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**The Effect of Migration on Development
in Tuvalu: A Case Study of PAC
Migrants and their Families**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

International migration and development have been traditionally treated as separate policy portfolios; however, today the two are increasingly viewed as interlinked. While the development status of a country could determine migration flows, migration can, in turn, contribute positively to national development, including economic, social and cultural progress. Consequently, if migration is not well managed, it can pose development challenges to a country's development and progress. Therefore, partnership through greater networking between countries of origin and destination is needed to fully utilise the development potential of migration.

For Tuvalu, migration has remained a vital ingredient for economic development and more importantly, the welfare of its people. The implementation of New Zealand's Pacific Access Category (PAC) scheme in 2002 offered for the first time a formal migration opportunity for permanent or long-term migration of Tuvaluans. The PAC scheme allows 75 Tuvaluans per year to apply for permanent residence to work and live in New Zealand, provided they meet the scheme's conditions. The goal of this research is to investigate, more than five years after PAC's implementation, the ways in which long-term migration of Tuvaluans, through the PAC scheme, has benefited Tuvalu. To give a broader perspective on the issues explored in this study, the views of Tuvaluan leaders, as significant players in traditional Tuvaluan society, are included, in addition to the perspective of migrants' families in Tuvalu and the migrants themselves in New Zealand.

Combining transnationalist and developmental approaches as a theoretical framework, this thesis explores how Tuvalu's mobile and immobile populations, through articulation of transnationalism, enhance family welfare, and grassroots and national development. The eight weeks' fieldwork in Tuvalu and Auckland demonstrated that the physical separation of Tuvaluans from one another through migration does not limit the richness of the interactions and connections between them. In fact, the existence of active networking between island community groups and other Tuvaluan associations in Auckland and in Tuvalu strengthens the Tuvaluan culture both abroad and at home, thus ensuring strong family and community coherence. Maintaining transnational networks and practices is identified as of great significance to grassroots and community-based development in Tuvalu. However, the benefits of long-term migration can only be sustained as long as island loyalty, or *loto fenua*, and family kinship stays intact across borders, and networking amongst families, communities and church remains active.

*This thesis is dedicated to my three adorable children,
Papauta Kelsey, Simati Jnr. Loua, and Pie Makoi,
and in loving memory of my beloved grandparents, Pie and Paufi.*

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APPREVIATIONS

AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
ADB	Asian Development Bank
DBT	Development Bank of Tuvalu
EKT	Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTF	Falekaupule Trust Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IT	Information Technology
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MIRAB	Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy
MUHEC	Massey University Human Ethic Committee
NBT	National Bank of Tuvalu
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	Nauru Phosphate Commission
NSSD	National Summit on Sustainable Development
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
PAC	Pacific Access Category
RSE	Recognised Seasonal Employer
SIS	Small Island States
SPC	Secretarial of the Pacific Community
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
TCS	Tuvalu Corporative Society
TEC	Tuvalu Electricity Corporation
TMC	Tuvalu Media Corporation
TMTI	Tuvalu Maritime Training Institute
TNPF	Tuvalu National Provident Fund
TPB	Tuvalu Philatelic Bureau
TTC	Tuvalu Telecommunication Corporation
TTF	Tuvalu Trust Fund
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USA	United States of America
VLH	Vaiaku Lagi Hotel
WB	World Bank

TUVALUAN TERMS AND PHRASES

<i>Ahiga</i>	Island community's meeting hall, commonly used by the two northern islands in Tuvalu, Nanumea and Nanumaga
<i>Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu</i>	The dominant church in Tuvalu, with 91% of the population having affiliation with it.
<i>Fagai</i>	Daily or weekly supply of local food provided by the island community to the pastor of the island.
<i>Fakafetai lahi</i>	Thank you very much.
<i>Fakalavelave</i>	Family's traditional commitment to their community or extended family, such as, wedding and funeral where family members are required to contribute in a variety of ways to successfully implement such commitments.
<i>Falekaupule</i>	(i) the island community's meeting hall (ii) the highest decision making body on the island, comprising of the island chief, heads of households and elders of the island.
<i>Fenua o tagata</i>	Isles of men.
<i>Fatele</i>	Tuvalu's traditional dance where a large group of people sit together in a circle, with a group of men beating a wooden box and a tin while the rest clap and sing as loud as they can, and a selected group of young men and women dance to the beat and words of the song.
<i>Initaviu</i>	Interviewing someone about his/her views on certain issues.
<i>Kaiga</i>	Family or relatives
<i>Kaumalaga</i>	Visiting or touring group visiting another island within Tuvalu or from outside Tuvalu to Tuvalu or vice versa.
<i>Kaupule</i>	Executive arm of the <i>Falekaupule</i> – essentially the primary social institution and sovereign power in the islands of Tuvalu with the right to oversee local affairs.

<i>Mataniu</i>	A group of extended families
<i>Palagi</i>	An European or a ‘white’ person
<i>Pulaka</i>	A traditional root crop like a giant taro.
<i>Pule Kaupule</i>	The head of the <i>Kaupule</i>
<i>Sautala</i>	Informal chat between two people or more
<i>Sulu</i>	Sarong – a traditional garment that most Tuvaluans (men, women and youth) use as daily wear.
<i>Takitaki</i>	The leader
<i>Takitaki ote Lotu</i>	Church’s leader
<i>Takitaki ote Malo</i>	Government’s leader
<i>Te Nivaga</i>	Tuvalu’s only passenger and cargo ship received from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony’s fleet of vessels after vying for its independence
<i>Tufuga</i>	Traditional massager
<i>Ulusina ote Fenua</i>	Elders of the island.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement

International migration remains a vital ingredient in economic and social development in Tuvalu. In particular, it has made a paramount contribution to the welfare of the Tuvaluans (Boland & Dollery, 2007; Knapman, Ponton & Hunt, 2002; Simati & Gibson, 2001; Taomia, 2006a, 2006b). Since independence in 1978, Tuvalu has relied heavily on the temporary or circular migration of its people to work in phosphate mines (first in Banaba and then Nauru), on overseas merchant ships as seafarers, and in temporary seasonal jobs on farms in New Zealand. A formal outlet for permanent migration for Tuvaluans appeared for the first time when New Zealand's Pacific Access Category (PAC) scheme was implemented in 2002. The PAC scheme allows 75 Tuvaluans per year to apply for permanent residence, enabling them to work and live permanently in New Zealand, if they meet the scheme's criteria.

The goal of this research is to investigate, more than five years after PAC's implementation, the ways in which long-term migration of Tuvaluans through the PAC scheme, have benefited Tuvalu. Due to its geographical limitations (small size and isolation from world markets) and narrow prospects for economic growth, the Tuvaluan economy can be described as somewhat fragile. Thus, for a small developing country like Tuvalu, migration is considered a significant option for economic and social development. This thesis therefore sets out to find how Tuvaluans utilise foreign opportunities such as the PAC scheme to further enhance their families' lives, their church communities, and their island's development. The president of the main church in Tuvalu, *Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu*, Tofiga Falani said in an interview.

Young Tuvaluans have so much to offer to the country that they are migrating to, and more importantly, to the welfare of their families and communities back on the islands, and to the service of God as well. They are the ones that should be encouraged to migrate through the PAC scheme (Reverend Falani, President of the EKT church, personal communication, April 2008).

The above statement sums up beautifully the diversity of roles that Tuvaluan PAC migrants play and the significance of the PAC migration not only for individual Tuvaluans, but also for extended families, island communities, church and the nation as whole. Once PAC migrants leave the islands, they are consistently tied to their roots through mutual commitments and obligations. These are the main attributes that keep Tuvaluans abroad connected with their homeland.

The following section explains the purpose of this research and the theoretical approach used by this thesis.

1.2 Purpose and Theoretical Approach

Migration of workers across international boundaries in search of economic opportunity has enormous implications for growth and welfare both in origin and in destination countries. However, the topic has remained relatively under-researched at the national level in some of the Pacific countries. Given the importance of migration to the development of small island nations such as Tuvalu, this thesis focused on exploring the ways in which the PAC scheme is beneficial to development in Tuvalu. This research focused on the experiences of the PAC migrants concerning issues ranging from their application process to their settlement in New Zealand. The views of the migrants' families, the government and the community in Tuvalu were also explored to ensure a variety of different perspectives on the effect of long-term or PAC migration to Tuvalu were represented.

The aim of this thesis is to determine the relevance of the PAC scheme to development in Tuvalu.

Specifically, the objectives are to:

- (i) Investigate the effects of the PAC scheme on Tuvaluan families and communities in New Zealand and Tuvalu;

- (ii) Determine the mechanisms sustaining the benefits of long-term migration;
and
- (iii) Identify whether climate change influences the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme.

These three objectives combine to form a foundation for understanding the contribution the scheme offers to Tuvaluan families, communities and the overall development of Tuvalu. However, the third objective draws on the implications of climate change (popularly identified with Tuvalu in the international media) for migration decisions of both individuals and their families, while at the same time linking it back to family welfare, community and grassroots development in Tuvalu.

To better understand the rationale behind migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme and its effects on Tuvaluan families and communities, a qualitative research approach has been chosen for this thesis. Involving the people who have taken part in the migration process has provided valuable insight into migration issues. The increasingly diverse connections between migrants and their families in the home country have led this research to employ a transnationalism framework. This framework considers both mobile and immobile migrant populations and takes into account both the economic and the sociocultural connections that bind these two populations together once migration has taken place. To determine the effects of long-term migration through the PAC scheme on development of migrant-sending countries, this thesis will employ transnationalist and developmental frameworks.

1.3 Background of the Study

With limited natural and financial resources for the development of its economy, Tuvalu is caught between its aspirations for development and its ability to bring about the kind of development that is equally beneficial to the whole population. Migration offers offshore employment opportunities and alternative development options to small island states such as Tuvalu whose natural and financial resources for development are limited (Bertram, 2006; Boland & Dollery, 2007; Chand, 2005; Muliaina, Kumar, Prasad &

Shuaib, 2006; Stahl & Appleyard, 2007; Taomia, 2006a; World Bank; 2006). At the grassroots level, migration of family members provides security for families remaining on the islands due to the continuous flow of remittances maintained by transnational kinship networks (Boland & Dollery, 2007; Connell, 2003; Connell & Brown, 2004). In addition, increasing awareness of the implications of climate change on low lying atolls leads to the conceptualisation of migration as a ‘safety valve’ not only for new economic opportunities, but to access higher land as well. However, research has rarely explored the effects of the availability of long-term migration opportunities such as the PAC scheme for Tuvaluan families.

The implementation of New Zealand’s PAC scheme in 2002 offered a formal migration outlet for four Pacific island countries: Tuvalu, Fiji, Tonga and Kiribati. Tuvalu’s lobbying and concern over climatic changes affecting its nine atoll islands is partially responsible for its inclusion in the development of the PAC scheme (Connell, 2003, p.95). Moreover, PAC migration provides a pathway to new economic opportunities that can offer enough financial resources to support both those Tuvaluans who are moving to New Zealand and their families remaining behind. Additionally, fear of the consequences of climate change to low lying atolls was predicted to be a ‘hidden’ push-factor encouraging Tuvaluans to consider migration through the PAC scheme. This hidden ‘fear factor’ was thought to differentiate Tuvalu’s migration experience from other migration-dependent Pacific countries such as Tonga and Samoa. Therefore, the long-term migration of Tuvaluans was chosen for particular research consideration.

Two theoretical frameworks have been developed in the past to help understand migration in the Pacific, including Tuvalu’s. The MIRAB¹ model, developed by Geoff Bertram and Ray Watters in the mid-1980s, offered migration as an alternative sustainable development approach for small Pacific islands with limited natural resources and a common colonial history. Within this model, the sustainability and development prospects of these MIRAB island economies depended very much on the

¹ MIRAB – Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy model developed by Bertram and Watters in 1985 to provide a sustainable alternative development option for 5 microstates in the Pacific including Tuvalu.

“continuing operation of stabilising negative feedback loops which kept the aid flowing, migrants moving, the bureaucrats operating and the remittances network alive” (Bertram, 2006, p. 2). The continuous provision of foreign aid and ongoing availability of migration outlets were crucial factors in keeping the dependent island economies stable. Three decades after MIRAB’s birth, Bertram (2006, p. 12) is optimistic that the MIRAB model is still applicable today. Despite Bertram’s optimistic perspective, there is an increase in opposition to the MIRAB model’s construction and applicability.

The contemporary transnationalism perspective on migration challenged MIRAB’s narrow neoclassical economic perspective of the international movement of labour. For example, Marsters, Lewis and Friesen (2006), criticised the MIRAB model – from a methodological viewpoint, characterising the model as failing to incorporate the richness of social and economic reality lived by Pacific islands transnational societies. According to Marsters et al. (2006), the concept of ‘network’ was core to their argument. In reference to the Cook Islands, Marsters et al. (2006) argued that Cook Islanders were not living an economically and nationally determined life; rather they lived in a rich network that flowed with people, goods, ideas, decisions and labour a distinct feature of transnational societies that the MIRAB model failed to capture. This is echoed by Hau’ofa’s (1993) argument in which he described Pacific Island Countries (PICs) as being confined to tiny spaces divided by the imaginary boundary lines drawn by continental men (Europeans and U.S. Americans). Hau’ofa argued that this idea was an economic, geographically deterministic and narrow view of the Pacific Islands that overlooked cultural history and the contemporary processes of ‘world enlargement’, meaning the movement of people carried out by Pacific Islanders long before the arrival of Europeans.

Additionally, within the transnationalism perspective the structure of contemporary labour migration differs significantly from that of labour migration concepts in the past, in that the contemporary increased migration is seen as a result of globalisation processes in general, and improvements in the modes of transportation and communication, in particular. As a result, people move not only in a linear fashion or for economic reasons, as the MIRAB model prescribed, but they move in multiple

directions and for cultural and social reasons such as weddings, birthdays, funeral functions, in search of refuge and education, and because of family disputes. Hau'ofa (1993, p. 244) referred to the more recent movements of Pacific people to different places around the world as occurring not so much because their countries are poor, but because mobility is engrained in their heritage. Hau'ofa's argument further questions the economic push and pull factors identified by the MIRAB model as the main drivers of migration for people from the Pacific. Although past research on Tuvalu has investigated migration, studies on Tuvalu's migration (Boland & Dollery, 2005, Simati & Gibson, 2001; Taomia, 2006a) tended to follow the MIRAB model's perspective. Consequently, there is a need to explore the effects of migration for Tuvalu by using a contemporary transnational perspective, which takes a more holistic view of the situation.

To gain an in-depth understanding of the effects of long-term migration through the PAC scheme on Tuvaluan families and communities, six weeks of fieldwork in Tuvalu and New Zealand was planned for the purpose of collecting data and information necessary for the thesis topic. The first phase of fieldwork took place on Funafuti, the capital of Tuvalu, with a focus on families of PAC migrants, community elders, church leaders, and government leaders and officials. The second phase took place in Auckland with PAC migrants, paying particular attention to their migration experiences.

The following section will outline the structure of the research.

1.4 Research Outline

Figure 1.1 depicts the outline of this thesis and describes how the chapters are linked.

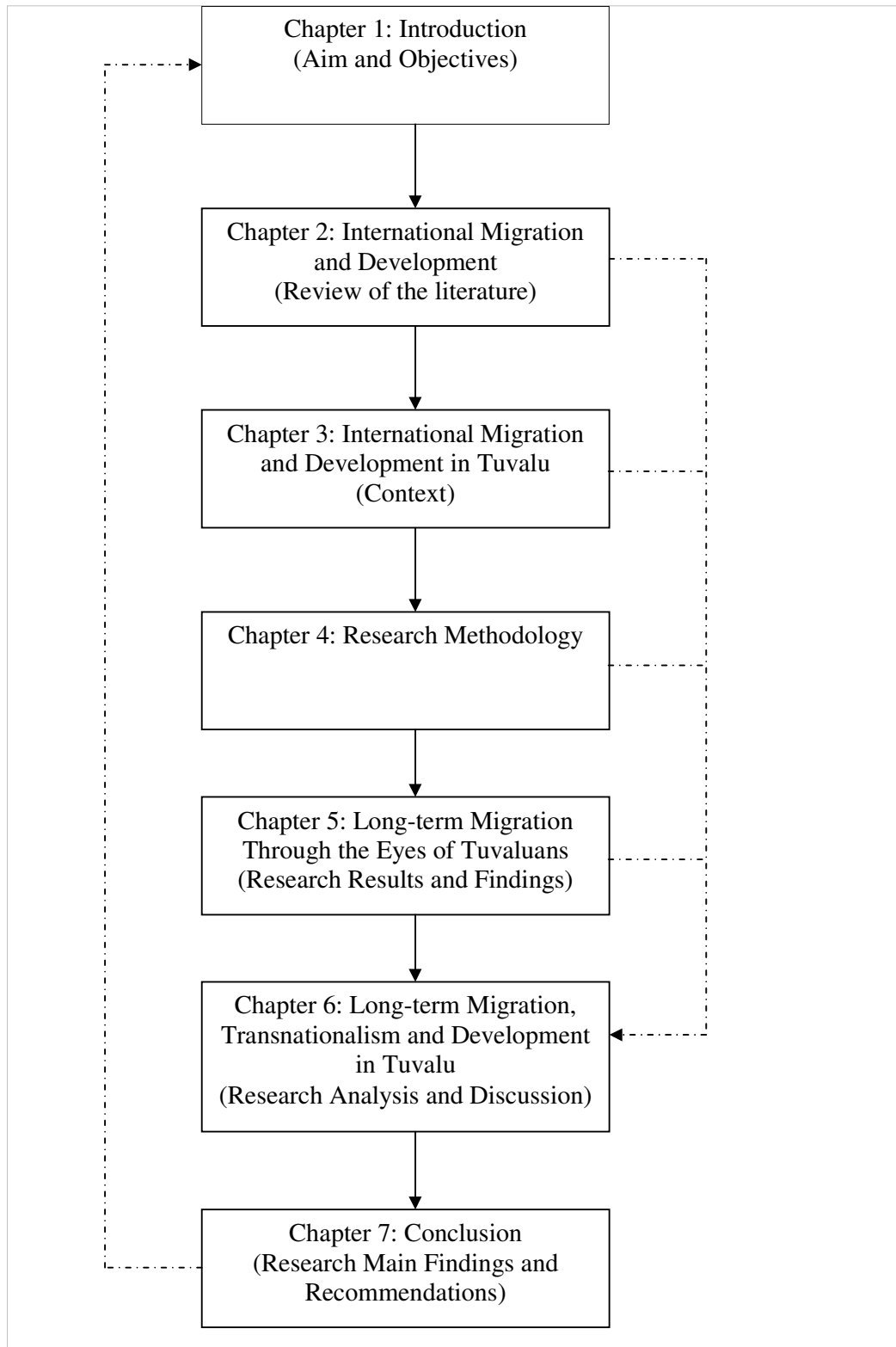


Figure 1.1 Thesis Outline

Source: S. P. Simati

Chapter 2 is divided into two sections. The first section provides a review of the existing literature on the role of international migration in development, first from a general perspective and then from a Pacific perspective, with emphasis on the MIRAB model. The second section of Chapter 2 involves a shift of focus toward transnationalism and development, looking mainly at the impact of a range of transnational practices on development. The chapter wraps up with a discussion of the role of environmental anxiety on migration and transnational practices of migrants.

Having looked at migration from a global and regional (Pacific) context, Chapter 3 provides the background and context for looking more closely at migration and development at the national level, focusing on Tuvalu. A brief overview of Tuvalu's geography, people and economy is provided. This is followed by discussion of employment opportunities in Tuvalu and migration outlets available for Tuvaluans.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology for this research, beginning with an outline of the motivation for conducting this research. It then looks at the fieldwork preparation phase where methodological approach, ethical consideration, token of appreciation and logistic issues are discussed. This is followed by an 'in the field' phase where the procedures of data collection and the pros and cons of being an indigenous researcher are discussed. Reflections on fieldwork methodology wrap up this chapter.

Chapter 5 presents the research results and findings. This chapter is divided into three sections; the first presents the voices of the leaders and elders in Tuvalu, and the second section presents the voices of migrants' families in Tuvalu, while the last section presents the voices of Tuvalu migrants in New Zealand. The three sections portray these three groups' different perspectives on migration-development related issues.

Chapter 6 analyses and discusses the research findings using the transnationalism and development framework. First, the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme is positioned in the transnationalism framework, using transnationalism 'from above' and transnationalism 'from below' as distinct categories. This is followed by a discussion on the mechanisms and significance of PAC migration on development, with emphasis on

the various connections and networks that exist between Tuvaluan families in New Zealand and Tuvalu.

Finally, Chapter 7 sums up this thesis with discussion of the main findings and conclusions that this study reaches in term of the thesis's aims and objectives. A number of recommendations and areas for further research are identified and incorporated into the summary findings of this thesis.

CHAPTER II: INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

Migration is not a new occurrence. Indeed, migration is as old as humanity itself (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellgriono & Taylor, 1998). People have always left their homes to explore; to search for better economic opportunities, both within and outside of their own homeland; or because of what is referred to by Hau'ofa (1993) as mobility engrained in a people's heritage. Nonetheless, Castles and Miller (2003) argued that economic globalisation has put a new spin on international migration, making the flow of people across borders much easier, faster and more frequent on a scale that was not previously possible.

At the end of the World War II, globalisation was fuelled chiefly by the international exchange of goods and capital, rather than by the migration of people. However, a new trend was seen at the end of the twenty-first century, whereby international migrants played an increasingly important role in the globalisation process (Mohanty, 2006). According to Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Parraton (1999), in addition to the growth of various types of cross-border flows, such as investment, trade, cultural products, ideas and people, the creation of transnational networks between multiple locations took place. Castles and Miller (2003) argued that globalisation has led to the increased articulation of transnationalism in the behaviour of people and institutions in more than one state. In the wider context, the phenomenon of international labour migration is indeed a very important development issue for many countries of the world. Furthermore, migration is also considered a sustainable livelihood strategy for families in developing countries, including those in the Pacific region (Chand, 2005; McDowell & De Haan, 1997).

Given the broad sphere of benefits that international migration can deliver, this trend has captured the attention of not only the countries involved but also development agencies, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the International

Labour Organisation and, more recently, the United Nations. In a recent report from the United Nations, the former Secretary General stated:

The potential for migrants to help transform their native countries has captured the imaginations of national and local authorities, international institutions and the private sector. There is an emerging consensus that countries can co-operate to create triple wins, for migrants, for their countries of origin and for the societies that receive them (United Nations, 2006, p.5).

Furthermore, for Pacific Islanders, the significance of availability and easier access to employment opportunities, either short- or long-term, through international movement of labour was recognised by the World Bank (2006) in its report titled *At Home and Away: Expanding Job Opportunities for Pacific Islanders through Labour Mobility*. In the Pacific, a lack of job opportunities is seen as an important factor contributing to social and political instability in some countries. This report showed that allowing some Pacific Islanders to have access to jobs in the larger regional economies could contribute significantly to the economic and social well being of the workers, their families and the greater communities remaining in their homeland (World Bank, 2006).

The support rendered by well known international organisations such as the World Bank and the United Nations in recognising the potential contribution of migrants for transforming countries of origin and destination, has attracted renewed interest. This attention comes from a variety of sources, from national and local authorities to international institutions and the private sector, all of whom are interested in the role international migration can play in national development. More specifically, this role appears to be one of making substantial contributions in the development of their countries of origin as well as their destination countries. Such duality has also enabled the migrants and their homeland counterparts to be linked together in the development process of their home country.

International migration is a dynamic and fast growing phenomenon. According to Mohanty (2006), the Global Commission on International Migration claimed international migration is increasing not only in scale and speed, but also in the wide

diversity of people and countries involved. The volume of migrants has increased rapidly and it is expected to increase significantly in the future (Mohanty, 2006). A report by the Global Commission on International Migration (2005, p.3) estimated the number of international migrants to have doubled from 82 million in 1970 to 200 million in 2005. Of the total share of international immigrants, Oceania holds the highest global portion of migrants per regional population, with 18.7%, followed by North America (12.9%), Western Europe (7.7%), Africa (2.0%), Asia (1.4%) and Latin America (1.1%) (Mohanty, 2006, p.3).

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the forces behind international migration – referred to by scholars as transnational migration – and its increasingly important role within national development, this chapter is divided into two main sections, migration and development. The role of migration in the development of a country of origin from a global and regional perspective is emphasised, using the case of the Pacific region as an illustration.

Next is a discussion on the impact of transnational practices on development. Given the increasing debate on environmental concerns relating to climate change which affect a wide range of phenomena such as development, livelihood and migration, a special section on the role of environmental anxiety in transnationalism will wrap up this chapter.

2.2 Introducing International Migration

In an effort to understand the complexity of international migration, scholars have endeavoured to provide general explanations for migration and this has given rise to a range of models, analytical frameworks and conceptual frameworks within this field (Arango, 2004; Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Massey et al., 1993; 1998). Arango argued that a “number of these explanations are not originally conceived to explain migration, but rather born to explain other facets of human behaviour and then imported and adapted for the explanation of migration” (2004, p.15). According to Massey et al. (1993; 1998), no single coherent theory of international migration has emerged, but rather a fragmented set of theories have developed, largely in isolation from each other.

However, these isolated theories of migration are significant in terms of providing explanations for population movements within their wider political and economic contexts.

Individual migration models and analytical and conceptual frameworks can be regarded as restrictive in explaining and understanding the sociocultural implications of the movement of people. Kivisto claimed that traditional migration theories “suffer from a tendency towards economic reductionism” (2001, p.553). Moreover, Arango (2004) stated that traditional approaches focused mainly on the mobile population while ignoring the immobile population in the country of origin who were also significant players in the migration process. Conversely, transnationalism theory and its extensions consider both the migrants and their families who remain in the homeland, especially the interconnected world of migrants and families across various locations. This view was lacking in previous migration theories (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994).

The following section will discuss the relationship between migration and development, first by looking at the global level, and then through a discussion of the Pacific region using the MIRAB model, which emphasises the importance of migration and remittances to development of Small Island States (SIS) in the Pacific.

2.3 Migration and Development

The start of the twenty-first century marked the resurgence of migration and development optimism with a sudden turnaround of opinion on the involvement of transnational communities in the development processes of the countries involved (De Haas, 2007). The United Nations’ support for international migration and development was emphasised by former Secretary General Kofi Annan in his report to the United Nations General Assembly 60th session, when he stated that international migration would provide “triple wins, for migrants, for their country of origin and for the societies that receive them” (United Nations, 2006, p.5). This new emphasis on migration and development regained the trust and attention of social scientists, development agencies and policy makers in developing countries, in regard to the significant contribution that migration could offer to national development (Arango, 2004; De Haas, 2007).

The following sections will provide an overview on migration as it impacts the development of the countries involved. Later, the discussion moves on to provide a regional perspective on international migration and development, focusing mainly on the Pacific region. Both of these sections are focused on economic dynamics, leaving room for further discussion on the more pronounced social dimension of transnationalism and development later in this chapter.

2.3.1 Overview of Migration and Development

The meaning of the term ‘development’ is widely debated. Development can be understood as a process likely to occur alongside economic growth, or it could be meant to refer to a dynamic socioeconomic process for empowering the poor to improve their livelihood (Sen, 1988). Cowen and Shenton’s (1995) analysis of the concept of development concluded that development can be postulated to contain two distinct types, immanent and intentional development. The first refers to development that has occurred as part of the natural process of industrial capitalism, while the latter refers to forms of deliberate interventions, largely by governments, which actually aim to counter the effect of immanent development.

International migration is considered by some scholars as a ‘by-product of late capitalism’ which makes large industrialised countries dependent on non-industrialised countries and vice-versa. More specifically, the former are seen to be heavily dependent on cheap labour from non-industrialised countries, who in turn rely on migrants’ remittances sent from the industrialised countries (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p.134; Portes, 2003). According to Cowen and Shenton’s definition of development, this can also be referred to as immanent development. However, the intervention of governments in shaping the migration flows both within and outside their geographical boundaries to enhance both national and grassroots development, as in the case of Asian and Pacific migration (Massey et al., 1998), can be seen as an intentional type of development.

