on the SWP. Due to the recency of the PLS, research directions below are listed primarily in chronological order of implementation/possibility: it is simply essential to start at the beginning. Gendered

experiences of the schemes should be a theme underpinning all the research directions listed below. In addition, long-term studies are needed to assess how these themes change over time, hence tracer studies will be valuable. As a first priority, research should address the social and economic impacts of PLM in home and host communities. While research needs to consider experiences within and between a variety of PICs, in the first instance research should focus on: Vanuatu, because existing research makes long-term studies possible; Timor-Leste, because Timorese participation is growing rapidly; and Tuvalu and Kiribati, because as the poorest PICs they potentially have the most to gain from PLM.

1. SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT OF WORKERS: WHO ARE THE WORKERS, WHERE DO THEY COME FROM: GOVERNANCE?

A key aim of PLM schemes is to ensure GEDSI in recruitment. It is thus essential that recruitment practices, and their consequences, are fully understood. At present, little has been written about recruitment, and processes at different scales remain opaque. Future research should consider the rationale behind selecting certain regions or villages for recruitment, and how workers are chosen (community/household involvement, self-nomination etc) within these areas. It will be vital to consider how (or if) equity is a part of this process. In addition, it will be important to collect data on these workers including former occupations (skill sets), age, gender, household structures, marital status, education etc, and what jobs/industries they are employed in through PLM schemes. Long-term collection of such data will allow monitoring of how selection might vary over time. Similarly, it will facilitate evaluation of the benefits and costs of different recruitment and selection practices; currently these are unknown. Ideally tracer studies are required to follow workers from beginning to end: from village/suburb to return and reintegration.

To ensure equity, it is equally important to consider who is not selected for the scheme and why certain individuals are chosen while others are not. Future research should follow some 'control' households who choose not to participate, as well as some households who have applied but been rejected from PLM schemes. Women's participation in the SWP is increasing. As the PLS expands into female dominated industries, and women (likely) come to account for a greater proportion of participants, it will be crucial to consider the gendered aspects of recruitment practices including women's preferences for employment types, locations etc. Alongside macro-scale statistics about the demography and socioeconomic status of workers, applicants and non-workers, qualitative case studies within and across PICs will be a key means of collecting and understanding data relating to recruitment.

In addition, it will be essential to survey labour recruiters and employers about their priorities and preferences, and why they have chosen or rejected certain regions, villages and individuals. Again, qualitative case studies will be key to understanding these issues.

Policy implications: *Facilitate effective and equitable recruitment practices and governance processes.*

2. EXPERIENCES OF WORKERS IN AUSTRALIA

One of the key ways that workers are prepared for their time in Australia/New Zealand is through pre-departure and arrival training. However, the quality of this training varies

(Blanco, 2009; World Bank, 2017). It is important to determine exactly how this training is delivered, what it includes (or omits), how effective it is and whether it could be improved. Qualitative research will be integral to this process.

Similarly, little is known about the workplace experiences of seasonal workers. Again, it appears that these experiences vary; some workers feel unwelcome, and racism has been offered as an explanation for poor treatment in the workplace (Petrou & Connell, 2018). On the other hand, some workers have been made to feel very welcome through, for example, training manuals provided in workers' lingua franca and workplaces decorated with photos of home villages (Smith, 2016). It will be crucial to understand the range of these experiences within and across industries, and to determine best practice in both training new seasonal workers and making them feel welcome and valued within the workplace. How seasonal workers interact with domestic employees will also be key to this research. Qualitative research, including participant observation in the workplace, will be integral to this research.

Social problems including poor pastoral care, isolation and boredom are common to seasonal worker schemes around the world (Blanco, 2009; Petrou & Connell, 2018; Reid-Musson, 2017). It is therefore essential to consider the social life of workers in receiving communities. This should include how workers interact with host communities, whether they can easily access transport to shops and other facilities, the suitability of their accommodation, how pastoral care is provided, and whether it is adequate. Again, longitudinal qualitative research will be vital in understanding these issues, and how they might evolve over time as workers become more familiar and comfortable with the physical and social environments of receiving countries and communities.

