SOME SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION
A CURRICULUM PAPER FOR SAMOA

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Cluny Macpherson DPhil.
Department of Sociology
University of Auckland
PB 92019
Auckland
New Zealand

Phone: 00 649 4220836
Fax: 00 649 4220836
c.macpherson@auckland.ac.nz

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Part One:
Migration in Human History

Humans have always moved around. Archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest human beings on earth lived in Africa. From there, they moved and settled and then moved on again over many thousands of years until they eventually settled the whole planet. Archaeologists believe that they can now trace the process of human migration and settlement across the face of the earth from Africa to the islands of the Pacific Ocean which were amongst the last lands on earth to be settled. As more archaeological remnants and new sites are discovered and new technologies become available the record of this prehistoric migration will become even clearer.

Oral histories also record these movements. Many people’s oral histories include accounts of their movements which explain when and why they left places, how they travelled, and how they found and settled the places in which they now live. These histories of movement are found in stories, songs, chants, genealogies and ‘maps’ which people carry with them. More recently, written histories have recorded the movements of people and the process by which the earth was eventually explored and settled.

Extended periods of movement occurred as the Chinese, Greeks, Persians and Romans created great empires. To ensure that taxes, tributes, slaves, crops and goods flowed from all parts of the empires to the cities at their centres, bureaucrats, tax-collectors and armies moved from the centres to the provinces. There they remained, often for long periods of time, looking after the affairs of the empire. One by one these empires fell or disintegrated and the migration which was associated with them slowed and was reversed.

Then again in the late fifteenth century another period of colonisation commenced as various European powers set out to acquire territories in the ‘New World’. The race to acquire new colonies involved Spain, Portugal, France, Germany and Britain. The new colonies were needed by these European powers to
• increase their wealth,
• guarantee supplies of precious minerals for trade,
• raw materials for developing manufacturing industries and later
• to provide markets for their manufactured products.

One by one, indigenous peoples in societies all over the globe found their lives transformed to varying degrees by either the Spanish, Portuguese, French, German or British colonists, bureaucrats and missionaries. This period of colonial expansion created profound social, political and economic changes, especially in those places where land or minerals or other resources which the colonists wanted were found. In those places, the arrival of colonists often produced a second wave of migration as they forced the original inhabitants off land which they wanted for mines, farms and plantations and ‘re-settled’ them without much consideration for their rights. The loss of land often led to poverty, illness and demoralisation of the indigenous people and dramatic falls in their populations. In some places, introduced illnesses led to significant declines in the size of the indigenous population while in others, such as Australia, settlers engaged in the systematic killing of indigenous inhabitants in what has been called genocide.

In the last two hundred years, the pace of human migration has increased as industrial development has been increasingly concentrated in locations which enjoyed specific economic or physical advantage. These developments were usually near
• mineral resources such as coal or steel, or
• rivers which produced hydroelectric power, or
• flat land where there was room for industrial and residential expansion,
• near harbours where there were good ports or
• on navigable rivers.

This has meant that industrial growth has been uneven and that the rapid growth of industries in these places created a strong demand for labour to build the new cities and to work in the new industries.
At first, this labour was drawn to the factories from the countryside around the factories. Later, as this local labour was exhausted, people travelled or were brought from other countries to live and work in the new industrial cities.

As technology improved, more people were able to move more easily and quickly to these urban, industrial centres. The invention of steam railways and later, larger, faster passenger ships and aircraft have made it possible to move people more quickly, cheaply and safely to areas where industrial growth was occurring. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the volumes of human of human migration increased steadily.

As industrial growth produced higher incomes and produced great wealth for some, people began to move around to visit and explore places rather than to work. This created a new form of migration based on temporary visits to places of interest in both the old and new worlds. Tourism began to grow rapidly in the nineteenth century as wealthier people from high-income countries travelled the world in more modern and more comfortable ships, to visit the wonders of the world, to seek adventure, and to seek cures for illnesses.

The Study of Migration and Human Society
Migration has had, and continues to have, a major impact on human societies. The effects of migration are seen in both the societies that people leave, called sending societies, and those in which they settle, called receiving societies. These societies are not always countries or nations. People may, for instance, move from a rural society, such as a village, to an urban one, such as a city, within the same country. The impacts of these internal moves may be as serious for villages as international movements are for nations.

The impacts of migration are now so important that an academic discipline has developed around the study of human movement.
This discipline is called **sociology of migration** or **migration studies**, and has brought together the skills of

- demographers who chart the population consequences
- sociologists who document and analyse social consequences
- economists who chart the economic consequences
- geographers who study the implications of spatial redistribution of people
- historians who provide the contexts of movements
- psychologists who look at individual consequences of movement
- medical researchers who look at the health impact of movements

These people have become interested in understanding and explaining the

- processes
- patterns
- social consequences (costs and benefits) and
- individuals’ and groups’ experiences

of human movements of all types.

**The Terminology of Migration:**
Because different types of migration have quite different consequences, special terms are necessary to distinguish between different types of migration. Those who study migration have created a set of terms to refer to different types and consequences of migration.

The first set of terms distinguishes between movement that occurs **within** countries and **between** countries.

**Internal or Domestic Migration**
These terms refer to human movements **within** a nation. It usually results from people moving from

- rural areas to live in small centres,
- small centres to large cities,
- between cities,
- cities to rural areas where new industries create new jobs.
Some of this internal migration is *temporary* as farmers move to town to sell their crops and produce and then return to their farms and plantations. Some is *semi-permanent* as people move to town to work and return only after their retirement. Some internal migration is *permanent* as families move and never return to their birthplace.

National governments need to plan and provide roads, water, power and sewerage facilities, and health and education services for these new settlements which is usually very expensive. So governments often attempt to manage internal migration to ensure that the infrastructural needs can be planned and provided.

But regulating internal movement is difficult because,
- citizens often enjoy the constitutional right to freedom of movement
- citizens do not usually need documents to move within a country as they do when cross international boundaries and
- the cost of maintaining an office and a workforce to control internal movements is high.

Governments are much more likely to provide incentives such as,
- cheap residential land,
- cheap agricultural land
- agricultural subsidies
- housing loans or grants
- educational opportunities
- employment opportunities
to encourage people to migrate to and settle in particular areas at times.

**International Migration**

Refers to human movements *across* national boundaries. This form of migration has become more and more common since the middle of the nineteenth century as more and more people have moved in search of new opportunities and safer places in which to live.
Much international migration is known as economic or labour migration and occurs as people move from countries with lower wage levels to countries with higher wage levels in search of work. Some international migration is known as family reunification and happens as members of a family move to join members of their families who have already settled elsewhere. Some international migration, known as refugee movements, occurs as people move to escape wars and political or religious persecution.

Governments also try to regulate international migration.

The governments of receiving countries attempt to regulate immigration flows to ensure that most of those people who enter a country

- have skills which can be used in the economy,
- will find work and
- will contribute to the country through taxation.

The governments of sending countries may also try to regulate out emigration flows to ensure that

- valuable professional and technical skills, sometimes known as human capital, are not lost to the country’s economy,
- out-migration does not result in falls in agricultural production and a loss of food security
- labour shortages in the country do not prevent new forms of economic activity and growth.

The regulation of out-migration by sending countries is much more difficult because migrants usually think of their own personal interests and their families’ interests when they make decisions about moving. They do not usually think about the consequences of their movement for the national economy or for national development.

National-International Migration
Migration frequently involves not one but several movements or steps. When migrants’ life histories are considered one can see that migration is often a sequence of movements within and between states. A typical sequence might involve,

1. an internal movement from a village to the capital,
2. an international movement from the capital to an overseas city,
3. an internal movement within the overseas country from a city where there is no work to a rural centre where jobs are available,
4. another international movement to a third country in which relatives have settled and higher wages are available,
5. a final international movement back to the country of birth after retirement.

**The Scale of Human Movement**

A second set of terms is used to distinguish the scale of migration because different scales of migration can have profoundly different impacts on the societies which people leave and those to which they move. For instance, a large number of Tokelauans were moved to Aotearoa together immediately after a major cyclone. The sudden departure of large numbers of people had profound effects on the economy and society of the atolls.

**Mass migration**

This term is used to refer to the large movements which occur over a short time. These movements often occur as large numbers of people seek to escape

- natural disasters such as floods, monsoons, hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanoes, diseases, famines and droughts,
- social disasters such as wars, ethnic, religious, political persecution, and genocide which is sometimes called ‘ethnic cleansing’.

These movements have huge social and economic costs in both the places which migrants leave and those in which they settle. Where these movements occur suddenly and can not planned for, they are often accompanied by major social disruption as migrants,
• lose contact with their families and their places of origin,
• are separated from their savings and resources and are unable to provide for their needs,
• suffer from poor conditions which can affect their physical health,
• suffer from fear and insecurity which can affect their mental health.

**Individual Migration**

This refers to the continuous movements of individuals who move for many reasons. Some individual migration is *planned*: people plan to migrate at a certain point in their lives and save and prepare for these visits over long periods of time. Some individual migration is *spontaneous*: people suddenly decide to go overseas to visit or to attend a funeral or wedding. They use their savings or borrow from friends to make these trips.

Motives of individuals who migrate may vary greatly. Some people migrate so they

• can provide better social, economic and educational opportunities for their families. These individuals may continue to support their families from distant cities and countries.
• Other people move to escape their families and their expectations. These movements sometimes occur after arguments and conflicts and lead people to sever ties with their families more or less completely and never return.
• Other individuals move for short periods of time to achieve individual goals, such as saving money to build a house or start a business, and then return to their homes.
• Others move so that they can hold beliefs that they cannot hold in their own societies or to follow lifestyles that they are unable to follow in their own society.

**Motivations for Migration**

A third set of terms is used to distinguish sets of reasons, or motives, for movement. The reasons why individuals move are often very complex. A
person may move for several reasons. For instance, individuals may move to support their families and to follow a lifestyle that they cannot follow in their own society. It is often difficult to establish why individuals really want to move. A person may want to leave a place to escape family pressure to marry, or to follow a certain career but will find it difficult to admit this. Some reasons are less ‘socially acceptable’ than others and so people are reluctant to offer these. So they may instead say that they want to migrate to support their family because this is a more socially acceptable reason. While, it is difficult to identify all of the reasons why people move, it is possible to identify two general sets of factors.

The sociology of migration distinguishes between and studies,

- the push factors which lead people to leave one society and
- the pull factors which attract them to another society

These motives change over time and may lead migrants to stay away for longer or shorter periods than they had originally intended.

**The Processes of Migration**

Those who study migration have also used the length of the movement to distinguish between various forms of migration. The length of time of a movement is important because it will influence the consequences of the movement.

**Visits**

This refers to movements of less than three months. Visitors travel to attend family ceremonies such as weddings, anniversaries, birthdays, funeral, church ceremonies, cultural and sporting competitions and occasionally just to visit friends or places. Visitors often do not work while they are away from their homes and usually intend to return to their homes and jobs when they leave their homes. This means that their impact on both the society they leave and the society that they visit is limited.
Short-Term Migration
This refers to temporary movements where people spend between three months and three years in another location before returning to their home. Short-term migrants are sometimes known as sojourners and always intend to return to their homes when they leave their homes. They think of themselves as ‘being away from home’. This occurs where people migrate to look after a sick relative, or to work to earn money to start a new business, or to attend school or university, or to work on a contract. Many short-term migrants are single, or move on their own.

This type of migration has more significant effects in both the community which they leave and that in which they settle. The families of short-term migrants may receive more money but may be without a parent, or an adult child, who performed important social and economic duties for the family. Thus, children left behind may find themselves without a parent at important parts of their life. The benefits of short-term migration to the family may be offset by certain costs. The costs and benefits need to be calculated by families to decide whether short-term migration will improve their situation in the long-term.

Short-term migration also has an impact on the societies in which migrants settle. They earn money, which they spend on living expenses such as food, accommodation and transport and services such as insurance, banking and health. They may also buy tools, clothes, food, appliances and equipment to send home. All of these purchases create demand in the economy in which they settle which can result in economic growth.

