

# Urban drift, urban growth, urban youth

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Urbanization studies in the Pacific are greatly limited by data availability. The main indicators available are: rate of urban growth, proportion of urban population and size of the largest city. The cause of such situation is not so much a lack of data - censuses are regularly conducted by most countries - as an analysis gap. This dearth of data analysis is quasi general in PICs where most urbanization studies lack evidence support as regards geographic as well as demographic and social aspects of urban growth. This is the more surprising as some countries experience rapid urban growth and have already large urban populations and the impact on ability to manage urban growth is affected.

This paper will address the process of urban growth in a theoretical approach with support of custom tabulation from the Kiribati 2005 census. It will briefly consider the process of urban growth from the viewpoints of its demographic components and geographical extension, and try to assess factors and causes of rural-urban migration, or answer the question: is there a rationale to rural-urban migration? It will also estimate the consequences of the urban drift on socio-economic characteristics of urban population as regards qualification, labour force participation and family transformation. Special focus will be on rural-urban migrants. Finally, policy implications of urbanization will be briefly reviewed.

It is desirable that similar studies are carried out using data from other PICs and mostly for those with large urban population and several cities like Fiji and PNG. However, the socio-economic characteristics of urban population and rural-urban migrants described here most probably apply to larger countries.

## 1. Urban growth in the Pacific

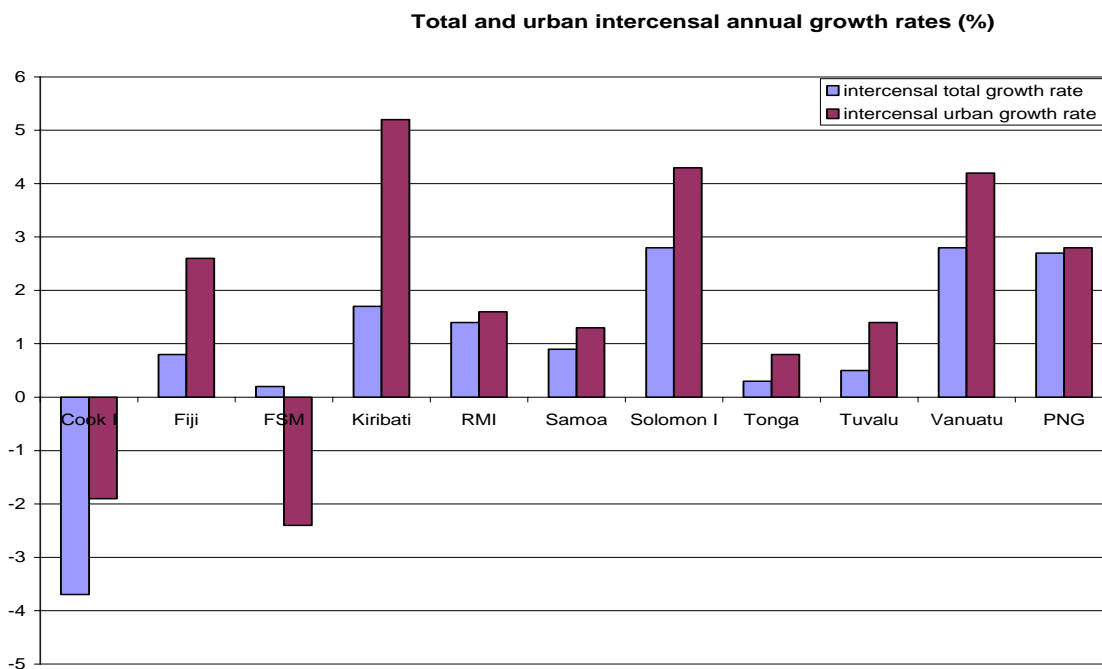
### 1.1. Overall urban growth

Due to rural-urban migration, urban growth is higher than national average in all PICs, including in those where urban areas are transit points towards international migration like Tonga, Samoa, RMI and Cook Is. – with negative growth for the latter, but urban growth is less negative than total growth. The only exception is FSM with negative urban growth while international migration nearly results in negligible total growth (figure 1). Countries that have the highest urban growth are Kiribati (1995-2000), Vanuatu and Solomon Is., with annual growth rates above 4%. However, Kiribati has almost similar urban and total growth in 2000-2005 (1.9% against 1.8%). With annual rates of 4% or

5% a population doubles respectively in less than 18 years or less than 15 years. In small economies, such growth is unsustainable and the provision of infrastructures and services cannot cope with urban population increase.

The countries that had the largest difference between urban and total growth were Kiribati (1995-2000), Fiji, Cook Is., Solomon Is. and Vanuatu. PNG, RMI, Samoa and Tonga have the lowest difference between urban and total growth. Given probable higher natural urban growth than national average (see below), PNG and RMI would have negative migration for urban areas, mostly due to international migration for the latter and to internal migration or data quality issues for the former.

Figure 1: Total and urban annual growth rates (%), late 1990s-early 2000s.



## 1.2. How do cities grow?

### 1.2.1. Demographic process

Total urban growth rate needs to be separated in its two components: natural growth and migration. In PICs, this can only be based on indirect estimates (see annex 1). Estimates show that urban natural growth in PICs is high for two reasons. First, as usual, due to migration, urban age structures include high proportions of young adults and are favorable to birth rate and unfavorable to death rates resulting in higher natural increase. The second reason is the still high fertility in Pacific urban areas. Although estimates show that urban fertility is lower than national average, it is still high with for instance estimates of 4.2 against 4.5 in Kiribati in 2000 and 3.1 against 3.5 in 2005. Moreover, estimates of urban fertility based on indirect methods are likely to be underestimates

(Annex 1). Thus, the conjunction of young age structures and high fertility results in natural growth being higher in Pacific cities than national average. In many developing countries in Asia, fertility has dropped close to or even below replacement level of 2.1 and natural growth in these cities is much lower than in Pacific cities.

Urban growth due to migration should be separated between internal and external components, at least for countries that experience high international migration. In PICs, rural-urban migration is usually high, mostly when there is only one city or town, or when the country capital is the only city that really has the characteristics of urban areas which is the case in most PICs except Fiji and PNG. Then, all rural-urban migration aims there.

However, our case study of South Tarawa has recently shown a different situation. Migration growth in 2000-2005 estimated by the survival technique<sup>1</sup> (Annex 1) was slightly negative for males -1.5 per 1,000, but it was slightly positive for females 4.4 per 1,000 (1.6 per 1,000 for both sexes). The migration growth of South Tarawa in 1995-2000 is much higher and more typical, with rates of 26 per 1,000 for males and 32 per 1,000 for females (29 per 1,000 both sexes). Thus, while migration represented 56% of South Tarawa growth in 1995-2000, it had negligible effect in 2000-2005. – Internal migration figures provided by the question on residence in 2000 from the 2005 census shows net loss of 855 persons for South Tarawa. However, after correcting for temporary migration to Makin (migrants from Makin were called back for the census enumeration to increase population and get an additional seat of representatives), net loss becomes 532. As net gain to North Tarawa, the new peri-urban area, is 632, the larger attraction zone of the urban area, or Tarawa atoll, still shows slight net migration of 100 persons. Actually, most of North Tarawa migration growth is due to people moving between South and North Tarawa, with 1147 arrivals against 603 departures, or a net gain of 544 persons with South Tarawa. This is not including net external migration that cannot be assessed. But arrivals from overseas represented 1,170 persons for South Tarawa and 102 for North Tarawa.