The most common measure for determining the significance of international migration on national economic development is the remittances that migrants often send to their families in the homeland. According to a recent World Bank report titled *Migration and Remittances: Factbook 2008*, the amount of total migrants worldwide is estimated at 200 million people, or 3% of the world's population; this is a significant number of people living outside their country of birth (World Bank, 2008, p.ix). Worldwide remittance flows are estimated to have exceeded US\$318 billion in 2007, with developing countries receiving 76% of the total worldwide recorded remittances (World Bank, 2008, p.x). However, the actual size of the remittance flows is believed to be much larger, if the unrecorded remittances that flow through informal channels are taken into account. Moreover, in 2007, India, China, Mexico, the Philippines and France were amongst the top recipient countries of recorded remittances. However, in terms of the remittance share of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a smaller Pacific country, Tonga, managed to come in at second place with 32%, just after Tajikistan and Moldova, both with 36% (World Bank, 2008, p.x). This implies that remittance amounts are actually higher per person in small developing countries, including those of the Pacific region.

The connections between labour migration and development are complex and multidimensional (Mohanty, 2006). The emigration of surplus labour in developing countries could provide a source of income for the unemployed population, in addition to relieving pressure on the local labour market (Mohanty, 2006). The connection between migration and development, known as the migration-development nexus, pinpoints the significance of international migration for national and grassroots development (Connell, 2006; Hugo, 2007; United Nations, 2006). The reverse of opinion concerning international migration and development, from a negative to a more positive perspective, is due to the significant contribution of remittances in the world financial flow (Levitt & Sorensen, 2004). Taken together, the volume of global remittances are far greater than the flow of official development assistance. It is larger even than capital market flows and more than double the Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) which flow into these countries (Ghosh, 2006; Naim, as cited in Levitt & Sorenson, 2004, p.4).

The positive contribution of migrants to the development of their home countries includes investment in their home countries, remittance flow, return migration or 'brain gain', entrepreneurial activities and support for democratisation and human rights (Vidal, 1998). All these activities involve transnational interactions between migrants, the governments of countries of origin, and the families of the migrants remaining in their home country who are all interacting together out of their own motivations and for their own benefit. However, this happily results in a positive spill-over effect onto the wider community which will be further discussed in the transnationalism and development section later in this chapter.

Overall, the increasing flow of people mainly from developing to developed countries follows the natural process of industrial development or immanent development (Cowen & Shenton, 1995). As countries become more developed, the demand for cheap labour to work low-paid, dirty and dangerous jobs (mostly available in developing countries), increases. The lack of job opportunities in developing countries, combined with the availability of jobs in developed countries, pushes people to migrate where there are job opportunities, thus increasing the number of people from developing countries who live outside their homeland.

The contribution of migration to the development of countries of origin is largely realised from the high volume of remittance flow from the migrants to their families and friends remaining in their homeland. Smaller, but still important benefits such as the brain gain phenomenon or return migration, are new developments in migration paradigms; however, the underlying mechanics of migrant contributions to their homelands rest mostly lies on the direct economic benefits. The increasing amount of remittance flow and its associated benefits, combined with the interventions of government in shaping migration flows in their respective countries, demonstrates the existence of an intervention type of development identified by Cowen and Shanton in their categorisation process.

This discussion on migration from the global perspective is followed, in the next section, by an exploration of the relationship between migration and the development of Pacific region countries using the MIRAB model.

2.3.2 Pacific Focus – The MIRAB² Model

In 2000, the Pacific region accounted for almost six million international migrants, and boasted the highest global percentage of migrants per regional population. Additionally, the Pacific had one of the highest rates of migration, which itself was growing at a rate of 2.1% annually (Mohanty, 2006, p.3). One prominent Pacific scholar, Epeli Hau'ofa (1993), claimed that the world of Oceania is not small, but instead is vast and continues growing every day. Given the wide spread of Pacific people worldwide today, Hau'ofa argued that the resources of Pacific countries should not be confined to the physical boundaries of their islands but should expand to include those locations where their migrants settle abroad:

The world of Oceania may no longer include the heavens and the underworld; but it certainly encompasses the great cities of Australia, New Zealand, the USA and Canada. And it is within this expanded world that the extent of the people's resources must be measured ... Ordinary Pacific people depend their daily existence much, much more on themselves and kinfolk wherever they may be (Hau'ofa, 1993, p. 245).

Given the growing impact of migration on the development of small Pacific countries' economies, Bertram and Watters developed the MIRAB model in the mid-1980s to address the contribution of migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy to the macroeconomic development of small and fragile Pacific economies (Bertram & Watters, 1985). The MIRAB model was defined as a development process where remittances, aid and bureaucracy are crucial to development of small island economies. Using the MIRAB model, migration has been identified as an alternative sustainable development option for small Pacific islands with limited natural resources and a

² Refers to Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy

common history of colonial welfarism, as well as a dependence on remittances and aid as the main resources for development (Bertram & Watters, 1985). Leaning towards dependency theory and Marxist thinking, Appleyard and Stahl (1995) argued that MIRAB theory views Pacific islands as an international labour reserve whose purpose is to serve the industrial economies on the periphery – when it suits these economies.

However, Bertram and Watters (1985, 1986) state that MIRAB is a perfectly sustainable model, so long as the inflow of external resources such as foreign aid and remittances continues. So far, these have shown no signs of diminishing. Almost two decades after MIRAB's initial inception, Connell and Brown (2004) reported that Tongan and Samoan nurses in Australia are remitting more generously and consistently than ever, thus providing concrete evidence of the current applicability of the MIRAB model to development within small Pacific nations. Rappaport (1999) referred to the collective nature in which decision-making is processed within this model. Specifically, kinship links are not only an essential factor in migrants' process for making decisions, they provide the bonds between migrants and those at home, thus ensuring the continuous flow of remittances and the sustainability of the MIRAB model.

The most important aspect of migration in terms of the development needs of each individual and their families is the remittances that are sent back to the island economies as a form of assistance (Bertram & Watters, 1985, 1986). Moreover, Bertram (2006) regarded the 'transnational corporation of kin' as an important factor supporting the continuation of economic and social ties, in that relatives who remained in the home country kept up regular contact with migrants abroad. It was this family connection and obligation which motivated the continued flow of remittances back to the islands and the flow of new migrants to their designated countries. Applying this to the current situation, the future of the MIRAB model depends very much on the sustainability of transnational kinship networks, the flow of remittances and the availability of foreign aid.

In summary, the traditional approaches to migration and development and the MIRAB model as it is applied to the Pacific region, place the greatest significance on the

economic contribution of migration to development. However, the inclusion of the diverse social and cultural realities being lived by migrants abroad, highlighted in the transnationalism perspective can provide a fuller understanding of the movement of people around the world. Overall, Pacific people are not living in an economically and nationally determined life, but instead exist in a rather rich network of people, goods, ideas, decisions and labour. Their migration decisions are not entirely economically driven but rather encompass the values, beliefs, aspirations and personalities of those on the move.

The following section will firstly define transnationalism, and then provide discussion on transnationalism and development, emphasising the development in countries of origin and using the transnationalism ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ framework. Exploration of the impact of transnational practices on development will wrap up the chapter.

2.4 Transnationalism and Development

Transnationalism is defined as the “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Kivisto, 2001, p.552). In contrast to the predictions of traditional migration theorists who believed that migrants’ connections with their country of origin would weaken over time, the transnationalist perspective claims that the longer migrants stay and assimilate in their new country, the more they will maintain, or even strengthen, ties with their home country. This reinforced bonding with the country of origin occurs even while they are incorporating themselves into their new country (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Robinson, 2004). Moreover, Robinson (2004) argued that, by living a dual life, migrants simultaneously distribute their time, money, resources and loyalty between their host country and their country of origin. As a result, migrants positively continue positive contributions to the development of their home country over the long term.

2.4.1 Defining Transnationalism

Transnationalism is a contested term which is still evolving – or, alternatively, it is a “very slippery concept” as Mahler (2003, p.66) has explained. This is because it has

been used historically in multiple similar, yet distinct, ways. However, the more difficult aspects of the term's modern use is the way it has come to describe a variety of entities ranging from social movements and economic ties to migrants' connections with their homelands (Guarnizo & Smith, 2003; Mahler, 2003). For the purposes of this paper, however, transnational migration will be defined as "the processes in which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" and transnationalism will refer to a related conceptual framework (Basch et al., 1994, p.6).

Many scholars argue that transnational migration is not a new phenomenon, just one that has reached a particular intensity on a global scale towards the end of the twentieth century (Glick-Schiller, 1999; Guarnizo & Smith, 2003; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; McEwan, 2004). Many of the 'old' immigrants in the United States, during the Industrial and Progressive eras, remained connected with their homelands through always sending 'a little something' back to their families (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p.133). In fact, referring to Hatton and Williamson's 1994 study, Levitt and Jaworsky (2007, p.133) stated that a significant proportion of these immigrants, 30% to 40%, actually returned permanently to their home countries. This shows that migrants' connections with their homeland existed even in the Industrial and Progressive eras, where travel and communication technologies were not as cheap, fast and convenient as today.

In regards to the Pacific region, Hau'ofa (1993) argued that Pacific people have long been transnational, stating:

The welfare of people of Oceania depends on informal movement along ancient routes drawn in bloodlines invisible to the enforcers of laws of confinements and regulated mobility ... [Pacific peoples] are once again enlarging their world, establishing new resources basis and expanding networks and circulation (Hau'ofa, 1993, p.11).

Nonetheless, Spoonley and Bedford (2003) argued that the more recent availability of affordable and regular travel options, cheap forms of communication, funds for use in

maintaining ties with other communities in the diaspora and active exchanges of goods between communities have strengthened the transnational linkages between those remaining in the homeland and those who live abroad.

Transnationalism enables appreciation and deeper understanding of certain types of relationships that have been taken place in a wide range of common activities, notwithstanding large distances and the presence of international borders (Vertovec, 1999). This has led scholars of migration studies to recognise the intertwined worlds of migrants as an important aspect for understanding international migration, rather than just focusing on migration from the mobile population's perspective alone (Basch et al., 1994; Levitt & Soreson, 2004; Portes, 2001).

According to Castles (2003, p.30), transnational communities are becoming an “increasingly important way to organise activities, relationships and identity for the growing number of people with affiliations in two or more countries.” Portes et al. provided a rather long but useful definition of the transnational activities conducted by transnational communities as:

Those that take place on recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants. Such activities may be conducted by relatively powerful actors, such as representatives of national governments and multinational corporations, or may be initiated by individuals such as migrants and their home country kin and relations. These activities are not limited to economic enterprises, but include political, cultural and religious initiatives as well (1999, p.464).

Consequently, the transnationalism has sometimes been delimited into a more manageable framework: transnationalism from above, and from below (Mahler, 2003; Guarnizo & Smith, 2003), and in-between (Smith, 2005). Mahler (2003, p.67) defined transnationalism ‘from above’ as “macro-level structures and processes that transcend two or more states ... [which are] controlled by powerful elites who seek political, economic and social dominance in the world.” In contrast, Mahler (2003, p.67), described Michael Smith's definition of ‘transnationalism from below’ as “the ways that

the everyday practices of ordinary people, their feelings and understandings of their conditions of existence, often modify those very conditions and thereby shape rather than merely reflect new modes of urban cultures.” As transnationalism evolves through the years, Smith (2005) added an additional category, ‘transnationalism from in-between’, which he defined in terms of the politically mediating role played by individuals positioned between those ‘from above’ and those ‘from below’. To limit the span of discussion in this chapter to the focus of this research, only transnationalism ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ will be covered; they will be discussed further in sections hereafter.

2.4.2 Transnationalism ‘From Above’ and ‘From Below’

One of the most important common elements between transnationalism ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ is the existence of transnational networks which bind together the diasporas, and tie migrants to their new home and their motherland. Boyd (1989, p.641) explained transnational networks in terms of structures and systems of relationships that connect migrants with families and friends in their homelands through “networks of information, assistance and obligations.” Transnational networks can also exist between government officials and representatives of two or more countries. A relatively direct and forceful involvement of the governments of Asia and the Pacific region in shaping migration flows, both within the system and to core destinations in other systems, is identified by Massey et al. (1998, p.194). Furthermore, these transnational networks ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent (Boyd, 1989).

Migration networks permit people to conduct transnational activities, such as accessing goods of economic significance in other countries through employment. This therefore enables them to transfer the benefits of migration to their country of origin (Arango, 2004). In terms of transnationalism ‘from below’, these networks are comprised of sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants and non-migrants, such as kinship, friendship and shared community origin (Arango, 2004). Massey et al. (1998) argued that the traditional and everyday ties of friendship and kinship enhance the benefits that migration offers to all parties involved, including individuals, families, communities

and nations. In the case of the Pacific region, Lockwood (2004, p.26) proposed that “extensive and tightly held family relationships” are the key to maintaining firm and long-enduring ties between migrants and their families, friends and communities in their home country.

In addition, given the increasing appreciation of migration in national development (Landolt, 2001; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Kivisto, 2001), government leaders ensure that networking with their counterparts in other countries or transnationalism ‘from above’ is maintained. This is referred to as leadership networking, which is described as an avenue for the exchange and sharing of information which leads to prosperity (Hassall, 2007). The endorsement of *The Pacific Plan* in 2005 by the Pacific Forum³ leaders emphasised efforts of the leaders of small Pacific Island Countries (PICs) to pursue regional corporation and integration with their developed neighbours, Australia and New Zealand, through continuous networking at the higher political level (Pacific Island Forum Secretariat, 2005). In the Special Leaders’ Retreat, as part of the Pacific Forum Leaders meeting in Auckland in April 2004, Pacific leaders challenged Australia and New Zealand to open up their economies and societies and to allow a freer movement of labour from the Pacific islands (Bedford & Hugo, 2008).

There is an increasing appreciation of the dual lives that migrants live, in terms of “participating in two polities, and finding new paths of economic mobility on the basis of cross-boarder social networks” (Portes et al., 2002, p.279). This recognition highlights the importance of continuous ties between immigrants and their countries of origin. The main focus of transnational studies is on how this interconnection is able to build complex social fields, not just in one place but in two separate locations at the same time, through both transnationalism ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ (Portes et al., 2002). The new developments in transnational theory imply that scholars are more interested in seeking determinants and explanations for growth trends, as well as

³ Member countries include Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

exploring circularity and continuity of movement on the part of migrant people between the places where they have economic, social and cultural connections (Castles, 2003).

The following section will discuss in more detail how the transnational practices of migrants, families, states and their counterparts impact development in countries of origin from three different perspectives: economic, political and sociocultural. In addition, given increasing concerns relating to global climate change, there is a significant possibility of environmentally induced migration taking place in the future. This is especially applicable to low lying countries and will affect the development of these countries of concern. Therefore, the last section will discuss the triadic connection between environmental concerns, migration and development.

2.4.3 Transnational Practices and Development

Economic transnationalism is referred to by Portes et al. (1999) as the practice of transnational entrepreneurs, through either powerful institutions or grassroots movements, in mobilising their contacts across borders in search of suppliers, capital and markets. These grassroots movements of transnational immigrant communities are a unique product of the contemporary globalisation process (Robinson, 2004).

Economic activities clearly vary by class. According to Levitt and Jaworsky (2007, p.135), transnational economic activities range from hi-tech professionals living in Silicon Valley and earning transnational livelihoods, and the “suitcase entrepreneur” selling traditional items on the street to small businesses owned and operated by migrants in busy metropolitan cities. The common element throughout these levels is the connection each group of workers has with their home country for the continuous operation of their economic activities. It can be determined from the consistent presence of this factor that maintaining ties with their homelands is considered highly important to migrant workers. It also demonstrates that the success of those living abroad is still closely linked to their families and friends from home, and vice versa.

Furthermore, the use of remittances from migrants varies according to the situation and who receives them; most importantly, however, they are used to support family

members staying behind. Levitt and Jaworsky (2007, p.135) identified more economic uses of remittances, such as funding small or large family businesses (Landolt, 2001; Sana & Massey, 2005) and supporting public works and social service projects in countries of origin. Connell and Brown (2004) argued that there has been a shift in the usage of remittances from consumption to more productive long-term use, such as investment in agriculture, the fishing sector and, more recently, the service sector (especially stores and transport businesses). The authors showed that where economic opportunities exist and consumption goals have been satisfied, remittances can be utilised for investment purposes (Connell & Brown, 2004).

Nonetheless, at the macroeconomic level, the exponential growth of remittances plays a significant role in the development of economies within the countries of origin where migrants' remittances generate much needed foreign exchange. For most developing countries with a chronic trade deficit, migrants' earnings constitute the major – and in most cases, the only – means of financing the gap (Massey et al., 1998). Moreover, the generation of foreign exchange from remittances could enable remittance recipient countries to purchase essential capital goods on world markets, for development and growth (Massey et al., 1998). In several Asian countries – the Philippines and India, for example – remittances are amongst the most important sources of foreign exchange and in such cases migration has replaced exporting commodities as the principle means of generating foreign exchange (Hugo, 2004).

In addition to the economic perspective of transnationalism, Portes et al. (1999) argue that the political functions of government and community leaders carried out between countries of origin and destination are an important feature of transnationalism that is worth due consideration. Political transnationalism refers to the “political activities of party officials, government functionaries, or community leaders whose main goals are the achievement of political power and influence in the sending and receiving countries” (Portes et al., 1999, p.221). The actors involved in these processes are not always the actual immigrants, but can be individuals whose prime interest is to influence and control their expatriate communities or to shape in some way various political decisions in the receiving countries for the benefit of their own countries (Levitt & Jaworsky,

2007). Nonetheless, all the different participants in the process work toward the same goal, which is the promotion of political interests and influence in both the countries of origin and of destination.

A notable type of political transnationalism in Asia Pacific migration is the relatively direct and forceful involvement of governments in shaping flows, both within the system and to core destinations in other systems (Massey et al., 1998). While there are restrictive immigration and labour policies in the major destination countries for Asia and Pacific migration, their institutional leaders have also urged country of origin governments to actively promote, manage and initiate the export of labour for their macroeconomic benefit. Given the exponential growth of remittances and their increasing importance to country of origin development, Massey et al. (1998) argued that governments of the countries involved have gone further and incorporated labour emigration into their national planning targets.

The involvement of governments in shaping and determining migration flow has resulted in the institution of mechanisms that further encourage the flow of remittances. The goal is to ensure the maintenance and further expansion of national development initiatives which were typically begun by and operated under financing provided by such remittances (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Countries such as India and Mexico encouraged their non-residents living overseas to invest foreign currency in their home countries by offering high interest and very low tax rates (Baruah, 2005; Orazco, 2006). As a result, these policies encourage the efficient use and return of migrants' remittances, thus increasing governmental revenue generation and enabling trickle-down effects for the wider community. In general, it can be seen that these states support such efforts because they promote national development (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

Furthermore, there is an increase in the number of countries granting dual citizenship for their citizens living abroad in order to encourage naturalisation and political participation in the receiving countries (Portes et al., 1999). Bloemraad reported a rise

in the number of dual citizenships in Canada, alongside the persistence of single- nation citizenship (Bloemraad, as cited in Levitt & Laworsky, 2007, p.136).

One specific form of political transnationalism is leadership networking, an avenue for the exchange of information and sharing of experiences leading to the promotion of prosperity (Hassall, 2007). As mentioned in previous sections, Pacific leaders maintain networks with their counterparts, especially Australia and New Zealand, through the Pacific Island Forum to allow a freer movement of labour from the Pacific islands to their two developed neighbours (Bedford & Hugo, 2008). The success of this effort reaffirms the significance of continuous networking between leaders of the Forum member countries for the development of island economies and the enhancement of Pacific people's welfare.

Sociocultural transnationalism is referred to by Itzigsohn and Saucedo as “transnational practises that recreate a sense of community based on cultural understandings of belonging and mutual obligations” (2002, p.767). Transnational practises, such as “marriage alliances, religious activity, media, and commodity consumption” intensified connections and exchanges between sending and receiving entities (Vertovec, as cited in McEvan, 2004, p.501). Furthermore, McEvan (2004) has argued that these transnational linkages are affecting migrants as never before, in terms of the practices of constructing, maintaining, and negotiating a collective identity.

For second and later generations of migrants, culture and identity are often shaped by the connections and exchanges that have been maintained by families and communities. In reference to Pacific Islanders living abroad, Bedford and Hugo (2008) argued that there is a new Pan-Pacific identity among second generation Pacific islanders. These young migrants are combining elements of their parents' culture with social elements found in their destination countries to create a new and different sense of self. This is expressed through their choices in music and fashion, and demonstrated through the customs they practice which typically contain a unique blend of their own heritage and their new surroundings. For example, the annual Westfield Style Pasifika fashion awards in Auckland, New Zealand, not only showcases Pacific culture in the form of

wearable fashion design but remakes and reinforces the identity of immigrants by incorporating a transnational connection with their home country.

The connection and exchange between families across borders is referred to by Vertovec (1999) as transnational networking. Transnational networks can be described as ones that “connect migrants and non-migrants across time and space. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent” (Boyd, 1989, p.641). More specifically, social networks are based on family, friendship and community ties and are continuous (or even strengthened) across time and space. For this reason, Boyd (1989, p.646) claimed that kinship ties across borders have the potential to induce further migration and to fuse together migrants and non-migrants in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships, that serve as channels of information and social and financial assistance. As a result, social networks are the underlying mechanisms that maintain the flow of migration, along with the benefits that migration delivers, long after the original impetus for migration has ended.

Similarly, the extensive and tightly held kin relationships of Pacific Islanders appear to “foster tenacious and long-enduring transnational kin networks and ties to home to an extent not found among other transnational group” (Lockwood, 2004, p.26). These types of networks (transnational kin or family networks) are sustained through “sets of obligations” to either relatives, church or former schools in the home country (Lee, 2004, p.137). In exploring this phenomenon in Tuvaluan and I-Kiribati seafarers, Borovnik (in press) identified strong connections between family members and high levels of personal obligation to continue cultural practices amongst those living abroad who had left families and communities in their home country. In the case of Tonga, transnational ties amongst migrant Tongans were found highly unlikely to disappear altogether, thus fostering an enduring pattern of remittance payment not found elsewhere: 60% of Tonga’s GDP is generated through remittances (Lee, 2004, p.146).

Today, the capital role of these social networks is greatly enhanced, as circulation and entry into high-demand labour countries is widely restricted and typically limited to the

form of family reunion (Arango, 2004, p.28). The importance of social networks tends to escalate as entry into receiving countries becomes increasingly restricted. This is mainly because of the capacity of such networks to reduce the costs of migration and the risks of moving. Consequently, migration networks have been identified by Massey at al. as mechanisms that induce international migration as a “strategy for risk diversification or utility maximisation” (1998, p.43).

For example, one of the mechanisms that helps maintain linkages between Samoan migrants and their families back on the islands the *fa’avelave network* (Va’a, 2001, p.221). Through involvement in a *fa’avelave* network, Samoan migrants maintain the spirit of giving, an important lifestyle factor in cultures where participation in family *fa’avelave* is the norm (Va’a, 2001). The Christian principles common to Pacific communities are considered as the core attributes for sustaining this way of life in the form of various networks, from the *fa’avelave* networks of Samoans (Va’a, 2001), to the *bubuti*⁴ system of the I-Kiribati (Borovnik, 2006), the *kerekere*⁵ system used by Fijians (Taylor, 2005) and similar network systems in other Pacific communities.

Lastly, the role of social networks can be further extended to the enhancement of children’s education. The emigration of skilled individuals, especially from developing to developed countries, may alert others to the benefits of education and motivate them to obtain higher levels of it, which raises human capital and potentially increases growth (Arango, 2004). Katseli, Lucas and Xenogiani (2006) argued that the loss of skilled elites can produce secondary gain, in the form of inducing further education for their relative’s children from the home country. However, this is only plausible if only a fraction of those (who are motivated to continue their education) emigrate, leaving an increasing stock of highly educated children at home, thus potentially enhancing economic growth in the home country (Mountford, 1997; Stark & Wang, 2002).

⁴ Obligation of family members to share what they have with other family members, in times of need.

⁵ The practice of sharing and lending – a useful type of social security that reinforce ties of kinship and community.

Overall, these transnational practices demonstrate the significant contribution of migrants to the development and livelihood of families in their home countries. Increased migration, due to improvements in transportation and communication technologies, helps to maintain or increase the circulation of goods and ideas between countries, directly or indirectly contributing to development of the economy and the welfare of individuals. The concept of the *fa'alavelave* network as proposed by Va'a (2001) is identified as a mechanism that sustains transnational linkages and bonds between family members, across borders and space. Social networks enable constant connections of families across borders, thus maintaining the island heritage, sense of belonging and cultural identity of those living abroad, in addition to sustaining the benefits of migration that further enhance the development of Pacific island economies.

In addition to the three typologies of transnationalism discussed above, there is also an environmental concern. This is an important factor which influences the behaviour and migration decisions of people, particularly those in geographically vulnerable areas. According to Mohanty (2006, p.3), the Pacific region, which contains of many small atolls, constitutes the largest percentage of migrants per regional population count and it continues to increase. Therefore, the implication of climate change on these atoll islands may play a significant role in the movement of a large number of Pacific islanders in the future.

2.4.4 Case Study: Environmentally Induced Migration and Transnationalism

In February 2007, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) issued a summary report for policy makers which asserted that “warming of the climate system is unequivocal” (Smith, 2007, p.625). The IPCC specifically identified sea level rise as one of the three climate change-related processes directly associated with human migration (Smith, 2007). While there is still debate concerning the extent of this problem, it is anticipated that sea level may rise one meter by the year 2100, causing significant population displacement within a variety of countries (Hugo, 1996, p118). Internal population redistribution for small low lying island nations such as the Maldives and several Pacific island nations is not an option, given their geographical

makeup. These countries exist within small land areas where the majority of land rises no more than two meters above sea level (Connell, 2003). Thus, Smith (2007) argued that the non-existence of high lands in these countries will encourage the option of resettlement in another country or international migration.

Hugo (1996, p.113) reported that migration – either permanent or temporary – due to a “life threatening environmental crisis...[has] been a most important survival strategy throughout human history.” According to Richmond’s model of environmentally induced migration, a particularly environment-related event is likely to force people to leave their homes and move to safer grounds, thus initiating environmentally induced migration. Moreover, Hugo (1996) identified a range of constraints and facilitators that also contribute to the actual movement of people from affected areas, including the existence or lack of escape routes in the form of transport infrastructure, kinship ties and social networks. Thus, environmental migrants are thought to choose destinations where they have relatives and friends to support them. The presence of such networks will undoubtedly facilitate further migration, while their absence will restrict such movement.

Small Island States (SIS) in the Pacific are highly concerned with the possible consequences of sea level rise on the people. Their governments are currently negotiating resettlement rights with larger, less vulnerable neighbours – Australia and New Zealand (Smith, 2007). For instance, the Pacific island state of Tuvalu has appealed to both New Zealand and Australia for resettlement of the country’s population in the event that an evacuation is necessary (Smith, 2007). Furthermore, Connell (2003, p.95) argued that Tuvalu will continue to pursue opportunities for employment, education and migration for its people from its metropolitan neighbours and “would not take no for an answer.” In 2002, the implementation of New Zealand’s PAC scheme offered for the first time a formal, long-term or permanent migration outlet for 75 Tuvaluans annually. In addition, it has served as safety valve for Tuvaluans who are seeking both economic enhancement and refuge from future climatic change-related catastrophes.

More recently, the term environmental refugee (Barker, 2008) has become widely recognised as referring to “people who have been forced to leave their home area because of environmental disruption” (El-Hinnawi, 1985; Hugo, 1996, p.108). However, Hugo (1996) stated that such refugees are not officially recognised by national governments and international agencies, and thus the term ‘environmental migrant’ would seem preferable. Still, widespread speculation that New Zealand had agreed to take Tuvaluans as environmental migrants under its 2002 PAC scheme was ended in June 2008 by the New Zealand’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs which confirmed New Zealand would develop no explicit immigration policy to accept people from Pacific countries due to climate change (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008). Stahl and Appleyard (2007) argued that New Zealand’s concessional policies such as the PAC scheme have been designed to assist the participating PIC’s in their economic development and to reflect New Zealand’s long term commitment and links to the Pacific region.

