

Impacts of migration on Pacific diaspora communities in New Zealand and on the island countries of Samoa, Niue and Tonga

Daisy Bentley-Gray, Ioane Aleke Fa'avae and Venusi Taumoepeau

Inter and intra-island migration in the Pacific pre-dates European explorations of the 1700s and 1800s. Pacific peoples are known for their remarkable craftsmanship and navigational skills, which surpass their time. However, migration within contemporary times has led to some irreversible changes in the Pacific. Migration to New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s was particularly impactful on Pacific Island societies and the Pacific diaspora communities formed in Auckland. This presentation explores the impact of migration of Samoan, Niuean and Tongan migrants to New Zealand on their Pacific Island countries, the effects on MIRAB economies, and the traditional ways of being in the islands and NZ. This presentation reflects the narratives of the presenters' own lived experiences of migration and literature on the topic.

Introduction

Pacific peoples living in New Zealand contribute to the growth of New Zealand as well as to Pacific Island Countries (PICs). The historical ties between Pacific peoples and New Zealand span across many generations and ages, which pre-date the arrival of Europeans (NZ Human Rights, 2020). However, the most recent connections reinforced in the 1950s have contributed to a large population of Pacific peoples in New Zealand today. Hence, this connection calls for an in-depth exploration to build context around the Pacific diaspora.

This paper will be in two parts; Part One will define and discuss migration in relation to Pacific peoples with references to diaspora and MIRAB countries. Part Two will provide the narratives of the three authors and their experiences of migration and being in diaspora in NZ. The narratives reflect the diversity that exists with regard to each migrant, second-generation and NZ-born Pacific person living in New Zealand.

Defining Migration

Although various definitions of migrant and migration exist, this paper reflects on the United Nations Migration Agency, International Organization for Migration (2021) definition, which defines a migrant

...as any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. (para. 7)

When applied to Pacific migration to NZ, this definition highlights the movement of peoples across international borders from the Pacific islands to New Zealand on several types of visas due to multiple reasons that may be voluntary or involuntary in nature and for varied periods of time. This implies that Pacific migrants in NZ are diverse because not all have moved to New Zealand under the same entry conditions whether of free will or not, and for the same reasons. In addition, it implies that not all Pacific migrants in New Zealand desire permanent residency if qualified. It considers the varied timespans that individual migrants can and want to live in NZ.

In the context of New Zealand, associations with Pacific migrants are many and individually unique. However, for the purpose of this paper, three broad concepts best describe the dominant unique characteristics of Pacific peoples in NZ. Firstly, the concept of *migrant* is specifically used to describe a person/s who migrated from their Pacific Island country of origin to their place of settlement, New Zealand with the intention of residing permanently and/ or indefinitely. Secondly, the concept, *second-generation*, refers to children of migrants regardless of birthplace, whether native-born or overseas-born (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001 as cited in Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010). Hence, this allows migrant parents who have children born in different countries to advocate for the same rights to minimise any conflict and/ or discrimination associated with privileges allowed for native-born. Thirdly, the concept *New Zealand-born* Pacific peoples refer specifically to the children of migrants who were born in NZ, and tended to be raised and lived in NZ having developed shared values with others like them (Macpherson, 2001 as cited in Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010)

The reasons for migration

Pacific peoples' narratives of migration to New Zealand allude to several reasons, which include education and employment opportunities, a sense of government responsibility (MBIE, 2018; Lee, n.d.), familial ties as well as displacement due to climate change (NZ Human Rights, 2020; IOM, 2020). The challenges associated with economic, environmental, and political development in the islands have made out-migration an easier solution (Brown & Connell, 2004b as cited by Usher, 2004) for many people.

The phrase, “*land of milk and honey*,” which Merriam-Webster (n.d.) defines as “a place where there is plenty of food and money and life is very easy.” (para. 1) It describes how many Pacific peoples regarded New Zealand during the 1950s to the 1980s; NZ was regarded as an affluent country with numerous opportunities for people to improve their livelihoods. In addition, Pacific migrants’ impression of NZ was in association with a Utopian society that offered riches to all its citizens. Hence, employment opportunities encouraged by an economic boom in the 1950s and 1960s motivated an influx of migrants from Fiji, Samoa and Tonga who came on temporary work visas with the dreams of a better future for themselves and their families. In addition, education played a significant role in the increasing Pacific migrant population in NZ in this period despite it being influenced by the notions of finding greener pastures.