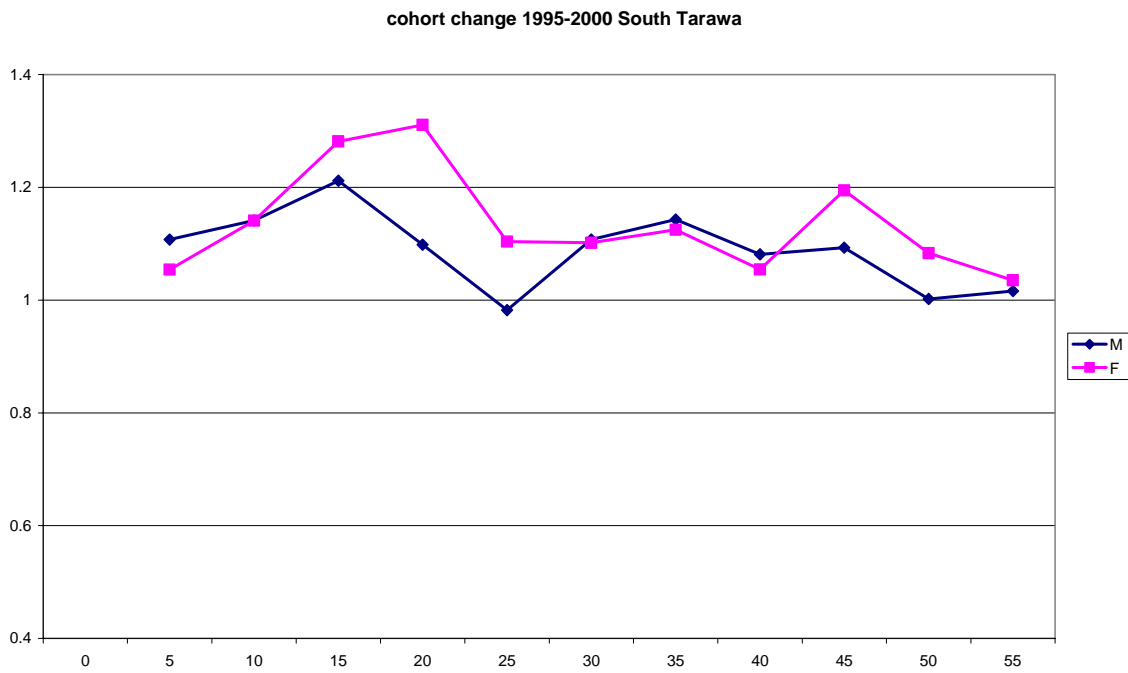
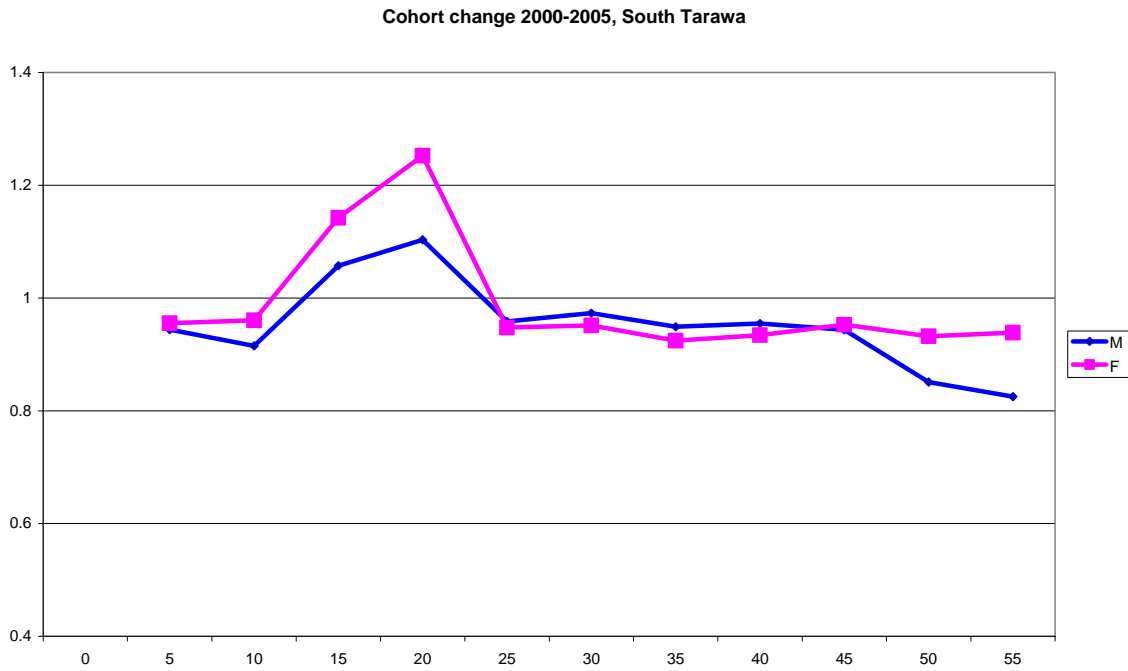
The most important aspect of urban migration growth is its sex and age characteristics. Like for most cities in the developing world, migration to Pacific cities consists mainly of youth with even more females than males<sup>2</sup>. Even in periods with low or negative migration growth, like in South Tarawa in 2000-2005, youth net rural-urban migration remains positive (fig. 2) and it is higher for females than for males. In 1995-2000, net migration was positive at all ages, with still a typical youth bulge that was higher for females than for males. – It is noticeable that temporary moves between South Tarawa and Makin also mostly consisted of youth for which such short-term migration is easier.

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<sup>1</sup> This includes both internal and external migrations, as well as enumeration bias.

<sup>2</sup> This may be a result of more frequent external migration of males, notably in the case of Kiribati with high numbers of seamen. However, higher number of migrant females than males are observed in rim countries for several PICs.

Figure 2: Cohort change by sex in South Tarawa, 2000-2005 and 1995-2000.