Evidence from the SWP and RSE indicates that separation from families is difficult for workers (Bailey, 2014; Stead, 2019; Wigglesworth, 2018). Yet the social impacts of such separation remain poorly understood. Under the PLS, workers will be away for longer than the horticultural schemes, and it is likely that separation will be increasingly difficult. It will be essential to investigate, how separation is dealt with under all PLM schemes. Given the primary caring role of women in PIC societies, gender is a central consideration here. Related to this, the role of communications technology will be important to consider. Again, qualitative research is key to understanding these themes.

Within the SWP and RSE there have been issues of underpayment and similar (Doherty, 2017; Holani, 2017). As the PLS expands, and the horticultural schemes continue, it will be important to monitor these issues through, for example, checking payslips (including deductions) and talking to workers to determine if they understand how to read and interpret this information, whether they have access to unions or other support, and how their rights and interests are protected. This should include themes of dispute resolution and how health or OH&S issues are managed. Qualitative research will be crucial here.

Given the predominantly economic motivation behind participating in PLM (Hammond & Connell, 2009; World Bank 2017), it will be important to record information about remittances (volume, frequency, mode etc), and to investigate what (if any) advice is offered about remitting. There is currently some work underway by the PLF to include PLM related remittances in household income and expenditure surveys. This will be invaluable to understanding the economic flows associated with PLM. It will be equally important to

include remittances in-kind, and, through long-term work with communities, determine the impacts, positive and negative, of these flows of goods and cash.

In each of the themes outlined above, it will be vital to consider how the experiences of first-time workers might differ from those of repeat workers, and how variables such as age, gender, marital status, culture, industry of employment etc might influence these experiences.

Policy implications: *Provide a world class example of best practice in worker well-being and experiences of labour mobility.*

3. EXPERIENCES OF HOST COMMUNITIES IN AUSTRALIA

Ultimately, employers have the final say in determining who is recruited for PLM. It is therefore essential to understand how PIC workers are viewed by their employers, and if there are any activities in which PIC workers are regarded as the most successful or best equipped. It will be important to understand if there are particular skill-sets PIC workers have, which are valued, or if other factors (age, gender, nationality etc) determine their employability. Conversely, it will be crucial to understand if there are any jobs or activities for which PIC workers are considered unsuitable. Qualitative research is necessary to understand these trends and nuances.

Little is known about how workers are viewed by receiving communities, and reports range from positive (Bailey, 2014) to negative (Williams, 2010) perceptions of workers. It is vital that we investigate community perceptions of Pacific seasonal workers, and the social and economic consequences of PLM for host communities. Bailey (2014) has suggested that there are economic benefits to having a large semi-permanent population join rural communities in Australia and New Zealand. More research is needed to unpack these themes. These should range from collecting quantitative data about spending within the community, to qualitative studies of community attitudes towards, interactions with and perceptions of seasonal workers. It will be important to chart the kinds of relationships (romantic or otherwise) that seasonal workers forge within host communities and how these are sustained or altered over time. Related to this, it will be important to consider if prototypes for expansion exist where significant concentrations of resident migrants from PICs co-exist alongside SWP workers. Work by Nishitani and Lee (2017, 2019) has begun to explore the latter for the case of horticultural workers in rural Australia, but more work is needed.

Policy implications: *Minimise negative impacts on host communities, and ensure that workers match opportunities.*

4. SOCIAL IMPACTS AT HOME

As is evident from the above, social impacts are perhaps the least understood aspect of PLM. It is imperative that these are prioritised in future research agendas. One of the most obvious issues is perhaps the consequence of long-term separation from family members. We need to understand how ‘left-behind’ household members cope economically and emotionally with the loss of a family member. These coping mechanisms will differ between household members, and it is crucial to consider how the gender, age and relationship of workers and household members influence coping strategies. Lengths of absence should

also be considered, as these will vary between PLM schemes. The consequences for children of potentially long-term absentee parents under the PLS should be a particular focus. Labour adjustments, and the potential for food insecurity or increased vulnerability (Craven, 2013, 2015; Craven & Gartaula, 2015), among other things, are also an important consideration. Coping mechanisms should be examined not just at the household level, but at the community scale too, and should focus on both rural and urban areas. Urban areas in particular are a notable omission from existing research. This is will provide some insight into how coping strategies might vary between communities with differing levels of engagement in PLM, and how social reorganisation and labour adjustments function both within and between households. Qualitative research by researchers familiar with local cultures and languages is imperative.