Within the controversy around the definition and usage of the term ‘environmental migrant’, Hugo (1996) argued that environmentally induced migration shares many of the same features that characterise refugees, whose driving force for movement is conflict or the threat of conflict. In spite of circumstances in home countries which push refugees to leave their home, Al–Ali, Black and Koser (2001) claimed that refugees can still become involved in range of economic, political and sociocultural transnational activities with their counterparts and families in their country of origin. Even though some refugees opt to remain in their host countries permanently, this does not necessarily mean they extinguish links with their home countries. Rather, many choose to actively maintain those links, thus developing a transnational identity (Al–Ali et al., 2001). Through the practise of transnational activities, refugees or environmental migrants could eventually contribute to the reconstruction of home countries, thus becoming important agents in the development of country of origin.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The different typologies of transnationalism (economic, political and sociocultural) portray different transnational activities and practises that are significant and of great

contribution to development in countries of origin. Moreover, contrary to the prediction of conventional migration theories, migrants' connections with their homeland do not appear to weaken as migrants adapt to their new country. Instead, as held in transnational approaches to migration, migrants are reported to maintain and sometimes even strengthen their ties with their home country at the same time they become incorporated into their new country. Therefore, by living dual lives migrants can distribute their time, money, resources and loyalty between their host country and country of origin simultaneously, positively contributing to each. According to Faist they become significant "transnational development agents" (2008, p.21).

The growing global awareness of climatic change has increased the environmental anxiety of people in affected areas; hence, some are pushed into international migration and, eventually, involvement in transnational practises. Al-Ali et al. (2001, p.633) argued that transnationalism should not be a "state of being" as implied by the existing literature, but rather a dynamic process. As such, environmental concerns should be considered equally as important as the economic, political and sociocultural ones identified by Portes et al. (1999).

The following chapter will focus specifically on the contribution of international migration to development of the researched area, Tuvalu. First, a brief overview of Tuvalu's people, society and economy will be discussed; this will be followed by an analysis of employment opportunities in Tuvalu and a review of the current migration outlets available for Tuvaluans; lastly, climate change and migration in Tuvalu will be discussed.

CHAPTER III: INTERATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN TUVALU

3.1 Introduction

Having discussed international migration within a global and regional framework in the previous section, this chapter will serve to situate international migration in a national context, focusing on Tuvalu. Because of limited prospects for economic growth, migration is considered an important factor in the economic and social development of Tuvalu (Boland & Dollery, 2007; Knapman, Ponton, & Hunt, 2002; Simati & Gibson, 2001; Taomia, 2006a; 2006b). This chapter will firstly provide a brief overview on Tuvalu, its employment opportunities and migration outlets. Then, given that there has recently been much international debate on climate changes affecting low lying islands, special focus will be granted to how this issue is impacting migration in Tuvalu.

3.1.1 Overview of Tuvalu People and Society

Tuvalu, formerly known as Ellice Island in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands under British administration from 1892 to 1975, became independent on 1 October 1978. The name Tuvalu literally translates to ‘eight standing together’ which refers to the eight islands that make up Tuvalu. The islands consist of Nanumea, Nanumaga, Niutao, Nui, Vaitupu, Nukufetau, Funafuti the capital island and Nukulaelae. The literal meaning of Tuvalu purposely ignores the smallest islet of Niulakita, which at the time of naming was considered only as a safety valve for the then most populated island in the group, Niutao Island (Goldsmith, 2005).

The people of Tuvalu are ethnically Polynesian, and the local language is similar to Samoan and Tokelauan. Tuvaluans are mostly Protestant Christians an outgrowth of the LMS – London Missionary Society, with the Church of Tuvalu (*Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu* - EKT) having a 91% affiliation of the total population, while other smaller denominations (Seventh Day Adventist, Bahá'í, Brethren Church, and Jehovah's Witnesses) each have between 1% and 2% of the resident population as members (Secretariat of the Pacific Commission, 2005, p. 23).

The 2002 Census recorded a de facto population of 9,561 people, including short-term visitors. The Tuvalu resident population was enumerated at 9,359 people at the time (Secretariat of the Pacific Commission, 2005, p. 13). In comparison with the 1991 census of 9,043 residents, a small annual national population growth of 0.5% was identified, with Funafuti Island having a higher annual population growth (0.9%) than the rest of the islands (Secretariat of the Pacific Commission, 2005, p. 16). This reflects relatively rapid urbanisation during the intercensal period (1991-2001). The current annual population growth rate of 0.5% shows a significant decline in population growth compared to the 1.7% rate for the previous intercensal period (1979-1991). However, this low overall population growth largely resulted from the relatively high level of emigration during the intercensal period 1991-2002 (mainly to New Zealand), and from a growing number of Tuvaluan seafarers and students working and studying abroad (Boland & Dollery, 2007; Lototele, 2006).

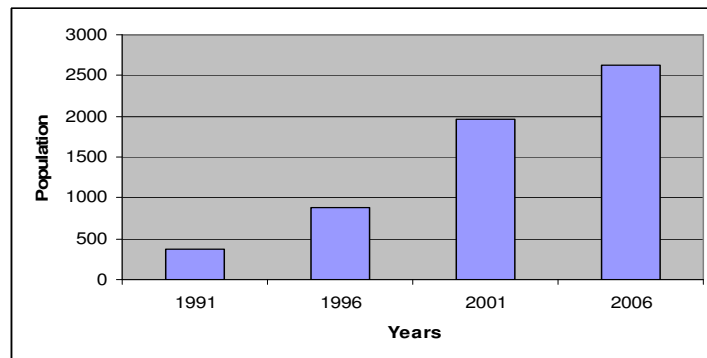


Figure 3.1: Tuvaluan Population in New Zealand, 1991-2006
 Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2001, p.1; 2007, p.5 & 6.

In comparison, the 2006 New Zealand Census recorded a total of 2,625 ethnic Tuvaluans residing in New Zealand, an increase of 34% from 2001 and of 81% from 1996, as shown in Figure 3.1 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007, p.5). Tuvaluan is the sixth largest Pacific ethnic group in New Zealand, after Samoan, Cook Islands Maori, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan. Of the Tuvaluans who are residing in New Zealand, 37% are New Zealand born (Statistics New Zealand, 2007, p. 5). Figure 3.1 shows that for the 10-year period from 1996 to 2006, the number of Tuvaluans in New

Zealand almost tripled. This was mainly due to migration and only slightly due to natural increase.

The traditional Tuvalu society was hierarchical but not rigidly stratified; on some islands leadership was confined to a single lineage, while others rotated leadership amongst leading families. Based on the chiefly social system, decisions about development and the welfare of communities are made by the *Falekaupule* - the highest decision-making body on each island which is comprised of the island chief, heads of households and elders of the island. The Tuvalu society depicts a strong community organisationally, a tradition of reciprocity and a culture of sharing (Taafaki, 1983).

Moreover, Chambers and Chambers (2001, p.xiii) highlighted the importance of home-island loyalty that is still intact and central to the daily life and politics of Tuvaluans, even in the urban capital of Funafuti. Being a Christian country, Tuvalu grants a substantial amount of status to the EKT, the dominant church in Tuvalu. EKT plays a very important role in communal activities such as celebrations, feasts, communal meetings and decision making. According to the historical tales of one of the islands in Tuvalu, Nanumaga, the island's pastor was recognised to be of similar status to the island's High Chief., known as the *Tupu o Nanumaga*. Today, the pastor on the island of Nanumga receives a daily *fagai* in the form of husked green and brown coconuts and a weekly *fagai* in the form of fish and *pulaka*⁶, a tradition which is bestowed only to one other person – the island's High Chief.

3.1.2 The Economy

Tuvalu's economy is small, fragmented and highly vulnerable to external economic influences. Tuvalu's annual Gross Domestic Product is estimated at US\$20 million, which yields approximately US\$2,000 per head (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p. 1). The economy is characterised as mixed market-subsistence, with most of the market-based economic activities operating on the capital island, Funafuti, and the subsistence-based economy operating mostly on outer islands (Asian Development Bank, 2007).

⁶ A traditional root crop, more like a giant taro

Furthermore, Tuvalu's fragile economy has led to a heavy reliance on outside development assistance (United Nations Development Programme, 2007). A substantial amount of government and outer island *Kaupule*⁷ revenue and family income is generated offshore. Government revenues are primarily generated from the income of its overseas investments: Tuvalu Trust Fund (TTF), Tuvalu Internet domain name, and fishing licence fees paid by foreign fishing vessels using Tuvalu waters (United Nations Development Programme, 2007). The establishment of the Falekaupule Trust Fund (FTF) in 1999 has helped support most of the development initiatives on the outer islands in recent years. For families, income derives mainly from migrants' remittances, especially from seafarers working on overseas merchant ships and Tuvaluans working and living abroad. The 2002 census reported that almost half the total households in Tuvalu received income from remittances (Secretariat of the Pacific Commission, 2005, p.56).

The section hereafter discusses employment opportunities available to residents of Tuvalu, looking at the Tuvalu labour market with emphasis on the formal employment sector only. This will situate the importance of migration's role within the context of the overall labour market and development in Tuvalu. Discussion on climate change and migration will finish off this chapter.

3.2 Employment and Migration Opportunities in Tuvalu

According to Mellor's (2004, p. 7) classification of Tuvalu's labour market, there are six main categories: (i) government employment, (ii) state-owned enterprises, (iii) private sector, (iv) subsistence employment, (v) offshore maritime employment, and (vi) other offshore employment. These are categorised under two broad sectors, formal and informal employment, where the formal employment sector includes the formal sector both within Tuvalu (government, state-owned enterprises and the private sector) and abroad (offshore maritime employment and other offshore employment), while the

⁷ The executive arm of the *Falekaupule* (essentially the primary social institution and the sovereign power in the islands of Tuvalu with the right to oversee local affairs).

informal employment sector includes subsistence employment. Subsistence employment appears to have declined in recent years although it still remains an important source of employment in the country (Asian Development Bank, 2007). Given the dominance of the formal employment sector in Tuvalu, it is considered worth further investigation, while the informal employment sector will not be discussed in this chapter.

3.2.1 Formal Sector Employment

There are three major areas of employment in Tuvalu: the government, including its state-owned enterprises; the private sector; and, to a lesser extent, non-government organisations (NGOs). The government sector has remained by far the largest employer in the country since Tuvalu gained independence in 1978 (Mellor, 2004). The 2002 Census indicates that government accounted for 39% of employees, of whom 30% were employed in semi-government positions (temporary or casual employment), 28% were employed by the private sector, and 3% worked in non-profit organisations–civil society and NGOs (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p. 12). Private sector employment was tagged at 28%, followed by non-profit organisations – civil society and NGOs at 3% (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p. 12).

In addition, Tuvalu has eight active state-owned enterprises which are the National Bank of Tuvalu (NBT), Tuvalu National Provident Fund (TNPf), Development Bank of Tuvalu (DBT), Tuvalu Philatelic Bureau (TPB), Vaiaku Lagi Hotel (VLH), Tuvalu Electricity Corporation (TEC), Tuvalu Telecommunication Corporation (TTC) and the Tuvalu Maritime Training Institute (TMTI). Of these, only two are operating in a feasible commercial sense – the NBT and TNPf (Asian Development Bank, 2007). The successful operation of NBT and TNPf ensure sustainability and increase of employment opportunities in these institutions.

Moreover, Tuvalu's private sector comprises only 30% of GDP once informal and subsistence activities are included, with formal businesses having a 15% share in overall market production (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p.65). Employment in this sector is small and includes a range of small businesses, in particular general retailing,

restaurants, guesthouses, mechanical repairs, constructions and transport. Other bodies often included in this sector are church groups, in-country aid agencies and international organisations, cooperatives (in particular, the sizeable Tuvalu Cooperative Society) and merchant seafarers' employment agencies.

Thus, the current labour market in Tuvalu indicates a great need for an increase in employment opportunities to meet the growing demand for employment. The local economy is not able to generate sufficient jobs to meet the demand; thus, overseas labour markets can serve as a viable solution to Tuvalu's employment needs. The following section will look at different migration outlets that help cushion employment opportunity shortages in Tuvalu, each with the potential to boost national development and, most importantly, the welfare of individual families.

3.2.2 Migration Outlets for Tuvalu

With a small private sector that has not been able to meet increasing demand for employment, sources of employment outside Tuvalu are sought to absorb an excess supply of both skilled and semi-skilled labour. Labour migration is considered a safety valve for those residing on the outer islands who are heavily dependent on the product of migration, remittances, for their basic needs. Currently, the most significant outlet is offshore maritime employment which produces employment opportunities for the majority of young men on the islands. Another important route for labour migration is through the formal employment schemes Tuvalu has arranged with other countries in the Pacific region, such as Nauru's phosphate mining and New Zealand's short-term seasonal work. In addition, there is a small but growing migration of skilled Tuvaluans taking temporary employment in regional organisations at various locations in the Pacific.

Remittances from Tuvaluans employed and residing abroad are the main source of income for 18% of all households in Tuvalu, with almost half (47%) of Tuvalu households receiving some form of remittance more or less regularly (Secretariat of the Pacific Commission, 2005, p. 56). Total remittances have grown from just under AU\$1 million in the mid-1980s to a current average of around AU\$4 million per annum, with

seafarers accounting for the bulk of this. Since 1996, the remittance levels as a percentage of the GDP have not fallen below 15%, while prior to 1996 the remittance levels rarely exceeded this level (Boland & Dollery, 2007, p. 110).

The following section will provide an overview of the outlets for short-term/temporary and long-term/permanent migration that are available for Tuvaluans. The term “migration” as used in this research encompasses the movement of persons from one environment to another for either short- or long-term periods. This definition takes into account a long standing feature of Tuvalu’s migration pattern, its mostly temporary and circular nature, as well as the newer, more permanent and long-term migration pattern of Tuvaluans, emerging since the start of New Zealand’s Pacific Access Category (PAC) scheme in 2002.

3.2.3 Short-term Migration

3.2.3.1 Banaba and Nauru Phosphate Mining

The recruitment of healthy and physically fit young men for jobs in phosphate mining on Ocean Island (later named Banaba) in the early twentieth century represented Tuvaluans’ first temporary migration for economic gain. The exhaustion of these phosphate deposits in 1979 shifted Tuvaluan workers and new recruits to the phosphate mines in Nauru which were operated by the Nauru Phosphate Commission (NPC). Workers were selected from the eight⁸ islands of Tuvalu. To make sure that their island was well represented, each group of elders would ensure only physically fit and active members of the community were selected. The islands of Banaba and Nauru are often referred to by Tuvaluans as *Fenua o Tagata* - meaning the ‘isles of men’ (Faaniu, 1983). These were places for hard work and therefore a place that suited only the strongest members of the community.

The winding down of phosphate production in the late 1990s caused workers in Nauru to start returning to Tuvalu. The financial crisis faced by Nauru in 2002 forced the

⁸ Niulakita is counted as part of Niutao Island, thus officially there are eight islands of Tuvalu.

Nauru Phosphate Mining Commission into bankruptcy, thus compelling the remaining Tuvaluan workers to return home. The result was an increase in local population and unemployment level as well. The exposure of Tuvaluan workers in Nauru to a foreign environment meant that a small number of them chose not to return to Tuvalu, but instead to migrate to New Zealand. They did so either under the family migration category or the PAC migration scheme.

3.2.3.2 Offshore Maritime Employment

The opportunity to work as a seafarer on foreign merchant vessels is the most important employment outlet for Tuvaluan men, particularly those from the outer islands where there are very few job opportunities. In early 2006 there were 430 to 440 Tuvaluan seafarers, meaning 15% of the adult male population worked on foreign merchant ships (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p.14). The number of seafarers on contract at any one time fluctuates, but since 2000, the number has typically been approximately 400 to 500 (Asian Development Bank, 2007).

Tuvaluan seafarers are by far the largest and most important source of remittances in the economy. Historically, Tuvaluans were perceived to be mobile people who were keen travellers and natural explorers (O'Brien, 1983). This is clearly reflected in the dominating employment choice for young Tuvaluan men even today, that of becoming a seafarer (Taomia, 2006a). In addition, Borovnik (in press) describes Tuvaluan seafarers as keeping the crucial elements of home and family obligation intact over time. This is reflected in the size of seafarer remittances as compared to the total remittance amount. The seafarers' share in the total remittances in Tuvalu increased from around 45% in the early 1990s to 90% in the mid 1990s, and remained stable from then on (Taomia, 2006b, p.12).

Remittances from seafarers and other Tuvaluans working abroad are a major component of household income. In particular, remittances are used to finance dwelling construction, school fees, business investment, and consumption. Further, they are a valuable source of foreign exchange. In addition to these cash remittances, some income is returned through the purchase and transfer of goods, notably building materials and

household goods such as television screens and video/DVD players, sewing machines, washing machines and musical appliances.

3.2.3.3 New Zealand's Short-Term Employment Schemes

The establishment of the New Zealand/Tuvalu Guest-Worker scheme in 1986 offered short-term employment opportunities for Tuvaluans. This scheme allowed up to 80 workers from Tuvalu to be employed in New Zealand at any one time for a maximum of three years with the possibility of renewal, depending on the availability of job offers. The length of the contracts ranged from one to three years, after which time guest-workers were expected to return to Tuvalu. This scheme gradually faded out in the late 1990s, and was later replaced by the PAC scheme in 2002, which is still in force today and currently provides permanent residency to 75 Tuvaluan nationals per annum (Taomia, 2006b).

In April 2007, New Zealand implemented a temporary work scheme known as the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) Scheme. This scheme began by targeting the semi-skilled labour market of six Pacific countries (Fiji, Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu). This has been a new avenue for Tuvalu to use in redistributing its excess supply of labour. The scheme allows labourers from Pacific countries to work in the New Zealand horticulture and viticulture industries for as long as seven to nine months at a time. Since the scheme's implementation, Tuvalu have sent 99 workers (as of February 2008) to work for two farming companies, the Taylor Corporation and Mr Apple. All the workers were chosen by *Falekaupule*, the highest decision body on each island, with the majority coming from the outer islands. The good performance of Tuvalu's earliest recruits has led to additional employers showing interest in hiring Tuvalu workers (Tuaga & Malalau, 2008).

3.2.3.4 Circulation of Skilled Labour

In addition to the circulation of Tuvalu's semi-skilled labour, Tuvalu has also experienced movement of a small but increasing number of skilled labourers. The supply of skilled labour has mainly targeted the niche market at regional organisations, most of which are located in Fiji, and there is little data readily available on Tuvaluans

engaged in this market. Nonetheless, with the temporary nature of these jobs, most have maintained ties and network connections with their families, their work colleagues in government and their communities back in Tuvalu.

The largest national development forum ever held in Tuvalu, the National Summit for Sustainable Development (NSSD) in 2004, highlighted the significance of the contribution of Tuvaluan elites working and living outside Tuvalu to the overall development plan for the nation. For the first time, seven Tuvaluan expatriates who were working and living abroad were invited to participate in a national development forum. Their contribution to the work accomplished at that time resulted in high quality outcome for the summit, leading one expatriate officer from a regional organisation to comment that “his special mission at the summit was to develop and write the vision statement for Tuvalu ... however, the quality of what transpired proved that such assumptions are no longer valid” (Tafaaki, 2007, p.277).

3.2.4 Long-Term Migration

Tuvalu’s migration pattern is different from other Pacific MIRAB (Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy) countries in that most of its migration is temporary and circular in nature. This has been largely reflected in the movement of seafarers working on merchant ships, skilled labour working in regional organisations, students studying abroad, and the early movement of residents to and from Kiribati, Banaba and Nauru for employment opportunities. Connell (1983, p.34) argue that the economic impact of migration is largely neutral because of the circular nature of these Tuvaluan migration patterns. This argument remained true until recently, when the rise of migration opportunities to New Zealand created potential for a new, more permanent source of remittance. With a growing population permanently living and working abroad, Tuvalu could develop into a more traditional MIRAB economy along the lines of the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau (Boland & Dollery, 2007).

One source of this type of migration has been the Tuvalu/New Zealand Guest-Worker scheme described above. Despite requirements for workers to return to Tuvalu at the end of their contracts, migrants have typically renewed their visas, overstayed their

permits, married New Zealand residents, or gained residency through other means (Taomia, 2006a). The resulting increase of Tuvalu migrants in New Zealand coincides with the implementation of the Visitor Visa-Waiver scheme for Tuvalu, Kiribati and Nauru nationals that was in effect from 1986 to 2003. This allowed Tuvaluan families to come to New Zealand for family reunions and holidays. However, most of these visitors overstayed the free visa period as well, obtaining employment or seeking permanent residency (Taomia, 2006a). This further increased the population of Tuvaluans living in New Zealand, thus creating a greater potential source of remittance for Tuvalu. A study on Tuvalu migrants in New Zealand defies the remittance decay hypothesis that remittances will decline the longer the migrants assimilate into the host country, and implies that Tuvalu migrants will continue to send remittances to families remaining in Tuvalu even after up to 30 years of settlement in New Zealand (Simati & Gibson, 2001).

The implementation of New Zealand's PAC scheme in 2002 offered for the first time a formal outlet for long-term or permanent migration of 75 Tuvaluans each year to work and live permanently in New Zealand, if they choose to. In light of the effects of climate change that can potentially affect low lying atoll islands, such as sea level rise, this new migration opportunity may also come to provide a 'safety valve' for Tuvaluans seeking both economic opportunities and refuge from the effects of sea level rise.

3.2.4.1 Pacific Access Category Migration Scheme

The Pacific Access Category, or PAC, scheme is a residence category that was established in July 2002 for four Pacific countries - Tonga, Tuvalu, Kiribati, and Fiji - with which New Zealand has close cultural and historical ties. The scheme allocated annual residence permit quotas of 250 for Tonga, 75 for Tuvalu, 75 for Kiribati and 250 for Fiji. Individual permits extend to cover eligible dependents of the principal applicant. To be accepted, the applicant has to meet certain conditions, including a verifiable offer of employment at least the minimum designated income. These conditions also require the principal applicant be a citizen of the participating country, aged between 18-45 years, of excellent health, without a criminal record, and meet a minimum standard of fluency in English (Immigration New Zealand, n.d).

Since implementation in 2002, the number of approvals for PAC has been considerably lower than the available annual quotas for each country as reflected in the number of applicants approving permanent residence shown in Table 3.1. In the case of Tuvalu, the allocated annual quota of 75 was never filled during the first four years after implementation (Asian Development Bank, 2007).

Table 3.1 Summary of Tuvalu PAC Applications, 2002-2007

Year	Registered	Successful	Permanent Residence (PR)
2002	138	80	67
2003	119	75	25
2004	93	64	35
2005	435	84	57
2006	632	91	100
2007	624	91	77
Residual			154
TOTAL	2041	485	515

Source: Department of Labour (2007; 2008)

The above table shows that for the first three years (2002-2004) of the PAC implementation, there was a notable decline in the number of Tuvaluans who applied for New Zealand's permanent residency. However, from 2004 to 2007 a steep increase in annual registrations can be identified, with the highest record of 632 registrations vying for Tuvalu's annual quota of 75 occurring in 2006. Table 3.1 it shows that a total of 515 Tuvaluans had processed their permanent residence visas by the end of 2007. Thus, in terms of Tuvalu's total population, about 5.4% of Tuvalu's population have already gained New Zealand's permanent residency through the PAC scheme. This recent popularity of the PAC scheme resulted from promotional radio programmes and extra in-house assistance to interested applicants by the Labour department in Tuvalu (GOVTUV04, personal communication, April 2008), and also from changes to the PAC's original conditions in 2004.

To maintain positive settlement outcomes for migrants in Pacific countries involved in the scheme, a number of policy changes were therefore instituted. These policy changes

came into effect on September 2004 and included the following: (i) a lowering of the minimum income level for applicants with dependents from NZ\$31,566 to NZ\$24,793; (ii) in addition to the principal applicant, the principal applicant's partner is allowed to accept a job offer in order to meet the minimum income requirement; (iii) successful registrants lawfully living in New Zealand can apply for residence; (iv) successful registrants are allowed six months to lodge an application for residence (formerly the time limit was three months); (v) people who have previously overstayed in New Zealand, but left voluntarily and are not the subject of removal order, may register under the PAC; and (vi) unfilled places in all previous years since PAC's implementation can be rolled over and added to future years' quotas (Immigration New Zealand, 2007).

However, despite relaxing these original PAC conditions and criteria, the scheme is still quite difficult to get through. For example, obtaining an 'acceptable' job offer from a New Zealand employer while still in Tuvalu is a significant challenge for most applicants. New Zealand employers normally extend job offers only to those with valid working visas, but with the PAC scheme the applicant has to obtain a job offer before a permanent residence visa is stamped, and thus they do not meet this qualification at the time of their job search. In addition, communication problems often add to the difficulties that applicants experience during the application process, sometimes causing them to miss required deadlines leading to the rejection of their application.

The next section will incorporate one of the most discussed issues in Tuvalu, climate change, into the international migration trends of Tuvaluans, to determine any linkages between the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme to New Zealand and fear over potentially disastrous consequences of future climate change, as currently portrayed by the media.

3.3 Migration and Climate Change

Recent focus on the consequences of climate change to low lying atoll islands such as Tuvalu adds another ingredient to the mix and raises new questions about the factors impacting the motivation for Tuvaluan migration in this twenty-first century. Are the

issues related to climate change really affecting the decisions and motivation of a new generation of Tuvalu migrants in this new millennium?

Controversy regarding the effects of climate change on low lying islands has put much pressure on the government of Tuvalu as it tries to fulfil its responsibility of providing a better future for Tuvaluans and at the same time maintain its national sovereignty. In this regard, Tuvalu has been active on the international front, raising global awareness of the effects of climate change on low lying islands. Concurrently, Tuvalu continues to pursue opportunities for employment, education and migration for its people (Connell, 2003).

On 5 September 2000, Tuvalu officially joined the UN to become the 189th and second smallest (by population) member. Less than a year later, in June 2001, Tuvalu officially opened its office at the UN Headquarters in New York. This has enabled Tuvalu to not only make its presence visible in the UN, but to actively advocate for Tuvalu's interests, especially climate change issues, in the international arena. Six years after the establishment of its office in New York, in December 2006, Tuvalu replaced its first UN representative, Enele Sopoaga.

3.3.1 Tuvalu's Fight against Climate Change

Tuvalu's statement during the 55th session of the UN General Assembly in September, 2000 upon its admission to the United Nations marked the beginning of Tuvalu's international campaign against climate change. The Tuvalu Prime Minister at the time, the late Ionatana Ionatana, raised Tuvalu's concern about global climate change, the consequences of atmospheric warming, and in particular, rising sea levels. Ionatana stressed the value of land to each individual Tuvaluan, saying that "land is priceless ... [and] losing it as a result of rising sea levels would be a tragic and irreplaceable loss" (Ionatana, 2000, paragraph.13). At the height of the three day UN Millennium Summit 2000 in the UN Headquarters, the head of the Tuvalu delegation and Secretary to Government, Panapasi Nelesone, urged world leaders to seriously take heed of the pleas of small island states on climate change, and to combat this threat more aggressively before it was too late. (Nelesone, 2000).

In September 2002, the Tuvalu Governor General, Tomasi Puapua, in his statement at the 57th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, appealed to those industrialised countries that had not already done so to urgently ratify and fully implement the Kyoto Protocol, not only as a concrete measure of global solidarity, but as a first step in saving Tuvalu from being submerged in the ocean. Puapua told the General Assembly that even though many people were already migrating in order to escape, it was “certainly not the wish of the people of Tuvalu to be taken as environmental refugees” (Puapua, 2002, paragraph.2). Rather, it was the strong desire of Tuvaluans to remain permanently as a nation on their islands. The idea had previously been stressed by Tuvalu’s first Prime Minister, Toaripi Lauti, to the UNFCCC⁹ – Conference of Parties in 1997 when he stated that “there is nowhere else on earth that can substitute for our God-given homeland in Tuvalu ... the option of relocation is utterly insensitive and irresponsible” (Farbotko, 2005, p.289).

Since becoming a member of the UN in 2000, Tuvalu has actively participated in the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), a coalition of small islands and low-lying coastal countries within the United Nations system. AOSIS’s primary function is to lobby and negotiate for the voice of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) within the United Nations system to resolve development challenges and concerns about the environment, particularly their vulnerability to adverse effects of climate change. Tuvalu’s first ambassador to the United Nations, Enele Sopoaga, became AOSIS vice-chairman in January 2002 and since that time has been actively involved in high level negotiations on environmental work, making Tuvalu’s concerns on climate change issues widely known internationally.