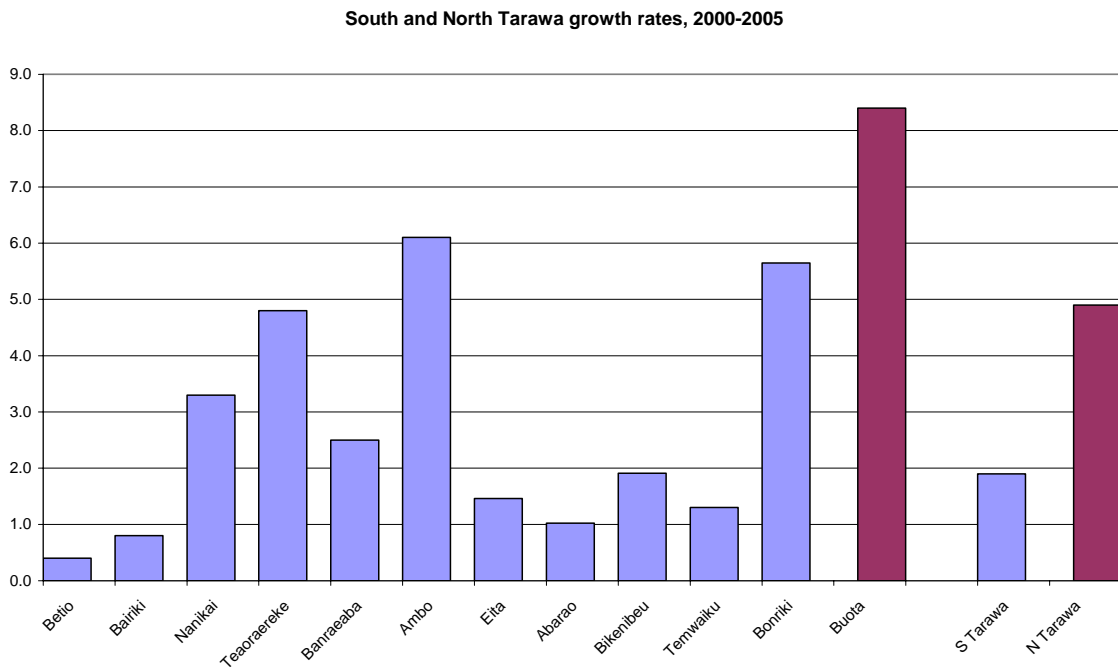
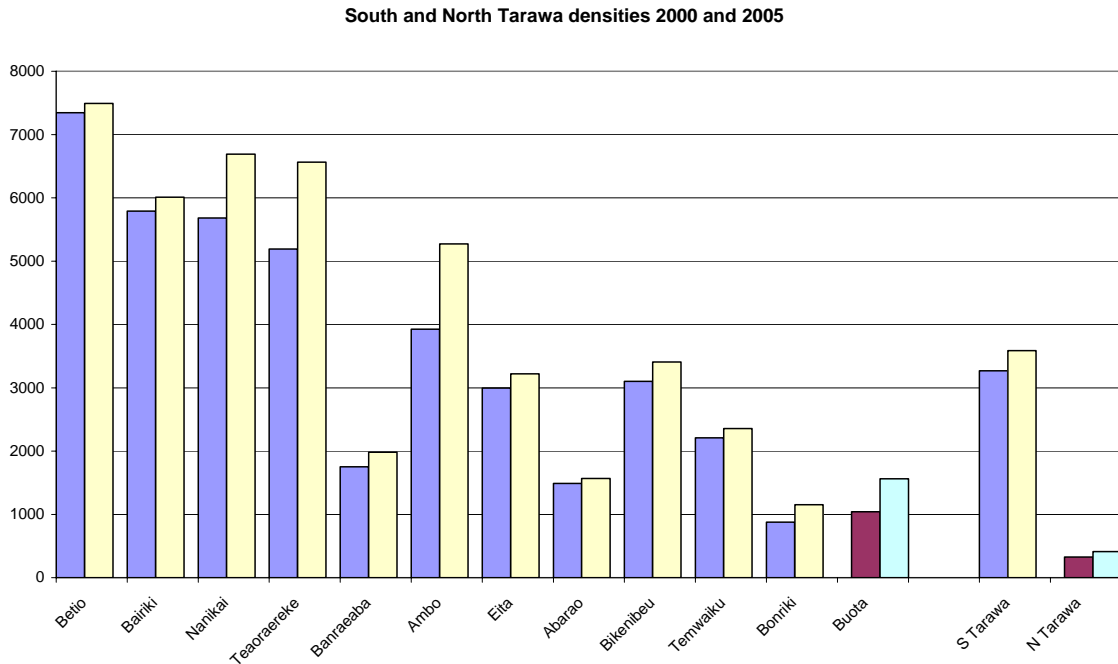
### 1.3. Spatial process

#### 1.3.1. Urban centers

Urban growth occurs in a limited space (urban areas) that is however extensible, unless it is constrained by mountains or the sea which is frequent in Pacific cities. Then, urban

expansion follows the shore line. This process could ultimately result in the island being circled by an urban belt (where there is no coastal cliff) in Tahiti, Rarotonga or Samoa. Such urban 'ring' also applies to South Tarawa, given that there is no other possibility in atolls.

Figure 3: Density in 2000 and 2005 and annual growth rates by villages in South and North Tarawa (from West to East)



The low overall urban growth in South Tarawa in 2000-2005 however reveals interesting patterns of urbanization. Figure 3 shows villages from West to East and reads nearly like a map in the case of an atoll. Some areas: Betio, Bairiki, with densities between 6,000 and 7,500 (table 1) inhab. per sq/km, are nearly saturated, in the frame of mostly one-floor housing, and have seen little growth. Actually, total growth in these areas is well below the natural component implying important net emigration. A few other areas in the center of South Tarawa, with sometimes much lower densities, also show very low growth. This is probably linked with the existence of ground not suitable for urban expansion, such as swampy areas. However, other areas, including villages already densely populated in 2000, have seen further rapid increase, reaching densities above 6,000 or 5,000 like Nanikai, Teaoraereke and mostly Ambo. The most classical feature of peripheric growth in 2000-2005 is seen at the Eastern end of the urban area in Bonriki.

### 1.3.2. Peri-urban areas

Growth in North Tarawa is also typically distributed. Buota, the Southernmost village of North Tarawa connected to South Tarawa by road, has the highest yearly growth (8.4%) and is developing as a peri-urban area. Density is now higher in Buota (1,560) than in Bonriki (1152) and in the range of some other areas like Abarao. Such high level of growth has also occurred in Kainaba, Nabeina and Nabonibara in the centre of North Tarawa and in Tearinibai in the extreme North – the center of North Tarawa administration-, with yearly growth rates between 5% and 8%. Density is already around 700 in Nooto and Tabonibara.

Table 1: Population change, annual growth rate 2000-2005 and population density in 2005 in villages of North and South Tarawa

	P 2000	P 2005	annual growth %	Density 2005	P 2000	P 2005	annual growth %	density 2005	
<b>S Tarawa</b>	<b>36717</b>	<b>40311</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>2556</b>	<b>N Tarawa</b>	<b>4477</b>	<b>5678</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>412</b>
Tanaea	47	91	14.1	1011	Buariki	533	597	2.3	314*
Bonriki	1610	2119	5.6	1152	Tearinibai	221	317	7.5	
Temwaiku	1628	2011	4.3	2354*	Nuatabu	183	199	1.7	
Causeway	1929	1780	-1.6		Tebwangeroi	34	34	0.0	56
Bikenibeu	5613	6170	1.9	3409	Taratai	179	203	2.5	121
Abarao	863	908	1.0	1566	Nooto	699	845	3.9	748
Eita	2191	2299	1.0	3219*	Abaokoro	248	294	3.5	292*
Tangintabu	46	94	15.4		Marenanuka	70	71	0.3	
Taborio	877	955	1.7		Tabonibara	227	300	5.7	698
Ambo	1256	1688	6.1	5275	Kainaba	149	219	8.0	223
Banraeaba	1609	1789	2.1	1981*	Nabeina	297	414	6.9	357
Antebuka	318	390	4.2		Tabiteuea	342	391	2.7	288
Teaoraereke	3116	3939	4.8	6565	Abatao	379	421	2.1	554
Nanikai	682	803	3.3	6692	Buota	916	1373	8.4	1560
Bairiki	2664	2766	0.8	6013					
Betio	12268	12509	0.4	7490					

\* some villages have been grouped together for density, following data on areas.

Data on occupations show that the numbers of legislators, professionals, clerks and plant and machine operators have rapidly increased in North Tarawa, by almost threefold for legislators and officials and almost five fold for operators. Occupational distribution of the work force in North Tarawa is becoming similar to that of the urban area with even relatively more legislators than in South Tarawa. Thus, North Tarawa is becoming a peri-urban area for lower classes in the South in Buota, as well as a high and middle class residential area in the villages in the centre where environment is better than in South Tarawa. Residents of Buota commute daily to work in South Tarawa by road and residents of villages higher in the North commute by boat.