They also pay taxes on their incomes in the countries in which they work. In many states, they also pay indirect taxes, such as VAGST or GST, on everything which they buy. This includes both goods such as food and cars, and services such as rent and banking transactions. For these reasons short-term migrants may produce economic growth in the places where they settle. At the same time, because they return to their country of origin, temporary migrants do not incur the high costs of supporting them in their retirement.
Long-Term Migration

This refers to movements of longer than two years where people establish homes and lives in another location and have no plans to return permanently to their birthplace. This occurs where people choose to leave one centre permanently. These movements usually occur where

- there is a shortage of land or
- of economic or educational opportunities, or
- for social, lifestyle or religious reasons.

Longer-term migrants are often married and move with their families, or are joined by their families later.

The impact of long-term migration for the sending society is more serious. Where large numbers of people leave for longer terms, the donor communities lose

- their labour and skills: ‘human’ or ‘social capital’,
- the income which the migrants produced,
- the food, goods and services which the migrants produced
- their social and religious contributions to their families and communities.

While the donor community gains from money, tools, gifts and food, the value of these may decrease over time. Migrants may send significant amounts to support their families and communities while they are single. As they marry, buy homes and establish families they face increasing expenses in their new homes. It often becomes difficult for them to maintain their contributions to their donor communities. Where this happens, the donor community may lose the migrants’ economic and social contributions.

The impact of long-term migration for the receiving society is also more significant. The receiving society experiences some economic growth as the migrants join the work force. The migrants pay income tax and expenditure taxes such as GST which expands the receiving government’s revenues and allows it to increase services. The migrants also spend some of their income on food, homes, clothing, education and recreation. Their expenditure
creates demand for the goods and services which are provided by private companies which in turn creates economic growth which in turn creates more jobs.

On the other hand the receiving society faces the costs of providing health, education and welfare services for migrants’ families who are unable to work. This usually happens during

- economic recessions where businesses or factories close and migrants and their families are unable to find work.
- where the labour market changes so that certain sorts of jobs which migrants have traditionally done disappear and are replaced with new ones which migrants do not have the skills for and
- after retirement from the work force.

The effects of long-term migration for both the donor and recipient countries will vary continuously as economic conditions change.

**Circular Migration**

This refers to temporary movements where people move between two ‘homes’ regularly and maintain interests in both centres. This occurs where older people visit family in one place during one part of the year and return to stay with another part at other times of the year. Circular migration also occurs where people work in the cities during the week and return to their villages during the weekends or where people work in several locations and move between these centres regularly. Circular migration also occurs where people leave regularly to work on short-term contracts and return between contracts.

The effects of circular migration for both the donor and recipient communities will vary with

- the length of time spent in each place
- the way time is spent in each place and
- the amount of circular migrant’s income spent in each place.
Return Migration
This refers to the decision to return permanently to one’s country of origin. This often occurs as migrants near the end of their lives and decide that they wish to return to live and die where they were born. Return migration can, as we will see, have significant beneficial effects on the society if these people bring with them large amounts of capital: knowledge, finance and technical and professional skills which they use when they return. Return migration may have significant negative effects on the society where they return with limited resources and depend on their families and governments to look after them in their old age. This points to the importance of consequences of movement.

The Consequences of Human Migration.
Those who study migration distinguish between different consequences of human movement. They distinguish between the consequences for the societies which migrants leave and those in which they settle.

This can be done by calculating the costs and benefits for both the sending and receiving societies. This is quite a complicated calculation because to establish the true impact of any movement one must calculate both

- social costs and benefits and
- economic costs and benefits.

While the economic costs and benefits are relatively easy to calculate, because they can be established from government data which is regularly collected in national censuses and household income and expenditure surveys, the social costs and benefits are much more difficult to calculate, as we will see later on.

The costs and benefits are generally calculated and then offset against each other in a sort of ‘balance sheet’ to establish whether there is a net gain or loss to the societies involved.
The costs are offset against the benefits for each of the societies to establish the true impact of migration for each of the society.

The net effect of migration may differ for the receiving and sending societies. If, for instance, the social and economic costs to the sending society are greater than the social and economic benefits then the effects of migration are said to be negative for the sending society. The same sort of calculation can be done to establish the net effect of migration for the receiving society. Often when these calculations are done, migration that has a positive impact for one society will have a negative impact on the other.

The calculation of the net effect of migration is complicated because
- the net effects may be different in the short, medium and long terms and because
- it will depend on whether the contributions of migrants’ overseas-born children are included in the calculations

It is also difficult because many people only think of the costs and benefits for themselves as individuals or for their immediate families. Most do not think about the consequences of their movement for the society which they leave and that to which they move.

But what is good for the individual and his or her family may be not be so good for the society as a whole. The calculation of the net cost for society is more complicated, but it is necessary if governments are to plan successfully for their country’s and their citizens’ futures.
By separating and understanding the various types of impacts which result from migration it is possible to assess the importance of migration in the short, medium and longer terms for the societies which migrants leave and those in which they settle.

To do this type of cost-benefit analysis, the following sorts of impacts have to be distinguished and measured:

**Demographic Consequences**

Migration may have profound effects on the size, structure and growth patterns of populations. Migration has effects on both the populations of the places that people leave and on the populations of those in which they settle. These effects vary with different types of migration and the length of migrants’ stays in places. The absence of large numbers of either men or women may have a limited impact on the sending society in the short term but if they are absent for longer periods of time their absence will have significant effects on population growth rates in the medium and longer terms.

**Social Consequences**

Migration may have important on the cultures and societies. Migration also has effects on the cultures of both the places that migrants leave and those in which they re-settle. These effects vary with different types of migration and the lengths of time involved.

**Economic Consequences**

Migration can have significant effects on economies. Migration has impacts on the economies that people leave and those in which they re-settle. These effects vary with different types of migration, the skills of the migrants and the lengths of time involved.

**Political Consequences**

Migration can have an impact on politics in both the places which people leave and those to which they move. Governments will have to make policies to attract migrants, to persuade migrants to return, or to limit migration to
ensure that they have access to skills that they need. These political effects vary with different types of migration.

**Health Consequences**

Migration can have an impact on the health of the places that migrants leave and those to which they move. In some cases, movements result in better physical and mental health and longer life for migrants as a consequence of diet changes, access to better health services and safer work. In others, migrants’ physical and mental health deteriorate and their life expectancies are shortened as a consequence of low incomes, poor or unbalanced diets and reduced exercise, psychological stress and dangerous jobs. In most cases, the patterns of illness simply change with migration as epidemiologists, who chart patterns of illness in populations, have shown.

In later sections we will consider some of the consequences of the migration of Samoans to many countries beyond Samoa. (see Sutter, *The Samoans: A Global Family*).

**Modelling Cots and Benefits**

The models which allow planners and governments to calculate costs and benefits are *complicated* because they must include all of the factors, or variables, above if they are to create realistic pictures of the future. They are also *expensive* to create because they require large amounts of technical expertise, computing capacity and social and economic data which must be collected.

The costs of creating models and modelling the possible costs and benefits of various policies which a government which a government may be considering is often so high that small governments cannot afford to carry out regular data collection and modelling exercises. But the costs of *not* modelling the consequences of migration may also be high because governments cannot carry out realistic assessment of the ‘costs’ of policy options.
One part of the migrant experience which is hard to model is the ways in which migrants are received and treated in the receiving society. It is difficult to model because the reception and treatment of migrants varies so much from one situation to another. Any study of migration should however consider this element of the migrant experience because the nature of the reception and treatment can have a profound effect on migrants’ physical and mental health and on the level and security of their income.

The Reception and Treatment of Migrants
The reception which migrants encounter in the receiving society will depend on a number of factors. Migration often brings together people with very different worldviews and lifestyles so it is not surprising that there is often some suspicion on the part of both the hosts and the migrants. Where the worldviews and lifestyles are very similar there are typically lower levels of suspicion than when they are very different.

Social Stereotypes, Prejudice, Discrimination and the Self-fulfilling Prophecy
Where groups do not understand very much of each other’s world views and lifestyles, there is typically,

• a greater dependence on social stereotypes (that is generalised views of others based on a very limited personal contact and very few observations),

• higher levels of prejudice (that is a tendency to pre-judge people before there is any meaningful, personal contact with them) against the migrants. These pre-judgements are often based on social stereotypes rather than actual personal experience,

• higher probability of ethnic discrimination (that is where a person’s beliefs about a migrant group influence their behaviour toward that group and lead them to treat members of that group differently from others). While this discrimination occasionally leads to more favourable treatment of members it usually results in less favourable treatment.
• social stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination often combine to produce ‘self-fulfilling prophecies’, which seem to ‘confirm’ social stereotypes and to justify continued prejudice and discrimination.

If, for instance, an employer believes that members of a migrant group gossip a lot and that this leads to trouble between group members in the workplace, she may use this social stereotype to pre-judge applicants for a position in her business. In the process she discriminates against the group because her beliefs lead her to reject all applicants from the group before she has interviewed them. Thus, she has no chance to establish whether her belief is true or not because she does not interview the applicant or look at the applicants’ references.

She eventually chooses an employee who is more like her and then believes and claims that the atmosphere in the business is peaceful because she did not hire people who are ‘known’ to gossip and to lead to conflict in the workplace. Thus, her ‘knowledge’ is ‘confirmed’ even though she has had no significant personal contact with members of the group and has not provided an opportunity to test the ‘accuracy’ of her ‘knowledge’.

But members of the host society are not alone in this conduct. Migrants also discriminate against their own people. Experienced migrants may also take advantage of new arrivals’ lack of knowledge to discriminate against them. Thus, a long-resident migrant may set up a cash loan business to lend to new migrants who cannot borrow from banks or credit unions. The lender takes advantage of the new migrant’s financial difficulty and lack of knowledge of her rights and

• asks for, and then retains, her passport as ‘security’,
• charges a higher rate of interest on the loan,
• adds certain ‘additional charges’,
• refuses to allow the borrower to take the contract to someone to look over and
• does not provide the borrower with a copy of the contract.
Many of these acts deny the new migrant legal rights which they have under consumer legislation and means that they are treated less favourably and illegally. Such acts and such businesses depend on the new migrants’ lack of knowledge of the law and of their legal rights.

Social stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination lead to unequal treatment of migrants, and especially new arrivals. Some members of the host and migrant societies may continue to discriminate against some migrants because they are not often challenged, either formally or informally, by the victims of discrimination.

Prejudice and discrimination may be illegal in the receiving society but it can and does still occur informally because some people,
- do not know that they have been discriminated against,
- cannot prove conclusively that they have been discriminated against,
- do not know how to complain about discrimination against them,
- do not want to complain because they fear that this will cause them further trouble for them or for their families.

Some migrants are more vulnerable than others to prejudice and discrimination. Those migrants who are in a country legally can openly claim and pursue all of the rights of citizens or permanent residents. They can seek assistance from lawyers, government departments and trade unions to pursue those people or companies whom they believe have discriminated against them in any way. They can pursue their rights without fear of being removed from the country and losing access to income that they need to support their families.

Those migrants who are in a country illegally are much more vulnerable to discrimination and are much more likely to be denied legal and human rights. If they pursue their rights they risk being identified and removed from the country and losing the income they need to support families. Therefore they are forced to accept some forms of discrimination every day. For instance,
• They cannot move around freely for fear of being stopped, identified and removed by authorities,
• They may be reluctant to seek health care in public hospitals where they believe the may be identified and often suffer poor health as a consequence.
• They may be unwilling to start and hold bank accounts because they have to provide addresses and other personal information.
• They may be unwilling seek legitimate employment because they risk being identified and removed from the country.

Instead they may be forced to spend much time at home, delay health treatment and to seek ‘informal’ employment where they are paid low wages, work in unhealthy or dangerous conditions and are threatened with ‘exposure’ if they complain about either their wages or conditions of work. The record of discrimination against illegal migrants is bad in most countries.

The Breakdown of Social Stereotypes
Social stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination persist where members of groups have little contact each other and few opportunities to get to know each other better. Without personal contact people continue to depend on social stereotypes. This is most likely to happen where,
• migrants become concentrated in particular industries and occupations and work mainly with other migrants,
• live together in particular regions or suburbs,
• worship in their own churches,
• spend much of their leisure time with other migrants
• marry members of their own population.

Social stereotypes may eventually breakdown and when this occurs levels of prejudice and discrimination decline. This is most likely to happen where
• migrant populations disperse and become more evenly distributed throughout a wider range of occupations,
• migrant populations disperse and become more evenly distributed throughout the country,
• migrants join non-migrant churches and participate in their religious activities
• migrants begin to join and participate in non-migrant sporting and social associations
• migrants begin to marry members of the host society and establish families
When these things happen more people have opportunities to meet and associate with migrants which breaks down social stereotypes. People who have contact with migrants have personal experiences which lead them to challenge and criticise stereotypes about migrants.