Reintegration of workers post-labour mobility is poorly understood. It is likely that reintegration will be most difficult for workers who are away for an extended period under the PLS, but research is needed to confirm this. Reintegration is also likely to be issue for long-term workers who drop out of the scheme (Pacific Periscope, 2018). Related to this, it will be important to consider the kinds of social remittances, positive and negative, that workers bring back with them. Female workers may become agents of social change, and it will be important to consider the gendered implication of social remittances, and their potential for triggering domestic violence or family breakdown (Ball et al., 2015). Again, qualitative research and case studies will be essential.

To date, research into the acquisition and utilisation of skills tends to have focused on projected rather than actual skills usage (e.g. Dun & Klocker, 2017). It is important to consider whether and how skills are employed in home communities, the type of skills that are most 'useful', or conversely, the most inappropriate. Similarly, it will be important to chart the establishment of small businesses and other enterprises to determine if these start-ups are sustained over the long term. Qualitative research will be integral to understanding how and why these businesses, skills etc are successful and valued or not. The implications of large-scale economic investment in education is also an important consideration. Should educational levels rise substantially, it is possible that this will drive further (permanent) outmigration from rural areas with educational and employment facilities are limited.

The social impacts of PLM simply cannot be understood with detailed, longitudinal case studies across a variety of locations (rural and urban), communities, countries and PLM schemes. Qualitative research is key here.

***Policy implications**: Minimise negative impacts on home communities arising from worker absences, skills acquisition or social remittances.*

5. ECONOMIC IMPACTS AT HOME

Cashflow from PLM is significant, and it is essential that we continue to track, and expand upon existing quantitative studies documenting remittances flows and savings. It will be important to build upon this research by documenting how remittances are used while workers are away and after they return, how these uses may vary over time, and who is involved in these decision-making processes. The latter will require qualitative research. The impact of varying remittance strategies is important consideration. Again, case studies from a variety of communities will be crucial.

The social impacts of increased cashflow from PLM remain poorly understood. Clearly, cash can be used to reinforce or re-negotiate social relationships (Bailey, 2014; Cummings, 2016). Whether these new social relationships are viewed as positive or negative, and their potential to lead to gender violence have not been investigated in any detail. It is absolutely crucial that the relationship between gender violence and PLM is explored in detail. Sensitive qualitative studies by researchers familiar with cultures and languages are again essential.

Policy implications: *Minimise negative impacts on home communities relating to increased cashflows from PLM. Evaluate whether schemes are achieving the aim of bringing (economic and social) development to PICs.*

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APPENDIX 1. REGISTER OF EXPERTISE

[Provided as a separate Excel spreadsheet].

APPENDIX 2. DATA TABLES

Table A. Participation in the PLS by occupation type, March 2019

Occupation	Number of workers	Percent of workers
Aged Care	11	8
Chef	1	1
Deckhand	13	10
Farming	31	23
Food & Beverage Att	4	3
Kitchen Steward	18	13
Public Area Cleaner	8	6
Service Attendant	34	25
Trades Assistant	7	5
Waste & Recycling Attendant	2	1
Forestry Worker	5	4
Total	134	100