There are some policy aspects behind these varied trends at the local level. Urban growth has been halted in South Tarawa probably due to enforcement of policies that make access to land more difficult while migration to Kirimati has been encouraged.

Altogether, while the overall rural-urban migration has been nearly halted (with net internal migration to both North and South Tarawa of only 100 persons), the urbanization process has continued almost unabated in some areas of South Tarawa and it extends to peri-urban areas in North Tarawa. The overall slow down is largely due to attraction of Kirimati, with 1018 people leaving South Tarawa for this destination that has taken an important role in the redistribution of the population of Kiribati. Such redistribution has not halted population growth and pressure in South Tarawa, but just brought it close to the national average and it is unlikely that population size in South Tarawa will decline in the near future. It has also resulted in a 4.9% annual growth rate in North Tarawa.

Quasi stabilization of the population is a classical feature of core urban areas, with even some minor decline when housing is replaced by office space, but this phenomenon is much less frequent in Pacific than in Asian cities. Therefore, the need to address environment issues in core urban areas remains urgent with new attention to be directed at peri-urban areas to improve the living condition of urban and peri-urban populations, mostly as regards availability of services and environment, like access to improved water and sanitation.

This classical pattern of peri-urban growth has been observed in other cities in the Pacific: Papeete (French Polynesia), Noumea (New Caledonia) and Guam. It implies re-classification of rural areas to urban - which could be done for Buota in North Tarawa - or urban growth is under-estimated and rural-urban migration patterns are inaccurate.

## 2. Socio-economic aspects of urbanization

In many Pacific cities, urbanization is mostly the result of rural-urban migration. One of the causes of the urban drift is the economic gap between rural areas and towns. It is stronger for the main city but it exists also for secondary towns in Fiji, PNG, Solomon Is and Vanuatu that eventually represent transit points for some migrants. The question is how this economic gap actually translates in the life of people, in their chance to get a job in the cash sector and on its consequences on the qualification of urban work force.

Urban life is also the place of family transformations, often but not only linked with migration. To better understand these problems, we have analyzed more specifically integration on the labour market and living arrangements in rural and urban areas as well as the situation of urban migrants<sup>3</sup>, with special focus on youth.

## 2.1. Education

Urban populations usually have higher educational attainment than rural populations. However, comparing migrants with urban population, show that the former can have significantly lower education mostly for females. Although migration is selective of qualified people, unqualified males move to cities because it is easier to get access to cash work there, eventually in petty jobs, while more ancient urban residents and urban-born population are those with the highest education. For females, the gap is usually higher because the selection effect that applies for males is not necessarily valid for females as some women move to accompany their husbands but have not always the same qualification as them. Altogether, data from Kiribati confirm these aspects.

It is often said that quality of education is higher in cities which is an incentive for parents to migrate to educate their children. Actually, proportions of pupils on schedule are higher in South Tarawa than in rural areas, probably as a result of better education, as qualified teachers usually prefer to work in urban areas, and possibly due to some selection of pupils through scholarships.

## 2.2. Poverty/opportunity driven urban migration

The economic gap between urban and rural areas is a major factor of urban drift. Urban areas offer easier access to cash jobs than rural areas and people, mostly youth, are mostly sensitive to this attraction.

### 2.2.1. Employment and unemployment in cash sector

Employment rates in the cash sector (ratio of people employed in the cash sector to total population) confirm that there is some rationale in rural-urban migration. Male and female migrants to South Tarawa are much more often employed in cash sector than inhabitants of rural areas. And youth increase still more their chances of being in cash employment by migrating, almost doubling them for males and multiplying by 2.3 for females (table 2). However, employment rates of females remain almost half those of males, but the gap is much less among youth.

Getting a job in the cash sector is strongly related to education. People with no or low education are rarely employed in the cash sector mostly in rural areas. But migrants with low qualification double their chance to work for cash in South Tarawa comparatively to

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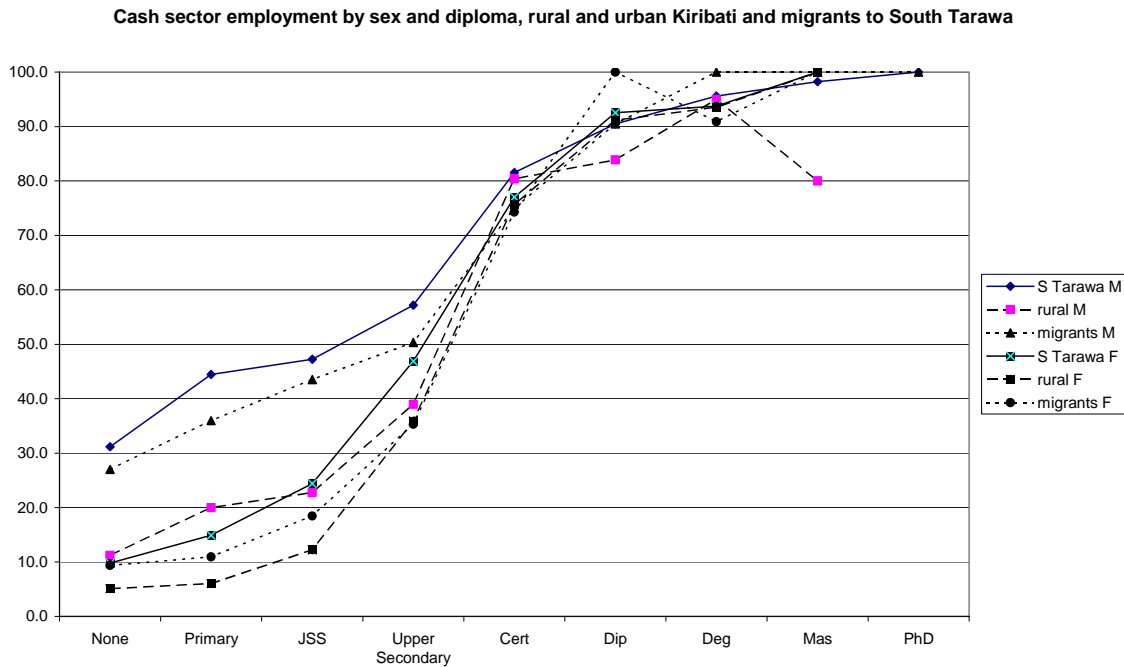
<sup>3</sup> Migrants to urban areas are defined as people residing in South Tarawa in 2005 who reported to reside outside of South Tarawa in 2000 at the question on previous residence. They include internal and external migrants to South Tarawa. Non-migrants are people who resided in South Tarawa in 2000 and 2005.

remaining in rural areas (figure 4). At higher education level, there is little difference between urban and rural areas for access to cash jobs.

Table 2: Youth employment in cash sector and unemployment rates for urban, rural and by migrant status, Kiribati 2005.

	all ages				Youth			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	cash work	unemployment rate	cash work	unemployment rate	cash work	unemployment rate	cash work	unemployment rate
Kiribati	28.5	41.0	16.5	46.4	10.9	70.4	9.6	68.7
South Tarawa	38.7	32.6	22.8	40.6	15.8	61.5	14.3	61.5
Rest of Kiribati	20.4	50.4	11.0	54.5	6.9	79.4	4.9	79.7
<b>ST migrants</b>	<b>32.5</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>51.9</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>64.8</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>69.7</b>
ST non migrants	40.9	30.9	24.7	37.3	16.7	60.5	15.5	58.3
ratio migrants/rural	<b>1.59</b>	0.75	<b>1.54</b>	0.95	<b>1.90</b>	0.82	<b>2.34</b>	0.87

Figure 4: Cash sector employment rates by sex and diploma for rural and urban Kiribati and urban migrants.