Of course, this social change can only occur when the groups are willing to meet and associate with one another. If either the host or the migrant group, or both, resist associating with one another, social stereotypes and high levels of prejudice and discrimination and the ethnic divisions will persist.

The next part of this course will explore the ways in which the ideas and theories from the sociology of migration can be applied to the Samoan experience of migration.
Part Two
Migration and Samoa

An Introduction:
When many people think about Samoan migration, they have in mind the movement that occurred between the end of World War II and the present. During that period, many people left Samoa to settle in New Zealand, Hawaii, California, Australia, Fiji and many other places. Sutter’s book *The Samoans: a Global Family* shows that Samoans live and work on all of the major continents and in many smaller places. While this most recent migration has, as we will see, involved relatively large numbers of people, it is only a part of a long history of migration and in the first part of this text we will consider some of these earlier movements.

Migration in Samoan History:
The Peopling of Samoa
There are at least two accounts of the peopling of the Samoan archipelago, or group of islands. The first of these contends that migration played no role in the founding of Samoa. Oral history holds that the Samoan archipelago was created and peopled by a god named Tagaloa at the beginning of history.¹ The second of these holds that the Polynesian people who now live in Samoa are the descendants of a group of people who travelled from South China into Southeast Asia and arrived in the central Pacific from 4000 years ago.

The first account rests on information passed from generation to generation and recited by Samoan society’s historians in speeches about their history and genealogy. These oral accounts are memorised and recited and have been transmitted from one generation to another through history. Since the introduction of writing by the missionaries the accounts of history have been committed to print and are available in books. Some of these written histories are held by families and some, like the work of Dr Augustin Kramer, have been published and are more widely available (Kramer, 1994).

¹. Malama Meleisea’s text *Lagaga: a Short History of Western Samoa* contains the full account.
The second account rests on several sets of evidence from different scientific disciplines.

- Archaeological evidence traces the passage of a group of people who made and used *lapita* pottery across the Pacific to Samoa where it was found during excavations of the new wharf facilities at Mulifanua on Upolu. Linguistic evidence points to the similarities between the Samoan language and those found elsewhere in the Pacific and Indonesia.

- Linguists conclude that the languages of the Pacific are related to one another and are part of what is known as the Austronesian language family. The similarities between Polynesian languages and the older languages of Southeast Asia, such as the Bahasa Indonesian, are very striking and are the result of the process of migration. Over time as people became separated from their parent societies, they retained some parts of the ancestral language intact but changed other parts. Some linguists have used the patterns of difference between various languages to establish when groups may have separated from one another.

- Most recently, geneticists have been comparing the DNA of different populations and have concluded that similarities in the DNA structure of peoples living in Southeast Asia and contemporary Polynesians suggest that they are related and that one population has descended from the other over a long period of time. As the technologies for comparing the genes of populations improve, and the data is brought together in such scientific exercises as the ‘Human Genome Project’, it will be possible to refine the history of these relationships.

Those scholars who have studied voyaging and navigation in the Pacific Ocean have now shown how canoe construction techniques and navigation technologies developed within the Pacific over time (Lewis, 1975). They have concluded that the technologies that were necessary to settle and people the Samoan archipelago from the west were available at the time when other scientists suggest that the movements were occurring.
If these theories are correct, and together they comprise strong evidence for the theory that Samoa was settled from the west, migration has played a major role in early Samoan history. This account argues that people moved eastward, settled for a period in various places, developed the new technologies necessary to build larger sailing craft which could travel over increasing distances of open ocean, and then moved on. If this evidence is accepted, it suggests that the first people arrived in Samoa between 2500 and 3000 years ago after moving from the west by a series of steps which may have taken several thousand years.

These early voyagers settled and remained in Samoa for some 300–500 years before some of their descendants decided to move on to explore and settle island groups to the east. Nobody knows for certain why some of those early Samoans decided to move further eastward but there are many theories which have tried to explain why.

- The first theory contends that people may have left Samoa after volcanic activity, and in particular lava flows, destroyed plantations, threatened villages and destroyed coastal fisheries. This volcanic activity could have forced people to leave Samoa in search of safer homes.

- A second theory contends that people may have left the islands of Samoa to escape an epidemic which spread quickly through the islands taking large numbers of lives and forcing some people to leave to avoid becoming victims of illness.

- A third theory contends that after inter-district wars, the leaders of the victorious districts, *malo*, forced the people from the districts which lost the war to leave their lands. Where people had no other land in Samoa to which they could go in these circumstances, they were forced to leave in search of newer safer places to live.
• A fourth theory argues that people get restless living in the same place and develop a desire to explore the world around them. Since the technology was available it is possible that a group of people could have decided to head off in search of adventure and settled where they found land.

• A fifth theory contends that village visiting parties, or *malaga*, got blown off course during storms and ended up in islands to the east. This theory is likely because these *malaga* travelled in large, well-supplied canoes and typically carried relatively large numbers of fit young men and women and large amounts of food.

While there are many theories about why those first Samoans left their islands, there is more evidence about where they settled.

[Insert map of the Pacific Ocean about here]

It is likely that the first group left Samoa 2200 years ago and settled in the Marquesas Islands, which are 4000 kilometres to the east, in what is now French Polynesia. It is likely that the large, twin-hulled sailing canoes were built in Savai’i and that the journeys started in there. These were remarkable voyages which involved long, unbroken passages over great distances with little but the stars to navigate by and very few places to stop and repair damage to canoes. The first Samoans to make these voyages must have been highly-skilled canoe constructors, sail-makers, planners, navigators, and sailors to have made such voyages successfully.

These explorers, like their ancestors before them, appear to have settled there for some time before leaving again to settle in islands which were even larger distances away over open sea. From there, their descendants travelled north to explore and settle the Hawaiian archipelago, southeast to Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and southwest to Mangareva, the Tuamotus and the Society Islands. There they remained for some time before finally moving south to
settle and colonise the Austral and Cook Islands and finally Aotearoa some 1200 years ago. (Crocombe, 1989)

The sequence of this early migration has been reconstructed from oral history, linguistic, archaeological and now genetic evidence and has been confirmed by experiments with traditional navigation techniques and trips using replicas of early voyaging canoes (see Lewis, 1972). As science develops, new techniques may become available and we will be able to reconstruct the history of these epic voyages with even more confidence. If this is accepted, migration resulted first in the peopling of Samoa and then later, in the settlement of eastern Pacific Ocean.

If those who settled the Eastern Pacific did leave from Samoa on their voyages of discovery, it could explain why those who settled eventually in the far north named Hawai‘i after their homeland Savai‘i and why Maori, who settled in the far south, refer to their homeland in the Pacific as Hawai‘iki. It is this belief that leads people to refer to Samoa as the ‘cradle of Polynesia’, the place where a distinctive, new Polynesian society was born.

**Later Migration**

There is evidence that after that early period, the Samoans maintained contact with many of the island groups around them, such as Fiji, Tonga, Uvea and Wallis, over a long period of time. The record of these contacts suggests that Samoans travelled to, traded with, married into and brought plants and technologies from these societies. How frequent these contacts were, and how long they lasted, can not be known because oral histories do not all record of the voyages between the places. Oral histories tend to record only those voyages on which significant events occurred. Thus, while Taema and Tilafaiga’s voyage from Fiji to Samoa is recorded in oral history because it was especially significant, other trips between Fiji and Samoa were not recorded because nothing of historical importance happened.

Samoan history contains stories of contact with the Tongan group of islands to the South, a period of Tongan settlement in Samoa and wars which are
reflected in titles such as Malietoa. Some of these contacts resulted in links between Tonga and Samoan families. The contacts with Fiji, referred to in the song *Tatau a Samoa*, are thought to have brought the tatau which is now so closely associated with Samoa. The plant ‘ava, known then as le alofi, is also thought to have come from Samoa. A number of Samoan districts and villages and titles also have histories of which link them to Fiji. Falealii was connected with Tui Samoa and Fagamalo with Tui Fiti. The Samoan contacts with Fiji have been outlined in detail by the Samoan historian and scholar Tuimaleali’ifano in his book *Samoans in Fiji* (Tuimaleali’ifano, 1990). Contact also occurred between Samoa and smaller islands to the east such as Pukapuka in the Northern Cook Islands, Rarotonga in the Southern Cooks, Uvea and Futuna to the West, the Tokelaus to the north and Rotuma to the south. These early links are also commemorated in the histories and in genealogical connections of the societies.

**Nineteenth Century Migration**

Samoans began to join the crews of the whaling and trading vessels that ventured into the South Pacific Ocean from the early 1800s. Some Samoans joined the crews voluntarily in search of adventure. Others were taken on board the ships against their will by captains who needed to replace sailors who had died and deserted on these long dangerous voyages in the Pacific. Samoans moved around the region on these ships as passengers, crew and interpreters. Fauea, the Samoan chief who accompanied the Reverends John Williams and William Barff and the Tahitian teachers to Samoa in 1830, was already in Tonga and was looking to return to his home when he met the missionary party and offered to take them to Samoa to introduce the Christian Gospel.

Some of these nineteenth century movements are recorded in the logs of the ships on which people travelled or worked but again, it is difficult to establish exactly how many Samoans were involved. Their Samoan names were often incorrectly recorded by ships’ personnel and their homes were usually not recorded. Other Samoans were frequently given English names which were then recorded in the ships’ records.
After the arrival of missionaries from the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan, or Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches, Samoans began to convert to Christianity in large numbers (see Gunson, 1978; Meleisea, 1987). Their commitment to the Christian faith led many to offer themselves to the church as missionaries. The Malua Theological College was established in the mid-1840s and by the late 1840s the first Samoan missionaries were being sent to the new mission fields to the west (Gunson, 1978). Samoan missionary families have served throughout the Pacific and beyond from that time to the present.

While the numbers of Samoans involved in missionary activities were relatively small, their impact on the cultures of the societies that they worked in was very considerable. The teachings of these Samoan missionaries transformed the cultures of societies from the Tokelau Islands to the north as far west at Papua New Guinea in the same way that the Tahitians and Rarotongans had transformed Samoan society. The Samoan worldview, language, music and rhythms became major influences in a number of those societies where Samoan missionaries served and survive to the present.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, travel throughout the Pacific had become easier as larger numbers of ships moved around in the region to support the growing international trade. It was easier for people to move around and a number of Samoans moved away from their homes in search of education, employment and adventure. They formed the small Samoan communities that were beginning to develop in Australia, New Zealand and Fiji in the late 1800s. Tuimaleali'iifano has written a very comprehensive account of the history of one of these communities: the Samoan community which formed in Fiji. He has traced the formation of the community and its history from that time to the present. He has shown how links were established and maintained between to sending community and the migrant community.

Other small Samoan settlements formed when Samoans who were fishing offshore or were travelling within Samoa were blown off-course and ended up
in other islands and were unable to return. There are stories of such Samoan settlements in Pukapuka, which some claim is named after the village of Pu’apu’a from which its first settlers came, in the Northern Cooks and in Rotuma in the northern part of the Fiji group.

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were growing numbers of European settlers from Britain, America, Germany, Australia and New Zealand living in Samoa. Some Samoans who married settlers in Samoa later left and settled with their families in their spouses’ homelands. This led to the steady growth of small numbers of Samoans and part-Samoans in each of these metropolitan countries. Some of the descendants of these Samoans are aware of, and still claim, their Samoan ancestry and connections even though they have never returned to Samoa and are uncertain about their exact genealogical ties.

The Early Twentieth Century
One of the major forces behind migration in the twentieth century was the desire for advanced education and training which was not available in Samoa. Fiji became a popular destination for those looking for education because a number of regional educational institutions were established there. Samoans left Samoa to attend the Suva Medical School which later became the Central Medical School and the Fiji School of Medicine, the Pacific Theological College, the Pacific Regional Seminary and the Seventh Day Adventist Church’s Fulton College.