Source: Pacific Labour Facility

Table B. Number of SWP participants by country of origin, 2012-2018

Financial Year of Visa Grant	Fiji	Kiribati	Nauru	Papua New Guinea	Samoa	Solomon Islands	Timor-Leste	Tonga	Tuvalu	Vanuatu	Total
2012-13	0	34	10	26	22	42	21	1,200	0	119	**1,474**
2013-14	0	14	0	26	162	9	74	1,497	20	212	**2,014**
2014-15	<5	11	0	35	185	21	168	2,179	7	567	**3,177**
2015-16	160	20	17	42	140	61	224	2,624	<5	1,198	**4,490**
2016-17	190	124	0	139	309	87	477	2,691	0	2,149	**6,166**
2017-18	247	364	0	92	527	175	915	2,790	0	3,349	**8,459**
2018-19 to 31/12/2018	172	107	0	59	224	124	960	1,765	0	2,580	**5,991**

Source: Pacific Labour Facility

Table C. RSE arrivals, 2007-2018

Pacific Island country	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Fiji	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	92	355	359
Kiribati	69	38	48	149	142	138	127	136	162	189	231
Nauru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20	17	14
PNG	-	-	-	6	6	31	58	96	68	121	124
Samoa	647	1,228	1,021	1,219	1,162	1,137	1,169	1,238	1,454	1,690	1,878
Solomon Islands	238	311	256	252	407	423	491	511	590	593	643
Tonga	805	1,355	1,142	1,411	1,398	1,573	1,538	1,563	1,687	1,822	1,899
Tuvalu	99	49	54	51	88	56	71	70	64	80	80
Vanuatu	1,698	2,342	2,137	2,352	2,412	2,829	3,070	3,435	3,726	4,171	4,445
Total Pacific	**3,556**	**5,323**	**4,658**	**5,440**	**5,615**	**6,187**	**6,524**	**7,099**	**7,863**	**9,038**	**9,673**

Source: MFAT, New Zealand

Table D. Female participation rate in RSE 2016-2017

Pacific Island country	No. of female RSE arrivals	Total no. of RSE arrivals	Percentage of female arrivals
Fiji	19	355	5
Kiribati	83	189	44
Nauru	9	17	0
Papua New Guinea	42	121	35
Samoa	58	1690	3
Solomon Islands	200	593	34
Tonga	199	1822	11
Tuvalu	20	80	25
Vanuatu	399	4171	10
Total	**1020**	**9038**	**11**

Source: Nunns et al. (2018)

Table E. Female participation in the SWP, 2012-2018

Financial Year of Visa Grant	Gender	Fiji	Kiribati	Nauru	PNG	Samoa	Solomon Islands	Timor-Leste	Tonga	Tuvalu	Vanuatu	Total	Percent
2012-13	Female	0	10	< 5	7	< 5	13	10	139	0	30	**215**	**15**
	Male	0	24	8	19	18	29	11	1,061	0	89	**1,259**	**85**
	2012-13 Total	**0**	**34**	**10**	**26**	**22**	**42**	**21**	**1,200**	**0**	**119**	**1,474**	
2013-14	Female	0	0	0	6	6	0	19	176	13	33	**253**	**13**
	Male	0	14	0	20	156	9	55	1,321	7	179	**1,761**	**87**
	2013-14 Total	**0**	**14**	**0**	**26**	**162**	**9**	**74**	**1,497**	**20**	**212**	**2,014**	
2014-15	Female	0	0	0	8	< 5	0	39	262	0	95	**407**	**13**
	Male	< 5	11	0	27	182	21	129	1,917	7	472	**2,770**	**87**
	2014-15 Total	**< 5**	**11**	**0**	**35**	**185**	**21**	**168**	**2,179**	**7**	**567**	**3,177**	
2015-16	Female	39	0	< 5	< 5	5	11	46	326	0	190	**625**	**14**
	Male	121	20	13	38	135	50	178	2,298	< 5	1,007	**3,864**	**86**
	Not Specified	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 5	**< 5**	**<1**
	2015-16 Total	**160**	**20**	**17**	**42**	**140**	**61**	**224**	**2,624**	**< 5**	**1,198**	**4,490**	
2016-17	Female	15	14	0	40	8	0	125	298	0	395	**895**	**15**
	Male	175	110	0	99	301	87	352	2,393	0	1,753	**5,270**	**85**
	Not Specified	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 5	**< 5**	**<1**
	2016-17 Total	**190**	**124**	**0**	**139**	**309**	**87**	**477**	**2,691**	**0**	**2,149**	**6,166**	
2017-18	Female	29	59	0	10	33	9	292	293	0	519	**1,244**	**15**
	Male	218	305	0	82	494	166	623	2,497	0	2,829	**7,214**	**85**
	Not Specified	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 5	**< 5**	**<1**
	2017-18 Total	**247**	**364**	**0**	**92**	**527**	**175**	**915**	**2,790**	**0**	**3,349**	**8,459**	
2018-19 to 31/12/2018	Female	5	32	0	15	27	20	311	474	0	488	**1,372**	**23**
	Male	167	75	0	44	197	104	649	1,291	0	2,092	**4,619**	**77**
	2018-19 to 31/12/2018 Total	**172**	**107**	**0**	**59**	**224**	**124**	**960**	**1,765**	**0**	**2,580**	**5,991**	