Another advantage of moving to urban area rests with lower unemployment rates in the cash sector<sup>4</sup> there than in rural areas, even for recent migrants<sup>5</sup>. However, unemployment

<sup>4</sup> see annex 3 for definition of unemployment rate

<sup>5</sup> The category 'recent migrants' is structurally disadvantaged comparatively to non-migrants because some migrants arrived recently and have not had enough time to find jobs. Using 2 questions on previous residence, 1 year and 5 years before census, enable to consider migrants who arrived 1-4 year before census, or data on year of arrival enable to measure migrants insertion on the labour market more precisely.

rates in the cash sector in South Tarawa are quite high (around two thirds) and show that a transfer of poverty is actually occurring between rural and urban areas. But, migrants can expect to improve their situation, with lower unemployment and higher cash sector participation with time, as shown by the better situation of non migrants - who include more ancient migrants: people who moved to urban area more than five years before the 2005 census.

Altogether, attraction of urban areas for unqualified rural youth bears the adverse effect of bringing large number of unqualified youth to urban areas, reducing the qualification of urban labour force. And, although unqualified migrants substantially increase their participation in the cash labour force, many more remain unemployed, which contributes to the social problems of urban areas. A more comprehensive view of youth situation than the employment and unemployment rates is necessary to understand their situation in urban areas.

### 2.2.2. The varied activity situation of youth

Unemployment rates for youth are usually very high because a small proportion of youth with low qualification try to integrate the labour force while most of the future qualified labour force is still student, mostly at ages 15-19. This is also true to a lesser extent at ages 20-24. Therefore, youth arriving on the labour market are a specific population with lower chances than average to find employment. A closer look at the activity status of youth is necessary.

Considering the distribution of youth by activity status<sup>6</sup>, most youth are students (figures 5a and b). Focusing on differences between South Tarawa and the rest of Kiribati, it is clear again that youth are much more often employed for cash in the former than in the latter. The proportions of unemployed people show again that males are less unemployed in South Tarawa than in the rest of Kiribati. However, the proportion of unemployed females is significantly higher in South Tarawa than in rural areas while unemployment rates show the contrary<sup>7</sup>. The 'inactive' are people who do not work and are not looking for work. Some of them may be discouraged of looking for work as paid employment is rather scarce in Kiribati, mostly for those who have low educational level. However, even after removing those seeking work, inactive people are more frequent in South Tarawa than in rural areas, for both males and females. And males are more often inactive than females who, as usual, are more often in home duties than males.

Differences between migrants and non migrants show that the latter have less access to cash work and are more often inactive, as well as unemployed for females, but males show a slight advantage that did not appear with unemployment rates<sup>8</sup>. Male migrants are also more often students than females and there are also important differences between

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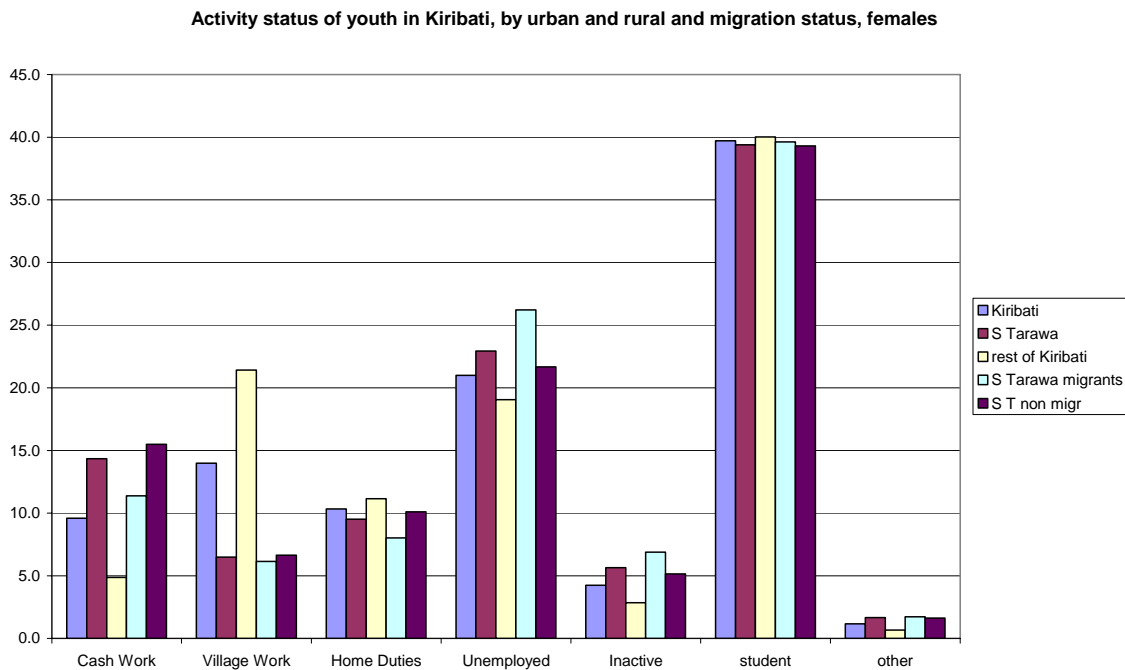
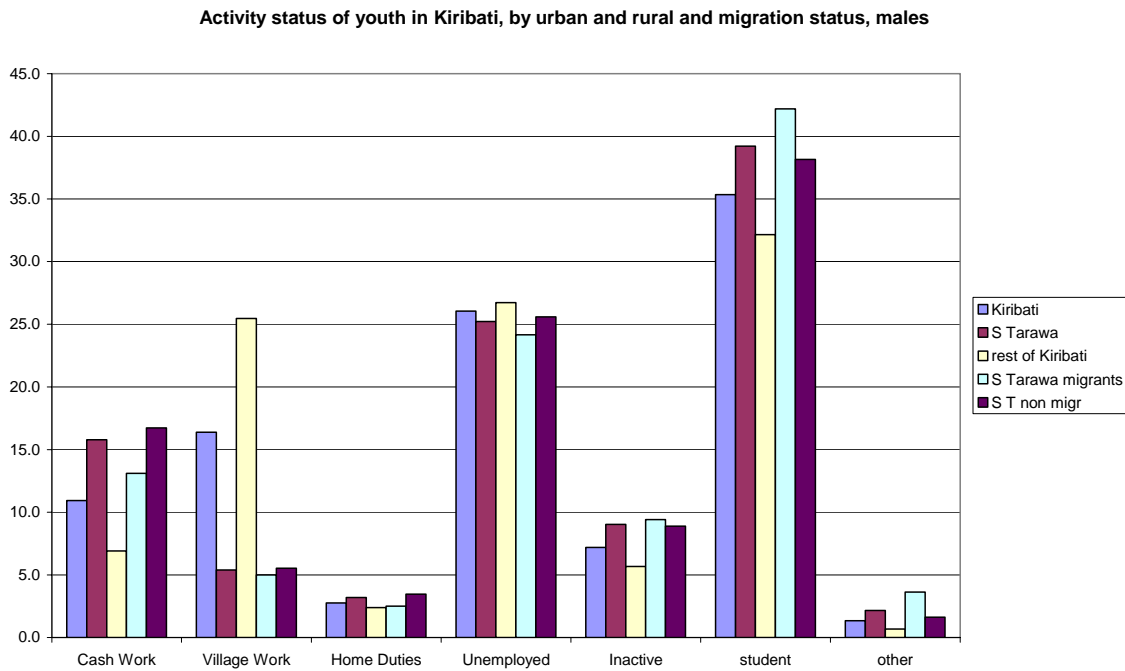
<sup>6</sup> To be consistent with unemployment rates presented above, village workers and inactive people who are seeking paid jobs have been reclassified as unemployed.