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, a significant number of New Zealanders lived and worked in, what was at that time, Western Samoa. Many were public servants employed by the New Zealand administration or employees of multinational companies such as Burns Philp and Morris Hedstrom which had large trading operations in Samoa. A number of these expatriates married Samoans who went to New Zealand at the end of their spouses’ contracts and settled there. In the period between the First and Second World Wars, some Samoans moved around and visited relatives who had already settled overseas with their families. Some remained in those
countries, others returned to Samoa after visits. In 1925 Felix Leavai became the first Samoan to be naturalised in New Zealand.

Throughout this period members of some churches, notably the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, provided opportunities for their Samoan members to go to communities which had formed around the churches’ headquarters, temples and educational institutions. Significant Samoan communities for instance, were found in Salt Lake City in Utah and in Laie in Hawai’i. Again, some settled in these communities, established families and remained while others returned to their homes.

These early Samoan migrants and settlers became the foundations of the larger communities that formed in New Zealand, Australia and the United States after the Second World War.

**Post World War II Migration**

The most significant period of Samoan migration commenced after the Second World War. The timing of this migration is important. Why, for instance, did migration start at that time and not earlier or later?

Some say that the Samoans who served in New Zealand forces returned to Samoa with stories of their experiences which stirred a general interest in migration. Others say that the presence of US Marines in Samoa during World War II, re-awakened Samoan interest in migration. Their wealth and the goods that they enjoyed raised Samoans’ material aspirations and interested Samoans in moving to places where higher wages were paid. The growth of military activity in Pagopago during and immediately after the Second World War provided opportunities for Samoans to work in the naval yard in Pagopago and to join the US military and serve all over the world as part of the military. One of the largest single movements occurred when the US Naval Administration offered Samoan employees to move to naval bases and work in naval yards in Hawaii and some 2500 left in the early 1950s. As other Samoans watched the new opportunities which military employees enjoyed, they too wanted the same opportunities and saw migration as a way to
achieve these. Some claim it was the faster and more comfortable service which became available with the commencement of the flying boat services, known as the ‘Coral Route’, which connected Samoa with New Zealand and the rest of the world. It was probably a combination of all of these factors which generated the renewed interest in migration.

While small numbers of Samoans had migrated during earlier periods in Samoan history, in the period after World War II, larger numbers Samoans began to emigrate. They went mainly to New Zealand, where large numbers of new jobs were being created as the New Zealand economy was being rapidly transformed from an agricultural one to an industrial one. The early Samoan settlers became the foundation of the larger communities that formed in New Zealand, Australia and the United States after the Second World War.

The Samoan population in New Zealand grew very rapidly, particularly around the cities where new jobs were being created, after World War II as the table 1 below shows.

Table 1: Samoan Descent Population in Resident in New Zealand, 1956-1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Samoans in NZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>3700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>6481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>11844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>22198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>27876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>42453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>66254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>85743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>101754</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the early period the Samoan population in New Zealand grew very quickly. Between 1956 and 1961 the population grew by 75%, between 1966 and 1971 by 87%. Later the growth rate slowed: between 1976 and 1981 the Samoan population grew by 52% and between 1986 and 1991 the population grew by only 29%.
Much of the growth in the early period resulted from in-migration from Samoa as new migrants joined relatives already in New Zealand. Among these new arrivals were some visitors, some short-term migrants, some temporary migrants, some permanent migrants and some who circulated between Samoa and Aotearoa on a regular basis.

More recently, the rate of immigration has slowed as

- the New Zealand economy has been restructured so that less labour is now required and
- as opportunities have become available in other destinations such as Australia.

Many of the factory jobs that existed in Aotearoa until the mid-1980s have been eliminated as manufacturing industries have been shifted to places such as Fiji and Malaysia where cheaper labour is available, manufacturing costs are lower and higher profits can be made. This led to rapid growth in levels of unemployment in the New Zealand and to a decline in the demand for more labour from Samoa.

The growth in the Samoan population in New Zealand in recent times is mainly what is called internal growth and results from an increase in the numbers of children born to Samoan migrants in New Zealand rather than the arrival of new immigrants.

The recent slowing of Samoan population growth rates in Aotearoa may also be a result of some return migration as older migrants decide to return to their ‘home’ after spending their working lives in New Zealand and as younger professionals and business people return to Samoa to start professional practices and commercial businesses.

At the same time, Samoans were also settling in other countries. Samoans settled in large numbers in American Samoa. By 1980, 9686 people born in what was then ‘Western Samoa’ were living in American Samoa and a further
12582 were living in the United States (Ahlburg and Levin, 1990; Ahlburg, 1991). By 1990, 14714 people from Samoa were living in American Samoa and made up 31.5% of the population of that territory. By 1986, 2982 people born in Western Samoa were living Australia (Ahlburg, 1991). Of course, the number of people living overseas who are of Samoan descent is much larger.

In summary then, migration has played a significant part in the history of Samoa. The study of migration explains

- the settlement and founding of the Samoan nation,
- its historical and contemporary connections with other parts of the Pacific,
- the dispersal of the contemporary Samoan population across the face of the earth and
- the growth of significant, permanent expatriate Samoan communities in metropolitan countries around the Pacific Rim.

It does not, however, explain the consequences of this movement and of the formation of these communities for the Samoan nation.
Calculating the Net Impact of Samoan Migration

In this section we consider the costs and benefits of this most recent and largest out-migration. We will try to establish how emigration has influenced Samoa’s

- demography,
- society
- economy and
- political processes

The Demographic Consequences of Emigration

After World War II, many Samoan villages had been growing rapidly. As public health and sanitation improved throughout Samoa, several demographic trends became apparent.

- survival rates\(^2\) for children increased
- death rates fell and
- life expectancy increased.

This combination of trends ensured a significant growth in the numbers of children, steadily increasing numbers of older people and a changing balance in the population. The proportion of the population aged under 15 years and over 65 years began to grow. These trends are very important because populations with large proportions of young, fertile people will grow very fast. If, at the same time, older people are living longer, rapid population growth will occur. This growth will in turn, put pressure on a country’s land and marine resources and physical environment.

Emigration had a major impact on that high post-war Samoan population growth. Many of the young people who left Samoa, married and had their families overseas. This high level of out migration of young, single people

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2. Measured by the number of children in every 1000 who survive to their first birthday. By 1993, the infant mortality rate (IMR) had fallen to 47/1000 live births and by 1997 to 21/1000.
slowed annual population growth rates in Samoa from around 2.8% in the early 1960s to around 0.3% in 1993 around 0.4% in 1997. Equally important is the demographic structure of the population within the population. By 1991, the proportion of the population aged under 15 years had dropped as the following table shows.

*Table 2: Proportion of Samoan Population in Various Age Groups.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>%age &lt;15years</th>
<th>%age 15-64years</th>
<th>%age &gt;64years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>50.28</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: World Bank, 1991; South Pacific Commission, 1997

The post-war emigration was important demographically because it slowed the:

- rate of population growth and
- the growing population density (measured in numbers of person per square kilometre)

The slowdown meant that growing pressure on Samoa’s land and marine resources also slowed. Some villages which had been growing rapidly and which were quickly running out of forest land which could be brought into agricultural production were saved. Many of the people who might have needed access to plantation land were overseas, which meant that pressure on land was relieved. Similarly, many people who might have fished to obtain food for their families were overseas which took some pressure off the onshore fishery.

If the children born to migrants overseas had been born in Samoa, the government would have been required to spend heavily on health, education and welfare services for these children and their families. As these people were overseas, the costs of their health and education were met by the governments of the nations in which they live.
The rate of urbanisation also slowed as people went directly from villages to overseas destinations and others left Apia in search of work overseas. Emigration reduced pressure on government which has to provide new services for urban development. The costs of providing new and necessary infrastructure such as electricity, water, sewage disposal and road improvement places pressures on government spending. Because many of those who go to live in town are not employed and do not pay taxes, the government can not offset these infrastructure costs against increased revenue from growing urban population.

The rate of emigration has now slowed. It is unlikely that the high levels out-migration that occurred during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s will ever occur again. A small number of older people continue to leave Samoa to join their families overseas under family re-unification provisions. A small number are able to go to New Zealand under the annual quota allocation and a small number of highly skilled people with portable professional skills will leave to find work elsewhere either temporarily or permanently. This slowdown may have serious consequences for Samoa’s demography.

The population of Samoa has remained relatively stable at around 170,700 for some time. At present growth rates, it would take approximately 139 years for the population of Samoa to double. However, it may begin to grow again in the near future as:

- infant mortality rates continue to fall. This rate has already fallen from 48/1000 in 1989 to 21/1000 in 1997 (South Pacific Commission, 1993; 1997). As more children survive and live to marry and have their families in Samoa growth rates will increase.

- fewer young people leave for overseas destinations as opportunities for semi-skilled work overseas dry-up. This trend is already occurring in such places as New Zealand where a lot of semi-skilled work once performed in New Zealand is now performed in low-wage countries such as Fiji.
people live longer. Steadily improving public health is increasing life expectancy and this will result in a steadily growing population of over 65 year olds. The life expectancy for males is now 70 years and for females, 74 years.

These factors could cause population growth to increase to the levels which were found in Samoa before migration commenced. There is some evidence that this may already be happening: a recent study claimed that the rate average annual growth in population had risen from 0.14% between 1980-1985 to 0.55% (Fairbairn Pacific Consultants, 1994). If population growth rates return to these earlier levels pressures on the land and marine environment will also increase.

This renewed population growth could put increasing pressure on

- land and marine resources which will have to support a steadily growing population and
- government revenues which would have to provide for the health education and welfare infrastructure for a growing population.

For example, as population densities rise, an increasing area of land is taken out of production to provide housing for people. Where no new land suitable for plantations is available, more people must use the same amount of land more intensively to support the growing population. This causes soil fertility and crop yields to drop and unless land is taken out of production and rested, or fertilisers are applied, the land’s fertility and production capacity drops.

The pressures which result from rapid growth do not fall equally on all sections of the population. The consequences of growth fall most heavily on the people between 15 and 60 years of age who have to support both younger and older members of their families. The load on these economically active people is summarised in a measure called the dependency ratio which is used to show how many economically inactive people each
economically active person must support\textsuperscript{3}. Where dependency ratios are falling people are generally happier because their situations seem to be improving. Where dependency ratios are rising, the economically active people in a population will have to work harder to support the inactive members of their family. If people are having to work harder to support dependent relatives, they will generally feel that their situations are becoming worse and they may become dissatisfied with their lives. Their dissatisfaction may be made worse when they compare their situations with those of their migrant cousins.

Emigration has until recently, reduced the size of both the under 15 year old population and the over 60 year old population. Many children who would have been born in Samoa have instead been born abroad. A number of older people have joined their families overseas. This has meant that the dependency ratio has been falling. The South Pacific Commission estimated that in 1997 every 100 economically active people were supporting 72 economically inactive people (SPC, 1997).

If this dependency ratio were to grow as emigration slowed down, the economically inactive could become increasingly resentful as they are forced to work harder and longer hours to support larger numbers of dependent relatives. This situation would be worse if the active people were trying to support more people on less land and less fertile land. Their situation would be better if more jobs were created and people could support their families by working for wages in factories or on commercial plantations.

**Possible Policy Options**

All of this may seem very depressing because it assumes that nothing can be done to reduce the pressures which would grow if emigration slows. But the rate of population growth, and the resulting pressure on resources, can be reduced in several ways.

\textsuperscript{3} The dependency ratio is calculated by adding the numbers of people aged under 15 years and the number over 60 years and dividing this by the number of people aged between
Public education could be used to change social attitudes to ‘appropriate’ family size and the spacing of births. At present the total fertility rate (TFR), that is the average number of children a woman gives birth to in her lifetime, is 4.75. This represents a significant drop from the previous level of almost 6.5 (South Pacific Commission, 1998) are still high when compared with the world-wide rate of 3.0. Public education programmes have encouraged people to consider the benefits of smaller families. These benefits are in the areas of women’s and children’s health and for the family unit.

Public education encourages people to consider whether they could give more to a smaller number of children. Total fertility rates often fall first among people in urban centres. If the TFR was to drop the pressure would gradually be relieved. But public attitudes may take a long time to change particularly if there is resistance to change from influential people and agencies, such as churches, in a society.

Health programmes can be extended to include family-planning advice and contraception services more widely available. These services allow people to control their fertility more effectively. Women can then choose when and how many children they have. In countries with population pressure problems, various incentives have been offered to men and women who are willing to be sterilised when their families are complete.