During the second Oceania Summit in June 2006 in Paris, France, Tuvalu’s current Governor General, Filoimea Telito, once again underscored the urgent need for all countries to address climate change through comprehensive reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. Telito noted that “the effects of climate change on small islands like Tuvalu

⁹ United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

is not an Atlantis myth, it is simply the reality of the magnitude of the threat to our communities in Tuvalu,” and urged the world not to close their eyes to Tuvalu’s plea (Telito, 2006, paragraph.6).

On 17 April, 2007 an important milestone in Tuvalu’s fight against climate change took place, namely the first-ever debate of the UN Security Council on the impact of climate change to both global and national security. For the first time, the UN was able to consider global warming as a threat to the security of nations, whereas up until that time it only danger from war or nuclear weapons had been recognised as such. Addressing the Security Council, Tuvalu’s second ambassador to the United Nations, Afelee Pita, declared that “the world has moved from a global threat once called the Cold War, to what now should be considered as the *Warming War*” (Pita, 2007, paragraph.6).

Along with the above, Tuvalu has taken every opportunity to heighten global consciousness of the urgent threat presented by global warming to low-lying island atolls. The country has utilised all available venues at both international and regional forums, and within the media, along with working to raise the general level of awareness of its people (Farbotko, 2005; Taafaki, 2007). Searching and seeking out migration outlets for the people of Tuvalu has been one of the priority agenda items of the Tuvaluan government for more than a decade. While Tuvalu continues to fight against this *Warming War* (Pita, 2007), it is equally dedicated to securing migration options for Tuvaluans who are interested in moving in order to take action now.

3.3.2 Seeking Migration Outlets for Tuvaluans

In 1994, the Tuvalu Prime Minister, Kamuta Latasi emphasised the need for Tuvalu to continue seeking employment opportunities in Australia and other countries and “would not take no for an answer” on the provision of employment, education and migration opportunities by its neighbours (Connell, 2003, p.95). Nonetheless, neighbouring developed nations, particularly New Zealand and Australia, remain sceptical of the idea that Tuvalu could become submerged into the vast Pacific Ocean any time in the near future, and thus hesitate to consider schemes focusing specifically on environmental migrants from Tuvalu and other affected Pacific countries. As mentioned earlier in this

chapter, New Zealand does not have an explicit immigration policy to accept people from Pacific countries based on climate change (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008). On the contrary, New Zealand's PAC scheme puts forward different residency quotas for various selected Pacific countries which reflect New Zealand's long term commitment and connection to the region but have no linkage to climate change. Australia, on the other hand, has remained firm in its long-standing policy of not discriminating or giving special allowances to any specific countries with regards to immigration, despite ongoing frequent demands (Stahl & Appleyard, 2007).

Contrary to Australia's policy, the implementation of New Zealand's PAC scheme has been an excellent opportunity for Tuvaluans and citizens of other Pacific countries to pursue a better life in New Zealand. In addition, Boland and Dollery (2007) argued that the implementation of the PAC scheme would benefit Tuvalu by developing the economy into a more traditional MIRAB system, along the lines of Niue, Tokelau and Tonga which have a large and permanent population living and working abroad. At the same time, it is important to note that the PAC scheme could act as an escape route, now and in the future, for Tuvaluans who fear the effects of the *warming war* that Tuvalu is currently experiencing.

Overall, Tuvalu's agenda in seeking migration outlets for its citizens involves taking precautionary action in the midst of potentially threatening global climate change. It is, to an extent, up to individuals and families to decide whether to move or not, and when. As stated above, Tuvalu's former Governor General, Tomasi Puapua once emphasised that it is not Tuvalu's wish to have its people taken as environmental refugees; their land, culture and sovereignty are priceless and losing these things to the rising sea would be a tragic and irreplaceable loss (Puapua, 2002).

3.4 Chapter Summary

The above discussion illustrates the importance of international migration to development in Tuvalu, both at the national and the family/community levels. With limited employment opportunities available in the country, offshore employment outlets are sought to ease the unemployment problem in Tuvalu. Like other countries with

mobile populations, the product of migration, remittances, is a highly prized commodity to the migrant-sending country and its people. Remittances from Tuvaluans living abroad, particularly from Tuvalu's export of talented young men in the seafaring industry, provide a source of income for almost half the households in Tuvalu, with 18% of households reporting it as their main source of income (Secretariat of the Pacific Commission, 2005). Securing permanent migration outlets for Tuvaluans through New Zealand's PAC scheme could be the first step in developing the Tuvalu economy into a more traditional MIRAB country economy, which typically have large and permanent populations living and working abroad. With a strong family-oriented culture, the flow of remittances back to Tuvalu has been sustained, as are the other benefits of migration for both migrants and their families in Tuvalu. Last but not least, the availability of a permanent migration outlet for Tuvalu would serve as an important potential route for individuals and families ready to leave Tuvalu in search for a better economic life on higher ground.

Given the significance of migration to the people and development in Tuvalu it is important to undertake research on providing a better understanding of the effects of long-term migration. This study will hopefully contribute to a body of knowledge institutions can use to make better and more informed decisions on migration and development policies. The implementation of New Zealand's PAC scheme in 2002 provided a formal migration outlet for Tuvalu for the first time. With no research to date on the experiences of the Tuvalu PAC migrants and their families, this thesis has sought to fill some of the gaps in the literature, and provide new insights to existing perspectives on migration in Tuvalu. The following chapter will look at the methodology used for collecting data in the field.

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have dealt with the concept of migration and development, at the international and Pacific regional levels, with special focus on Tuvalu. Migration is a difficult phenomenon to approach and understand given its complexity and changes over time. Its significant impact on the lives of many individuals, those that move and those that remain, indicates the importance of carrying out a micro-level study on the effects of migration on the lives of people partaking in the process. At the same time, the view of the government of the migrant-sending country is also important to consider; altogether, a multi-dimensional perspective on the issues is needed.

This chapter will start off with my personal background and interest in the chosen research topic, followed by discussion of fieldwork preparation, the methods used in the field and the methodological considerations that affected this research.

4.1.1 Personal Background and Interest in this Research

Working for the government of Tuvalu for seven years, with five years as an Economic Advisor in the planning department, I realised the lack of employment opportunities in Tuvalu. Not only has the government faced problems with providing employment opportunities for its semi-skilled and unskilled population, it has struggled to employ skilled labour as well. In recent years, there have been a small but increasing number of young tertiary graduates who are not able to secure employment in the government or private sector after completing their government-funded education. Offshore employment, short- and long-term, is an alternative solution that can provide employment opportunities for Tuvaluans and a source of income for many grassroots families. Currently, there is a keen interest in how Tuvalu will devise development policies to improve the lives of its people. Migration opportunities can be seen as an alternative solution to provide a better livelihood for not only migrants, but also for their families back in Tuvalu.

As explained in Chapter 3, New Zealand's PAC scheme is the first and only formal migration opportunity that offers Tuvaluans a chance to work and live permanently in a country outside Tuvalu – New Zealand. Now, after more than five years of implementation, it is appropriate to undertake a review of migrant families' experiences to see how successful PAC has been in improving their lives. I was motivated to conduct this research because it will verify the relevance of the foreign immigration policies such as the PAC scheme to individual Tuvaluans and Tuvalu's current government migration policies.

4.2 Fieldwork Preparations

Ensuring sufficient and appropriate preparation for research fieldwork will not only facilitate positive aspects of the experience, but also ultimately influence its success (Leslie & Storey, 2003). Still, it is important to allow for enough flexibility to cater for unforeseeable circumstances that occur during fieldwork, such as sickness and the bad weather which prevented me from completing certain tasks according to schedule. The following section will enumerate all the fieldwork preparations taken to ensure a smooth entrance into the field.

4.2.1 Methodological Approach

Prior to choosing the methodological approach for data collection, identifying ethical issues pertaining to the research, and addressing practical issues concerning fieldwork, a thorough review of the existing literature on the research topic was undertaken. This provided a good understanding of what had already been done and what was currently known about the research topic. In the process, a gap surfaced, indicating a need for further research (Fink, 2005). Such a review of the current literature enables the researcher to situate the research topic in the existing body of knowledge (Potter, 2002).

The focus of this research is aimed at the micro level, where the experiences of migrants who have come to New Zealand under the PAC scheme and their families remaining in Tuvalu are of particular interest. Therefore, a qualitative approach was considered relevant and applicable. Roger (2000, p. 51) defined qualitative research as “research that represents human beings as whole persons living in dynamic, complex social

arrangements.” Including people that have been directly and indirectly involved in the migration process, a qualitative fieldwork approach enabled the researcher to gain valuable insights on migration issues from an individual perspective.

Fieldwork was carried out in two phases. The first phase took place in Tuvalu, conducting interviews with migrants’ families and government employees, while the second phase was carried out in New Zealand with PAC migrants and their families. Particular interest was placed on family and community perspectives which took into account the experiences of the Tuvaluan PAC migrants in New Zealand and their families in Tuvalu. These experiences ranged from the PAC application process to settlement in New Zealand and family networking between the two countries. At the government level, emphasis was on collecting information on government data and policy concerning the PAC migration scheme, and exploring the Tuvalu government’s views on migration, development, and climate change issues.

The main method of data collection was interactive interviewing, or semi-structured interviews. Brockington and Sullivan (2003) stressed that to fully understand what is happening in the world around us we need to interact and participate with those involved in the areas we have chosen to study, exploring the meanings of each participant’s world on his or her own terms. Interactive interviewing accomplishes this by allowing people to describe their own experiences and the rationale behind their decisions and actions.

In the next section, the ethical considerations taken for this research will be discussed.

4.2.2 Ethical Considerations

Before any data collection was carried out, ethical approval was sought from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC). An in-house peer review consultation with my supervisor and two staff from the Development Studies Programme was conducted prior to submission of my application to MUHEC. The important ethical issues that were considered at this stage included processes for the recruitment of participants, seeking informed consent from participants before any form

of data collection (such as interviewing) took place, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, security and privacy of information, use of the information gathered, and possible conflicts in the role of the researcher (see Appendix 4). The implementation of the above-mentioned ethical issues will be further discussed in the fieldwork section later in this chapter.

It is important at this stage to identify the recruitment process used to obtain participants. A snowball sampling technique was identified as the most appropriate method for identifying participants. Snowball sampling allows the community to be responsible for directing a researcher to participants. Once the first participant is selected, the next participant is chosen by the previous one.

To build rapport and gain the trust of the participants, an explicit introduction of myself, the purpose of the research and use of the information gathered was shared with participants as a first step. This served as an ice-breaking technique that helped to create a closer connection between the participants and myself.

Another important issue that needed careful consideration was a possible conflict of interest between my dual roles as an independent local researcher and a government official. To overcome any potential confusion on the part of targeted participants, emphasis was put on explaining the purpose of the research and the use of any information gathered from them. Specifically, collected data was intended for academic purposes only, and not for government use. At the government level, to overcome the potential conflict in roles, permission for consultation with relevant government departments was sought from the Secretary to Government prior to leaving for the fieldwork, and the purpose and significance of the study was explained.

4.2.3 Tokens of Appreciation

A token of appreciation for the participants, excluding government officials, was considered as an important component of my fieldwork. Before leaving for the field, I needed a good supply of items I considered appropriate to give to participants to show my appreciation for their time and their willingness to participate.

Sulu/sarongs made from New Zealand- and Tuvaluan-designed fabrics were chosen as appropriate gifts for the participants. A *sulu* is a traditional garment that most Tuvaluans (men, women, and youths) use as daily wear, hence the purpose of choosing them as a gift. I remember my grandfather Pie's advice, which was reiterated to me by my grandmother Paufi, saying '*manatua teao niu mo teao pii mana fano koe kite tufuga*' – 'always remember a couple of brown and green husked coconuts when you go to the local *tufuga* (massager)'. This shows your appreciation for the work of the *tufuga*. Despite the typical offer of free work by the *tufuga*, reciprocity is considered highly important in the Tuvaluan culture, and thus the same was applied to the participants who willingly took part in the research.

4.3 In the Field

The duration of my fieldwork was eight weeks, from 16 March to 15 May 2008, with one week in Fiji, five weeks in Tuvalu and two weeks in Auckland, New Zealand. My fieldwork was comprised of two phases: the first phase took place in Tuvalu and the second phase in Auckland. However, given unforeseeable circumstances – my aunt was sent from Funafuti to the Suva Private Hospital a week before we left New Zealand – a change of flights was made to enable us to stay in Suva on our way to Tuvalu. With these changes, I was able to interview one PAC migrant who was in transit from Suva to New Zealand, a sister of a PAC migrant who was working in Suva, and the Tuvaluan High Commissioner to Fiji, Mr. Tine Leuelu, who was the former Secretary of Foreign Affairs with PAC negotiations and dealings under his jurisdiction.

The sections below contain further elaboration on the methods of data collection used in the field, and the ways in which I dealt with ethical issues, particularly working as an indigenous researcher in my own community and with my own people. Tuhiwai-Smith reminded us of the difficulties faced by indigenous researchers when working in their own communities "partially as an insider ... and partially as an outsider" (1999, p.5), and presented a number of important ethical issues that should be dealt with in the proper manner.

4.3.1 Indigenous Researcher – An Insider and Outsider

Being a Tuvaluan myself and carrying out research about my own people was an exciting and rewarding experience. This has been a unique opportunity for me to find out more about the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand and to also present what I think of as a Tuvaluan perspective on the relevant migration issues. Simultaneously, I believe that through this thesis I can shed light on possible solutions and alternatives that could enhance the livelihoods of many Tuvaluans in the future, both those that move away and those that remain behind.

Still, I could not deny feelings of uneasiness when thinking about how my participants might receive me. Were they going to accept me as one of them (an insider) or consider me as an outsider? Having worked in government for the past seven years, has afforded me connections with senior government officials that could put pressure on the grassroots families who became my participants to agree to my requests without hesitation. These concerns concur with those described by Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) concerning the difficulties faced by indigenous researchers when doing research with their own communities.

Nonetheless, Teairo (2003, pp.108-109) identified advantages to being an “insider”, saying it takes a culturally sensitive ear to hear and appreciate what has been said or demonstrated. Being part of the community or culture that is being studied, along with knowing and speaking the language fluently, enabled me to be in a position to understand the meaning of what participants expressed about their situations. Ultimately, it has meant fully comprehending what has been articulated after listening to the participants with an open mind and giving them a chance to express their understandings of their own worlds.

4.3.2 First Phase of Data Collection – Tuvalu

Data collection in Tuvalu was conducted for five weeks from 20 March to 24 April, 2008. This took place mainly in the capital, Funafuti Island, where more than half of the total population of Tuvalu lives. The methods used for data collection were in-depth semi-structured interviews and a short questionnaire (see Appendices 6 & 7). The

summary of the number of participants and their demographics details is presented in Appendix 8. A total of 20 participants from families of PAC migrants on Funafuti, Tuvalu, were interviewed.

I originally planned to focus my data collection on two groups of people: government officials and families of PAC migrants in New Zealand and Tuvalu. Once in Tuvalu, however, I realised that it was important to include other members of the communities, such as church leaders and community elders. It was interesting to find out that some of the new participants I had chosen to include also had family members working temporarily offshore as seafarers or living in New Zealand, Australia, or Fiji. This showed how important migration is to families and communities in Tuvalu.

4.3.2.1 Identifying Participants

Attempts were made to identify some PAC migrants now living in New Zealand when I was in Porirua for Christmas in 2008. With the information I gathered from friends and family, I developed a good idea of where some of the remaining families of PAC migrants are living in Tuvalu, whether on Funafuti or the outer islands. Using the snowball sampling technique, I randomly chose my first family participant. Additional PAC families were then identified from my interviews. In most cases, participants named families I had not yet identified, which gave me a wide selection from which to choose my participants. I was surprised to see the wealth of knowledge that families possessed concerning matters happening in their own communities and with other families.

A ‘no appointment’ approach was a deliberate choice that I made in working with my participants, for both government officials and family members. As a Tuvaluan doing research in a Tuvaluan environment, I chose to see each person face to face to secure time for an interview rather than making appointment the *palagi*¹⁰ way, through telephones. This was a way I could show the participants that I was not conducting

¹⁰ A European or White person

official government research. Tuvalu's receptive tradition enabled the anticipated interviews to take place on the first meeting with the participant.

4.3.2.2 Conducting Interviews

Before any interview took place, I briefly introduced myself, explained the purpose of my visit and research, and discussed with the participant how he or she had been selected. Sharing with the participants my family roots or *kaiga* helped them to feel at ease and comfortable with the purpose of my visit, thus facilitating a willingness to participate. Once the participants learned that another member of the community had identified them as a possible participant (in most cases either someone from the same island as themselves or someone they knew), they were happy to take part in my research.

The semi-structured in-depth interviews that I used to collect most of my data at the family and community levels worked well, giving me access to a greater breadth of information and substantial details about what is happening within families and communities. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) further supported the use of open-ended conversation in an in-depth interview, noting it can provide a deeper understanding of the migration experience and uncover the rationale behind participants' actions and behaviours. Clearly, it would have been difficult to access such detailed responses using more structured research protocols or quantitative methodology. The average length of my interviews was 1 hour, with the shortest interview lasting 20 minutes and the longest 1.5 hours.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I also used a questionnaire-type survey (refer to Appendix 6) to gather demographic data and the initial reactions of the participants to major issues which were discussed later in the interview. This multiplicity of techniques used in data collection helped me achieve the goals and objectives set for this research study.

4.3.3 Second Phase of Data Collection – Auckland

The second phase of my fieldwork lasted two weeks, starting 31 April and ending 16 May, 2008. My children and I stayed with my husband's relatives in Ranui, Auckland. Adopting the same methodological approach used in Tuvalu, data was collected mainly through conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews and using a short questionnaire as shown in Appendices 6 and 7. A total of 14 migrants were able to participate in this sector of the fieldwork. A snapshot of the participants' demographics is shown in Appendix 8

4.3.3.1 Identification of Participants

On arrival in Auckland, the wife of another relative was sent by the family member with whom we were staying to pick us from the airport. It happened that she was one of the first successful PAC migrants¹¹ and was now settled in Ranui, Auckland. Accompanying her were two other PAC migrants, her cousin and the wife of her other cousin. Their knowledge of the Tuvalu community in Auckland gave me the opportunity to identify other PAC migrants who were now settled in Auckland along with their contacts. This opportunity was seized, and after explaining to them the purpose of my stay in Auckland, I sought permission to interview them at a later time.

Using the same approach as in Tuvalu, other PAC migrants were identified through the snowball sampling technique. Opportunities to meet other Tuvaluans during community gatherings were always taken in order to make contact with PAC migrants and their families. During these gatherings, one interview was conducted afterwards and other appointments were made for home visits. Given the wide spread of Tuvalu households in Auckland, along with the traffic, petrol costs and busy schedules of individuals, appointments were made for interviews with the participants. For the same reasons I decided to focus on one suburb in Auckland, which was Henderson, where the majority of Tuvaluans are living.

¹¹ 2002 successful applicant and become permanent resident in 2003

In selecting my participants, an attempt was made to balance the gender mix. One way to achieve this was to interview both the husband and wife of each couple, thus making gender balance possible. Both were not always at home when I conducted the first interview, and therefore a second interview was scheduled. However, given the participants' busy schedules and the time that I had allocated for the second phase of my fieldwork in Auckland, I was not able to interview both wife and husband for all of my participating couples.

4.3.3.2 Conducting Interviews in Auckland

Interviews were conducted from Monday to Saturday, keeping Sunday for church activities only. Most of my interviews took place at the participants' homes, in either their kitchen or lounge. Two interviews were held inside a bedroom because the lounge was small and most of the family members were at home at the time of my visit. One interview was carried out in a public place after a community gathering. In order to seize any available opportunity to access participants, another interview took place on the roadside, outside a Tuvaluan community hall and church – a very odd location for conducting an interview! Nevertheless, the interview was interesting enough to last for more than one hour. The duration for all my interviews in Auckland was approximately one hour.

4.3.4 Privacy of Information

As mentioned above, keeping interview information confidential and the identities of participants private was an important ethical issue in any research (Scheyvens, Nowak, & Scheyvens, 2003). When conducting interviews in participants' homes, the participant was allowed to pick a place in the house for the interview. My visits to family homes were always carried out respectfully, such that the family's children were asked to play outside or were looked after by a member of the family while other family members politely continued with their daily chores. This enabled privacy for the interview or conversation with the participant.

All data – recording files, journal entries, and transcripts of each interview with family members – were coded to protect the identities of individuals participating in the study.

After the interview, I kept all data in a safe and secure place, away from sight and reach of members of my family. I created a temporary password for my laptop to ensure that no one but me had access to recorded interviews stored on my laptop.

4.3.5 Families in the Field

Taking my two children with me on my fieldwork involved a lot of work, both prior to travelling and in the field as well. The first phase of my fieldwork took place exactly where my family lives, Funafuti Island in Tuvalu. Scheyvens and Nowak (2003: p.109) remind us of the advantages and drawbacks of having one's family in the field. It was a bonus in terms of having people take care of my children and for me to be in contact with my family most of the time. The main obstacle was to discipline myself in making and meeting deadlines. There were times when I was behind in my schedule, but having my family (parents and husband) at my side enabled me to meet my deadlines, as they would question me daily as to whether I had done my interviews for the day.

The experience I had during the second phase of my fieldwork in Auckland was a challenge. Staying with extended family and my children, priority was given to completing household chores before heading out for the day's interviews. In the evening, food preparation such as making homemade buns was a regular activity. Nevertheless, my kids were well looked after by members of the household when I was away to do my interviews, and I was very grateful for the family's support.

4.4 Reflections on Fieldwork Methodology

The pursuit of qualitative research was referred to by Padgett as a "voyage of discovery with all the risks and rewards such a voyage entails" (1998, p.1). Reflecting on my fieldwork experience, I personally felt that it was a dream comes true. Never in my wildest imagination did I think I would be able to chat with people about personal issues in their lives such as their relationships with family members, fears of climate change, fury over the government's migration policies and systems, and their hopes and dreams for the future. Alternatively, being bombarded with participants' requests for things beyond my control was a challenge, as will be explained later. In this section I will

report the success of the methodology used in the field, the pros and cons of doing research with your own people, and the difficulties encountered during the research.

4.4.1 The Strength of Qualitative Methods

Flexibility and the emphasis on discovery were two of the strengths of qualitative methods that I found useful in the field. Allowing people to tell their own stories often led me into new findings, mostly ones that I had not thought about or considered important. For example, before going into the field I strongly believed that climate change issues had a strong impact on people's decisions to migrate. During data collection, I found this was not the case. The lesson I learned from families was that a feeling of despair will only restrict you from moving forward to the next day. It made me realise that most migrants were not escaping from the doomsday scenario painted by reports of catastrophic climate change, but for the more positive reason of providing a good life for their children and the families who remained on the island. Their strength and courage in dealing with the reality of climate change was something that I will treasure from the experience.

The application of semi-structured interview techniques and open-ended questions to gather information was effective. Despite its demanding and labour-intensive process, this method allowed the respondents to tell their own story, thus providing "meaning and understanding" (Padgett, 1998, p.13) to the reasons why things happened the way they did. Storytelling is the traditional mode of passing knowledge to the next generation in Tuvalu and other Pacific countries, and once the participants felt at ease, the conversation started to flow with new information coming to the surface. This was an excellent way of getting to know people's realities, which was the main goal of this fieldwork.

4.4.2 Being an Indigenous Researcher

Engaging in research about my own people and the community I have lived in for most years of my life was something I took for granted, initially. Problems were not realised until a colleague of mine who was also doing research in Tuvalu at the same time informed me that some of her participants had concerns about me interviewing them.

From there on, in addition to being receptive and welcoming with my participants, I made an extra effort to put them at ease. By becoming intensely involved in the conversation, listening actively and supporting a participant's statements, I tried to make each person feel empowered and good about his or her accomplishments. It happened that one participant was so proud of what she did for her family that she kept reiterating the same thing over and over again throughout the conversation. Listening to this participant patiently established and maintained rapport and trust in this case.

Notwithstanding the concerns mentioned above, conducting the interviews in the native language of both my participants and myself was a positive aspect of doing research with my own people. As such, misunderstanding or misinterpretation of what was said due to language barriers was precluded from becoming a problem. In addition, I believe that as part of the culture being studied, it was possible for me to relate to most aspects of the respondents' experiences; thus I had a deeper understanding of what participants shared.

4.4.3 Difficulties of the Research

The main problem that I encountered during data collection was the number of requests for assistance from participants for things beyond my control. For instance, a number of participants complained about the strict criteria of the PAC scheme and asked me to improve the conditions for acceptance. Despite having explained to them the purpose of the research and my role as a researcher, I was continually asked for assistance, and some carried this even to the point of begging. In Tuvalu, a 72 year-old mother of a PAC migrant kept on asking me to change the conditions of the scheme to allow the husband of her daughter who had medical problems to join his wife and children in New Zealand. I felt uncomfortable for creating conditions that encouraged participants to open up their lives but not being able to give back what they asked or needed. In the end, I told them that it was beyond my control but I would do my best to help improve the situation if possible. From this experience, I could see that while participants were happy to contribute their stories to research, they were much more interested in their own problems and seeking solutions to them.

Fieldwork also revealed that qualitative methodology was not widely popular with my Tuvaluan participants. Most of them expected and seemed to prefer a quantitative type questionnaire and were surprised that I wanted to interview them about certain issues. Once I realised this, I started to use the word ‘chat’ or *sautala* instead of the word ‘interview’ or *initaviu* (a straightforward speech translation).

Finally, in terms of language issues, even though my native language was the same as my participants’, the lack of Tuvalu vocabulary sometimes made it difficult to find an appropriate translation in for some important English terminology. Thus, confusion over the meanings of words was still a factor at times.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

The above discussions reflect the experiences I went through in preparing for and carrying out data collection. Engaging in fieldwork is only a small part of the research process, but it is an important one. Storey and Scheyvens pointed out that fieldwork remains a “great learning experience for researchers and it can provide a number of rewards for participants as well” (2003, p.233). I found that my fieldwork experience revealed new surprises and lessons that had not occurred to me in the preparation phase.

Fieldwork preparation is an important process in the whole research process. As Bouma (1996) indicated, fieldwork preparation enabled a smooth and efficient data collection process. It enriched my knowledge of the researched topic and prepared me for the risks ahead culturally, mentally and physically. Most importantly, thorough preparation ensured that participants were treated ethically, with no harm caused as a result of the research.

The experience of doing fieldwork has been like a “voyage of discovery” which entailed both the expectations and the surprises (positive and negative) that such a voyage brings about (Padgett, 1998, p.1). The methodology adopted in this research provided a deeper understanding on the rationale and implications of Tuvaluans migrating to New Zealand. It was additionally supported by the natural storytelling abilities that

Tuvaluans possessed. Once rapport and trust was established, exciting and useful information started to emerge.

The following chapter will reveal the participant's own stories to describe the migration process of Tuvaluans, from the perspectives of both the family members in Tuvalu and the migrants in New Zealand in addition to the leaders' perspective. It is hoped their stories will provide a better understanding of the rationale behind the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand.

CHAPTER V: LONG-TERM MIGRATION THROUGH THE EYES OF TUVALUANS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present research findings from eight weeks of fieldwork in Tuvalu and New Zealand. Firstly, it will elaborate on the roles and influences of leaders on the long-term migration of Tuvaluans. The leaders, or, *takitaki* in Tuvalu society come from the three different important sectors in the society: the government, the *Falekaupule* (island decision making body) and the Church. These leaders are locally known as the *Takitaki ote Malo* (government leaders), the *Ulusina ote Fenua* (elders of the island), and the *Takitaki ote Lotu* (church leaders) (refer to Appendix 9). Tuvalu is a communal society and therefore, the voices of the *takitaki* are very strong and influential in individual, family and community decisions. Secondly, this chapter will present the perspective of the migrants' families still living in Tuvalu and thirdly, the perspectives of migrants living in New Zealand. Given the wide interest in climate change concerning Tuvalu, this issue—especially the rising sea level—will also be addressed in regards to how it influences the decisions of Tuvaluans to apply to the PAC scheme and migrate to New Zealand.