<sup>7</sup> This is due to the fact that the denominator for the unemployment rate is the cash labour force and not the total population and the share of the cash sector varies between rural and urban areas and by sex.

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 7.

South Tarawa and rural areas and by migrant status for males, while proportions of students are rather similar for all groups of females. We shall see below what may be the reasons of differences between males and females as regards being student.

Figure 5: Activity status by sex, urban/rural and migrant status



Thus, the proportions unemployed in the total youth population, in the range of 20% to 25%, appear to be much below the unemployment rates that reach 65% to 70%, because the latter considers only the labour force. However, there are much more youth being unemployed than working in the cash sector in South Tarawa for both sexes and this is what cash sector unemployment rates above 50% translates. – Unemployment rates including village work are 44% in South Tarawa, against 33% in the rest of Kiribati, with little difference between males and females. Lower unemployment rate in the rest of Kiribati is due to the large proportion of people in village work there.

An interesting indicator is the proportion of youth not at school and not at work. When village work is included, the proportions of youth in such situation are rather low with 23%, but they are higher in South Tarawa than in rural areas (30.2% against 16.7%) with little difference by sex and migrant status. This is mostly due to the large village work sector in rural areas. When only cash work is taken into account, the situation is clearly at the advantage of South Tarawa with 45.7% against 58.2% for rural areas (with 52.2% for all of Kiribati), because higher proportions of youth are students and employment rates in the cash sector are also higher in the former. The higher integration of youth to the modern economy, either as students or cash workers, needs to be further scrutinized by considering the types of jobs available in urban areas.

### 2.2.3. Sectors of the labour force

The main question is whether urban labour force consists mostly in formal sector or petty jobs (informal sector). An analysis of detailed occupations would be necessary but it is time consuming and interpretation and classification of occupations reported is sometimes difficult.

Part-time jobs are not frequent in urban areas (3.8%), but they are more frequent for males (4.2%) than for females (3.1%) whereas it is usually the contrary. This could translate male involvement in informal activities. However, part time work is the most frequent in rural areas and in agriculture, because limited land resources in atoll do not allow for full time work in agriculture and fishing is rarely a full time activity. Elementary occupations could consist of petty jobs, but they also include low qualified jobs in manufacture and services. They represent only 7.5% of occupations in South Tarawa which is still low whenever it is much higher than in rural areas (3.9%) – some elementary occupations in manufacture and services are normally more frequent in urban areas. Services workers are also a category that could include informal sector jobs. It is however rather similar in South Tarawa and rural areas: 17.9% against 16.8%. As regards industry groups, retail trade could include vendors, but it is also not so much different in South Tarawa and the rest of Kiribati 10.2% against 7.1%. Only 3.6% of retail trade workers are in part time employment, with little difference by sex. However, retail trade consists often of very small shops in South Tarawa, but this is also the case in outer islands. Transport is of special interest, with scores of private minibuses carrying people along South Tarawa. It is of course much more frequent in South Tarawa than in sparsely populated outer islands that have even no roads and where transport is mostly by boats. However, transport is not an area of frequent part-time work (with 5.5%; 6.6% for males

and 3.3% for females). It should however be interesting to know the status reported by the persons who collect fares, often relatives of the driver. There is no category family helper in Kiribati census and there are not many employers in transport either, so that it is not clear how these workers have been classified.

Very low proportions of employers (1.9%) do not show significant differences by urban/rural and migrant status. However, as usual, youth, females and migrants are slightly less often employers than other groups. Self employed are more frequent in rural areas (9.3%) than in South Tarawa (3.3%) because it is a common situation in agriculture.

This analysis is based on Kiribati data only, because we had no similar opportunity of accessing other PICs census micro data. Obviously, it would be interesting to estimate the size of the urban formal and informal sectors in other countries, as economy and the labour market can be very different from the specific atoll economy of Kiribati.

Thus, some kind of transfer of unemployment, as lack of access to cash jobs, mostly for unqualified people and specifically youth, from rural to urban areas clearly occurs in the Pacific urbanization process. However, migrants increase their chances of being in cash work by migrating to cities. They probably also improve their economic situation and well being, although cost of living in towns is much higher than in countryside. Whenever limited to part of the urban population, the higher consumption of goods linked with urban life style creates wealth and contributes to raise national economic indices.

### 2.3. Family transformation in urban setting

#### 2.3.1. Urban versus rural average household size

The urban population consisting of large numbers of recent migrants results in particular household size and composition. Migration breaks family residential patterns when men, women and children do not migrate together. Various changes also occur as regards union types and living arrangements. The development of cohabitation without marriage started historically and developed more rapidly in urban areas. Divorce and visiting relationship also developed more rapidly in urban setting. Although large or extended families are more common in the countryside than in cities, it is frequently observed that households are larger in urban than in rural areas.

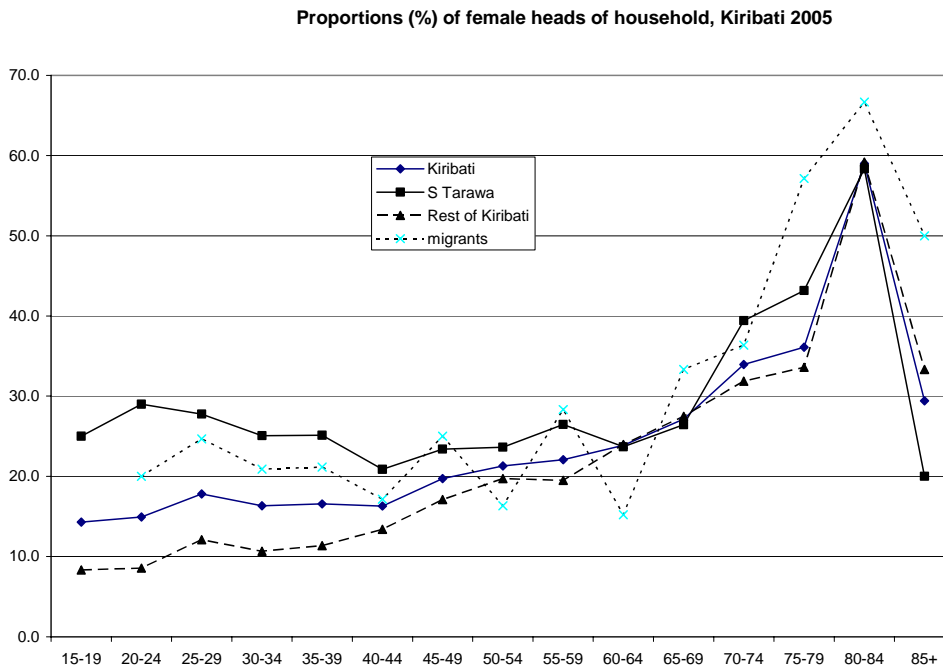
The Solomon Is 1999 census shows average size of private households to be 6.1 in rural areas against 6.7 in Honiara. The situation is more complex in Fiji with urban household size of 5.2 against 5.4 for rural households in 1996. However, rural households are mostly Fijian whereas urban households are mostly Indo-fijian and the latter have lower household size than the former. Moreover, for Indo-fijians, urban households are smaller than rural households (4.7 against 5.2) whereas it is the contrary for Fijians (6.2 against 5.6). Disaggregated data by ethnicity are not available at the city level. However, for all ethnic groups, urban household size is 5.2; it reaches 5.7 in Suva urban area, and 6.2 in

Lami urban area, which can be considered a peri-urban area of the capital, showing that major urban centers have higher average household size. In Kiribati, the 2005 census shows average household size of 5.6 in rural areas and 7.5 in South Tarawa. The 2000 census also showed similar difference between urban and rural household sizes.