Combined public education and family planning programmes are likely to be most successful. People will be reluctant to use family planning services and to have smaller families unless there is a change in public attitudes. But where attitudes to smaller families are positive, people will take advantage of the family planning programmes.

15 and 59 years. This is then multiplied by 100 and gives a ratio of active to inactive people in a population.
But while levels of emigration have an important impact on the nation’s demography, they also influence its economy.

The Economic Consequences of Samoan Emigration

Most emigration from Samoa since the WWII has involved mainly young, fit and active single people or married couples without children. This is because receiving countries are looking for people who

- are able to join the work-force immediately and who have skills which are in short supply in the receiving country’s labour market. These skills vary over time.

- enjoy good health and are of ‘good character’. Receiving states do not want to pay for the health care of people who cannot make a contribution to the economy. Nor do they want to pay for people who have shown a tendency to criminal behaviour.

- have no dependants which the receiving nation will have to support in the short term

- will contribute to the receiving country’s economic growth through demand for goods such as clothing and food and services such as insurance and accommodation

- will contribute immediately to government revenue through direct taxes such as income tax and indirect taxes such as GST on purchases and other transactions.

People who meet these criteria are most likely to be offered opportunities to migrate.

The reasons for the receiving countries’ self-interest is clear: these countries use immigration policy to stimulate economic growth. In return for contributions to the receiving nation’s economy, the migrant is offered an opportunity to earn more money and to enjoy a range of chances which may not be available in the sending nation. Studies of Samoan migrants in Aotearoa in the 1960s and 1970s (Pitt and Macpherson 1974) identified the main things which migrants sought:
• a chance to earn more money,
• to support family and their villages in Samoa,
• to improve their own education,
• to improve their children’s educational chances
• to obtain access to specialist health care.

This tendency to recruit fit, young, single people and couples without children has important consequences for the sending economy. There is some debate among scholars about the consequences (see for instance Hayes, 1991). The debate is about the consequence of the loss of these sorts of people for a small economy.

The effects of emigration on sending countries are divided into sub-sets which deal with particular consequences.

Emigration and the Labour Force
It is argued that emigration generally has negative consequences for the sending countries. This is because
• as people leave the agricultural labour force to emigrate, total and per-capita crop volumes decline and both domestic and export agricultural production falls. Production declines because marginal land is not used and because labour shortages develop as migration develops momentum. In the Samoan case the average amount of food produced by each person in one year has fallen from by over 25% between 1980-5 and 1992 (Fairbairn Pacific Consultants, 1994)

• Where food crop production falls sending countries may have to increase imports of alternative food such as rice, tinned meat and fish. Because these are more expensive than locally produced food crops, people can afford less of this imported food and this may result in malnutrition.

• Where the people who migrate have special skills or specialist educational qualifications, their labour, knowledge and leadership skills are lost to the
community. This effect known often as the ‘brain drain’ means that skills are lost to the rural areas as people migrate to cities, and are lost to the nation as they move overseas. The brain drain makes it more difficult to undertake all sorts of projects because the skills required are not available.

- Those skilled people who remain are able to increase their fees and charges because there is no longer the same level of competition and people who want the services or skills have to pay higher prices. The increases in charges may in turn increase the level of inflation within the economy of the state.

Not all analysts view the impact in this way. Some believe that migration is beneficial to the labour market. These people argue that,

- Families choose to send people overseas to work in labour markets where higher wages are paid. This increases the total income available to the family and diversifies their risk. Even if a hurricane or a blight devastates a family’s plantations, they will better off if they have relatives overseas who can provide food until the plantations recover and other supplies to rebuild houses. If an employed family member loses his or her job in Samoa, the family can still depend on relatives overseas until the person finds a new job.

- While the emigrants’ labour is lost to the village and national economies, it is replaced by remittances of
  - cash which allow people to buy goods and
  - services such as insurance and school fees and of
  - goods such as food, clothes, tools, equipment and vehicles which replace the crops which they would have produced if they had stayed in Samoa.

The circumstances may differ from one village and one family to another, and from one time to another. Families and villages which have had large
numbers of migrants overseas for very long periods of time may have accumulated more in the way of assets such as homes, schools, vehicles, equipment than those which have had smaller numbers of people overseas for shorter periods of time. But this does raise the question of how remittances from migrants overseas influence the sending society.

**Emigration and Remittances**

Remittances from migrants have had a profound effect on the economy of Samoa. Ahlburg (1991) studied the impact of remittances on the Samoan economy and showed that,

- as numbers of Samoans overseas had increased, the value of remittances from migrants had also increased.

- As remittances had increased, so too had the demand for imports of goods and services

- Imports had risen more rapidly than exports and the trade deficit had increased steadily.

Ahlburg’s information is summarised in the table 3 below.

**Table 3: Remittances and other Economic Tends in Samoa, 1970-1990**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samoa</th>
<th>Remittances (Tala)</th>
<th>Remittances as percentage of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>Real</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1.5m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>5.2m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>17.2m</td>
<td>17.2m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>53.1m</td>
<td>26.2m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>86.6m</td>
<td>33.5m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ahlburg, 1991 (from Central Bank of Samoa data)
By 1989, the value of migrants’ remittances was almost three times the value of Samoa’s exports. This happens because
- as people leave the villages, agricultural production, which represents a significant part of Samoa’s exports, falls and because
- some people who receive remittances stop cultivating land and growing crops for export.

As the remittances are used to purchase imported goods, such as food and building materials, the levels of imports rise and the balance between what Samoa exports and what it imports, known as the balance of trade, becomes worse.

Remittances remain important to the Samoan government’s economic policy. The government is forecasting a continuing increase of 3% in the level of remittances in 2000-1001 (Government of Samoa, 2000).

The views of people studying the consequences of remittances differ. Two groups of scholars analysed a huge amount of data on migration and remittances and came to somewhat different conclusions. It is possible to summarise some of the major differences in these positions.

The first group of scholars argue that remittances from emigrants usually have a negative impact the economy of the migrant sending society. This argument was contained in a survey of the findings of research on migration in the Pacific and published jointly by the South Pacific Commission and International Labour Organisation (SPC-ILO) at the request of Pacific Island Ministers of Labour.

Their interpretation of the evidence suggested that
- Remittances from migrants are not used in productive investments. Most of the money returned by migrants is used to purchase imported goods such as clothing and food or to construct churches which do not increase industrial or agricultural production.
• People who receive regular remittances from abroad may withdraw from production as there is no longer any incentive for them to work on their plantations.

• Where this trend occurs, the sending country exports less locally grown food because it is not available. At the same time the sending country has to import more food to meet the needs and changing tastes of its people.

• The combination of falling export volumes and rising import volumes can cause economic problems for governments. The most serious problem occurs when a country is unable to produce enough exports to pay for the imports. Where these *balance of payments* problems occurs, it often becomes difficult, and expensive, for governments and businesses to borrow money overseas.

• Over time, sending countries become more and more dependent on remittances from emigrants. This dependence becomes a problem because while local production falls, there is no guarantee that migrants will *want* to remit money forever. For instance as emigrants die, their children who have weaker ties with their parents’ home may not wish to send money to relatives in Samoa. There is no guarantee that emigrants and their children *will be able* to remit in the long term. For instance, as the New Zealand economy has been restructured, the rate of unemployment among Samoans in New Zealand has risen from 0.5% in the 1970s, to 31% in 1991 and back to 16% in the late 1990s. At the same time wage rates and real incomes have fallen in New Zealand so that migrants find that they have less money available to remit to Samoa.

• Those migrants who return to live in the sending community do not always use their capital to build productive investments. They may build large houses and buy vehicles which do not add to the country’s export production but do add to the country’s import bill and may worsen the
trade deficit. Even when they build small stores, billiard halls or buy taxis they do not contribute to economic development.

- The labour which is lost to agriculture cannot be replaced by cash or improved technology because the labour saving technologies which are appropriate for root crop and bush crop agricultural systems in the island are not available. For example, mechanical cultivators and ploughs and seed drills cannot be effectively used in new volcanic soils because they are too rocky and soon break tools. Tractors, which can replace large amounts of human labour, are often unsuitable because of the steepness of much land and the absence of plantation roads in many places.

A second report by a group of scholars from the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) at the Victoria University of Wellington also studied the literature on the consequences of migration and came up with a somewhat different interpretation of the findings. They were more positive about the consequences.

The IPS report argued that,
- While agricultural export volumes and values have fallen as people have left to go overseas, these people have earned more overseas and have remitted some of that income to support their families and villages’ activities. For example they have provided better, more durable housing for their families and have supplied money which has built new schools and hospitals.

- The IPS scholars accept that agricultural production has declined and imports have increased and that these trends have caused a growing trade imbalance. But they argue that this trade deficit is not a serious problem.

- They also accept that while the country has become more and more dependent of remittances, it has also found other new sources of revenue
and is not solely dependent on remittances alone. For instance sending countries also receive revenues from the sale of stamps, fishing licenses, airline landing fees and port charges.

- They accept that there is a possibility that remittances from migrants may drop over time but argued that the evidence was not yet available to prove that it would.

There is obvious disagreement about the consequences of migration and remittances. How is this disagreement to be resolved? The SPC–ILO and IPS reports were written some time ago, both are now at least ten years old, and were based on evidence which was available at that time. Much has changed in that time in some of the receiving countries in which Samoan migrants and their families live. There is now new evidence from more recent studies which may be able to provide an answer.

A lot of the answers could be found by research done in Samoa. The study of the impact of remittances could be carried out by an interdisciplinary team made up of economists, sociologists and geographers from the National University of Samoa.

*Migration and Inequality:*
Inequality can be serious in a society. Most societies have some degree of social inequality. They also have accepted ways of explaining why some people are wealthier than others. The historical level of inequality is generally accepted and regarded as normal. But, if the pattern of inequality suddenly changes its consequences may be more serious. If the people who are already wealthy become wealthier and those who are poor do not the gap between those who have resources and those who do not will increase and there is a real possibility of social and political instability.

Migration can change patterns of wealth within a society because it can create new wealth which can be remitted to the country. In the process wealth and privilege may be redistributed and a more equal society can result. Where
this occurs, social and political instability is unlikely because the poor become wealthier and are generally satisfied with their situation. But wealth can flow into a country and widen the gap between the rich and the poor. Where this happens, social and political instability may develop as groups who see their situation becoming worse move to influence or control politics, and those who see their privileged position threatened move to protect their situation. How did wealth affect inequality in Samoa?

Again, the conclusions of the groups who studied the connection between migration and social and economic inequality in Samoa were somewhat different. Each group acknowledged that significant amounts of money had flowed into Samoa from overseas, but the groups came to different views about whether this money had created inequality within Samoan society.

The SPC-ILO group formed a negative view of the consequences. The argued that migration increased existing inequalities because

- Wealthier families had the savings to pay fares to send people abroad early and they started to receive remittances early which they could invest in businesses. The wealthy became wealthier and the situation of the poorer, rural families did not change for some time.

- Where some families received more from migrants than others new patterns of inequality emerged within villages. These inequalities created tension within villages as the ‘new wealth’ led to challenges to traditional institutions.

- Villages which had more migrants living abroad had received more money and were able to do more things than those villages which had fewer migrants abroad and this created new patterns of inequality within the country.

The IPS group formed a more positive view of the consequences of remittances. They argued that,
• Remittances reduced inequality in villages. Poor families which sent their children overseas could enjoy the benefit of remittances and use these to improve their homes, and send their children to school for longer. This resulted in opportunities for poorer families to raise their standard of living and to invest money in their children. These things would not have been possible for poorer families if remittances were not available.

• Remittances offered families that could not save quite large amounts of money on their low incomes to get into small businesses and to improve their families’ incomes and their standards of living.

• Where people used these remittances carefully and generously, they impressed their families with their ability and generosity and were offered matai titles. The IPS group argued that these people might never have had an opportunity to hold a title if they had not had access to remittances.

There is some debate about whether remittances from migrants increase or reduced inequality in Samoa. It may be that those families which had sisters and daughters overseas were better off that those which sent brothers and sons. The evidence suggests that women migrants sent more money and sent it more often and for longer periods of time than did men. Over time, most families had migrant members overseas and most enjoyed some benefits from remittances. It may be that, over time, the early differences in income between those families which had people overseas and those which did not were reduced as more migrants began to remit.