5.2 The Voices of Leaders and Elders of Tuvalu

This section will describe migration in Tuvalu from the perspective of the three important institutions in Tuvalu society, the government of Tuvalu, the community or *Falekaupule*, and the Church. Of particular interest is the leaders' influence on important migration-related matters. As illustrated in Appendix 8, 26 leaders participated in this study, representing the three important sectors of a Tuvaluan society identified above.

5.2.1 The Significance of International Migration

The information gathered from interviews showed that various leaders in Tuvalu clearly perceived international migration as a golden opportunity for Tuvaluans to pursue a better future, not only for those who move abroad, but also for the families and

communities remaining on the islands. The current acting Secretary to Government, Solofa Uota, stated that the current Prime Minister, Apisai Ielemia, is very supportive of Tuvaluan migrating abroad. In fact, during the Prime Minister's tour to the outer islands in February 2008, he urged members of island communities to fully utilise any migration opportunities available to them. This demonstrates the government's support of Tuvaluan migration, both long-term or short-term.

Despite this keen interest on the part of the government, the Prime Minister's Personal Secretary, Kelesoma Saloa, said the government is cautious of the side effects of migration, such as the loss of many Tuvaluans due to out-migration. Saloa further added that successive governments were always mindful of the loss of Tuvaluans, especially skilled personnel working in key positions in the government and the private sector. Furthermore, a number of government officials who participated in the current study maintained that "at the end of the day Tuvalu does not want go down the path of Niue and start recruiting expatriates to run its economy" (GOVTUV10, personal communication, April 2008). Taking into account such problems as the loss of skilled labour in a small economy such as Tuvalu, the government is trying to create sufficient economic and income opportunities in the country to encourage people to stay. In addition, migration is viewed as a "double-edge sword," in which the government is required to give people the opportunities to migrate and at the same time needs to put in place mechanisms to retain an adequate amount of its skilled labour in Tuvalu (GOVTUV10, personal communication, April 2008).

The majority of island elders interviewed were very supportive of international migration in terms of enhancing family life and community development. A well known and respected elder in her island community and all of Tuvalu, the first and only female Member of Parliament in the history of Tuvalu, Naama Maheu-Latasi, agreed during our interview that international migration could provide direct and indirect benefits to families in Tuvalu. Maheu-Latasi said that with family members already settled in New Zealand, other family members who want to migrate would be able to do so, thus expanding their family network in New Zealand. Maheu-Latasi believed that, "The more family members are able to join families in New Zealand, the more direct and

indirect benefits that families in Tuvalu will receive and the greater the trickle-down benefits of migration to the wider community” (COMNZ08, personal communication, May 2008).

The two church leaders, or *takitaki ote lotu*, interviewed also perceived migration as an important source of income generation, mainly for people in the outer islands where employment opportunities are limited. An elder of the Fakaifou congregation, Saini Simona, said during the interview that the “remittances received by families in Tuvalu contributed directly and indirectly to the work of God” (COMTUV07, personal communication, April 2008). According to Simona, this includes the operation of the Fetuvalu High School, which is managed by the EKT, the main church in Tuvalu. Furthermore, the President of EKT, Reverend Tofiga Falani, said that young Tuvaluans have “so much to offer to the country that they are migrating to and more importantly to the welfare of communities on the islands and to the service of God and they are the ones that should be encouraged to migrate through the PAC scheme” (COMMTUV01, personal communication, April 2008).

5.2.2 Influence of Leaders on Migration

The leaders of these three different societal institutions, the government, the island community and the church, hold high status in Tuvalu society and are greatly respected. Traditionally, the decision of the leaders was regarded as final judgement no matter how harsh it may have been and regardless of how people were affected by it (Taafaki, 1983). The elevated status of leaders in the traditional Tuvalu society meant that their words were always followed by the people. Lafai (1983, p.70) in reference to the people of Nanumaga, stated that “despite the importance of clan loyalties ... the people of Nanumaga still retain their traditional respect for their leaders.”

According to the findings of the current study, the most important role played by government leaders of Tuvalu in relation to migration is that of ensuring Tuvalu’s voice on issues affecting the lives of its people is heard and recognised by the international community. By mandating that its leaders actively participate in international forums and regional negotiations, the government of Tuvalu is able to effectively express the

concerns of Tuvaluans. Becoming a member of high profile international organisations, such as the United Nations in 2000 and the International Labour Organisation in 2008, is a clear indication of the country's keen interest in seeking international support for the development of its economy and, more importantly, the welfare of its people.

In 1994, Tuvalu's Prime Minister, Kamuta Latasi, stressed that Tuvalu would continue to seek employment opportunities in Australia and other countries, and "would not take no for an answer" on the provision of employment, education and migration opportunities (Connell, 2003, p.95). The current acting Secretary to Government, Solofa Uota, confirmed during an interview that the current government is supportive of pursuing migration outlets for Tuvaluans to its neighbouring countries Australia, New Zealand and other Pacific countries, either for permanent migration or temporary labour migration. The Minister for Communication and Transport, Taukelina Finikaso, agreed that the current government strongly supports international migration as a tangible solution that offers "large economic opportunities and trickle-down effects to the communities and families in Tuvalu" (GOVTUV16, personal communication, April 2008).

Tuvalu is also well recognised by the international community as being a strong advocate of climate change issues affecting small low lying islands. In a landmark address to the United Nations Security Council in 2007, the second Tuvalu Ambassador to the United Nations, Afelee Pita, urged the UN Security Council to consider global warming as a threat to the security of nations. This was the first ever debate of the United Nations Security Council on the impact of climate change on both global and national security, and it also addressed the threat to livelihoods in atoll countries such as Tuvalu. This is directly and indirectly related to possible forced migration in the future, should the effects of climate change not come to a halt.

Furthermore, in an interview Tuvalu's High Commissioner in Fiji, Tine Leuelu, said that "the support of the international community on climate change issues helps Tuvalu to continue seeking migration outlets from other countries on the grounds of rising sea levels" (GOVFJ12, personal communication, April 2008). Leuelu referred to the 2003

Pacific Island Forum meeting in Taupo, New Zealand, as one of the high-level regional meetings demonstrating an overwhelming support from more developed member countries, like New Zealand, on issues concerning migration and climate change, particularly the rising sea level. According to Leuelu, such “support from countries like New Zealand urged leaders of Tuvalu to continue pursuing migration outlets for Tuvaluans from its counterparts within the Forum regional institution” (GOVFJ12, personal communication, April 2008). Moreover, the Minister of Communication and Transport, Taukelina Finikaso, stated that given increasing evidence of climate change nowadays, Tuvalu will continue to use climate change or sea level rise as a political tactic in its pursuit of migration opportunities for Tuvaluans, despite international controversy over the issue (GOVTUV16, personal communication, April 2008).

The current findings from interviews with leaders and elders of island communities reaffirmed the importance of migration to the livelihoods of members of the community especially those living on the outer islands. Despite benefits that the community receives from migrants in New Zealand, according to Uale Taleni, an elder in the Funafuti community, the elders of the island did not get involved in any way with the identification and selection of those who had migrated under the PAC scheme.

Regardless of the limited role of the community leaders in the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme, an elder from the Nanumaga island community from Funafuti (and the President of the EKT) said that during island festivities, he did encourage young and active members of his island community to make use of any migration opportunities available to them while they were still young (COMMTUV01, personal communication, April 2008). Falani further remarked:

Our young people have so much to offer to the country that they are migrating to and more importantly to the welfare of our communities back on the islands and to the service of our God. They are the ones that should be encouraged to go, not older people like us. (COMTUV01, personal communication, April 2008).

According to Taafaki (1983, p.19-20), the high status of leaders in the community entitled them to make great demands on their people; and the words of the leaders are always respected. The support of leaders, including government, community and church leaders, concerning migration issues is indicated by their speeches delivered in the islands' community halls, or *Falekaupule* (such as Falani's words of encouragement to the young and active members of the community, noted above), and the Prime Minister's encouragement to members of the outer islands highlighted in the previous section. This encouragement for ongoing migration has had a huge influence on the way in which members of the society choose to act.

Furthermore, data analysis demonstrated that church leaders have had relatively limited direct involvement in the migration of Tuvaluans. Similar to their counterparts in government and community, church leaders hold a highly respectable social status in the Tuvalu society. Thus, according to Falani, they can "indirectly influence the decision makings of families regarding migration of individual members of families" (COMTUV01, personal communication, April 2008). Migration itself, either long-term or short-term, has been shown to have a positive impact for the work of God, directly and indirectly. Community Affairs Officer, Ms Teuleala Manuella, said that the "hard earned cash that migrants are sending to their relatives did not only cater for the families' subsistence needs but also for the commitments to their island community and the church" (GOVTUV02, personal communication, April 2008). Communal activities are an important aspect of family life in Tuvalu and taking part in them reaffirms the family's status in the community. As one island elder pointed out, "Commitments to my island and church are our way of life. It is something that we were brought up with and an obligation that is always required to be fulfilled. They are my first priority" (COMTUV02, personal communication, April 2008).

With regards to the impacts of climate change and sea level rise on migration, the President of EKT, Tofiga Falani, said that the church has not yet taken a united stand on the issue of sea level rise affecting Tuvalu. Falani further remarked, "Let the church be the last man down [and] let the church be the last to speak. If the church makes a

statement at this time then it shows that there will be no future for Tuvalu” (COMTUV01, personal communication, April 2008).

Falani believes that God created low lying places such as Tuvalu to be suitable and safe environments for people to live in. If Tuvalu is not safe for future generations, then, Falani remarked, “God should have shown the earlier settlers to leave these low lying islands uninhabited and find other suitable place to settle” (COMTUV01, personal communication, April 2008).

Thus, in examining the role of leaders in the migration of Tuvaluans and the significance of migration according to the different levels of Tuvalu’s society – the government, community and church – it was found that all three types of leaders expressed great support of migration, and all recognised its significant contributions directly to island development. However, only government officials were found to use climate change for political leverage in encouraging neighbouring countries and the international community to be more open to providing migration opportunities for Tuvaluans. The next section will elaborate on the perspective of the families of PAC migrants in Tuvalu regarding the migration of their families to New Zealand under the PAC scheme.

5.3 The Voices of Migrants’ Families in Tuvalu

One aspect of this study was to understand the voices of families in Tuvalu that have members who have migrated through PAC. A snapshot summary of the participating migrants’ families in Tuvalu can be found in Appendix 8. In total there were 20 family members whom I was able to interview.

This section concentrates on the migrants’ families remaining on the islands, mainly on Funafuti Island, where data collection for the Tuvalu side was based. However, as explained in Chapter 4, one family member of a PAC migrant who lives in Suva, Fiji, was added to the study. To better understand the consequences of migration on families, special focus is given to the factors leading to migration, the effects of the much discussed sea level rise on the migration of Tuvaluans in the PAC scheme, and the

effects of migration, including the benefits and costs of family member migration on the remaining families in Tuvalu. Figure 5.1 provides a graphical breakdown of relationship demographics describing the relationships between family participants in Tuvalu and PAC migrants. The majority of participants were siblings (at 47%, almost half the total), followed by parents and extended family such as cousins, aunts and uncles at 19% each, then children and spouses at 10% and 5%, respectively.

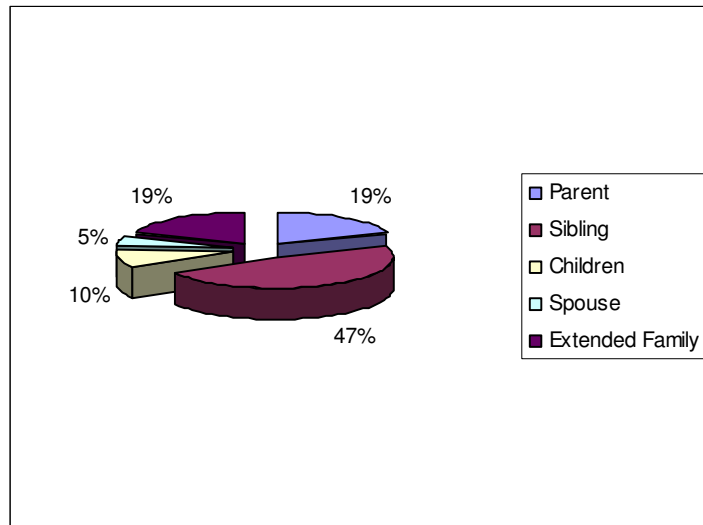


Figure 5.1 Relationships Between Family Participants and PAC Migrants

5.3.1 Reasons for PAC Migration from a Family Perspective

The family participants in Tuvalu identified having existing family connections in New Zealand when family members decided to apply to the PAC scheme. According to the interviews with families, these family connections were not limited to only immediate family members such as siblings, parents, children and spouses, but were enlarged to include extended family members such as cousins, aunts and uncles, grandparents and great-grandparents' siblings. Having family connections in New Zealand solidified the decision of migrants to migrate when chosen in the PAC selection process.

Furthermore, the majority of families interviewed identified an extended family member as their first contact person in New Zealand, and the one who assisted through helping to find job offers or accommodation. This was the case even in situations where the PAC applicant had previously had very limited communication with their New Zealand

migrant relatives. For example, according to the mother of one PAC migrant, her daughter felt comfortable seeking support of their extended family for her PAC application even though they had not been communicated for a long time (TUVFAM12, personal communication, April 2008). The father of one PAC migrant said that “an individual Tuvaluan has his or her family identity intact no matter where they live. It is this sense of family belonging or family identity that brings together individuals as one body when the need arises” (FAMTUV03, personal communication, April 2008).

The decision on whether to apply for the PAC scheme is often an individual one. The majority of participants identified the PAC scheme as a “try your luck” game often initiated by an extended network of friends, work colleagues and family members. Once an individual is confirmed, it then becomes a family issue. First, spouses and children, if they are outside the eligible age for dependent children, are involved in the decision making process as to whether or not to proceed with the application. Issues such as places for children to stay when parents leave, a partner’s resignation, should he or she be employed, are then considered before proceeding to the next step. In addition, the brother of a PAC migrant said that “extended families in New Zealand are often drawn into the migration process mainly to find possible job offers and provide accommodation” (FAMTUV08, personal communication, April 2008).

Families in Tuvalu identified economic opportunities as the most common factor impacting PAC migration decisions, followed by social reasons including education and health opportunities, and then more personal reasons such as divorce and separation, as shown in Figure 5.2 below. None of the family participants in Tuvalu spontaneously identified climate change as the main reason for family members’ migration, as illustrated in Figure 5.2. However, when asked if environmental factors were an influence, 61% of the participants agreed that climate change was an underlying factor affecting the migration decisions of family members (refer to Figure 5.4).

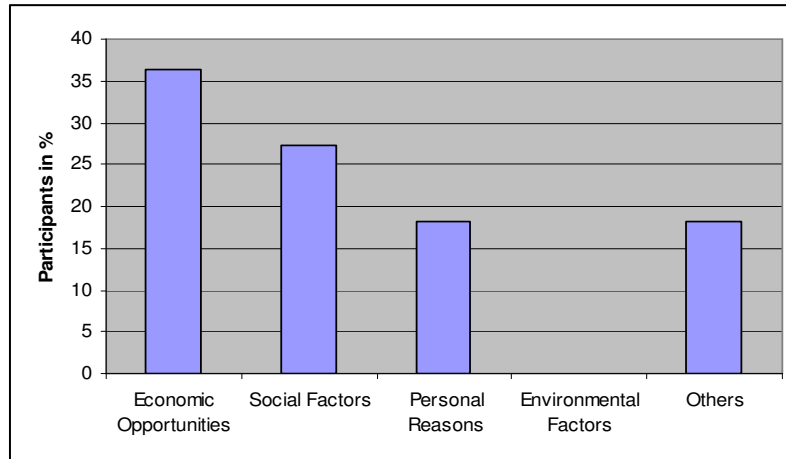


Figure 5.2 Main Factors for Migration of Family Members

According to one son of PAC migrants, his parents used to spend their end-of-year holidays with her mother’s sister in New Zealand while the father was studying in Fiji. During their short summer holiday, they managed to work in farms picking strawberries or in cleaning companies where family members were working. The son said that his mother (who was unemployed in Tuvalu) was fascinated with the amount of money that they could earned in such a short period of time, and this lured them to apply to the PAC scheme and, when selected, migrate to New Zealand (FAM14TUV, personal communication, April 2008). Other family members in Tuvalu identified higher wage rates and abundant employment opportunities in New Zealand as common economic factors that contributed to their relatives’ decision to migrate to New Zealand.

The PAC scheme also offers a possible solution to family crises. Instead of dealing with a problem in more traditional ways, the findings of this research identified that people have begun resorting to non-traditional solutions such as migration. A sister of one PAC migrant reflected on her sister’s decision to migrate despite having a permanent job and secure financial lifestyle in Tuvalu.

After the divorce, my sister went to spend her annual holiday leave with our cousins in New Zealand and never returned home. She held a senior position where she worked here in Tuvalu and I think her divorce played a

major factor in her decision not to return to Tuvalu and [instead] to apply to the PAC (FAMTUV16, personal communication, April 2008).

In addition, the current findings revealed that the majority of family participants in Tuvalu identified other personal reasons for migration, such as wanting a better future for their children, which New Zealand could possibly offer. According to the mother of a PAC migrant who had left for New Zealand in 2006:

My daughter had a good job here in Tuvalu. She told me that she wanted to migrate because she wants a good future for her children. She believes that New Zealand has a lot to offer for her children [who are New Zealand citizens] (FAMTUV12, personal communication, April 2008).

Furthermore, a sister of a PAC migrant in Tuvalu said that having all her siblings now living in New Zealand encouraged her to apply to the PAC scheme and migrate to New Zealand if selected. These findings demonstrated that having close family members living in New Zealand indicates a high possibility of chain migration of family members from Tuvalu to New Zealand. Figure 5.3 illustrates the reported likelihood of other family members in Tuvalu joining those who are already in New Zealand (chain migration), given that they now have close kin members living permanently in New Zealand. As shown in Figure 5.3, almost half (48%) of these family participants wanted to migrate to New Zealand. However, only 10% were ready to migrate as soon as they had the opportunity, while 38% wanted to join family members in New Zealand in the distant future. One of the strongest pull factors working against a decision to join migrant families in New Zealand is having highly dependent parents or close kin members in Tuvalu.

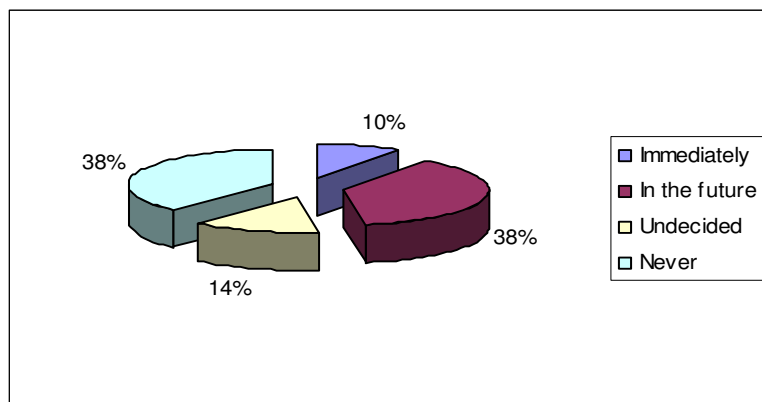


Figure 5.3 Possibility of Chain Migration of Family Members

Furthermore, for those family members who are undecided about migration, one of the main factors keeping them in Tuvalu is the presence economic security there, such as holding permanent job in Tuvalu. An elder brother of a PAC migrant indicated that “having a good job in Tuvalu and parents still alive are the main reasons that keep one in Tuvalu” (FAMTUV18, personal communication, April 2008). Other participants see themselves as the ones that look after the family’s lands and communal commitments to island community and church, thus keeping the family functional and ensuring the family name stays alive on the island (FAM15TUV, personal communication, April 2008).

Overall, according to the families of PAC migrants in Tuvalu, application to the PAC scheme was initially thought of as an individual decision in which family members often considered it a type of lottery at first. However, once the application was successful, it became a family issue whereby immediate and extended families in Tuvalu and New Zealand were involved in the migration process. The findings highlighted a clear indication of possible chain migration after the initial migration of family members through the PAC scheme. This is thought to be due to the tightly-knit family cohesion within Tuvaluan families,

Given the ability of the PAC scheme to not only initiate further migration of family members, but also to expand the benefits it delivers to other family members and the

wider community in Tuvalu, the following section will discuss in more depth the effects of the PAC scheme from the perspective of families of PAC migrants in Tuvalu.

5.3.2 The Effect of PAC Migration – The Perspectives of Families in Tuvalu

According to the findings, the majority of families in Tuvalu feel that migration of family members has positively contributed to the welfare of those remaining in Tuvalu. Table 7.1 in Chapter 7 provides a summary of the benefits and costs of migration under the PAC scheme. Families in Tuvalu reported that the most important use of the remittances and goods received by them from migrants is the fulfilment of familial and communal commitments to their extended families, island communities and church. The majority of the families interviewed agreed that communal commitments, such as contributions (financial or otherwise) to community associations, are considered highly important as “an obligation and our way of life” (FAMTUV15, personal communication, May 2008), as described by one participant.

Furthermore, data from this study revealed that remittances from family members in New Zealand tended not to flow continuously or on a frequent basis, but were more likely to occur in response to requests or on an occasional basis, such as for family *fakalavelave*, such as weddings and funerals. A brother of a PAC migrant who is working in government remarked:

Given that our father lives in New Zealand with my two brothers and our mother had passed away, my brothers have no pressing reason to send money to Tuvalu on a frequent basis. But for family *fakalavelave*, I was often surprised to receive phone calls from them advising of the money that they had already sent through Western Union (FAMTUV09, personal communication, April 2008).

Moreover, the participant added that “news in Tuvalu these days are travelling very fast, especially through the internet, informing families in New Zealand of family *fakalavelave* in Tuvalu. Because they are aware of what is happening in Tuvalu, I think

they feel obliged to help thus sending money to assist with our *fakalavelave* in Tuvalu” (FAMTUV09, personal communication, April 2008).

Despite any infrequency of remittance flow, the families in Tuvalu highly appreciated the cash they received from families in New Zealand. The interviews also revealed use of remittances was not directed toward consumption purposes, but to fulfil the family’s commitments to their island community, church and extended family *fakalavelave*. One participant reflected on the importance of taking part in community and family activities and contributions, saying:

A *palagi* invests his or her monies in the bank while we, Tuvaluans, invest our monies in our family and community. In times of our *fakalavelave*, our family and community will support you financially and emotionally (FAMTUV12, personal communication, April 2008).

Not only do migrants continue to provide financial assistance to families in Tuvalu when needed, but they also send goods from New Zealand to families in Tuvalu. One significant mode of sending goods to families in Tuvalu is through visiting groups or *kaumalaga* from New Zealand. These groups normally bring with them one or two containers by sea, filled with a variety of goods and food stuffs for their families and the island community.

In addition to the benefits that families in Tuvalu received from migration of family members to New Zealand, the costs involved when family members migrate were recognised by participants (refer to Table 7.1). A sister of a PAC migrant remarked:

What I missed most when my younger brother went to New Zealand is the loss of the additional financial support in the family. When he was here, he used to give me his contribution for the family expenses every payday. Ever since he left, we have not received any money from him. I think it is because he is currently working part-time and is still looking for a permanent job (FAMTUV01, personal correspondence, April 2008).

The sister also raised her concern about the social costs of the separation in their family resulting from PAC migration. She said “with an older sister in Australia, one brother in New Zealand, one brother in Kiribati and now another brother already migrated to New Zealand through the PAC scheme, I could feel a sense of incompleteness in our family, especially during special occasions such as our mother’s birthday” (FAMTUV01, personal correspondence, April 2008).

The overall findings from the interviews with families in Tuvalu, as illustrated in Table 7.1 in Chapter 7, highlighted that the effects of migration could be seen as a “double-edged sword” whereby migration simultaneously delivered benefits that enhanced the welfare of the families and imposed certain risks on community development. Furthermore, the findings revealed that the benefits of migration were not limited to the financial value of remittances only, but extended beyond its monetary value. It was seen that despite the infrequency of remittances received by families, their significance stretched far beyond their dollar value. This is because according to participants, the main use of remittances was to fulfil the family’s commitments to *fakalavelave* of the extended family, and to finance family contributions to the island community and the church. One participant beautifully summed up the importance of fulfilling familial and communal commitments in Tuvalu’s society as a form of investment by saying that “investing monies in family *fakalavelave* will be beneficial for future *fakalavelave* of your own through which extended families return the favour in terms of providing local food items and financial and emotional support” (FAMTUV12, personal communication, April 2008).

The following section will identify whether personal concerns and anxiety about sea level rise influences decisions of Tuvaluans to migrate to Zealand through the PAC scheme.

5.3.3 Migration and Sea Level Rise

As highlighted in Figure 5.2, none of the family members interviewed identified climate change or sea level rise as the main reason for application to the PAC scheme and migration. However, the majority of participants agreed that environmental changes are

evident in Tuvalu, particularly on Funafuti Island, including frequent flooding, sea erosion, wave surges and very high tides during non-high tide seasons. The current acting Director of the Meteorological department in Tuvalu, Tauala Katea, confirmed the occurrence of disruptive weather patterns in Tuvalu during the past years, including the “big waves that hit the residential area at the southern end of Funafuti in 2002 and 2007” (GOVTUV11, personal communication, April 2008).

Food security on the islands is also reported to be at risk from frequent king tides, in particular the supply of Tuvalu’s traditional root crop, *pulaka* (giant taro, or *cyrtosperma chamissonis*). The *pulaka* crops are normally planted in gigantic pits which go deep down to the water lens below the island. An elder from the island of Funafuti where the community’s main *pulaka* pit is located, said that the “frequent flooding during king tides around the *pulaka* pit in recent years is slowing the growth of the *pulaka* [and has] even destroyed them, leaving a number of family plots unplanted” (COMTUV03, personal communication, April 2008).

Not only is the survival of this traditional root crop at risk and thus, food security threatened, from sea level rise but Tuvalu’s culture could be endangered as well. *Pulaka* is considered Tuvalu’s main traditional root crop and as such, carries significant value in Tuvalu’s culture. During important community occasions, including feasting and family *fakalavelave* such as weddings, having *pulaka* on the table signifies a close connection of the people to the land, and indicates status in the community. Consequently, the effects of climate change reach beyond nutritional issues to impact Tuvalu’s cultural and social heritage in significant ways. An elder from the Funafuti island community said that “these days, to provide *pulaka* during community festivities is very difficult because of frequent flooding [which] made it really hard to grow *pulaka* ” (FAMTUV10, personal communication, April 2008).

Other participants mentioned that the survival of Tuvalu from the effects of climate change lies in the hands of God. These participants maintained that God’s promise to Noah is their strength and comfort whenever they see flooding during king tides, wave

surges and the other odd weather patterns they experience. However, a brother of a PAC migrant remarked:

Most of the time I did not consider these frequent flooding as serious, I started to accept them as part of my everyday life [only] when I see those *palagi* roaming around the island to film the flooded areas and interview people [that is when] I started to become worry about [the future of] my family, my children and our people (TUVFAM04, personal communication, April 2008).

The concern triggered by the frequent visits of researchers and media to Tuvalu as they investigate evidence of climate change is also described by a 69-year-old mother of one PAC migrant and a respected woman in the community and church. The participant was told that the TV crew wanted to film her standing in the swampy area below her elevated house answering their questions. Despite her fear of toads in the swamp, she politely accepted to be interviewed in an environment out of her comfort zone. According to the participant, “The 15-minute long interview was the longest ‘fear factor’ experience of my life” (FAMTUV12, personal communication, April 2008).

Overall, the interviews with families in Tuvalu revealed that the majority felt the current situation in Tuvalu regarding climate change and sea level rise was an underlying or ‘hidden’ factor contributing to the decisions of family members to migrate to other countries, but had not elevated to the level of becoming the primary motivation at this stage. Families in Tuvalu recognised changes to their surrounding environment such as flooding, sea erosion, wave surges and very high tides, and said these things possibly had been in the minds of those who had migrated to New Zealand. As noted earlier and shown in Figure 5.2, when asked what factors influenced PAC migration, environmental factors were not raised at all. But when specifically asked if climate change influenced migration, the responses were different. Of the participants, 62% believed that climate change was a factor solidifying the decision of family members to migrate (refer to Figure 5.4). Moreover, it was found that no matter what reason pushes individuals and families to migrate to Zealand, families maintain close contact with the migrants and in most cases the families in Tuvalu are continuously “getting requests

from family in New Zealand to join them” (FAMTUV16, personal communication, April 2008).