### 2.3.2. Female headed households

When talking of migration related household characteristics, female headed households come first to the mind because of the husband’s absence. This situation occurs typically in rural areas as a result of emigration of husbands. However, wives can often stay with relatives in villages and therefore, female headed households are less frequent in rural areas. The two main reasons of this situation are husbands migrating from urban areas to overseas and more frequent family breakdowns in urban areas. It appears that the difference in the proportion of female headed households is largest at younger ages, mostly 20-29<sup>9</sup> and secondarily 30-39 (fig. 6). As there are very small numbers of household heads aged less than 20 or even 20-24, this is not strictly speaking a youth issue, but rather young and mid adult age issue reflecting the situation of lone mothers raising their children.

Figure 6: Proportion (%) of female heads of household by age and urban/rural, Kiribati 2005 census.



### 2.3.3. Migrants and youth living arrangements

<sup>9</sup> There are very small numbers of household heads aged less than 20 or even 20-24.

Migrants, mostly youth, in urban areas are more likely to live without their parents, staying with elder brothers or sisters or more distant relatives. Some even live with non relatives, friends or in laws. Although the relationship to household head can be sometimes imprecise<sup>10</sup>, there is clearly a big difference of structure between urban and rural living arrangements (table 3). Households in South Tarawa host many more ‘relatives’<sup>11</sup> and non relatives from rural areas who come temporarily to South Tarawa or cannot find or afford own housing, increasing by almost two persons the average household size in South Tarawa comparatively to the rest of Kiribati. Without ‘relatives’ and non relatives, the average household size is 4.7 for Kiribati, with 4.9 for South Tarawa and 4.5 for the rest of Kiribati. Thus, while there is 1.1 ‘relatives’ and non relatives per household in rural areas, there are 2.6 in South Tarawa. The higher household size in South Tarawa than in rural areas, after discounting ‘relatives’ and non relatives, is due to younger age structure in urban areas that results in more children (2.3 against 2.0) per household, despite lower fertility in urban areas. There is also more sons and daughters in law in urban than in rural areas (0.2 against 0.1 per household). The difficulty to access own housing leading to new forms of extended households in urban areas.

Large numbers of people living with brothers/sisters or other relatives, as well as people living with non relatives in urban areas is a direct consequence of migration of single persons or of family members migrating alone. And actually youth migrants are most often in these situations with 40% in relation of brother/sister or ‘other relative’ to household head and 20% in relation of non relative (table 3). There is not much difference between males and females, but it is slightly more frequent for females to live with brothers/sisters and other relatives, and still relatively more frequent to live with non relatives. This may be due to cohabitation. Cohabiting females living with partners should or may be reported as spouses, but in complex households, cohabiting partners of sons or daughters of the household head are probably reported as non relatives of the head, unless cohabitation is ancient and stable, in which case they could be reported as sons or daughters in law.

It also appears that more males than females are in boarding schools. Probably because parents consider that boarding schools in urban areas are not safe for adolescent girls. This would also explain why more girls live with distant relatives and non relatives, parents preferring this type of living arrangement to boarding schools for their daughters.

These types of living arrangements do not prevent abuse happening occasionally, which has been already reported in several PICs. Given the sometimes lose family control, children in such situations may engage in risky behaviour. They may also be lacking

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<sup>10</sup> Most Pacific kinship systems include cousins among brothers/sisters and the short list given for relation to household head could sometimes be misunderstood. When relatives are not easily described, relationship could be reported as ‘non relatives’. However, it should be really distant relationship, at least by European standards. And it is not uncommon that households include people who have really no family or kinship relationship to the household head.

<sup>11</sup> They are other relatives than spouse, child, adopted child, son/daughter in law, grand children and parents, for sistance, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, cousins, parents etc.

money and rely on illegal activities to get cash. This is directly related to issues of reproductive health, HIV transmission and alcohol and drug consumption, as well as to security issues, like trading of drugs, thefts and other crimes. However, the health, gender and education issues deserve the greatest attention. This is the scope of policies.

Table 3: Population in relation of brother/sister/other relative and non relative to household heads, by urban/rural and for urban migrants, Kiribati, 2005

	Kiribati	S Tarawa	migrants	Kiribati	S Tarawa	migrants
	<b>Males</b>			<b>females</b>		
brother/sister/other relatives						
total	16.4	22.4	27.9	16.0	22.2	28.8
youth	<b>23.4</b>	30.8	<b>39.8</b>	<b>22.3</b>	30.8	<b>40.7</b>
Non-Relative						
total	8.0	9.7	12.1	9.4	11.2	14.2
youth	<b>11.7</b>	12.6	<b>17.3</b>	<b>13.4</b>	14.6	<b>18.9</b>
Boarding school						
total	2.2	1.6	2.2	2.6	1.1	1.3
youth	9.9	6.2	<b>10.4</b>	12.6	4.6	<b>6.4</b>

### 3. Policy implications

The complex phenomenon of urbanization, including the not well assessed understanding of migration determinants and the specific socio-economic and environmental issues in urban areas raise a lot of policy questions and implications. Only a general approach will be presented here.

#### 3.1. Overview of urbanization policies

Based on the role of the two components of urban growth in the Pacific, policies should address urban fertility through access to reproductive health and try to influence rural-urban migration. It is certainly easier to provide reproductive health services to enable urban women to plan the number and spacing of their children according to their expectation of participation in the formal labour force - thus reducing urban natural growth-, than to influence migration except through coercive policies that are not conform to human rights. However, the same focus should be directed at rural areas as they are the source of urban migration which feeds on the rural population surplus. Studies in other regions show that, whenever single women migrate to work in the cash sector, many migrate to accompany their husband. As it probably applies also to the Pacific, some migrant women are facing the same problem of reproductive health as rural women while young migrant women are more subjected to issues of teenage pregnancies. Given the transformation of sexual behaviour in urban setting, both young and adult women need better sexual health information and empowerment to decide of their choices.

As regards policies directed at migration specifically, stricter enforcement of land rights is a legitimate way to influence urbanization, but it can just push urbanization to its periphery. When possible, creating or developing secondary urban areas is a good way to alleviate pressure on unique towns as is mostly the case in PICs. However, the population size of PICs is so small that it is not an option in most of them.

Urban life can be an opportunity for women empowerment, as they are more often heads of households and less subjected to family pressure than in rural areas. They improve relatively more than males their situation on the labour market, mostly for young women. However, there is a need to develop behaviour change and involve men in responsible sexual and reproductive behaviour so that cities are not a threat for women and to avoid the HIV pandemic reaching the general population stage.