Although the phrase, “*land of milk and honey*” continues to be associated with current Pacific migration, the existence of other prominent reasons places emphasis on not just employment opportunities for the improvement of livelihoods but also include education, health, political and climate change amongst other reasons. NZ plays a significant role in the Pacific through its aid agency, NZAID and in other areas such as special immigration arrangements, which result in more Pacific migrants coming to NZ. For example, education aid to the Pacific provides scholarship grants and opportunities for thousands of Pacific scholars each year to study in NZ. According to New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade (2019), scholarships to the Pacific comprise 45% of its total scholarship expenditure.

The Categories

There are different immigration categories, which Pacific peoples come under; the two broad categories include Residential and Temporary Visas. Therefore, Pacific migrants in NZ reflect the diverse visa categories that enable people to travel to and reside temporarily or permanently in NZ. Many Pacific migrants excluding those from Niue, the Cook Islands and Tokelau, arrive in NZ under Resident Visas such as the Skilled, Business, and Family visas. In addition, the Samoan Quota (SQ) Resident Visa specifically for Samoans and the Pacific Access Category (PAC) Resident Visa for migrants from Fiji, Tonga, Kiribati, and Tuvalu provide opportunities for more people to live in NZ permanently (Sin & Ormsby, 2018). Pacific migrant numbers who gain approval for New Zealand residence increased between 5,027 in 2012/13 and 5,243 in 2016/17 despite a fall from 5,476 in 2015/16 (Sin & Ormsby, 2018). Therefore, an increasing number of Pacific peoples become part of a growing NZ population. In addition, other Pacific migrants come under Temporary Visas, which include the Recognized Seasonal Employer scheme, Essential Skills workers, Partnership work visas

and International Student visas. Although the nature of entry for Pacific people in these schemes is temporary, they also contribute to the NZ and island economies.

Furthermore, Pacific migrants from Niue, the Cook Islands and Tokelau are different from other Pacific migrants because the three countries have special political arrangements with New Zealand. The three nation-states are part of New Zealand's realm nations and enjoy financial, strategic, and political support from NZ as free-associated states (Human Rights Commission, n.d.). For example, Niueans, Cook Islanders and Tokelauans have automatic NZ citizenship; thus, they are not subjected to the restrictions applied to others in their movement to NZ.

Pacific Diaspora in New Zealand

The discussions of Pacific migration to NZ are often associated with the Pacific diaspora accounts of those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s to fill a labour shortage in a booming NZ economy (NZ Human Rights, 2020). Delanty et al. (2008 as cited in McGavin, 2017) explained that the "...very nature of a diaspora relies on people 'contained' within it identify...with a distant land." (p.124) Lee (n.d.) explains that "...the diasporic populations of Pacific peoples are so large... and have maintained such strong links to their island homes, that they cannot be ignored in any discussion of the Pacific." (p. 12) Hence, the Pacific diaspora in NZ is complex because it encompasses the diversity that exists. For example, it considers the multiple ethnicities, personal and communal circumstances, sacrifices and responsibilities; legal statuses; diplomacy and so much more.

Historically, the Pacific diaspora can be traced to the pockets of communities, which organically formed because of Pacific migrants wanted to belong with people like them. The crux of the Pacific diaspora in the 1950s and 1960s was the Pacific Island Church (PIC) in Newton, Auckland, which played the role of the village. It provided a sense of belonging where Pacific migrants could celebrate and continue traditions while physically absent in their home countries. In this period, Pacific Islanders tended to live in the areas of Newton, Grey Lynn, Ponsonby and Westmere, which were close to the ports of Auckland. However, since the 1980s, more Pacific peoples settled in areas of south Auckland, which are closer to the international airport as flying became the more prominent means of international traveling. In addition, a prominent characteristic of the Pacific diaspora in this period is *chain migration*; a concept that explains the movement of people within families from home country to host country. For example, families would send one member to NZ to settle, work and earn money, which they will save part to pay for another family member to travel to NZ. For some families, the process would continue until their whole family was together in NZ.