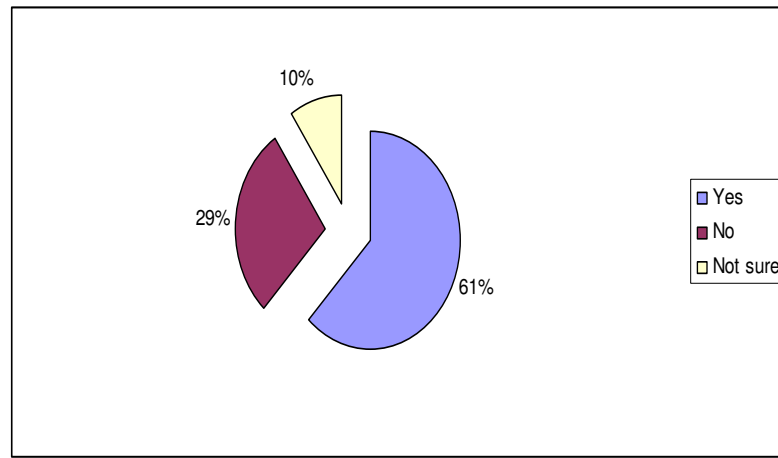


Figure 5.4 *Does Climate Change Influence Migration Decisions?*

Having investigated the perspectives of families in Tuvalu, it is equally important to provide the perspectives of the migrants themselves to give a more holistic perspective on long-term migration in Tuvalu. The following section will present a detailed overview of Tuvaluan migrant experiences in New Zealand, particularly regarding the application process, settlement and life in New Zealand, family and community networking, and the effects of migration from the migrants’ perspectives.

5.4 The Voices of Tuvaluan Migrants in New Zealand

A two-week period was allocated to gather information from the migrants themselves in New Zealand. Given the short timeframe available for data collection for the New Zealand sector, Auckland was chosen as the best location in which to concentrate efforts, as it is the main city of residence for the majority of Tuvaluans (See Appendix 3). Furthermore, interviewees were picked from the Henderson area, where most Tuvaluans live and where I stayed with relatives for the period of data collection. As already discussed in Chapter 4, information was collected using a questionnaire to gather basic demographic data, and then a semi-structured interview to capture in-depth information about the migration experience. There were 14 interviews with PAC migrants conducted in the second phase of data collection, as outlined in Appendix 8.

5.4.1 The PAC Application Process

According to data gathered during these interviews, the majority of participants identified economic opportunities, such as job availability and higher wage rates, as the main driving force behind their migration to New Zealand. As noted earlier, the majority only initiated an application through the PAC scheme for fun or from peer pressure, due to the scheme's lottery-type reputation. One participant identified the PAC scheme as a "try your luck game" (MIGNZ11, personal communication, May 2008).

In addition, the majority of PAC migrants found the whole application process a very tedious experience, especially when seeking a job offer. One PAC migrant remarked: "To secure a job offer online while still out of New Zealand is not feasible because one needs to have a work permit" (MIGNZ02, personal communication, May 2008). Moreover, another PAC migrant who had been helping family members in Tuvalu with their PAC application since 2004 remarked:

Finding job offers for families in Tuvalu is very hard. The employer needs to see the person face to face and the person's work permit. Employers are reluctant to provide a job offer if those two requirements are not met (MIGNZ05, personal correspondence, May 2008).

A well-educated and experienced successful PAC applicant said that even with her qualifications and experience, finding a job offer while still outside New Zealand was difficult. She applied online for a couple of jobs that interested her but was not successful because of the requirement to have a legal work permit, which she did not have at that time. The participant remarked:

I have the skills but no work permit and therefore the employers could not offer me the job that I applied for online. It was really hard to go online to find a job offer despite having my qualification and experience. The employers preferably want someone with New Zealand experience and a work permit, which I did not have at the time (MIGNZ03, personal correspondence, May 2005).

According to this participant, the family almost gave up their chance to migrate to New Zealand because of the difficulties of finding a job offer. Despite their frustration, they decided to seek an extension from New Zealand Immigration in Suva, which was granted. A member of her husband's family was contacted for assistance and in the end, a job offer was made by one family member in New Zealand, although it was work outside of her interest and skills. She decided to use it for her PAC application and was then granted a permanent resident visa to begin a new life for her family in New Zealand. Upon arriving in New Zealand, she decided not to take up the job offer that had been made by family, but to look for a job that suited her interest. It took her less than three months to find a job in her field of interest and to gain New Zealand work experience. Four years later, she secured a managerial job that suited her interest, skills and qualifications.

Interviews with migrants in New Zealand yielded information demonstrating that the majority of participants considered the application process to indeed be a difficult experience. This is clearly reflected in Table 3.1 in Chapter 3, with the last column showing that for the first four years of PAC's implementation (2002-2005), not all those who were successful in securing a ballot were able to proceed with permanent residence visa applications. Thus, only some of those selected in the ballot were able to migrate to New Zealand. According to one successful applicant, despite being chosen during the selection process, her application was later declined as her job offer was not up to the minimum wage requirement, and therefore their plans to migrate to New Zealand were forgone (TUVFAM02, personal communication, April 2008). However, changes to a number of PAC policies in 2004, as noted in Chapter 3, increased the number of successful applicants who were able to actually migrate to New Zealand.

Overall, the majority of PAC migrants described the application process as tedious but leading to a rewarding outcome. The perceived rewards of their challenging experience will now be discussed in the section below, focusing on both the economic and social benefits and costs of long-term migration from the perspective of the migrants themselves.

5.4.2 The Effects of Long-term Migration – The Views of PAC Migrants

A synopsis of the consequences of long-term migration from the perspective of the PAC migrants themselves is tabulated in Table 7.1 in Chapter 7. It summarises the main economic and sociocultural benefits and costs associated with PAC migration. Similar to the findings from families in Tuvalu, one of the most important benefits of migration as highlighted by the PAC migrants is the opportunity for employment and a constant flow of income for the family. This is particularly important to those who previously did not have employment or had just worked in casual and temporary jobs in Tuvalu. One participant remarked:

I thanked God for giving me this opportunity. I believed that it was God's blessing for me to be selected in the 2003 PAC. Now, I have my own house [rented] and a permanent job [and] I can send money to my mother and sister in Tuvalu when they need it (MIGNZ07, personal communication, May 2008).

Similarly, another interviewee was excited and grateful for having the opportunity to migrate to New Zealand as she is able, for the first time in her life, to work fulltime and become the main breadwinner in the family (MIGNZ08, personal correspondence, April 2008). A change of family roles was identified in this case, as the wife had become the main income earner for the family, whereas her husband (who was the main breadwinner in Tuvalu) was working part time and looking after their children. Despite this adjustment to family circumstances, it appeared from our interview that this woman experienced pride and contentment from these changes. The participant said that despite difficulties in adjusting to her new lifestyle and job, earning a salary for the first time brought joy and excitement.

I remembered my first pay. I was really happy to see how much I earned. Wow! My salary is much more than my husband's salary in Tuvalu [laugh]. The job is hard work [but] it is worth all the efforts that I put into it when the paycheck comes (MIGNZ08, personal correspondence, May 2008).

The interviews with migrants also revealed that migrants not only identified economic benefits as important but also recognised sociocultural benefits of migration as highly significant as well. The majority of participants identified children's education as the most common secondary reason for migrating to New Zealand, as discussed previously. Education is often viewed as a family investment for the future, whether it involved the migrants' own children or the children of their relatives in Tuvalu. One participant referred to the provision of assistance for education of their families' children as a "significant contribution that we [migrants] can offer to our families in Tuvalu" (MIGNZ04, personal communication, May 2008). During the interviews, one migrant family disclosed that they had had two primary school-aged children of their Tuvaluan relatives staying with them since 2007. Both children were New Zealand born and thus, held New Zealand citizenship. The participant remarked:

They [children's parents] sent their children last year to stay with us so they could go to school here [and] to have a better education. We have constant communication with their parents in Tuvalu. Having the children with us here brings our families even closer (MIGNZ04, personal communication, May 2008)

Furthermore, because of the importance of children's education amongst the participants there was an extension of children's adoption beyond blood relatives. One example that emerged from the interviews was the adoption of the nephew of an ex-spouse by a migrant through the PAC scheme. The child was traditionally adopted by the migrant and her ex-husband when in Tuvalu, and they had brought up the child since birth. This woman had tried to bring the child to New Zealand when she was granted her permanent residency in 2003, but all her efforts were in vain until 2007 when she remarried, and therefore, had a stronger case for adopting the child. From the interview, it was found that an agreement was reached between the child's biological parents, the ex-husband and his other wife, and the woman and her second husband, to enable the participant and husband to legally adopt the child. All sides agreed for the adoption to proceed on the grounds of providing a better education and a brighter future for the ten-year-old (MIGNZ09, personal communication, May 2008).

With regards to the migrants’ contributions to the families remaining in Tuvalu, overall the migrants agreed that a request, financial or otherwise, from families in Tuvalu must always be fulfilled. Despite the difficulties that each migrant family experienced in trying to meet their own family’s basic requirements, one of the strategies used by families in New Zealand to cater for the requests from families in Tuvalu was that “each adult working member of the family contributed, say \$20 or \$50 each, to make up one big collective contribution to family *fakalavelave* in Tuvalu” (NZMIG10, personal communication, May 2008). According to the participants, this strategy enabled them to pool their resources in a short period of time, and to fulfill their obligations in times of need. Furthermore, the participants in New Zealand confirmed what the families in Tuvalu said about the flow of remittances. According to the migrants, remittances were not continuously flowing—for instance, on a monthly basis—but mainly occurred when there were requests from the families in Tuvalu or when there was a family *fakalavelave* such as a wedding (See Figure 5.5 below).

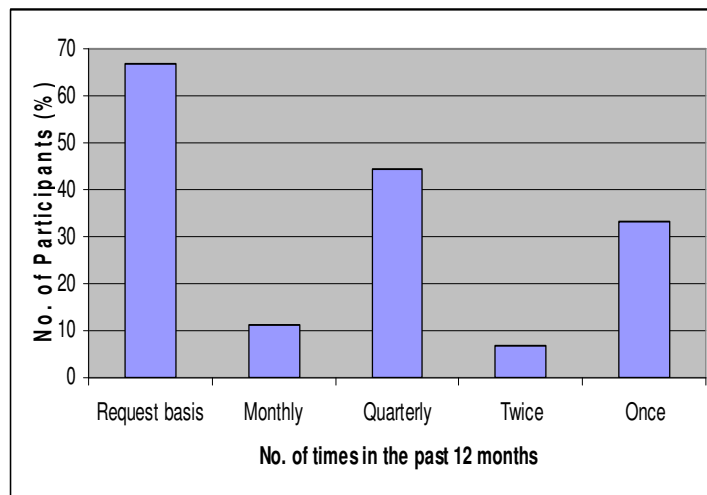


Figure 5.5 Number of Times Migrants Sent Remittance in the Past 12 Months

The participants reported that their assistance was often sought to fulfill family commitments to the extended family, island and church. Migrants believed that by executing family commitments to these important community institutions, they would indirectly facilitate a content and secure future for their family remaining in Tuvalu. One participant remarked:

Whenever I receive a request [financial or otherwise] from families in Tuvalu, I always try to fulfill it [the request] because I know that they [families in Tuvalu] are the ones who look after my parents on a daily basis while I am here in New Zealand (MIGNZ06, personal communication, May 2008).

Furthermore, it was found that a strong tendency existed amongst PAC migrants to bring their parents to New Zealand. Of those interviewed, almost half had their parents already living with them in Auckland. This illustrates the potential for chain migration, as previously discussed. One of the most common reasons for bringing parents to New Zealand was so these older folk could look after the children while the younger adults went to work. Like the families in Tuvalu, the tendency to participate in community activities was higher for those families with grandparents or older family members than for those without. Some of the participating young adult migrants felt that attending these community activities was a good opportunity for their parents to relax and catch up with friends after weeks of staying indoors taking care of their children.

In addition, the desires of participants to assist their parents' migration was extended to cover other family members as well, such that unemployed cousins on the outer islands, for instance, were encouraged to come to New Zealand. Most felt there were many available jobs in New Zealand, on farms and in factories, and that many of their unemployed cousins could help fill these positions readily. One participant remarked:

I have lots of cousins, who are just hanging out on Funafuti without jobs, whom I want to bring them here. These jobs [at farms and factories] suit them [cousins] well because they are very hard working people ... you know, our people from the outer islands [laugh] (MIGNZ04, personal communication, April 2008).

Moreover, given the increasing number of Tuvaluans in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland, the majority of the participants expressed the perspective that Auckland is now more like a place that they can call "Tuvalu away from Tuvalu", a place where

they can feel at home (MIGNZ03, personal communication, May 2008). In addition, some participants disclosed that for them, community and family gatherings and activities provided an opportunity for relaxation, socialisation, catching up with friends and families, getting updates on the current news and gossip from Tuvalu and a chance to enjoy and teach the younger generations the moves of Tuvalu's traditional dance - the *fatele*. Most importantly, these types of gatherings help to teach New Zealand-born Tuvaluans the Tuvalu culture and language, and to maintain Tuvaluan family and community networks within the wider Auckland region.

Irrespective of the benefits of migration mentioned by the participants in Auckland, there were also challenges experienced by the migrants during settlement in New Zealand, as summarised in Table 7.1 in Chapter 7. Despite the existence of a large Tuvalu community in Auckland where the majority of participants felt they could fit in, some participants still sensed a feeling of loneliness and longing to return to Tuvalu or the place they always called 'home'.

Other concerns raised by participating PAC migrants included the loss of self-esteem that occurs when one starts at the lower end of the job scale because of a lack of New Zealand work experience. One participant said, "There are times when I felt upset seeing that most of my work mates are young and have recently completed tertiary students and are just starting their career in this field of work" (MIGNZ02, personal communication, May 2008). Furthermore, the same participant said he wished that he had had the courage to leave his familiar surroundings and security in terms of his permanent job in Tuvalu and come to New Zealand with his family much earlier on.

In addition, one common problem faced by the participants was related to the preparation stage of migration. According to the participants, finding funds to finance visa fees and travel cost to New Zealand was one of the challenges they faced in the early stages of migration. According to one participant:

I did not have \$700 with me on the spot to pay for my application. If my uncle here in New Zealand could not help then we might not be here now. Both the processing fee of our applications and travel costs for the whole

family were paid from the money that I received from my uncle (MIGNZ13, personal communication, May 2008).

During the conversation it was revealed that the money the uncle sent to this family member (MIGNZ13) had actually come from funds of the extended family association. The participant said there was a special fund set up by their extended family association in Auckland to help with family's *fakalavelave* in Tuvalu, including supporting family members to migrate to New Zealand. The participant said that "when there is a wedding or funeral in Tuvalu in our family, we use this specific fund to relay our contribution to our family's *fakalavelave*" (MIGNZ13, personal communication, May 2008).

Overall, the findings suggested that participants mostly viewed migration as a long-term investment the family made, either collectively or individually, for the benefit of families in both locations, Tuvalu and New Zealand. It was also found that the flow of remittances occurred mostly on a by-request basis. Remittances were sent for productive uses such as family *fakalavelave*, community contributions and children's education. Children's education was considered a long term investment that families made for the future of their children and the future of the extended families as a whole. Furthermore, the migrants also identified costs and challenges that families faced in their migration journey. However, the majority of participants viewed these as short-term costs that would always be overshadowed by the long-term benefits migration offers to families at both ends of the Tuvalu - New Zealand connection.

5.4.3 Family and Community Networking

As previously discussed in the section on families in Tuvalu, migrant participants all had either immediate family or extended family networks already established in New Zealand prior to their move. These networks provided support and assistance to the new migrants, from as early as the first weeks of their PAC application process to their final settlement in New Zealand. Such assistance included job offers, sponsorships for visitor visas, accommodation for migrants and their families, free childcare, and financial and emotional support for the new migrants in the early stages of settlement. Family networks ranged from immediate family connections, for instance siblings, to extended

family relations, including cousins, aunts, uncles and other members of the migrant's extended families.

In addition to family networks, all the participants identified themselves as belonging to one or two of the island communities in the eight islands of Tuvalu. Each island community always has a presence in any place where a group of Tuvalans live, whether in the capital of Tuvalu, Funafuti, or in the biggest city in New Zealand, Auckland. These island associations were often the next level of support, after family networks, from which migrants received support in times of hardship. According to the participants, island community groups could provide financial support in times of need, from topping up rent payments with a no-interest loan to providing emotional support for the stress and personal problems migrants might encounter during their adjustment process. One participant remarked that "loan from community funds is easy; [all you need] is commitment to your island community's activities for the loan to be approved (MIGNZ07, personal communication, May 2008).

With an increasing number of Tuvaluans in New Zealand, extended family networks have expanded and become more cohesive. During data collection, it was learned that one extended family association in Auckland has been increasing in size lately and become very active in conducting family activities; thus, it was able to set up a special family fund to assist family in Tuvalu who want to migrate to New Zealand. However, as reported by one participant, this money was given on a loan basis and that "once we are settled, then we need to repay back the money to the family (association) fund so other family members could benefit" (MIGNZ13, personal communication, May 2008).

Furthermore, with 96% of the Tuvaluan population in New Zealand affiliated with the same religious denomination (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), church activities were naturally an important component in the life of any Tuvaluan. Two of the Tuvaluan congregations in Auckland are required to contribute to the EKT's annual financial offerings and meet other obligations communicated from the EKT headquarters. Participants also expressed recognition of the emotional and spiritual support offered to members by the Auckland Tuvaluan churches they typically attended, describing this as a factor that equipped each individual for the challenges in their everyday lives.

Overall, the findings of this research revealed that all the participants identified themselves as possessing close links with family in Tuvalu in a number of ways. Additionally, participants readily confirmed their desire and need to maintain family and community networking between New Zealand and Tuvalu. This included the sending of remittances in times of family *fakalavelave* or whenever requested, the church's annual contributions to the EKT's headquarters in Tuvalu, extended family associations funds, and having active networking between island communities in New Zealand and island communities on Funafuti or other home islands. Given this active networking within a variety of entities, it was concluded that the assistance that migrants contributed to families in Tuvalu will be sustained for a very long time.

5.5 Chapter Summary

The different leaders from three important institutions in Tuvalu society— government, island communities and church—were all supportive of long-term migration, or migration of Tuvaluans through the PAC scheme. The findings demonstrated that all three types of leaders identified migration of family members as contributing directly to community and island developments. The government leaders' main function was to seek migration outlets for Tuvaluans, while community elders and church leaders were seen as underlying forces that determined the migration of family members. The high social status of leaders in Tuvalu society means that their words, especially when spoken in island communities *Falekaupule* or community hall, are highly respected and thus they have played a major role in the migration behaviour of members of the community.

Both the families in Tuvalu and migrants in New Zealand viewed migration of Tuvaluans through the PAC scheme as predominately initiated by economic and social factors. Environmental concern was not currently identified by the participants as a main reason for migration, but rather as a 'hidden' factor that solidified both individuals' and families' decisions to migrate. The migration of Tuvaluans was viewed as a 'double-edged sword' whereby migration simultaneously delivered benefits that enhanced families' welfare and imposed certain risks to community development and family or cultural cohesion. In addition, the findings showed that remittances were not necessarily sent regularly, but when they arrived, were utilised productively for

fakalavelave and communal commitments to island communities, church and extended families. Overall, the findings demonstrated that migration of Tuvaluans through the PAC scheme was viewed as a long-term investment, in which the costs and challenges encountered by families in their migration journey were overshadowed by the long-term benefits that PAC migration offers to families in Tuvalu and to the migrants themselves in New Zealand.

CHAPTER VI: THE EFFECT OF PAC MIGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT IN TUVALU

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has not only described the experiences of Tuvaluan families in New Zealand and Tuvalu migration, but also the perception of leaders in three key institutions in Tuvalu's society – Government, *Falekaupule* and Church. This framework has provided an overarching overview of Tuvalu's long-term migration through New Zealand's PAC migration scheme, from the perspectives of both those who move and the ones who remain behind. This chapter will take a closer look at the research findings to determine the relevance of New Zealand's PAC scheme to development in Tuvalu, and most importantly, its contribution to the welfare of families in Tuvalu and New Zealand, by using the transnationalism and development framework outlined in the literature review in Chapter 2.

This chapter will consist of three sections; the first will locate Tuvaluan PAC migration within the transnationalism framework; the second discusses the effects of PAC migration on Tuvaluan families linking it to development in Tuvalu; and the last section determines the mechanisms sustaining the benefits of PAC migration or long-term migration.

6.2 PAC Migration within the Transnationalism Framework

According to Kivisto, transnationalism is defined as the “process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (2001, p.552). Furthermore, Arango (2004) argued that transnational approaches incorporate both mobile and immobile populations, meaning both the migrants and their families who remain in their homeland. The interconnectedness that joins migrants and their families in different locations in the world is core to the transnationalism framework (Basch et al., 1994). As has been argued in Chapter 2, migration is no longer an issue of concern for just one isolated country or for the mobile population alone, but an important development issue in multiple countries, particularly those that send migrants and those that receive them.

To better understand transnationalism, Portes et al. (1999) identified three working typologies – economic, politic and sociocultural transnationalism – to embrace the diverse and different transnational activities. These can be placed under two levels of institutionalisation, “from above” and “from below” as proposed by Guarnizo and Smith (2003, p.3), where the former references transnational activities conducted by powerful institutional actors such as the state, and the latter describes transnational activities initiated by grassroots movements of migrants and their home country counterparts.

Research findings detailed in Section 2 of Chapter 5 showed that Tuvaluan migration under the PAC scheme can fit well into Guarnizo and Smith’s categorisation of transnationalism ‘from above’ and ‘from below’. As noted in Chapter 2, the additional category of transnationalism, ‘from in-between’, which refers to actors that mediate between transnational actors ‘from above’ and ‘from below’, will not be used in this research in order to limit the discussion to the scope of the research only. Table 6.1 shows the categorisation of research participants into these two levels of transnationalism, ‘from above’ and ‘from below’.

Table 6.1 Categorisation of Participants into Levels of Transnationalism

Participants	Level of Transnationalism
Leaders (Government, <i>Falekaupule</i> & Church)	‘from above’
Families in Tuvalu	‘from below’
PAC Migrants in New Zealand	‘from below’

6.2.1 Transnationalism ‘From Above’

Given that the PAC scheme is a government-to-government migration scheme between New Zealand and four Pacific countries including Tuvalu, this relationship is a prime illustration of a transnational activity ‘from above’. Further, the traditional structure of Tuvalu’s society as shown in Appendix 9 involves a high level of leadership within the local government or *Falekaupule* on each island, and the church. For this reason, leaders and elders of both the *Falekaupule* and the church, in their roles and involvement in the

lives of Tuvaluans in Tuvalu and abroad, are considered as transnationalism actors ‘from above’, as well.

However, the activities of the participating families in Tuvalu and New Zealand, as detailed in the research findings in the previous chapter, are considered as transnationalism ‘from below’. Given the timeframe that the targeted participants (PAC migrants and their families in New Zealand and Tuvalu) were involved in migration (which is no more than 5 years), they are still in the early stages of settlement and therefore have not yet become involved in transnational activities at the ‘from above’ level.

As shown in Chapter 3, leaders of Tuvalu are quite enthusiastic about seeking migration opportunities for its growing population; in fact, former Tuvalu Prime Minister, Kamuta Latasi, stressed in 1994 that Tuvalu would continue to seek employment opportunities in Australia and other countries and “would not take no for an answer” to the question of providing employment, education and migration opportunities (Connell, 2003, p.95). Almost a decade and a half later, as discussed in Chapter 5, the current acting Secretary to Government, Solofa Uota, confirmed during an interview that the current government is quite supportive of pursuing migration outlets for Tuvaluans, including permanent migration and temporary labour migration.

As discussed in Chapter 2, political transnationalism is defined by Portes et al. (1999, p.221) as “political activities of party officials, government functionaries, or community leaders whose main goals are the achievement of political power and influence in the sending and receiving countries.” Chapter 5 clearly demonstrates examples of political transnationalism in Tuvalu migration. For instance, the current Minister of Communication and Transport, Taukelina Finikaso, stated in his interview that given the increasing evidence of climate change witnessed by the locals nowadays, it is even more likely that Tuvalu will continue to use climate change and sea level rise as political tactics in its pursuit of migration opportunities for Tuvaluans (GOVTUV16, personal communication, April 2008). Regardless of the motives that have driven the pursuit of migration outlets for individual Tuvaluans, the leaders of Tuvalu, past and present, have maintained their ultimate goal of gaining political power and influence in their own country through their ability to initiate new development opportunities, such

as obtaining new migration outlets for Tuvaluans. The ultimate aim of such political leaders is to provide a vehicle for national and community development, and most importantly, to enhance the welfare of individuals and families both in the country of origin, Tuvalu, and in the destination country, New Zealand.

Similarly, the influence of leaders in two of the other important institutions in Tuvalu's society, island community and church, are also considered as transnationalism 'from above'. Taafaki (1983) argued that the high social status of leaders in Tuvalu's traditional society carried great significance; thus, their words were always respected by the people. Speeches delivered in the islands' community halls, or *Falekaupule*, by the leaders of island communities and churches have had a great influence on the way members of the society act or behave regarding migration and other important issues. This decision-making body normally gathers to confer on issues and make important decisions for the development and welfare of community members. According to the research findings in Chapter 5, both the President of the *Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu* and the current Prime Minister once offered words of encouragement to community members in their islands' *Falekapule*, challenging young and active members of the community to consider migration abroad. These leaders' words of encouragement are greatly valued by each individual and could determine people's behaviour and impact decisions made in their day-to-day activities, including the decision to migrate. As a result, community and church leaders were identified as significant actors in political transnationalism 'from above' in Tuvaluan migration as well.

Furthermore, leaders' direction and guidance for members of their community are often conveyed through traditional songs and *fatele*, as shown by the lyrics of one Tuvaluan classical song:

<i>Kafai koe e noho i koga mamao</i>	If you are living in faraway lands
<i>Moa la e galo te fenua ite loto</i>	Do not forget your island in your heart
<i>Mo mea kola ne tupu ake ai koe</i>	With all your upbringing
<i>Pula mai ou mata, fakalogo ou taliga</i>	Open your eyes, Open your ears
<i>Ne (pu)puke fenua ki luga</i>	Lift your island up high

The lyrics of this song express a message frequently heard from leaders of Tuvalu to remind community members of the importance of their island heritage. Once Tuvaluans leave their homeland, these songs' lyrics are often reminders of their roots and in this way, the voices of their leaders live on. According to the Auckland-based participants of this study, it is very important to have a 'Tuvalu away from Tuvalu', where one can enjoy getting together during community functions. Singing and dancing traditional songs and *fatele* is always an important component of those gatherings.

6.2.2 Transnationalism 'From Below'

The increasing interdependence between Tuvaluan families in New Zealand and those in Tuvalu prior to and following migration demonstrates the high incidence of transnational activities 'from below', or at the grassroots level. This interconnectedness is heightened by improved communication and transportation technologies, including the Internet and the now weekly flights between remote Tuvalu and the outside world, via Fiji. The majority of families participating in this study, whether they lived in Tuvalu or New Zealand, identified the Internet as their most common mode of communication for keeping in contact with families across the sea. As discussed in Chapter 5, the majority of the participants feel that communication with family members in Tuvalu is becoming easier through the use of the Internet because it is "very cheap and convenient"; most participants noted having an Internet connection in their homes. One other benefit of Internet communication revealed in the research findings was the ability of parents in Tuvalu to keep in touch with their children (mostly those who hold New Zealand citizenship) whom they have sent to live with relatives in New Zealand. They are able to go online to provide parental advice, guidance and emotional support to their young children on a regular and almost immediate basis. Moreover, study participants living in Auckland who are kept informed via the Internet about activities happening in Tuvalu, including family *fakalavelave* such as weddings and funerals, thus are prompted to offer assistance (financial and emotional) to families in Tuvalu in times of need.