The location of urban services as regards distance to informal settlements or poor areas should be considered so that access to services is not finally as difficult in urban than in rural areas, mostly as health and education workers are not keen on working in these types of areas. - For instance, there is no health center in Buota, but it is not too far from the Ministry of Health central hospital.- The same however applies to location of rural services as the lack or low quality of services is a strong factor of rural-urban migration. However, rural development that provides cash jobs to rural residents is certainly the best way to reduce the urban drift. On the other side again, given the high level of urban unemployment, mostly of recent migrants, it is necessary to provide qualification and jobs to urban youth. Developing employability of urban migrants and increasing the urban formal sector will result in increased economic growth for the country as a whole. This has been at the basis of development of new economies in Asia.

A major aspect that policies should consider when dealing with urban youth is their specific family situation. Many urban migrants have no biological or adoptive parents or even no family members staying with them. These, with their lack of resources, are major aspects of migrants and youth vulnerability. Easily accessible and rationally located youth friendly services in health are necessary to reduce socio-economic impact of teenage pregnancies as regards education drop outs and poverty related issues. These services need also to address youth sexual health as a major condition of the reduction of the spread of STIs including HIV and the associated cost for health systems, the economy and family wellbeing. – Location of such services in the vicinity of areas frequented by youth (stadiums, clubs, schools...) is judicious as regards accessibility and privacy of visitors.

Environment impact of urbanization is also a major policy issue. It includes provision of infrastructures for distribution of safe water and development of environmentally safe sanitation that are strongly related to the levels of infant and child morbidity and mortality, with associated cost for health systems. Waste disposal is also a major issue as it can pollute underground water sources for long period of times. Air quality is also an issue, not only as regards traffic, but also waste disposal. Burning of trash in courtyards was more or less acceptable when it consisted mainly of vegetal, but it includes now

various chemicals like plastic bottles or bags, used batteries and even rubber that release dioxin in environment and cause respiratory diseases.

### 3.2. Data gaps

Policies should also focus on data issues. There is a dearth of information as regards the characteristics of urban areas due to poor analysis of census data. The present study is just a hint to what could be available. But, whenever, more detailed analysis of censuses can provide important information for policy formulation, surveys would be necessary to fully understand the process and determinants of urban growth and drift. Existing HIEs and DHS should be analyzed from the view point of the problems encountered in urban areas and more specifically by migrants. However, there is a need of collecting more information on migration from these surveys to better identify various types of migrants and their behaviours. Mapping of information on GIS and urban atlas need also to be developed and are currently only available for the major PICs like Fiji.

### 4. Conclusion

This rapid analysis based on recent Kiribati data reveals characteristics of urbanization in the Pacific. The major issues of urbanization appear to be urban growth and the share of its components. Geographical extension of urban areas, the urban sprawl, is also a major issue. As regards social issues, whenever youth integration in the cash sector of the LF seems to occur rather favorably in Kiribati, with limited gap between recent migrants and the rest of the urban population, and with a strong advantage over rural residents, it remains that participation rates in cash employment are low, a typical situation in PICs, mostly in Western and Northern Pacific. It has also been surprising to see such high proportions of urban youth in non nuclear family living arrangements in Kiribati, and this is certainly a common situation in the Pacific. The socio-economic situation and household structures of urban residents are the core of the social and health problems linked to urbanization. Policies should attempt to fully develop the economic chance and possibilities that urbanization represents, not forgetting its correlate of providing similar opportunities in rural areas, notably as regards services.

### Annex 1

#### **Estimate of components of urban growth.**

$$G = B - D - IE + II - EE + EI$$

Where

B = resident births

D = resident deaths

G = urban growth

IE = internal emigrants

II = internal immigrants

EE = external emigrants

EI = external immigrants

These 'events' relate to two components:

- natural growth ( B - D) and

- migration growth

that can be separated between

- internal migration (IE and II) and
- external (international) migration (EE and EI).

If births and deaths of urban residents are known precisely then the migration component can be deducted easily.

Without civil or health registration of births to urban residents, it is necessary to estimate urban fertility. Indirect estimates are affected by important biases. For instance, urban mothers may leave children in villages with family, then they cannot be affected to urban women by the OCM (Own Children Method). The Arriaga method, based on parity by age, will also be affected if such mothers do not report children living in villages, which may be frequent for young single women who do not want to show enumerators that they have children. As parity and affectation of children to women are the basis of most indirect methods, the natural component of urban growth is likely to be biased resulting in the estimate of migration components being inaccurate.

Net internal migration is provided by census data through the question on previous residence. In some cases, the reporting of previous residence is quite inaccurate and census based migration data are unreliable. In cases where they are of acceptable quality and if the external migration is negligible, which is the case for some PICs, then, the migration component becomes available and the natural component can be deducted. If international migration is important, then the measurement of the migration component is impossible as, whenever the previous residence provides external immigrants, data on external emigrants are not available.

It is possible, assuming that urban age-specific mortality rates are not much different from national rates, to estimate net migration of urban areas using the survival method – however, enumeration coverage bias will affect the estimate. It is also necessary to estimate migration of the 0-4 age group (which is not available if urban residents' births are not available) - it can be assumed equal to that of the 5-9 age group. Then, the natural component can be deducted. Using national age-specific fertility rates and female urban population by age groups<sup>12</sup>, it is possible to estimate births in urban areas, assuming urban fertility is not different from national fertility – however, this can be further checked (see below). It is also possible to estimate deaths using age-specific death rates and the urban population by age groups. Then, estimate of urban natural growth by this method can be compared with the previous estimate by deduction from net migration. As the bias due to using national rates for mortality is probably low and anyway lower than the bias of fertility, we can get to a rough idea of the differential between urban and total

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<sup>12</sup> Doing this, we just take into account the effect of urban age structure on fertility - and below on mortality.

fertility. If urban natural growth calculated using national fertility and mortality rates is higher than the previous estimate, this shows that urban fertility is lower than national average. The ratio of urban to national fertility can be calculated, but it will include the bias due to urban mortality differential. However, it should be clear if urban fertility is much lower or nearly the same as national average.

## Annex 2

### **Definition of unemployment**

Unemployment has been defined specifically for this study. The usual process in Kiribati censuses is to ask people who are not working if they are looking for paid work. Thus, enumerators directly define the unemployed. The 2005 census of Kiribati included a question on 'are you seeking paid work'. It appeared that part of the inactive were looking for work. Therefore, the unemployed have been corrected to include these people.

Moreover, it is often said that people in subsistence agriculture ('village work' in Kiribati) are actually unemployed and would prefer to work for cash. However, only those who are looking for cash work should be accounted as unemployed to conform to international standards of the definition of unemployment. As the question on 'seeking job' was asked to all population aged 15 and over, it is possible to include village workers who seek work among the unemployed. – Students, people already employed in cash work as well as in home duties were also asked the question whether they were looking for work. However, we do not include them among the unemployed as it is not usually done so in labour force statistics.- We include only in the labour force those who are employed in cash work. Thus, the labour force consists of unemployed people seeking cash work and people working for cash work. The unemployment rate under this definition is of course higher than including village workers. But it reflects better the situation of cash sector that is of more interest to migrants specifically. The draft 2005 census report prepared by SPC includes all village workers as unemployed which does not conform to ILO standard not taking into account the fact of seeking work. The reason given for this definition is that many people do not look for work because they know there is no job available, which is not exact as there are jobs available and there is always the possibility to open an own business. Moreover, it is also sure that some people, mostly in rural areas, are not interested or available for paid work. Extending this reasoning, it would also be possible to include people in home duties among the unemployed, saying they may prefer to work for cash but do not look for jobs because they know there is none available. It also results in higher unemployment rates than those calculated with the above definition.