Table F. PLS participation by gender and industry of employment, June 2019

Gender	Hospitality		Agriculture		Aged Care		Forestry		Meat Processing		Fishing & Aquaculture		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Female	52	55	13	22	11	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	40
Male	43	45	45	78	0	0	5	100	7	100	14	100	114	60
Total in Industry	95		58		11		5		7		14		190	100

Source: Pacific Labour Facility

ATTACHMENT A. TERMS OF REFERENCE

Project Details:

Australia's Foreign Policy White Paper (2017) emphasises the importance of stepping up engagement with Pacific island countries to improve economic resilience, security and stability of the Pacific region. Circular labour mobility from Pacific island countries and Timor-Leste (collectively 'Pacific countries') to Australia is a central pillar of this strategy. Increasing circular labour mobility will build people-to-people links and support increased economic growth, employment and investment across the region. Australia will increase circular labour mobility with Pacific countries through the expansion of the Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP) and the creation of the Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS). The Pacific Labour Facility (PLF) will facilitate the expansion of circular labour mobility to Australia and support both the SWP and PLS.

The Pacific Labour Facility (PLF)

The PLF facilitates the seasonal and longer-term work opportunities for Pacific workers to Australia. It connects Australian employers with Pacific workers, supports the administration of the PLS and provides targeted support to SWP. The PLF is managed by Palladium and provides the backbone of Australia's future support for circular labour mobility in the Pacific under the direction of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

The Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP)

Under direction of the Department of Jobs and Small Business (DJSB), the SWP provides certain Australian employers access to low-skilled and unskilled workers from nine Pacific Island countries and Timor-Leste. These employers include those in the agriculture industry, and in the accommodation sector and tourism sectors in specific locations. Employers must show that are unable to find enough local Australian labour.

The Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS)

The PLS commenced on 1 July 2018. It enables citizens of Pacific countries to take up low- and semi-skilled work opportunities in rural and regional Australia for up to three years. The PLS was initially available to Kiribati, Nauru and Tuvalu, with access to be progressively extended to other Pacific countries based on employer demand, need impact and progress against the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations - Plus (PACER Plus) regional trade agreement. The PLS is currently available to Kiribati, Nauru, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Samoa. Implementation of the PLS is open to all sectors but will focus on placing workers in sectors with projected employment growth in Australia and which match Pacific skill sets.

Terms of reference:

Purpose of the Position: Dr Kirstie Petrou will support Professor John Connell to deliver Literature Review and Identification of Research Gaps on Migration and Development: Developing the Research Framework for the PLF as specified in Terms of Reference (attached).

Duties: Under the direction of the **Research Lead, Dr Rochelle Ball and Professor John Connell,** Dr Kirstie Petrou will support the delivery of the: literature review and identification of research gaps on migration development; an overview of research underway; research framework development; presentation of findings and proposed research framework at the Pacific Labour Mobility Research Symposium; and associated tasks; as specified in Terms of Reference (attached).