The increasing durability in transnationalism 'from below', specifically as seen in the interconnectedness between Tuvaluan families across borders, is maintained by intensely emotional bonds. Chambers and Chambers depicted Tuvaluans as "passionately devoted...to their home communities" (2001, p. 191). As shown in

Chapter 5, this concept is normally referred to by Tuvaluans as ‘island loyalty’ or *loto fenua*. According to Samuelu (1983), Tuvaluans highly regard their oral traditions, recognised and expressed through traditional dances and songs, not only for entertainment purposes, but also as a means for passing Tuvalu’s customs and culture to the next generation. As such, this concept of *loto fenua* has been spread not only through the words of the leaders and elders of the island along with family and household heads, but also through traditional songs and *fatele*.

Maintaining an emotional attachment to one’s island community allows individuals to continue to work together as ‘one body’. Members of the island community, wherever they may be, become the key ingredient in the development of island coherence. Similarly, the findings of this thesis show all participants in Tuvalu and New Zealand identified themselves as affiliated with one or two island communities. As discussed in Chapter 5, establishing affiliation with an island association had many advantages for participants living in Auckland. These participants identified their island communities as the next level of support (after their extended family networks) for financial and emotional assistance. This support could come in the form of a loan from community funds in times of need (such as pressing rent payments), counselling for domestic problems, or emotional support through the island elders.

The findings of this study also established that the majority of participant families living in Tuvalu felt the migration of family members had positively impacted their lives. This positive influence stemmed from remittances from overseas, even when these arrived infrequently, and the various ultimate uses these remittances were put to by recipients. The data analyses in Chapter 5 show that remittances were typically utilised to cater for the family’s commitment to their island community, church and extended family *fakalavelave*. This is partly because of the infrequency of these fund transfers, which made them ineffective for meeting the daily or weekly consumption needs of recipients. Instead they were often applied toward projects offering long-term benefits to the families and their wider communities. Participants living in Tuvalu explained that communal commitments involving contributions – financial or otherwise – to community associations are highly valued, and are often viewed as what one participant referred to as “an obligation and our way of life” (FAMTUV15, personal communication, May 2008).

Similarly, the majority of participants living in New Zealand, when asked about how they were coping with requests from relatives in Tuvalu, reported that such appeals were “hardly turn[ed] down”, despite financial difficulties faced by the migrant family (MIGNZ06, personal communication, May 2008). This showed that no matter where family members were living, each and every one within the extended family network held great responsibility for the welfare of other members of their family and community.

For participants in New Zealand, living a different lifestyle from the one they lived previously in Tuvalu brought change that proved both positive and negative. As shown in Chapter 5, regardless of the everyday problems migrants encountered from living in such a different environment, their dedication and willingness to support those family members who remained in Tuvalu were not deterred. As a result, one of the strategies that migrant families in New Zealand adopted in executing both their traditional and modern responsibilities was to carefully maintain family unity. According to one participant, family members normally pool financial resources when their assistance is needed, as when each adult working member of the family contributed \$20 or \$50 to make up one big collective contribution to family *fakalavelave* in Tuvalu (NZMIG10, personal communication, May 2008).

Overall, the migration experience of Tuvaluans through the PAC scheme appears to contain substantial evidence of transnational activities both ‘from above’ and ‘from below’. This is demonstrated in the influential roles played by Tuvaluan leaders (government, *Falekaupule* and church) who seek to maximize migration outlets through negotiation with their foreign counterparts, while influencing members of the community to migrate by encouraging them to remain connected with their roots once migration is established. Having strong family and community values through ‘island loyalty’ or *loto fenua* and tightly-knit family kinship, Tuvaluans abroad will remain continuously linked and connected with their families and communities on the islands. As a result, the prevalence of both transnational activities ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ in Tuvaluan PAC migration supports a transnationalism perspective that

migrants will retain the crucial elements of home (Borovnik, in press) which helps maintain or even strengthen their ties with their home country the longer they reside abroad (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Robinson, 2004).

Having established the position of Tuvaluan migration to New Zealand within the transnationalism framework, the subsequent section will determine the relevance of the PAC scheme from a transnationalist perspective by discussing the effect of this migration to families both in New Zealand and Tuvalu, and linking it to the overall development of Tuvalu.

6.3 The Effect of PAC Migration on Tuvaluan Families

International migration is crucial to the development of Tuvalu's economy and most importantly to the welfare of the people of Tuvalu. As demonstrated by migration studies on other Pacific Islands similar to Tuvalu, including the Cook Islands (Marsters et al., 2006; Wright-Koteka, 2006), Tonga and Samoa (Connell & Brown, 2004; Connell, 2004; Lee, 2004; Muliaina et al., 2006), and Kiribati (Borovnik, 2003, 2006), migration, either short- or long-term, is considered a significant factor in the development process of a country. Most importantly, these individual studies demonstrate the positive grassroots effects of migration on families and communities. Given Tuvalu's geographic limitations (small size and isolation from world markets) and narrow prospects for economic growth, migration is considered a highly significant option for economic and social development (Boland & Dollery, 2007; Knapman et al., 2002; Simati & Gibson, 2001; Taomia, 2006a; 2006b). However, Tuvalu's migration has been predominantly temporary or circular in nature (Boland & Dollery, 2007), in that seafarers are the most significant players contributing to remittances that the nation receives from migrants living and working abroad (Asian Development Bank; 2007; Taomia, 2006a, 2006b).

Given that the PAC scheme is the first outlet for the long-term and permanent migration of Tuvaluans, the aim of this research is to determine the relevance of this new migration option to development in Tuvalu. This section will discuss firstly, the ways in which the PAC scheme benefits Tuvaluan families through improving the welfare of

families and communities as well as fuelling grassroots developments; and secondly, to determine how PAC migration fits into immanent and intentional types of development in the context of Tuvalu.

6.3.1 PAC Migration and Welfare of Tuvaluan Families

Unlike other Pacific Islands such as Niue, the Cook Islands, Tokelau and the Marshall Islands that have favourable settlements with their former colonisers (New Zealand and the United States) including migration opportunities, Tuvalu has no formal migration outlets available to its people. The implementation of New Zealand's PAC scheme has opened new opportunities for Tuvaluans, drawing them closer to the outside world and creating a new potential source of remittances. Boland and Dollery (2007) postulated Tuvalu will become a more traditional MIRAB economy, along the lines of Niue, Tokelau and the Cook Islands, because of this.

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, once permanent migration has started, Tuvaluans are highly likely to remain connected with families in Tuvalu. In addition, the Tuvaluan society itself remains a strong community organisation, with a tradition of reciprocity and a culture of sharing (Taafaki, 1983). Given that Tuvalu's small society still possesses powerful community coherence, Tuvaluans tend to be highly family oriented and passionately devoted to their home communities (Chambers & Chambers, 2001). These characteristics help Tuvaluans to remain connected with their families, friends, island communities and church groups once they leave Tuvalu, a connection that sometimes strengthens the longer they live abroad. The following sections will discuss the effects of Tuvaluans migrating to New Zealand through the PAC scheme on families and communities within two different contexts – economic and sociocultural.

6.3.1.1 The Benefits of PAC Migration

As summarised in Table 5.3 and Table 5.6 in Chapter 5, the economic impact of PAC migration on families in both Tuvalu and New Zealand comprise a wide ranges of benefits. This includes abundant employment opportunities and higher salaries at jobs in New Zealand, reliable sources of financial support for families in Tuvalu, and

productive uses of remittances such as financing a family's contributions to island communities and church development projects.

Data analysed in this thesis showed that the PAC scheme has offered migrants in New Zealand employment opportunities of a scope that can provide sufficient income for those who have migrated as well as a source of funding for urgent and significant family commitments back home in Tuvalu. Unlike temporary labour circulation such as seafarers working abroad on foreign merchant ships for a limited period of time, the PAC scheme has provided permanent employment opportunities for a small but significant number of Tuvaluans (515 Tuvaluans so far; see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3). Through offering permanent residence and employment opportunities to Tuvaluans, the PAC scheme has provided a ready and reliable source of financial support for families back in Tuvalu when such was required. According to families in Tuvalu, the support of their relatives living and working in New Zealand was only sought as a last resort to fulfil familial and communal commitments, and was customarily met with a positive response in return.

This research supports the idea that it is helpful to encourage the practice of economic transnational activities amongst Tuvaluan families, given that migration of Tuvaluans through the PAC scheme has provided a ready source of financial support enabling families back in Tuvalu to participate in communal development activities. Migrants' involvement in funding their families' contributions to the Falekaupule Trust Fund is a good example of the economic benefits of the PAC scheme to Tuvaluan families. Through the establishment of a stable source of financial support for families in Tuvalu, families are enabled to fulfil their traditional communal commitments. These contributions are later used to generate productive communal development projects. In this way, the PAC scheme has indirectly stimulated grassroots development that has been beneficial for families, as well as the community and the nation as a whole.

Data discussed in Chapter 5 shows there are two significant sociocultural benefits often referred to by participants. One is the availability of educational opportunities for children. More specifically migrant children – and some extended-family children sent

to New Zealand by parents still living in Tuvalu – are able to study in New Zealand; and additionally, families in Tuvalu are able send their children to school, including secondary education either in Tuvalu or even in Fiji.

One of the most common reasons that Tuvaluans are initially attracted to the PAC scheme is to provide their children with better educational opportunities. This flows from the widespread belief that superior education can be obtained abroad in countries like New Zealand. A familiar household saying in Tuvalu states '*tamaliki ko tau panke mo aso mai mua*' – 'children are your future bank' – emphasising the importance of education for every child in Tuvalu. Thus, children's education is often viewed as a family investment and as such, most parents have seized any available opportunity to procure a better education for their children, including the PAC scheme. Furthermore, the results from this research point to expanded education opportunities, for not only the children of PAC migrants, but also for the children of extended families in Tuvalu. This is through either the adoption of relatives' children to afford them a better education in New Zealand or sending remittances to make secondary education available in Tuvalu, and even Fiji, for children in the family. Further education in vocational schools such as MKH Typing and Secretariat on Funafuti are made accessible through these funds.

Identifying children's education as a family investment illustrates the determination and high expectations of Tuvaluan families concerning their children's education. As discussed in Chapter 3, Tuvalu's limited natural resource base has led its government to place high priority on the education sector in Tuvalu's overall national development (Government of Tuvalu, 1995, 2005). The bulk of the national education budget allocations goes toward scholarships (Government of Tuvalu, 2006, 2007), either internally through Tuvalu Maritime Training Institute (TMTI) or abroad to educational institutions in Fiji. This is a long term investment strategy that will produce benefits to families, communities and the nation as a whole through migration and labour circulation in the Pacific region or other parts of the world.

The second most important benefit emerging from interviews with the participants is the maintenance of Tuvalu's culture through the use of remittances. As detailed in Chapter

5, a common characteristic found amongst migrants is the sending of remittances to families in Tuvalu, albeit irregularly. When remittances are sent, they are often in large amounts and most often are directed towards more productive uses such as family *fakalavelave* and family's traditional communal commitments. Upholding these family and communal commitments through remittances from PAC migrants helps maintain cohesiveness, an important attribute of Tuvaluan culture.

One of the study's participant living in Tuvalu identified two main reasons for Tuvaluans to participate in communal activities, namely because (i) it is our way of life that we were brought up in, and (ii) it is an obligation that is to be faithfully fulfilled. As such, active participation of migrants in family *fakalavelave* and communal commitments in Tuvalu has kept families connected and family bonds strengthened, while at the same time enhancing Tuvalu's culture through what Va'a (2001, p.221) referred to as "*fa'alavelave* networks."

6.3.2 PAC Migration, Immanent and Intentional Development

Reflecting on the above discussion and the research results and data analysis in Chapter 5, long-term migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand through the PAC scheme demonstrates evidence of both immanent and intentional types of development. Historically, the economic growth and development of individual countries, followed by the spread of capitalism, has spontaneously initiated the emigration of various peoples around the globe (Cowen & Shenton, 1995). This is evident in the increasing number of people migrating from less developed countries to more advanced nations, and illustrated in migration from small Pacific Island communities to larger, more developed countries located at the periphery of the Pacific region (Maiava & King, 2007; Mohanty, 2006).

In the case of Tuvalu, several issues have triggered migration to New Zealand as well as other countries in the Pacific region. These include a lack of employment opportunity, as outlined in Chapter 3; families' aspirations for a better life and a brighter future for their children; potential sea level rise, as detailed in Chapter 5; and the availability of realistic migration opportunities. Results from this study reveal that aspirations for a

better life for one's family – especially the children – unconsciously drive Tuvaluans to apply to New Zealand's PAC scheme and, when their applications are successful, to migrate. As discussed in Chapter 5, once individual family members have migrated, contacts with remaining families in Tuvalu remain strong, as do their contributions to grassroots developments, through either island community or church development projects.

Permanent migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand under the PAC scheme can also be considered as an example of an intentional type of development. As discussed in Chapter 3, given Tuvalu's geographic constraints, including small size, isolation from world markets, limited natural resources and narrow prospects for economic growth, the Tuvalu government consistently seeks migration opportunities for its people from more developed neighbours. Through close and active political networking with development partners such as New Zealand, Tuvalu has negotiated for short- and long-term migration opportunities. The New Zealand government on the other hand, had different priorities when first initiating its PAC scheme. As shown in Chapter 3 the PAC scheme was initially set up to reflect New Zealand's long-term commitment and connection with Pacific countries. Nonetheless, even keeping their own countries' interests in mind, both governments have taken action to initiate policies that attract the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand through the PAC scheme.

Intentional development policies in migration have potential implications as well. As briefly discussed in Chapter 5, the Tuvaluan government is aware it risks losing its skilled labour force if there are abundant migration opportunities available and has undertaken to design development policies that mitigate this risk while encouraging migration. The passing of Tuvalu's dual citizenship bill in early 2007 offered concrete evidence of the government's readiness to recognise the significance of migrant contributions to national development. However, the government also sees beyond just the monetary gains from remittances, to acknowledge the worth of skills and experience gained by migrants through working and living abroad. This exposure to working environments in developed countries can potentially yield great benefits to Tuvalu through return and circular migration.

Additionally, the sociocultural contributions made by migrants at the grassroots level, as discussed in Chapter 2, are considered equally important to financial remittances. Noted in Chapter 5, the use of Tuvaluan expatriates for the first time, during Tuvalu's largest development planning forum in 2005, the National Summit for Sustainable Development (NSSD), indicated a change in the government's development policy towards recognition of the important contributions migrants offer to national development. The different approaches used by the government illustrate the significant role it plays in ensuring enhancement to the welfare of its people. This role corresponds with the idea of trusteeship, meaning an agency entrusted with acting on behalf of another, that is closely linked with intentional development (Cowen & Shenton, 1995).

In summary, the government of Tuvalu continues to play an important role in the nation's development through the appropriate promotion of migration. People may spontaneously act to seize opportunities available to them for enhancing the welfare of their families by accessing prospects abroad through emigration. This is an example of immanent development. However, the government of Tuvalu, acting as the 'trustee' for all Tuvaluans, intervenes at different stages of development to implement policies that encourage migration and at the same time maintain a skilled labour force at home to enable continuous operation of its own development process. Overall, the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand through the PAC scheme, depicts both immanent and intentional types of development occurring side by side.

The subsequent section will provide answers to one of the thesis objectives. That is, to identify whether climate change influences the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme. Being a Tuvaluan myself, this holds personal meaning to me, as it will also address my own uncertainty about whether Tuvaluans believe this issue of climate change is a major deciding factor in their long-term migration.

6.3.3 Tuvaluan PAC Migration and Sea Level Rise

The results of the current research, detailed in Chapter 5, revealed that eventough climate change and sea level rise in not the primary reason identified by the participants for migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme, this research found that it is the most common underlying factor that solidifies people’s interest in the PAC scheme and migration to New Zealand. Hugo (1996) identified a range of constraints and facilitators related to migration and the actual movement of people from affected areas. One facilitating factor was the presence or absence of escape routes in the form of both transport networks and kinship and social networks. According to Hugo (1996), the presence of such networks undoubtedly facilitated the movement of people from affected environments, while their absence restricted migration.

Concerns about the effects of climate change and the presence of active kinship and social networks, together with migration outlets such as the PAC scheme, stimulate and facilitate the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand. In fact, the PAC scheme provides Tuvaluans with an escape route to get away from the likely consequences of climate change and sea level rise. However, these people have to meet the PAC criteria (listed in Chapter 3) and have access to kinship and social networks, or what Hugo (1996) referred to as ‘facilitators’ who enable movement or migration. Still, controversy on the impact of climate change on small, low-lying atoll islands such as Tuvalu leads to uncertainty when applying the term ‘environmental migrants’ to migrating Tuvaluans.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, despite the difference of opinion surrounding the definition and usage of the term ‘environmental migrants’, Hugo (1996) believed that those embarking on environmentally induced migration share some of the features that characterise refugees, whose driving force for movement is conflict or the threat of conflict. As mentioned in Chapter 5, awareness of climate change issues such as sea level rise through informal discussions with friends, work colleagues and family members; church services; and the local and international media (who are becoming a frequent sight on Funafuti during king tide periods), have raised the level of concern people feel about their future. Some are motivated by this to migrate sooner rather than later (TUVFAM04, personal communication, April 2008). The majority of participants

who identified sea level rise as the underlying factor for migration, once settled, become increasingly involved in transnational activities. These can include such actions as assisting other family members in applying for the PAC scheme through sponsoring them or even processing their application in New Zealand, sending remittances on request to assist their families in Tuvalu and to fulfil their communal commitments, bringing parents over for holidays or to live, and participating in community development through their island community or church associations in New Zealand. As Al-Ali et al. (2001) pointed out, through the practise of transnational activities environmental migrants can still contribute to the welfare of families who remain in the home country and thus become important agents for grassroots change and development.

In general, the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand under the PAC scheme shows linkage between migration, fear of sea level rise and uncertainty about the future of children on the islands. Although climate change is not currently a primary reason for migration, it is the most common underlying reason for migration of Tuvaluans who participated in the study. As such, it solidifies the decision of the participants to migrate to New Zealand, once selection is confirmed.

The triadic relationship between migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme, fear of sea level rise and impact of migrants' transnational practises on development, has already been described; thus, the last section of this chapter will discuss the mechanisms that sustain benefits of PAC migration to families and the wider Tuvaluan community.

6.4 Mechanisms Sustaining Benefits of PAC Migration

To provide answers for one of this study's objectives – that is, to determine the mechanisms sustaining the benefits of long-term migration – this section will discuss identified mechanisms that have enabled both extending the spread of benefits to the wider community and sustaining them in the long term.

The existence of transnational multidimensional social connections not only between the core institutions within Tuvaluan society – family, island community and church –

but also through multifaceted diplomatic ties at the governmental level (as discussed in the previous section on transnationalism and in Chapter 5), is a distinctive characteristic of Tuvaluans' long-term migration under the PAC scheme. This research identifies three types of transnational networks as important mechanisms for maintaining the benefits of long-term migration that the PAC scheme offers. These include political and leadership networks, family kinship networks, and island community and church networks. These networks bring together two societies on different shores into one domain at the same time.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the involvement of political leaders in shaping national policies, such as policies that open doors to immigrants from other countries, is of particular relevance in determining migration flows either from countries of origin to a destination or vice versa (Massey et al., 1998). The PAC scheme offered by New Zealand is one example of political involvement in creating much needed migration outlets for small developing Pacific countries such as Tuvalu. The support rendered by Tuvalu's political leaders in continuously pursuing migration outlets for Tuvaluans with their counterparts in neighbouring developed countries, Australia and New Zealand, will help keep political networks active between Tuvalu and other countries despite previous unsuccessful endeavours. According to the Labour Officer in Tuvalu, Tefiti Malalau, given the increasing number of families (especially those on the outer islands) dependent on remittances from Tuvaluan migrants working and living abroad, the government of Tuvalu will continue networking with its Forum counterparts, mainly New Zealand and Australia, to seek migration and employment opportunities for either short- or long-term migration (GOVTUV01, personal communication, April 2008).

Kinship ties fuse migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships that serve as channels of information, social support and financial assistance (Boyd, 1989). Similarly, the findings of this research detailed in Chapter 5 suggested that family participants in both Tuvalu and in New Zealand possess strong kinship connections with one another. In fact, according to the research findings, having family connections in New Zealand appears to help solidify the migration

decision of successful PAC applicants, encouraging long-term migration and furthering the migration flow of family members (chain migration).

Lockwood claimed that the “extensive and tightly held kin relationships of Pacific islanders appear to foster tenacious and long-enduring transnational kin networks and ties to home to an extent not found among other transnational groups” (2004, p.26), and according to Lee (2004, p.137), transnational networks and the ties of migrants to their homeland are sustained through “sets of obligations” to either families or other social associations with which the migrant is affiliated. The same has held true for participants in this study. As reported in Chapter 5, a father of a PAC migrant in Tuvalu described this sense of “family belonging and family identity” (FAMTUV03, personal communication, April 2008) that brings together individual family members wherever they live as one body when the need arises, and that maintains family cohesion across time.

However, family ties were not boosted in merely one direction, but were strengthened through support that flowed both ways. As discussed in Chapter 5, the majority of participants living in Tuvalu insisted there was a reverse flow of traditional food stuff, handicrafts and even ideas that maintained the existence of ‘Tuvalu away from Tuvalu’ on foreign shores where Tuvaluan migrants lived. Similarly, studies on migration of Cook Islanders have demonstrated a reverse flow of remittances from the country of origin (Cook Islands) to the destination country (New Zealand) and return migration being influenced by the family and cultural value of belonging (Wright-Koteka, 2006; Marsters et al., 2006). As mentioned in Chapter 5, there were an increasing number of parents sending their children to stay with relatives so they could attend elementary and primary schools in New Zealand. This, therefore, strengthens the relationships and connections between the children’s parents and those families with whom their children lived. In this era of high speed Internet technology, parents in Tuvalu, especially on urban Funafuti Island where this fieldwork was based, were able to keep in touch with their young children almost every day.

Chambers and Chambers (2001, p. 199) noted that Tuvaluans are “passionately devoted ... to their home communities”, and this is supported by the current research findings, which record the presence of island loyalty or *loto fenua* as described above. The existence of Auckland communities where Tuvaluans could feel they were living in what one participant referred to as ‘Tuvalu away from Tuvalu’ (MIGTUV03, personal communication, May 2008), assured the continuance of Tuvalu’s customs and culture, including traditional concepts such as *loto fenua*. According to this study’s findings, the importance of island loyalty has been continually transmitted not only through the words of wisdom from island elders, but also through the singing and dancing of traditional songs and *fatele* during community gatherings. Most of these lyrics serve as reminders to Tuvaluans living abroad, in New Zealand or elsewhere, of the significant role they could play in the development of their island communities back in Tuvalu.

The church, normally located at the heart of each island in Tuvalu and identified by Chambers and Chambers (2001, p.199) as one of the more significant unifying institutions in Tuvalu, was typically found in Tuvaluan societies in New Zealand, too. According to the latest New Zealand census, 96% of the Tuvalu population in there are affiliated with the same religious denomination (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Chapter 5 reported two *Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu* (EKT) congregations now established in New Zealand, one in Auckland and the other in Wellington. Each has close linkages with EKT headquarters back in Tuvalu through EKT’s regular annual freewill offerings. Church activities will also continue to serve as an important component in the lives of the vast majority of Tuvaluans living in New Zealand, just as they have in Tuvalu. Consequently, linkages between families, island communities and church associations both in Tuvalu and New Zealand are strengthened.

In summary, continuous networking between the core institutions within Tuvaluan society (family, island community and church) connect migrant and home country communities from different shores into one domain at the same time. Such collaboration has been shown to be operating on various levels of government as well. The findings of this research identify three mechanisms which enable the further spread and sustainability of long-term migration through the PAC scheme: political and leadership

networks, family kinship networks, and island community and church networks. Overall, the findings demonstrated the effects of Tuvaluan migration through the PAC scheme on families and communities. More specifically, a guaranteed long-term flow of economic and socio-cultural benefits appears to be the result. However, these benefits will only be sustained as long as island loyalty and family kinship stay intact across oceans, and networking amongst families, communities and churches remains active.

6.5 Chapter Summary

Within the transnationalism framework, it is recognised that the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand through the PAC scheme has had profound developmental effects extending beyond the economic aspects which traditional migration theory seems to have overemphasised. Arongo (2004) argued that migration is no longer an issue of concern for one country alone but an important development issue to multiple countries, particularly those that send migrants and those that receive them. Given that the PAC scheme is a government-induced migration initiative, negotiation and constant networking between participating governments reflects transnational activities at the higher level, also referred to as ‘transnationalism from above’. Moreover, in having strong family and community values through ‘island loyalty’ or *loto fenua*, and tightly knit family kinship, Tuvaluans living abroad have remained constantly linked and connected with their families and communities on the islands, thus portraying ‘transnationalism from below’. As a result, the prevalence of both transnational activities ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ in Tuvaluan PAC migration to date supports the transnationalism perspective that migrants maintain or even strengthen their ties with their home country the longer they live in and assimilate into their new home and country (Borovnik, in press; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Robinson, 2004).

Overall, this chapter has sought to demonstrate that Tuvaluan migration through the PAC scheme guarantees a long-term flow of economic and sociocultural benefits to enhance family welfare, grassroots community initiatives and national development in Tuvalu. However, this study concludes that these benefits will only be sustained as long as island loyalty and family kinship stay intact across international borders, and networking amongst families, communities and churches remains active. These are the

very factors that currently sustain the benefits of long-term migration, thus improving the welfare of families and generating grassroots and community-based developments in Tuvalu. Additionally, this study discovered that fear of the consequences of sea level rise in Tuvalu solidifies individuals' decisions to migrate now than rather than later, particularly for Tuvaluans who are able to utilise the available migration opportunities, such as the PAC scheme.

The following and last chapter will wrap up this thesis with the research summary, including findings, recommendations and identification of areas for further study.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis was designed to determine the relevance of long-term migration to development in Tuvalu. It was based on the author's keen interest in finding out how long-term migration through the PAC scheme affects Tuvalu, at the family and community level and the national level as well. Since Tuvalu became independent in 1978, temporary or short-short term and circular migration has been a common characteristic of its migration pattern. However, the implementation of New Zealand's PAC scheme in 2002 as the first formal permanent long-term migration outlet for Tuvaluans has added a new dimension to Tuvalu's migration trends. Each year, the PAC scheme allows 75 Tuvaluans to stay in New Zealand permanently (if they wish). This policy contributes to pushing Tuvalu toward a more traditional MIRAB economy (Boland & Dollery, 2007) where an increasing population are living and working abroad. In total, 515 Tuvaluans have been involved in this scheme so far (see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3).

The aim of this thesis was to investigate, more than 5 years after the PAC's implementation, how long-term migration of Tuvaluans benefits Tuvalu. More specifically, the thesis objectives were to: (a) investigate the effects of the PAC scheme on Tuvaluan families and communities in New Zealand and Tuvalu, (b) determine the mechanisms sustaining the benefits of long-term migration, and (c) identify whether climate change influence the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme. These were targeted as effective means for gaining insight and understanding into the contribution offered by the PAC scheme to Tuvaluan families, communities and development.

To achieve the aim and objectives of this thesis, a qualitative research approach was chosen. Involving the people who had been directly involved in the PAC migration process provided valuable insight into migration issues from an individual viewpoint, thus offering deeper understanding of the mechanisms surrounding migration of

Tuvaluans. In using a transnationalist and developmental perspective, both the mobile and immobile populations and the multidimensional connections between different institutions were considered of great significance to the development of migrant-sending countries.

Data was gathered from the migrant-sending country (Tuvalu) on Funafuti Island, the capital of Tuvalu, and the migrant-receiving country (New Zealand) in Auckland where the majority of Tuvaluans lived. The participants chosen for this research included the migrants themselves in New Zealand, the migrants' families remaining in Tuvalu and government officials and leaders in Tuvalu, considering that the PAC scheme is basically a government-to-government initiative. Taking the structure of the traditional Tuvaluan society into account, it was important to acknowledge the significance of both island communities and the church as the most important and powerful institutions outside the family unit. Thus, the influence of leaders in migration decisions of both individuals and families was considered a relevant aspect of this thesis as well.