Some Policy Issues
The Samoan economy depends quite heavily on remittances from overseas. Its dependence has increased steadily and, as noted above, this continues to grow steadily. This dependence does not matter if migrants continue to send remittances but this is not certain for a number of reasons.

• Over time migrants form their own families overseas and have to spend large parts of their income supporting those families. This means that over
time they have less and less spare money to support their relations in the island. In New Zealand, changes in government policies in the past 15 years have resulted in increasing costs for families while their real incomes have been falling steadily since 1990. This makes it more and more difficult for families to find extra money to send to Samoa.

- Migrants too form new church congregations and assume responsibilities in these as elders and lay preachers. These churches are important for spiritual and social reasons and many migrants willingly commit their time and resources to these. As they become committed to the life and activities of their churches in New Zealand, Australia and the US, it becomes more difficult for them to support churches at home as well.

- One study showed that while many Samoan migrants supported their families when they first arrived, the level of support fell off over time for some groups. Those who intended to return to Samoa to live continued to support their families but those who did not intend to return to live felt less commitment to Samoa and sent less money, less often to their families in the island.

- Many migrants who left Samoa in the 1950s and 1960s are reaching the end of their lives. Many are now on government pensions and are unable to support their families at the levels they once did on their lower incomes. As they die, their remittances will stop and, unless they have built strong links between their New Zealand-born children and their families in the island, their children’s remittances may also stop as their links with people in the island grow weaker.

- In the past, many young, single people sent large parts of their incomes to parents and families in the island. But these people are now marrying and having families and they are not being replaced by large numbers of new, young, single migrants because the New Zealand and Australian economies have undergone fundamental structural changes.
• Many Samoans migrants have married non-Samoans. In many cases these non-Samoan spouses and partners do not share the same values as Samoans and do not wish use their incomes to support families and villages in the islands. They may discourage their Samoan partners from sending large amounts of money to family in the islands and from supporting family and village fundraising in New Zealand.

• Many Samoan migrants’ children have not visited their parents’ villages and families in the island and do not feel as strongly committed to Samoa as their parents do. Many migrants’ children spend more time with their overseas-born cousins and support them and think of them as their family. Some of those who have visited have found it difficult to talk to their relations and have been upset when they have been called palagi. They may not feel committed to support the family in the island, and may not even know how they are related to many of their family in the island and whether they should support fa’alavelave.

• More and more overseas-born Samoans do not speak the Samoan language fluently, and many do not speak it at all, as data from the New Zealand census shows. This makes it difficult for many to communicate effectively with relatives in Samoa and this means that links with them may weaken from lack of regular contact.

• Some parents join their migrant children overseas under family reunification schemes run in Australia, New Zealand and the US. When this happens, the money that was sent be migrants to the island to support their parents, and those who looked after them, is now spent on their care in Australia and New Zealand and the United States.

• Some people feel that when their parents and grandparents have died that their obligations to their families are not as strong. While they may still send remittances to family, they will typically send less and less often.
It is not clear how many migrants and migrant’s children will continue to support Samoa in the future. It is likely that, for the reasons outline above, the levels of remittances will fall over time unless large numbers of new migrants go overseas and find work. It is clear that governments should probably plan to reduce dependence on remittances in case they eventually dry up altogether.

The Social Consequences of Migration
The social consequences of migration were first noted in studies of migration from the old world to the United States in the 1850s. The social consequences of migrations vary from one situation to another. The first published study of the social consequences of the Samoan out-migration was carried out by an American anthropologist called Paul Shankman in the 1970s (Shankman, 1974). There have been a number of studies since then and the IPS and SPC-ILO reports summarised the earlier of these studies. There were again some disagreements in their interpretations of the findings.

One school of thought formed the view that migration had a negative impact on Samoan social structures and social organisation for several reasons,

- Many of the remittances were sent to parents, siblings and other close relatives rather than to the matai who had traditionally managed family affairs. This strengthened the power of individuals within the family and weakened the power of the matai who no longer had access to all of the resources of their aiga or extended family.

- Once families had access to money and resources from migrants they were free to challenge the authority of since they were no longer as dependent on the matai for access to the matai land and house sites. This meant that many people used their new wealth to challenge the authority of the matai. When these cases could not be easily resolved, by either the families or by the Lands and Titles courts, the matai titles were split and held by several contenders. Some say that this weakened the
authority of the traditional chieftaincy which, as Meleisea showed, had very considerable authority and a lot of power.

- The emigration of skilled and knowledgeable people has resulted in a loss of potential leadership and left families and village without strong well-informed people to take over from the existing leaders.

- Migration has encouraged individualism and this has undermined the traditional collectivism which was the foundation of the fa’asamo. As more people have access to money and other resources from migrants overseas, they are not as dependent on their family which traditionally provided all of the resources they needed to live. Some people are now able to meet their needs without access to the resources of the extended family and village. Individuals can now choose to save and live a life outside of his or her family, because they no longer need access to plantation land and a house site in the village. This can be seen in the growth of subdivisions on freehold land in such places as Vaitele and in Aleisa. These people, who are free to live without assistance from their kin, may limit contact with their families and villages and use their money and resources to look after themselves and their own nuclear families. For some time these people may be regarded as mean and thoughtless by their families but this criticism will not necessarily hurt those who can live without their kin group. Furthermore, as more and more people start to live this individualistic lifestyle, its possibilities will become more apparent to other people. Over time a more individualistic lifestyle may become the norm.

- When migrants return from long periods overseas, and sometimes even short periods, they bring with them new ways of thinking and organising things. They challenge traditions, traditional leaders, and traditional forms of social organisation. The events at the village of Lona in Fagaloa, for example, resulted when a migrant who had been overseas for a long time returned to his village and challenged the rights of people to cross his
land, the right of the village’s matai and the authority of the village’s fono. The challenges cause tension within families and villages and lead other people to challenge tradition and undermine certain traditional institutions.

Not everyone agrees with this analysis. Some scholars note that migration and remittances should not be blamed for all of these changes and the migration has some positive impacts on societies. They point out that,

- all societies are changing and Samoa is no exception. People in this school of thought argue that the introduction of Christianity in the 1830s had a far more profound effect on Samoan tradition and culture than migration could ever have. They contend that the changes might have taken place even without migration. If migration did have a role it was simply that it speeded up processes of change that would have occurred anyhow.

- Tradition is never fixed and changes all of the time. Consider what happened when the SS Talune introduced an influenza epidemic to Samoa in 1918. That epidemic killed almost one quarter of the Samoan population including many older people who were weakened by and vulnerable to the disease. They died with much of their traditional knowledge and a new generation of matai, whose training was incomplete when their mentors died, had to invent some of the knowledge which they needed.

- Even if no migrants had gone abroad, Samoan society would have changed because television, radio, newspapers and tourism would have introduced new ideas and these would eventually have produced social changes.

- While talented individuals leave Samoa and take with them their skills and leadership potential, they often return later with new ideas and knowledge, which is often called human capital, which actually strengthens the society. While there is a constant stream of talented people leaving, there is
another stream of people returning to Samoa bringing new resources, ideas and leadership. They return to the country because they are committed to the fa’asamo’a and want to live in Samoa and contribute to its growth and prosperity.

Consider, for instance, those who have been leaders in Samoa since Independence. Many have lived, worked and studied abroad and have returned to Samoa with ideas and resources acquired abroad and have contributed to the strength of Samoan society. Their knowledge of both fa’asamo’a and fa’apalagi enabled them to provide stable government and leadership for almost forty years and to guide Samoa to where it is today without the instability and social revolutions which have plagued the decolonisation process in other places.

The Political Consequences of Migration
Migration has an impact on politics in both the sending and receiving societies. In this section we will concentrate on the their influence on their influence in the sending society. Although migrants who live outside of Samoa and can not vote in Samoan elections, they continue to have an impact on Samoan politics in various ways. This raises the question of why people who live outside Samoa continue to have an interest in Samoan politics because their lives are no longer directly influenced by the outcomes of Samoan politics. There are several reasons why some Samoans remain interested.

The strongest interest is likely to be found among visiting, short-term, circular and long-term migrants all of whom intend to return to Samoa. They will be affected by laws passed in their absence and will remain interested in Samoan politics.

- Some intend to return to start businesses and may be affected by new commercial laws passed,
- Some intend to return to run for political office and will be affected by the new electoral laws,
• Some intend to return to practice in such professions as law, medicine, teaching, surveying, accountancy and will be affected by laws which regulate the practice of professions,

• Some will be concerned with Samoa’s reputation within the international community and will be anxious to ensure that Samoa signs international conventions protecting such things as human rights, and acts to outlaw activities such as money laundering which will bring international sanctions on Samoa.

Other people who do not intend to return to Samoa will also remain interested in Samoan politics even when they are not directly influenced by the outcomes of decisions and laws.

• Some will be concerned about the outcome of laws which may affect the lives of their *aiga* living in Samoa,

• Some will be concerned with matters relating to land tenure and titles because they may have an interest in land and may hold titles which could be affected by changes in legislation,

• Some will be interested because they have *aiga* who are in politics or who wish to enter politics.

In fact, for some time now, migrants living overseas have petitioned Samoan politicians to allow them to participate in Samoan politics by various means. They argue that they have an interest in what happens in Samoa but that the costs of travelling to Samoa to vote is too high and have suggested two alternative plans,

• To allow Samoans living overseas to cast ballots in Samoan elections as happens in Australian, New Zealand and US elections.

• To establish one or more overseas parliamentary seats as the Cook Islands government has done. Migrants would then elect one of more members who would represent their interests in the Samoan Parliament.

Up until now, Samoan politicians have been reluctant to consider these options and have argued that if people choose to live overseas, they should
not expect to have a voice in the politics of the country which they chose to leave. They have also argued that migrants do not pay taxes in Samoa should not expect to have a voice in the country’s legislative program. Up until now, Samoan politicians have been able to take this position because the remittances on which they depend continue to flow into the country even though the remitters’ interests are not represented in the parliament.

However, they may have to reconsider this position in the future for several reasons,

- If government faces labour shortages, as it will do as skilled and semi-skilled migrants leave the country for other countries where they can make higher incomes, the government of Samoa will need to attract Samoans living overseas to return.

- This will be difficult if the legislation which is in place is unpopular with the migrants which the government is trying to attract and retain to contribute to economic development.

- the economic importance of remittances from overseas migrants is such that the government may need to consider measures to ensure that remittance levels are maintained and indeed increased. This revenue may be at risk if the government alienates migrants who provide them.

However, even from a distance, the migrants can and do have an influence on elections and on the formulation of legislation in the following ways,

- They may fund part or all of the election campaigns of Samoan politicians as Asofou So’o’s study of Samoan elections shows, and thus

- They influence who can afford to stand for parliamentary office and thus, at least indirectly, the makeup of Parliament,

- They can petition visiting Samoan politicians to initiate or to support certain types of legislation,
• Specialists in areas such as law, medicine, engineering and commerce can and do advise politicians on the advantages and disadvantages of different legislative and regulatory options.

Perhaps the greatest influence which migrants have on the politics of Samoa comes when they return to Samoa with new ideas about how the country should be run. The impact of this return migration is limited at present but as the volume of return migration rises it is likely that this influence will increase. As these people return they will bring with them,

• considerable experience of how politics, business and government services are organised overseas,

• very clear ideas about how politics, business and government services should be organised in Samoa,

• an active interest in entering politics to put these things into place in Samoa.

This is already happening: a number of members of current Samoan governments are people who have returned to Samoa from overseas. Their influence may be limited at present by their numbers, but could increase in the future if their numbers increase.

This may happen sooner than is expected because legislation has been passed recently in New Zealand, which allows Samoans to live permanently in Samoa and to draw their superannuation and other pensions there. Up until now, this has not been possible: superannuitants could only live outside New Zealand for 26 weeks at a time and could not take a role in politics. Similar legislation is now being discussed in Australia.

Migrants’ influence may not be confined directly to participation in national politics. People who live overseas for long periods of time may form new views of the rights of individuals and groups. These people may challenge
the rights of villages and districts. Consider two cases in which this has occurred.

- In Lona in Fagaloa, a returned migrant challenged the authority of the matai and the village fono.
- In Savaii, a man challenged the right of the fono and the churches in a village when he challenged their right to limit the number of congregations in a village.