Qualifications and Experience: The consultant will have an excellent understanding of social, economic and governance dimensions of international labour mobility in the Asia Pacific. They will have a PhD in a relevant field in either the social sciences or humanities, and a minimum of 10 years' experience as a labour mobility specialist. Established networks in the labour mobility focused research and multilateral communities are highly desirable.

1. Understanding the Impacts of Labour Mobility: PLF Research Agenda

1.1 The contribution of labour mobility to development has received increasing attention over the last two decades. However much remains to be understood about the differential social, economic and political dimensions of labour mobility and development, including the impacts on families and communities and the differential impacts of labour mobility on men, women, children and people with disabilities.

1.2 The PLF proposes to evaluate its impacts through three mechanisms, which will contribute to both knowledge of the relationship between labour mobility and development and inform future policy settings for Australia and partner governments. The evaluation of the PLF and its impact will occur through:

(a) A development impact evaluation measuring differences over time in key economic variables (e.g. household income, consumption – including on key services such as health and education and investment) between sending and non-sending households and communities. This evaluation will increase understanding of how labour mobility can promote economic development in Pacific Island countries.

(b) Qualitative and quantitative research considering the socioeconomic and political impacts, as well as intended and unintended positive and negative impacts of labour mobility for sending countries.

(c) Qualitative and quantitative research considering the economic and social impacts for relevant Australian industries and labour receiving regions under the PLF.

1.3 Gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) was identified in the PLF design as a critical area that may have unintended negative consequences and for which further research is required. In keeping with this, PLF research/evaluation should examine labour mobility and circular migration with this lens.

1.4 The development impact evaluation will be managed by DFAT in collaboration with partners such as the World Bank and ANU.

1.5 To inform the research agendas mentioned at points b) and c) above, Palladium proposes to first commission a review of existing qualitative and quantitative research as well as identify research underway with the aim of identifying critical gaps and using these

to formulate potential topics for a forward research agenda, that can be funded through the PLF research budget or other mechanisms. Funded research should inform both ongoing implementation of the PLF, Australian government policy settings, Pacific island government policy, and the debate on migration and development more broadly.

1.6 This literature review and identification of research underway will become the background paper for a research symposium (March-April 2019) to discuss the existing evidence base and critical research gaps to inform the forward research agenda and partnerships with the Australian Government and the PLF.

1.7 The review will require analysis of the literature on Pacific labour mobility against the backdrop of longer term labour exporting developing nations in other regions. It will identify similarities, differences and potential emerging issues for labour exporting Pacific nations and Australia.

2. Purpose of the assignment

2.1 The purpose of the assignment is to: critically review literature on labour mobility and its impacts on sending and receiving nations; provide an overview of research underway; summarize key findings; and identify critical and emerging gaps. The consultant(s) will work collaboratively with the PLF Research Lead to develop a publication ready paper accessible to research and public policy audiences that provides strategic vision for future labour mobility research.

3. Objectives of the assignment

3.1 The research may be conducted utilising GSDRC, Google Scholar or other search engines, including academic databases, journals, books, reports, websites and “grey” literature, and the websites of organisations such as (but not limited to) the World Bank, Australian Research Council, ILO, the South Pacific Commission, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat; the Australian Departments of Foreign Affairs and Trade; Jobs and Small Business; and Home Affairs; New Zealand’s Ministries of Business, Innovation and Employment and Foreign Affairs and Trade; New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research; and other key international organisations such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM).

3.2 The consultant(s) will produce:

(a) A review of existing literature and research underway, which critically analyses and presents key findings, current research directions and gaps (25 to 30 pages) of publication standard.

(b) A synopsis of five to seven key areas in which further research is needed, with examples of appropriate questions under each (at most 4 to 5 pages).

(c) A proposed research framework with which to address these key areas, identify potential research partnerships and ways to strengthen Pacific Island Country research capacity as part of undertaking future research on labour mobility.

(d) Digital copies of all literature review resources to DFAT and the PLF including a spreadsheet that provides details of research underway.