The following section will present a summary of the main findings of this research, showing in particular how Tuvaluans utilise such foreign opportunities as the PAC scheme to further enhance their families' lives, their church and the development of their island communities. Recommendations and areas identified for further research are incorporated into the summary findings.

7.2 Summary of Research Findings

Tuvalu is a communal and closely-knit society and this is reflected in the interactions shown by its people, government leaders and officials, island elders, church leaders, family members in Tuvalu and migrants and their families in New Zealand. The call that connects Tuvaluans from different walks of life – those living abroad and those in Tuvalu – is reflected in one verse from a familiar Tuvaluan song which says, 'if you are living in faraway land, do not ever forget your island – *kafai koe e noho i koga mamao, ke moa e puli te fenua ite koe*'. This is a common message often heard from Tuvaluan leaders reminding Tuvaluans living abroad of their roots. It unites them as Tuvaluans, whether as a Tuvaluan community in Auckland, a community identified with an

individual home island (Nanumaga or Vaitupu island community in Auckland), or a church groups (*Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu* in Auckland), and spontaneously connects them with their counterparts in Tuvalu.

The findings hereafter are summarised and linked to the thesis objectives, giving the perspectives of leaders, families in Tuvalu and the migrants in New Zealand as well.

7.2.1 The Effects of the PAC Scheme

Using the transnationalism and development framework, Table 7.1 provides a summary of the effects of PAC migration, both positive and negative, from the perspectives of Tuvaluan families and communities as discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Table 7.1 The Effects of PAC/Long-term Migration on Tuvaluan Families and Communities

1. THE VIEWS OF PARTICIPANTS IN TUVALU			
BENEFITS		COSTS	
<i>Economic</i>	<i>Sociocultural</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Sociocultural</i>
Remittances to finance family's contributions to requirements of extended family, island community and church	<i>Education of children of extended family members either in Tuvalu through remittances or in NZ by allowing them to live with the migrants in NZ</i>	<i>Temporary loss of income as migrants are resettling into their new home, New Zealand</i>	<i>Loss of family members and separation of families thus sense of incompleteness within family</i>
Remittances indirectly finance island community's development projects through the Falekaupule Trust Fund	<i>Chain migration of family members to NZ – more people in NZ increases the support given to families in Tuvalu, thus further expanding the benefits of migration</i>		<i>Loss of active members of the community affects completion of community development activities/projects that are dependent on voluntary labour from community members</i>
	<i>Short term visits (touring groups) – both ways. NZ touring groups visiting Tuvalu and vice versa thus exchanges of goods and knowledge through these touring group visits</i>		<i>Slowly diminishing the true sense of some aspects of Tuvalu culture such as fatele which requires lots of people to perform it in its proper and meaningful</i>

	<p>Long-term absences <i>ease land pressures</i> amongst families in Tuvalu</p> <p><i>Strengthen family and community cohesion</i> through funding family commitments to extended families, island communities and church</p> <p>Offers <i>pathway for families</i> who are <i>ready to leave due to environmental reasons</i></p>		<p>style</p> <p><i>Loss of traditional knowledge</i> such as pulaka's planting technique as parents joining their children in NZ</p>
2. THE PERSPECTIVE OF MIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND			
BENEFITS		COSTS	
<i>Economic</i>	<i>Sociocultural</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Sociocultural</i>
<p><i>Employment opportunities</i> for those who have not been employed before</p> <p><i>Higher salary</i> for those who have been previously employed in Tuvalu</p>	<p><i>Education opportunities</i> for children, grandchildren and children of extended family</p> <p><i>Better health facilities</i> especially for the parents of migrants</p> <p><i>Assists other family members to migrate to New Zealand</i> through sponsorship & finding job offers</p> <p><i>Secures a safer future for children</i> further from sea level rise</p> <p><i>Enhances self-esteem</i>, especially for those who have not worked previously</p>	<p><i>Takes a long time to find the right job</i> that suits experience and qualifications</p> <p><i>Lack of funding mechanism for cost of travel</i> of the whole family from Tuvalu to New Zealand</p>	<p><i>Separation from family members</i>, thus feelings of homesickness and loneliness at times</p> <p><i>Partial loss of self-esteem</i> for those who have worked in established positions in Tuvalu previously, due to starting from bottom of salary scale or having to work in unsuitable jobs</p>

This thesis found that all three kinds of leaders – government leaders, island elders and church leaders – identified long-term migration as a vital ingredient in the development of Tuvalu. The migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand under the PAC scheme, driven by Tuvaluan leaders can be classified as a top-down development approach. In seeking migration outlets and encouraging migration of Tuvaluans, leaders of all three groups expressed caution concerning loss of Tuvaluans, both skilled labour and active members

of the community, through migration, although it was currently not a major issue. The government leaders and representatives had political interest in pursuing migration outlets with their development counterparts in New Zealand and Australia, while island elders and church leaders believed that migration of family or community members would benefit the community and the church, either directly or indirectly. The support rendered by leaders on long-term migration of Tuvaluans enhanced and maintained positive implications for PAC migration in Tuvalu.

Families in both Tuvalu and New Zealand agreed that the long-term migration of family members had positively enhanced the welfare of families in all locations. As shown in Table 7.1, remittances from migrants, although not received frequently, were utilised productively in funding families' contributions to extended family commitments, along with island community and church development projects. Fulfilling familial and communal commitments from migrants' remittances, the support of extended families and communities was secured for future family *fakalavelave* or commitments. Therefore, the benefits of migration extended beyond the monetary value of migrants' remittances, as was found in the literature on migration research carried out in on other Pacific countries (Connell & Brown, 2004; Muliaina et al., 2006; Wright-Koteka, 2006).

Furthermore, although initial interest in the PAC scheme was often compared to playing the lottery, where participants set out to test their 'lucky stars', the migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand has come to be identified as a long-term family investment where the children and younger generations in the family are considered to be the major beneficiaries. Additionally, children's education was identified by participants in the current study as one of the main deciding factors in Tuvaluans' interest in the PAC scheme and migration to New Zealand. As demonstrated in Table 7.1, this thesis also identified costs and challenges faced by families in their migration journey. However, these were perceived as short term challenges that were overshadowed by the long-term future benefits migration offered to families at both ends, in Tuvalu and New Zealand.

This thesis identified that long-term migration of Tuvaluans has promising prospects for economic and social development of Tuvalu's fragile economy. The efforts made by the government of Tuvalu to seek migration outlets for its people in fact portray an intentional type of development (Cowen & Shenton, 1995), whereby government pursues its role as the 'trustee' of the people of Tuvalu to ensure provision of wider opportunities for enhancing the welfare of the people and development in Tuvalu. Therefore it is recommended that the government of Tuvalu:

- (i) Seek long-term migration outlets for Tuvaluans similar to New Zealand's PAC migration scheme from other development partners, starting with its nearest neighbour, Australia;
- (ii) Continue bilateral negotiations with the New Zealand government to improve PAC conditions and to increase Tuvalu's annual quota;
- (iii) Negotiate for lower fees to be charged by international financial institutions as applicable to personal money transfers; and
- (iv) Recognise the significant contributions made by migrants to family, community and grassroots developments in its national planning and policies.

7.2.2 Mechanisms Sustaining Benefits of PAC Migration

Given the many and diverse advantages that long-term migration through the PAC scheme has brought to Tuvaluans at home and abroad, the second objective of this thesis was to determine the mechanisms that sustain these benefits. The transnationalism and development perspective employed helped to identify social ties and connections (Kivisto, 2001; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Robinson, 2004; Vertovec, 1999; 2001) and a long history of family obligation (Borovnik, 2003, in press; Boyd, 1989) to reinforce bonding between the migrants and their families and associates in their homeland.

Another factor number identified through this research as helping to maintain effectiveness of the PAC scheme is active transnational networking, as observed in the forms of (a) political and leadership networks, (b) family kinship networks, and (c) community and church networks. These are mechanisms that maintain and sustain the

benefits of long-term migration. Additionally, family kinship and island loyalty or *loto fenua* were recognised as important concepts in Tuvaluan migration that enable the integration of families and island communities wherever they are located, thus allowing them to help one another in times of family *fakalavelave*. This thesis identified that Tuvaluans depended on one another, wherever they lived, for not only financial assistance but for emotional and spiritual support as well. As discussed in Chapter 5, migrants in New Zealand often sought guidance from family elders and parents in Tuvalu on traditional protocols to follow during significant traditional family occasions. This research also discovered that a significant number of children, born in New Zealand but currently residing in Tuvalu, were being sent by their parents in Tuvalu back to New Zealand to live with PAC migrant relatives and friends so they could take advantage of educational opportunities in New Zealand. Continuous family networking occurred, mainly through the internet, with parents in Tuvalu providing the emotional support needed by a typical 10-year-old child, for example.

The participating PAC migrants identified Auckland as a place that they could call ‘Tuvalu away from Tuvalu’, a place where they could feel at home. This sense of coherence helped to maintain and even strengthen the migrants’ connections with families and institutions they had been affiliated with in Tuvalu. The migrants felt that community and family gatherings and activities provided opportunities for relaxation, socialisation, catching up with family and friends, and getting updates on the current news and gossip from Tuvalu. This is similar to the findings of research by Va’a (2001) on Samoan migrants in Australia which showed that through *fa’alavelave* networks, families ties and community coherence are maintained and strengthened, even in communities geographically separated from the country. Additionally, family and community gatherings were found to help maintain an important aspect of Tuvalu’s culture, its traditional dance, the *fatele*. This, in fact, was one of the most direct articulations of transnationalism in practice. Most importantly, these forms of practicing transnationalism helped Tuvaluans living abroad to maintain Tuvalu’s culture, thus strengthening family kinship and island loyalty or *loto fenua*, and sustaining family and community ties and connections with their counterparts in Tuvalu.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, the guaranteed long-term flow of economic and sociocultural benefits reaped from PAC migration could only be sustained as long as island loyalty and family kinship between the mobile and immobile populations stays intact and the networking between families, communities and church remains active. Therefore it is recommended that:

- (i) Additional research is conducted on PAC migrants in future years, and also on second generation PAC migrants in New Zealand, in order to provide a deeper understanding of the connections and networking behaviour of migrants and their families and communities in Tuvalu.

7.2.3 Does Climate Change Influence PAC Migration?

Given the wide media speculation on climate change and the subsequent migration of Tuvaluans, the third objective of this thesis was to identify whether climate change influences the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme. The influence of climate change is a topic which has recently garnered the attention of migration researchers (Connell, 2003; Farbotko, 2005; Hugo, 1996; Smith, 2007), some of whom referred to such migrants as ‘environmental refugees’ (Al-Ali, 2001; El-Hinnawi, 1985; Hugo, 1996).

As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, analysis of the data from this study found that climate change was not currently identified by participants as a primary reason for the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme. Economic reasons such as employment opportunity and higher wage rates, and social factors such as health and educational opportunities dominated the list as the two most common primary reasons for migration of Tuvaluans to New Zealand. However, the findings also demonstrated that although climate change was not one of the main reasons for migration, it was the an underlying reason, and as such solidified the decision of many participants to migrate to New Zealand once their selection was confirmed. Although the participants identified changes to their environment, such as frequent flooding, king tides, wave surges and coastal erosion, this research found that the predominant perspective on environmental issues was not one of anxiety or worry, as of seeking to escape a doomsday scenario; rather, participants expressed more positive outlook that focused on providing a better

life for their children and the families remaining in Tuvalu. As pointed out by the President of the dominant church in Tuvalu, *Ekalesia Kelisano Tuvalu*, if God had created low lying places such as Tuvalu to be inhabitable, then they would be safe environments for people to live in as long as Tuvaluans had faith in their God.

Given the increasing evidence witnessed by participants of changes to their home environments, and the strong connection of a significant number of the participants to their island home, expressed in part by their preference to remain in Tuvalu, it is recommended that:

- (i) Climate change issues be further addressed in future migration research, without sensationalising this issue.

In conclusion, this thesis identified long-term or PAC migrants as significant transnational agents of development in Tuvalu. These individuals and families not only help to enhance the life and welfare of the families remaining on the islands, but also fuel community and grassroots development, thus positively contributing to national development. This thesis concluded that physical separation of Tuvaluans one from another, through migration, does not limit the richness of the interaction between them. In fact, the existence of active networking between island community groups and other Tuvaluan associations in Auckland and in Tuvalu strengthens the Tuvaluan culture both abroad and at home, thus ensuring strong family and community coherence. Transnational networking in the forms of political leadership, family kinship, and island community and church are the core mechanisms that help initiate and maintain grassroots and community-based development in Tuvalu. However, the benefits of long-term migration can only be sustained as long as island loyalty or *loto fenua* and family kinship stays intact across borders, and networking amongst families, communities and church remain active.

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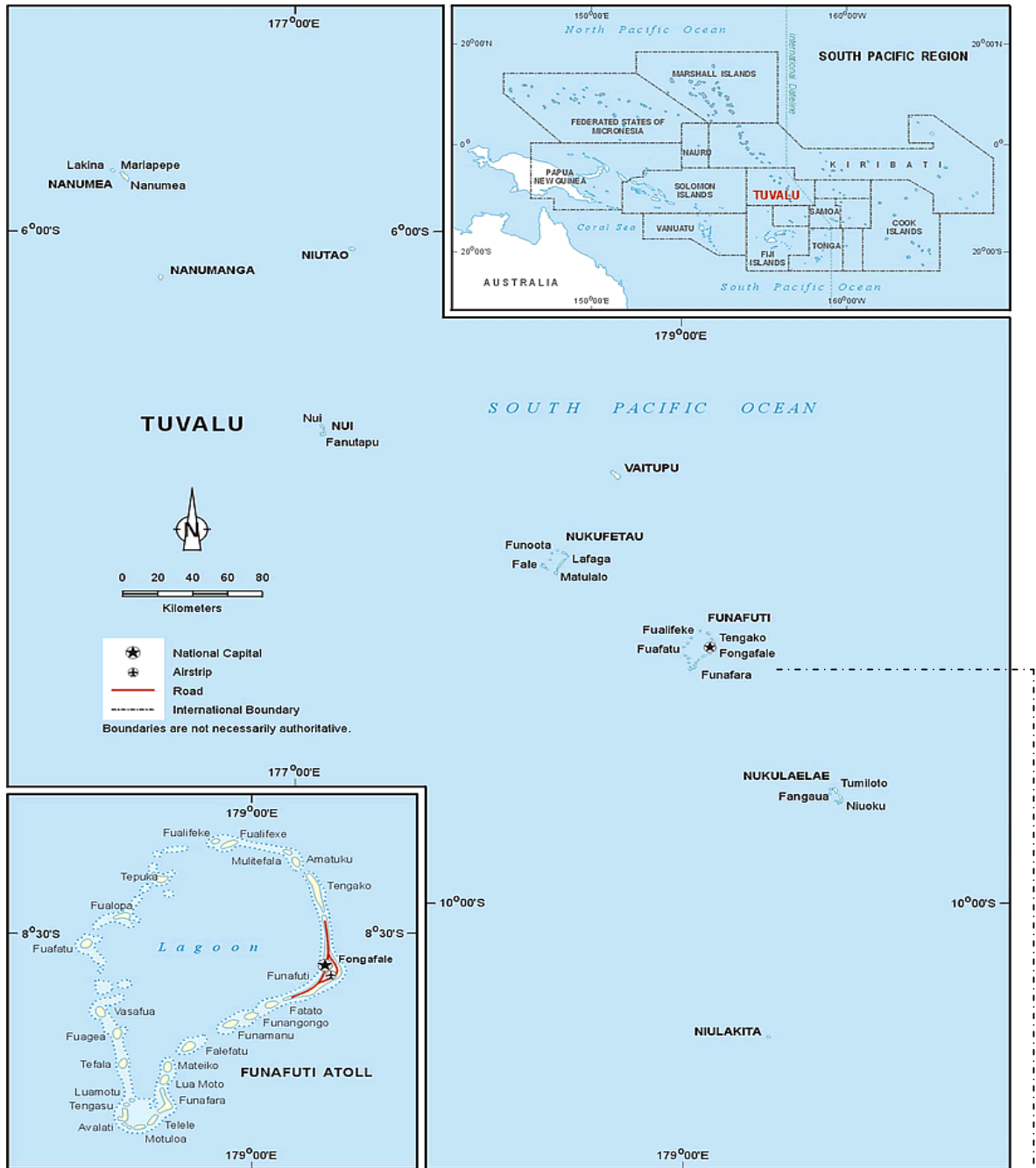
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: MAP OF TUVALU



Source: <http://www.adb.org/Tuvalu/images/map-big.gif>

Research Site no. 1 – Funafuti Island, Tuvalu

APPENDIX 2: ARIAL VIEWS OF FUNAFUTI ISLAND

(Research Site no.1)

1. Approaching Funafuti



2. Funafuti – A narrow strip of land for settlement



3. Widest part of Funafuti – Main settlement



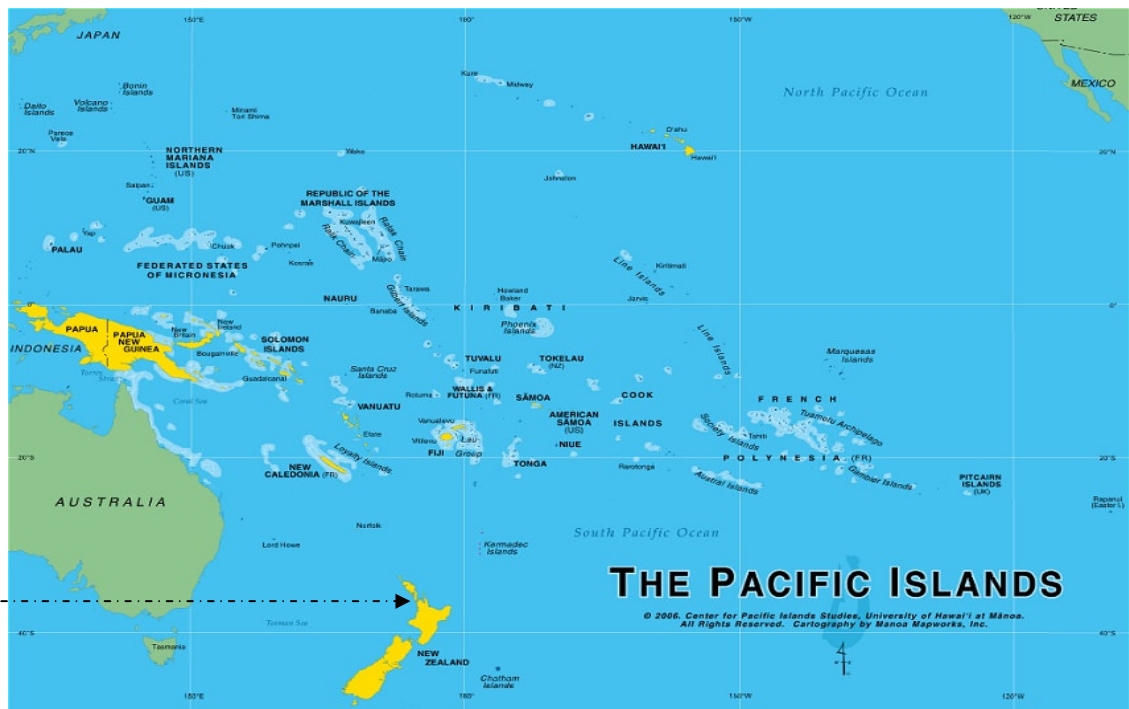
4. Funafuti – One can see the sea on both sides of the island



Source: S. P. Simati

APPENDIX 3: LOCATION OF AUCKLAND - RESEARCH

SITE no.2



Source: http://www.asianfilms.org/graphics/pacific_map.jpg



Source : http://www.auckland.world-guides.com/auckland_maps.html

Research Site no. 2 – Auckland, New Zealand

Focus Area in Auckland – Henderson

APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION SHEET

INFORMATION SHEET

Talofa. My name is Sunema Pie Simati. I am currently studying at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand and enrolled for the Master of Philosophy in Development Studies programme. The core requirement of the programme is to carry out a fieldwork research in a topic of interest and relevance to development studies. Findings from the fieldwork will be the main component of my thesis. My research topic is titled “**The Effect of Migration on Development in Tuvalu: A Case study of PAC Migrants and their Families**” This research is under the direction and supervision of Dr. Maria Borovnik and Dr. Regina Schyvens, both lecturers in the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

The aim of this study is to determine the relevance of New Zealand’s Pacific Access Category (PAC) migration scheme to development in Tuvalu. More specifically, the objectives of the study are: (i) to investigate the effects of the PAC migration scheme on Tuvaluan families and communities in New Zealand and Tuvalu; (ii) determine the mechanisms sustaining the benefits of long-term migration; and (iii) identify whether climate change influence the migration of Tuvaluans under the PAC scheme.

Participation in this research is voluntary and it is up to each participant to freely decide their participation in this study. Oral consent only is required to indicate participation in this research for the migrants and their families, while government officials are asked to sign a consent form to indicate participation in the study. Participants for this research are chosen using snowball sampling.

The participants have the right to:

- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- Able to decline to answer any particular question;
- Provide information on the understanding that their identity will not be revealed unless they state otherwise;
- Withdraw from the study at any time during participation.

I will be responsible to:

- Ensure that the identity of the participants and the information gathered are kept anonymous and confidential at all times during and after the research.
- Ensure that all information gathered will be used only for the purpose of my thesis and any other academic publications.
- Store all data in a secured and safe place.

All tapes and transcripts from the fieldwork will be stored safely in the Massey University research archive for a period of five years and destroyed thereafter. My

thesis will be accessible to the public through the Massey University library after the completion of my study.

For any concerns regarding this research please note the following information:

“This project have been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has been not reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any questions about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice Counsellor (Ethics and Equity) telephone (+64) 6 350 5349 or email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz

For any other queries feel free to contact me and/or supervisor at the following contacts:

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Thank you for your time, interest and participation in this research.

Fakafetai lahi!

APPENDIX 5: CONSENT FORM

THE EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT IN TUVALU: A CASE STUDY
OF PAC MIGRANTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree to identify my name and position in government for the information that I will provide to the researcher.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Name: _____

Position in government: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 6: QUESTIONNAIRE (Migrants Families in Tuvalu)

Code: Location/family ID/Individual ID/date/time

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SURVEY

(for Migrants Families in Tuvalu)

RESEARCH TOPIC: The Effect of Migration on development in Tuvalu: A Case Study on PAC Migrants and their Families

1. Age
<25 yrs 26-35 yrs 36-45 yrs 46-55 yrs 55+
2. Gender
Female Male
3. Relationship to the migrant

4. Number of members in household

5. Occupation

6. Household members occupation

7. What year does the family migrate to NZ under the PAC?

8. Number of family members who migrate together with the principal applicant?

9. Does the PAC scheme benefit the remaining family in Tuvalu? Why?
Yes No Not sure
10. Does the PAC scheme benefit those who migrate? Why?
Yes Not sure
11. Any household members thinking of applying for the PAC? Why?
Yes No Not Sure
12. Are you planning to join relatives already in NZ? Why?
Yes No Not Sure
13. What do you think is the main reason for applying for the PAC/migrating?

APPENDIX 7: QUESTIONNAIRE (Migrants in New Zealand)

Code: Location/family ID/Individual ID/date/time

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SURVEY

(for Migrants in NZ)

RESEARCH TOPIC: The Effect of Migration on development in Tuvalu: A Case Study on PAC Migrants and their Families

1. Age
 <25 yrs 26-35 yrs 36-45 yrs 46-55 yrs 55+
2. Gender
 Female Male
3. Number of Household members

4. Occupation (NZ & Tuvalu)

5. Annual Salary (principal applicant)
< 10K 10,001-20K 20,001-30K >30K
6. Number of family members working (temp/permanent)

7. Year that you migrate to NZ

8. Number of family members migrated under the PAC?

9. Is the PAC scheme beneficial to you? If yes, to whom in particular?
Yes No Not sure
10. In what ways?

11. Any family members you are assisting with PAC application?
Yes No Not Sure
12. What is the main reason for applying for the PAC/migrating?

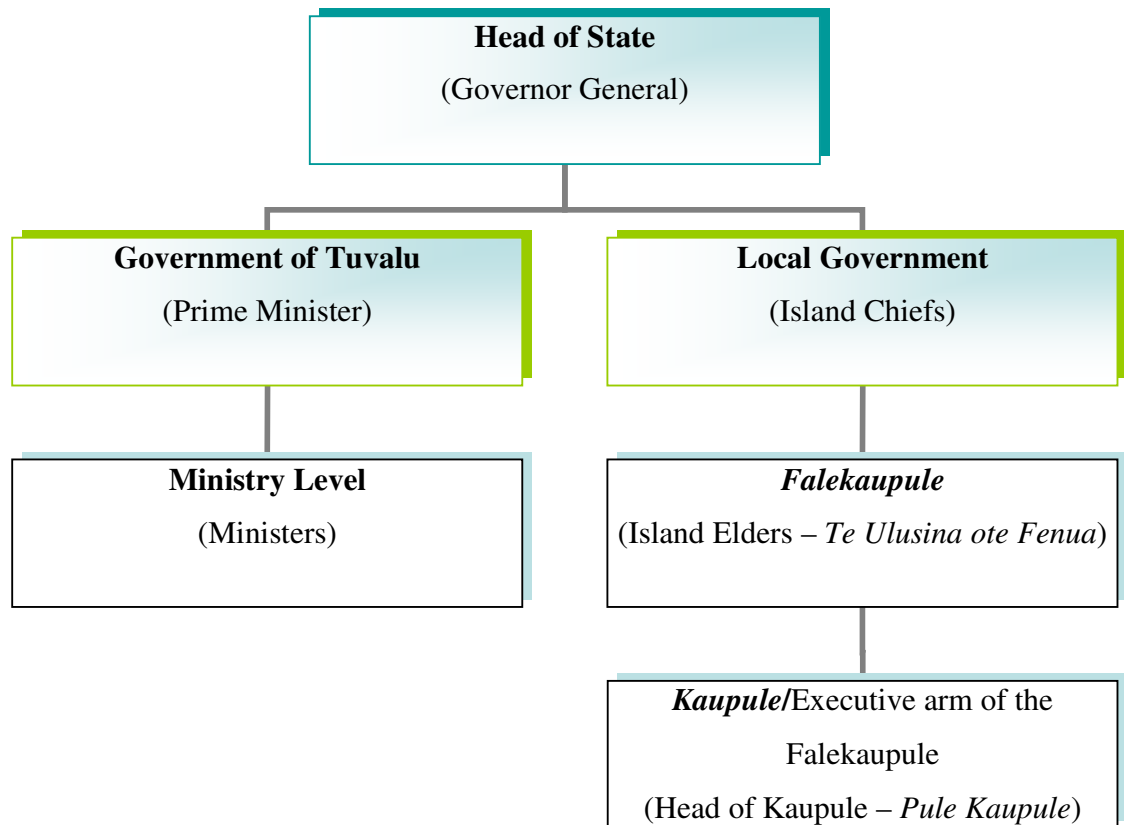
13. Can you see yourself returning?
Yes, soon yes, later No

Why? _____

Appendix 8: Summary of Participants

Category	Location	Method of Data Collection	Male	Female	Total
LEADERS					
Government Leaders/Officials	Tuvalu	Semi Structured Interview/Questionnaire	14	3	17
Community Elders	Tuvalu	Semi Structured Interview	6	0	6
Community Elders	New Zealand	Semi Structured Interview	0	1	1
Church Leaders	Tuvalu	Semi Structured Interview	1	1	2
MIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND					
PAC Migrants	New Zealand	Semi-structured Interview/Questionnaire	5	8	13
PAC Migrant in Transit	Fiji	Semi-structured Interview/Questionnaire	1		1
FAMILIES OF PAC MIGRANTS IN TUVALU					
Family of PAC Migrants	Tuvalu	Semi-structured Interview/Questionnaire	8	11	19
Family of PAC Migrant	Fiji	Semi-structured Interview/Questionnaire		1	1
TOTAL			35	25	60

APPENDIX 9: Tuvalu Two-tier Formal Administration



Source: S. P. Simati