In each case, the people at the centre of these disputes were challenging the rights of the village to limit the individual rights that they are guaranteed in the Samoan Constitution. Those people who have lived in countries in which individual human rights are supreme may wish to challenge certain Samoan conventions such as the authority of the fono, which is guaranteed by the Village Fono Act.

In conclusion, after 50 years of out migration, Samoa is beginning to see and feel some of the demographic, social, economic and political consequences of the exodus. It is likely that these impacts will become more pronounced, and more obvious, as larger numbers of Samoan-born migrants return to Samoa to live and die and as they are replaced by their overseas-born children.

There are scholarly disputes about the nature of the impact of this period of migration and about the meaning of the existing data on migration. An understanding of these trends is very important to those who must plan for Samoa’s future and the social policies which are needed to achieve that future. For all of these reasons, it is important that Samoan scholars start to look systematically, and objectively, at the consequences and provide objective policy advice for politicians.
Part Four
The Samoan Migration Process

Much of Samoan migration has been what is called chain migration. It is called a chain because, over time, a number of related people become involved like links in a chain that stretches from the receiving society to the sending society. In fact, many villages have chains that link them to cities in three or more countries. For a chain to become established, early migrants have to be able to provide accommodation, work and sometimes airfares for later migrants.

There is a typical chain migration pattern: a migrant arrives and establishes him or herself in a city. The first migrant locates accommodation and employment and starts work. During the early period the migrant sends money and goods to the family, village and church. As the benefits of this new wealth become apparent to other individuals and families they too have become interested in migration and the momentum for migration increases.

Chain migration is convenient for migrants because it ensures that people move to homes, jobs and families as and when jobs become available. This means that most receive help with resettlement from kin and friends and that few suffer unemployment on arrival. But chain migration also has certain consequences which are not always understood or considered. Chain migration for instance tends to concentrate people in particular occupational and residential areas. The consequences of these concentrations only become apparent later as we will show in the following sections.

Occupational Concentration
As early migrants established good reputations where they worked, they were often promoted into supervisory positions. They were then in positions to use their good reputation with their employers to obtain positions for other family and friends who wanted to migrate. When positions became available in the company, migrants would approach the managers in the companies in which
they worked and offered to find replacements from within their family or friends.

Company managements were often happy to allow Samoan supervisors to find replacement workers because these informal arrangements saved the costs of advertising and interviewing many applicants to find a single person. The employers also knew that the ‘sponsors’ would look after the new employees and would ensure that they performed well at work, because the sponsors wanted to protect their reputation.

Samoan migrants were usually happy with this type of arrangement because they needed guarantees of work from companies to obtain working permits for New Zealand and because they could work with people whom they knew and who could introduce them to the job and help them sort out problems which might arise while they were new.

New employees were often very successful at work because they had close friends and relatives to explain their new jobs and to help them adjust to new situations which they found at work. They often performed well because they too hoped to establish good reputations and to get to a position where they could sponsor relatives and friends who wanted to migrate. This, however, depended on first winning the reputation with the employer or manager.

Each time a new employee was successful, company managements became more committed to these informal arrangements and more willing to offer opportunities to other people who were introduced by existing employees. As a result Samoan migrants became concentrated in certain departments or divisions in certain companies, and occupations. This pattern of chain recruitment led over time to the concentration of Samoans in a small range of manufacturing and service industries such as transport.

In many cases, they would become concentrated in a particular department of a particular company. Often as Samoans would move into a particular area, their palagi and Maori work mates would leave. This was often because they
became uncomfortable with growing numbers of people speaking Samoan which they did not understand and because Samoan work practices were often difficult for them to understand or accept. This trend did not matter to many Samoans because the departure of their old colleagues meant that there were new vacancies for family and friends.

At a certain point, however, no more vacancies would become available in a particular workplace because Samoan work forces were generally very stable and did not leave jobs as often as *palagi* employees. At that point there would be no more vacancies within a particular company for new migrants and this presented a problem because there were still people in the island who wanted jobs. When that situation arose, some longer serving employees with experience would leave the first company and find work in other companies performing similar sorts of work. For instance, people would go from the hospital laundry to other large commercial laundries and establish themselves there. In time they hoped to be able to recruit relatives and to bring them to work with them.

Over time, and as a consequence of chain recruitment, Samoans became prominent in a number of manufacturing and service industries in major cities Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Later they began to move to company towns such as Tokoroa and Kawerau which developed around the forestry and papermaking industries and where company housing was available cheaply and where jobs were plentiful, unions were strong and wages were relatively high.

The process resulted in a steady growth in the size of the Pacific workforce from 0.2% of the New Zealand workforce in 1956 to 3.5% in 1991. But the growth was concentrated in certain industries rather than spread evenly over the work force as the table below shows.
Table 2: Employment of Pacific Island Ethnic Groups by Industrial Sector: 1986-1991. (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1986</th>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Krishnan, Schoeffel and Warren, 1994:59

By 1986, 52.9% of Pacific Island workers had become concentrated in manufacturing industries assembling everything from television sets through hearing aids to barbecues. This concentration in relatively low-skilled occupations proved to be a real disadvantage when, after 1984, the New Zealand government began to restructure the economy in an attempt to end the long period of recession and many of these jobs were sent ‘off-shore’ to low wage countries.

There were also significant concentrations in such service industries as commercial cleaning, laundries, hospitals and transport. Many of these people were employed either by the government or by organisations funded by government. These concentrations meant that large numbers of Samoan migrants were vulnerable when government contracted many operations to private sector companies which re-organised them so that they used less labour and were more profitable.

But the extent of this concentration was even more obvious when the numbers of Pacific Island migrants in particular occupational categories are compared as in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Pacific Island Polynesian</th>
<th>Total New Zealand Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Workers</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>6.2</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
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<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Manual</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>54.2</td>
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</table>


Many of the jobs for which the Pacific people had been recruited in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s simply disappeared when various forms of protection such as import tariffs and licenses were removed by the New Zealand government. This began to occur after 1984, when a new government began to restructure the New Zealand economy. Many of the industries in which Pacific people had been employed either closed, or went bankrupt or shifted overseas to take advantage of cheaper labour in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.
The restructuring was not confined to the private sector companies. Many Pacific peoples who had become concentrated in government in such areas as the government printer, the railways and hospitals also found themselves without work as government either reduced staff or sold many of its trading operations to private sector companies.

The concentrations produced by chain migration proved to be a major disadvantage when employment in certain sectors contracted. Pacific Island people’s unemployment rates rose very rapidly as many people found themselves without jobs for the first time in many years. The unemployment rate for Pacific people rose from historically low levels of around 0.4% to over 31% in 1992 as the government’s restructuring policies began to take effect. Since then they have fallen back.

These unemployment rates have now fallen from the highs of 1991-2, but remain high because many people have occupational skills in jobs that no longer exist. For instance, people who worked for many years in the motor vehicle assembly plants have valuable skills in vehicle assembly, but since there are no longer any motor vehicle assembly plants any longer these skills have very little value. People have had to retrain to find new jobs in new areas but many people over 50 years of age find it difficult to find re-employment even after they have re-trained. This situation is bad for older people who found themselves competing with their younger, better-educated children for the same jobs.

Since restructuring commenced the Samoan population has been redistributed and is no longer as concentrated in any one industry as it once was. The largest concentration is still in manufacturing industry but even this has declined but is still relatively high with 26.5% of all Samoans employed in manufacturing and 14.3% in elementary occupations. Both of these jobs are at risk in a knowledge economy. This is, however, changing in the New Zealand-born generation who are not found in these ‘traditional’ jobs in such large numbers.
The consequences of this occupational concentration became clear as these ‘old’ jobs were eliminated in the late 1980s and 1990s replaced with new ‘jobs’. Samoan migrants faced worse conditions than ever before.

They faced

- deteriorating working conditions as trade unions were weakened by anti-union legislation such as the Employment Contracts Act,
- rapidly declining real incomes,
- reduced government benefits.

The effects of this deterioration flowed on into such areas as home ownership as people lost homes as the table 5 below shows. This occurred when people could no longer afford to pay their mortgages and their homes were sold by the banks which had loaned the money to buy the homes. Tensions which resulted within families from worsening economic conditions, led to increasing levels of domestic violence, higher incidences of child abuse, growing numbers of marriage failures and increasing numbers of children living in one parent families which are generally poorer than two parent families.

Table 5: Some Social Trends in NZ Samoan Population Between 1986-1996. (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Trend</th>
<th>1986</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1996</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Children in One Parent Families</td>
<td>82.98</td>
<td>74.66</td>
<td>71.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Children in Two Parent Families</td>
<td>17.02</td>
<td>25.34</td>
<td>28.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in Rented Accommodation</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>82.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in Homes Owned with Mortgage</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geographical Concentration

The process of chain migration led also to geographical concentrations within particular suburbs within the main cities. The process worked in the same way as it worked to produce occupational concentration.
The early migrants settled in areas where inexpensive rental homes were available and often established ongoing relations with landlords and home rental agencies. As family and friends arrived from Samoa, the early migrants housed them in their own homes until they could not fit any more. At that point they approached rental agencies with which they had established good reputations and secured new rental accommodation to house the new arrivals. Later, they purchased their own homes and these were added to the housing pool. Because the early migrants settled in low rent areas and established relations with rental agencies and landlords in those areas, later arrivals tended also to become concentrated in certain areas of New Zealand cities.

The results of these concentrations were mixed. Large numbers of people living in the same areas meant that specialist businesses were set up to meet the needs of the Samoan migrants. Thus, a range of businesses from finance companies, undertakers, mechanics and retail outlets started to spring up close to centres of Samoan populations. A range of specialist social services such as churches, social welfare agencies and medical practices also developed near these concentrations to meet their needs.

The emergence of local communities allowed Samoans to exercise greater influence in national and local politics. Samoans could, with block voting, elect Samoan politicians to both national and local government to ensure that their interests were recognised and reflected in legislation passed by local and national government. While this occurred early in local government, it did not always occur in national government because Samoans did not always have the same interests and did not all agree on the policies of any one political party. Political parties and groups which wished to win seats in electorates in which large numbers of Samoans lived, were forced to take their interests and needs into account to get the Samoan vote. To do this, the major parties set up Pacific Island branches to ensure that the views of Samoan and other Pacific Island electors were well-understood by party management and were incorporated in party policy manifestos. Most parties paid particular attention
to the Samoans’ interests because they were the largest single Pacific group and could deliver larger numbers of votes than other Pacific populations.

Samoan migrants were also able to influence the management of local schools through such educational policies as Tomorrow’s Schools which allowed local communities to influence their schools’ curriculum, staffing and management policies, and the management of health services through representation on the old hospital boards.

Pacific migrants were also able to influence the organisation and management of some churches because they made significant contributions to the funds needed to run the churches as palagi populations withdrew their support for organised religion. Pacific contributions to funding and theology are also recognised in the creation of Pacific ‘synods’ or ‘sections’ in some churches. Where churches were unwilling to accommodate the expectations of Samoan migrant congregations, Samoans left the palagi churches called pastors from the Samoan churches and started their own congregations. The Pacific populations continue to influence the churches as young Pacific people offer themselves for ministry and increasingly find themselves ministering to palagi congregations and bringing part of their worldview and lifestyle to their mainly palagi church members.

Concentration and Attitudes
One of the early consequences of chain-migration and the occupational and residential concentrations which developed, were negative social stereotypes. Many palagi knew little of Samoan migrants’ worldviews and lifestyles and had few opportunities to find out about them. Those who employed and worked with Samoans, or lived near them, slowly got to know them. But the only ‘contact’ for many palagi who lived away from the cities in which the Samoans settled was through the coverage in the newspapers and on radio and television. Much of this material consisted of coverage of court cases and presented a generally negative impression of Samoans among palagi. The media paid little attention to positive achievements and developments during this time and negative social stereotypes prevailed among many
people. Before long, however, this situation began to change as Samoans began
• to intermarry in significant numbers and more and more people came to know Samoans as members of their families,
• to move out of jobs they had traditionally done and filled leadership roles in workplaces,
• to move out of areas in which they had traditionally lived and settled in smaller centres,
• to take new roles in religious education and Christian ministry and
• to be more prominent in entertainment, professional sport, education and the literary and performing arts.

In summary, the early pattern of chain-migration produced geographical and occupational concentrations which worked well for both employers and migrants when there was plentiful work. Once the economic restructuring commenced these concentrations proved to be something of a trap because large numbers of people were made redundant and were unable to find permanent well-paid employment.

Many of those Samoans who were made redundant had to find work in the rapidly growing service industries in which wages were low, job security was limited, and conditions of work were poor. Many people found work but also found that they were working longer hours for lower wages and with little protection. This situation was particularly bad for older people who found themselves competing with their younger, better-educated children for the same jobs.

These early residential and occupational concentrations also meant that Samoans faced considerable prejudice and discrimination early on and were unable to reach their full potential early. Later this situation began to change as the Samoan population began to disperse in the late 1980s.
These conditions led more and more Samoans to look beyond New Zealand for employment opportunities in other countries where higher wages were paid and labour protection was available. This led a number of families to move to other countries and this speeded up the dispersal of Samoans and the formation of larger migrant communities in centres where Samoans had not traditionally lived. These events produced or hastened the emergence of the global Samoan community which is described in the next section.
Part Five
The New Global Samoan Community

When people talk of the Samoan community they are no longer referring to a small population living in the centre of the Pacific Ocean but rather many linked communities scattered all across the face of the globe. Some of these diasporic communities are over 100 years old and some others are much more recent. Sutter’s book *The Samoans: a Global Family* shows how far the Samoans have travelled.

The linkages between these communities are important. Until the 1950’s these communities were linked by relatively slow and infrequent shipping services. By the 1960s faster aircraft and improved telecommunications had improved the speed of communications between the ‘home’ and the diasporic communities. These improvements continued throughout the 1970s and more migrants knew more of what was happening at ‘home’ sooner as communication improved. More people in Samoa also knew more of what was happening in overseas communities. Recent improvements in technology have made a vast difference to the ways migrant and home communities relate to one another.

The contemporary Samoan community is no longer a series of isolated communities which are separated from one another by long expensive journeys as they were in the 1960s (Spoonley, 2000). For a start, they are connected to one another by shorter, less expensive journeys. The communities are also connected to one another by television and radio news programmes. Samoans in New Zealand can listen every day to news broadcasts from Samoa, and those in Samoa can watch Tagata Pasefika and the New Zealand national broadcast news nightly. Samoan newspapers produced in New Zealand, the United States and Samoa also circulate freely between the communities and contribute to the flow of news from beyond the immediate community.
Portable videocassette recorders have made it possible for people in the various Samoan communities to follow events in other places. Now migrants in Auckland can see the cultural competitions at the Teuila Festival and people in Samoa can watch tapes of cultural competitions such as the annual Secondary Schools’ Polynesian Festival and various church denominations’ cultural festivals in New Zealand.

The communities are also connected to one another via the Internet. News of the activities of one community are posted on web sites on the internet where they can be seen by all almost instantaneously by those who have access to the internet. Overseas Samoans no longer have to wait for visitors to bring news from the island. Those with access to the Internet can read such things at the ‘Tala Nei’ news everyday on the Internet. They can also circulate this news more easily and quickly so that more people know more of what is happening even more quickly. Now families who have access to electronic mail can keep in touch with one another cheaply and almost instantaneously.

These new technologies have meant that geographical distance no longer means that people are separated from events in their homes. Ironically, in some cases, they may be better informed about some sorts of events than some people living in Samoa. For instance, some migrant relatives living overseas had seen a videotaped confession by one of those accused of killing the Minister of Works which was broadcast in New Zealand while relatives in Samoa had not because its broadcast was banned there. Many migrants also knew more about the trial of those who were tried, and later convicted, of the murder than their relatives living in Samoa because they were able to read detailed summaries of the evidence and to follow the progress of the trial on internet.

These technologies do not just result in the uncritical exchange of news and gossip. ‘Chat rooms’ on the internet allow Samoans in a number of places to discuss events in their communities. They are also able to take part in discussions about aspects of fa’asamoa. These discussions are often critical and reflect the frustration of many young people with some aspects of
Samoan custom. There are frequent discussions of the ways in which young people are required to serve older people and are not allowed to express their views and take part in the decision making processes which affect them. These exchanges between people in various parts of the global Samoan community will result in free and sometimes critical exchanges of certain elements of the Samoan worldview and lifestyle. These discussions cannot be readily censored, or influenced, by groups who support tradition and it is possible that the existence of these new electronic ‘venues’ may lead to more rapid social change. If this is the case it is likely that the direction of change will be increasingly influenced by Samoans living beyond Samoa who have more ready, and cheaper, access to the internet.
Introduction:

Migration issues can be relatively easily incorporated into the social science curriculum at secondary school level in Samoa because it is a social phenomenon with which most students are acquainted both directly or indirectly.

The availability of the personal experience of migration’s
- processes and
- consequences
means that the study of migration processes and consequences can be incorporated into the curriculum without the need for expensive course materials if creative use is made of these experiences and knowledge which is readily available.

Beside these personal experiences, there is
- a range of printed source materials on migration, population and development which are routinely produced by international organisations such as the UNDP, regional organisations such as the South Pacific Commission and NGOs and which could provide good quality, inexpensive, basic curriculum material which can be reproduced without copyright problems.

Using these resources, students could compare time series data and chart changes in the demography and economy of sending societies (villages and/or nations) and show how these interact with migration patterns. This can provide a sense of the historical context and shape of migration.

- A range of documentary film and video on issues connected with migration, population and development are routinely produced by
international organisations such as the UNDP, regional organisations such as the South Pacific Commission, NGOs and public and private television companies in New Zealand and Australia.

These could be used to anchor and stimulate class discussions on specific topics.

- There is also a range of material including music from Pacific musicians, poetry from Pacific poets, fiction from Pacific novelists, plays from Pacific playwrights, art from Pacific artists and films on issues connected with migration and resettlement. This would allow those who were less interested in the approaches of social science to approach the topics from a different body of material.

Ideally, however, the curriculum would include a range of types of material in an attempt to open students’ eyes to a range of materials through which migration and its consequences can be fully understood and appreciated.

**Using a Migration Curriculum to Teach Social Science Approaches and Research Methods.**

The processes of discovering about migration can be devised so that they provide students with experience of various forms of social science research strategies and methods.

Thus, students might use a range of social science methods to

- Collect, analyse and interpret basic data and official statistics,
- Identify strengths and weaknesses in official data,
- Interview officials on policies such as development and immigration,
- Design surveys for migrants in Samoa or overseas,
- Administer surveys,
- Collate, analyse and interpret survey data,
- Construct and interpret life histories
Some Sample Exercises.
Below, are some of the sorts of exercises which might be used to get secondary school students to collect, think about and interpret about the
• processes,
• impacts and
• experiences of migration.

The exercises are designed to be integrated into the curriculum so that as each module of the curriculum is covered, students will have an opportunity to gather and analyse some data associated with the issues raised in the teaching.

These should ideally be progressive and cumulative. Each exercise should be built on the findings of the preceding one so that as the courses proceed students gain an increasing awareness of all of the implications of migration in their own, and their families’, lives. If this approach is successful, the exercises can stimulate more general interest and debate in families and peer groups.

The Scale of Migration
Identify, on a world map, all of the cities or regions in which friends or relatives of class members are living. Link the cities to information on the individuals’ migration: who the people are, when they left, what they do, how often they return, who they married, whether they have children etc.

The Processes of Migration
The collection of family genealogy can be used to establish where family live and how, why and when they left.

• Find out which of their parents’ siblings are overseas. Establish
  • when each left,
  • who they went to when they went abroad,
  • how and why they decided to leave
• who paid their fares to leave,
• how often they have returned
• whether they would have gone if they know what they now know.

• Find out how many moves they made while they were abroad and why they moved in each case. How important their family was in determining when and where they moved. How important was work in determining where they moved and how did they find work. What factors beside work and family were involved in decisions?

• If more than one factor was involved in a decision to move, what were the others and how important were they?

• Find out why migrants finally return permanently to Samoa. How and when did they make the decision and how do they now feel about their decision?

• How many members of a family plan to migrate at some time in their future? Why do they plan to migrate and how long do they plan to be away from Samoa? How will they organise their movement?

• How many members of a family plan do not plan to migrate at some time in their future? Why do they not plan to migrate?

The Impacts of Migration

The collection of genealogy can be used to establish how many people in a particular relationship to an individual live inside and outside Samoa. Where does a person’s first cousins live? What proportion still lives in Samoa?

The comparison of characteristics can be used to establish how migration influences people’s lives.
• Locate first cousins living in two or three different places and compare their lifestyles, their knowledge of Samoan language, culture and social organisation with your own.

• Locate families of one parent’s siblings in two or three different places and compare their lifestyles and culture with your own. Are these families organised in different ways. How do they differ and why? How do you feel about the differences and why?

Life history methods can be used to establish how and why people migrated and how it changed their lives.

• This could involve locating several people who had left the island, spent time abroad, and had returned to the island and obtaining their life histories. The life histories could then be compared to establish the influence of such things as different periods of time overseas, different patterns of work, marriage, education and so on.

• This could involve obtaining the life history of several people who had been away from Samoa for extended periods and seeing whether and how these people’s lives had differed.

Estimating and Understanding the Impact of Migration on the Village.
Try to find out how many families have left the village in the last ten years and find out how many children these families have overseas. Try to estimate what the village would be like if these people had not moved.

Try to establish what benefits a student’s family has received from migrant relatives. Identify the cash, goods and services which have come from overseas in the past 5 years. How have these been used by the family? How would the family’s lifestyle have been affected if those goods and services not been provided by migrants?
How do remittances from people vary over time? Are there patterns in these remittances? Are there reasons behind the patterns? Is it possible to identify the reasons why some people give more than others?

Try to find out how major buildings in the village or district, such as the hospital, school, pastor’s house and women’s committee’s houses, were built. Who provided the labour and who provided the capital for these projects? How important was the contribution of migrants? Could the project have been completed without assistance from migrants?

Try to identify the future plans of families in the village. How many families plan to migrate either within Samoa or overseas in the next five years. Try to calculate the impact that their absence might have on the demographic, social and economic organisation of the village in the next five years.

Who has returned to the village after extended periods overseas? How have they resettled in the village? What did they do before they left and do they do now? Has their return made a difference to the way things are done within their family or within the village? If so what sort of difference?

The Experiences of Migration

Collecting Representations of the Migrant Experience

From literature:
Collect literature, music or poetry and explain how the writers, poets, and musicians represent migration. Is it positively or negatively portrayed?

How do the writers, playwrights, poets or film-makers portray migrants? Are they portrayed as courageous heroes who took a chance or as people who ran away?

How do writers of the songs, plays, music and poetry represent the ‘homeland’ which they left? Is it a wonderful place to which they expect to return and why?
How does the music of overseas-born Samoan performers ‘talk’ about their sense of connection with their parents’ homelands and their overseas-born identity?

How do writers of the songs, plays, music and poetry represent the ‘new land’ to which they went? Is it a wonderful place in which they expect to remain and why?

How do songs, plays, music and poetry represent their experiences abroad? Are these portrayed positively or negatively?

Collect ten popular songs and transcribe them. What ideas and symbols are used to reflect migration in for instance songs?

Collect five popular Samoan songs from the 1960s, five from the 1980s and five contemporary songs. Transcribe them and identify the ideas and symbols are used to reflect migration in these songs? How have they changed over the time?

*From People:*

Interview visitors or returning migrants about particular aspects of their experiences abroad. Compare the experiences of people who have been overseas for different periods of time to see how these differ.

Write to relatives and friends living abroad and ask them to answer questions about their lifestyles and to send photographs or videotapes which illustrate aspects of their life abroad.

*From the Internet:*

Go to the Samoan chat-rooms on the internet and follow the discussions and arguments which go on in those spaces about their experiences of life in Samoa and abroad. These may need to be monitored as some of the discussions are very frank and cover topics and use language which may not be appropriate for younger classes.
Once students are familiar with basic debates and the material and evidence which underpins the them, a range of interactive exercises can be introduced. Some which have worked well include,

- Role plays in which one person is a minister looking for advice and the several others play the roles of policy advisors,
- Simulated radio and television interviews between an interviewer/journalist and a migration specialist who is trying to tease out the consequences of migration,
- Political ‘debates’ in which one ‘party’ takes a particular position on migration and the other ‘party’ takes the opposing position.

Formal debates in which teams have to change positions and argue the opposite position in successive debates.
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