However, though prominent characteristics of the early Pacific diaspora continue to be visible in the current narratives, they are not necessarily more significant than other elements. More recent demographics of Pacific migrants to NZ show an increase in skilled people opting to take advantage of the opportunities that enable career and educational advancement, and cultural-political dissemination (Lee, 2018). Today, the Pacific diaspora reflects the narratives of Pacific peoples from Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu, and Kiribati (Ministry of Pacific Peoples, 2020).

Pacific peoples play a significant role in the growth of New Zealand society where its growing population impacts the developments and policies of NZ. The 2018 Census (Stats NZ, n.d.) reported that Pacific peoples living in NZ make up 8.1% or 381,642 of the total NZ population, and this growth is predicted to reach 590,100 in 2038 (MBIE, 2018). Although Pacific peoples are spread across the two main islands of New Zealand, 66% live in Auckland (NZ Human Rights, 2020), and collectively make up the fourth-largest ethnic population in NZ. Hence, Pacific peoples will continue to be part of NZ society, holding various and significant roles such as educators, politicians, academics, scholars, social change advocates, community leaders, entertainers, entrepreneurs, and sportsmen and women. In addition, Pacific peoples in NZ include Island-born and New Zealand-born groups. The changing face of the Pacific diaspora is evidenced in its composition where island-born Pacific islanders once accounted for most of all Pacific peoples living in NZ since the 1950s. However, this has changed significantly with NZ-born Pacific peoples comprising 60% of the overall Pacific population in NZ (Ministry of Pacific Peoples, n.d.; Richardson et al., 2013).

MIRAB economies

Many Pacific Island Countries (PICs) were classified as being MIRAB economies, despite their differences in geography, political and economic statuses. The MIRAB model, developed in the 1980s describes the nature of social, economic, and political activities of countries that relied on migration (MI), remittances (R), foreign aid (A), and bureaucracy (B) (Tisdell, 2014; Matsuda, 2012). Though the model describes four dominant and intertwining components, remittances and foreign aid play significant roles in sustaining local PICs economies (Tisdell, 2014).

The PICs were and are still heavily reliant on foreign aid to supplement local incomes and consumption. Unlike the Pacific countries that had special political arrangements with affluent countries such as Niue, the Cook Islands and Tokelau, the larger and politically independent PICs do not have affluent partners they could call upon for financial support. Hence, foreign aid plays a huge role in the developments that have taken place in these PICs. Bertram and Watters (1985) explain that

in some cases, offshore donors financed half of the local government's budget. By the 1980s, overseas aid to the South Pacific had exceeded \$1 billion (Bertram & Watters, 1985). Therefore, foreign aid acts as a lifeline for many PICs, and without it, the developments seen would not have been possible. The changes in foreign policy and aid to developing countries, including those in the Pacific, meant the PICs had renewed focus on remittances to complement and help sustain local spending.

According to Bertram and Watters (1985), the PICs depended significantly on emigration, which ensured a constant flow of remittances to the islands. Therefore, occurrences of chain migration heightened during this time as migrating abroad seemed to guarantee a flow of remittances. Family members would send money back to relatives in the islands to sustain personal and communal responsibilities, which was described as *transnational corporation of kin* (Bertram & Watter, 1985; Lee, n.d.). According to Brown and Connell (1993 as cited in Lee, n.d.), flea-market operators in Tonga generated income through informal business arrangements with families living abroad to ensure the supply of goods to be sold for profits in the local market. However, regardless of the changing flow of remittances to the PICs, it continues to impact island economies.

Although growth and improved local independence have been evidenced since the 1990s, elements of the MIRAB model continue to represent developments in the PICs today.

Impacts of Migration on Pacific countries

Migration has and will continue to have huge impacts on Pacific communities, whether it be immigration or emigration. However, this paper's focus is on emigration to NZ; thus, looking at the impacts related to migrants leaving for NZ. There are many impacts that migration to NZ has had on Pacific countries such as Samoa, Niue, and Tonga that are both positive and negative.

One of the unfortunate impacts of migration is losing connections with loved ones who remain in the home country, which over time seems to ease. Family members who remain, adapt to life without those who have migrated and eventually cope with the void that eventually dissipates as the demands of daily life command. However, those who leave their home countries deal with multiple things such as having to manage their emotions of not seeing their loved ones, participating in daily routines, and adjusting to a new country and way of being. Although migrants' experiences differ, there is a general feeling of loss when they leave their home countries knowing that a return is unpredictable. The physical distance between them and their family and friends in their island countries highlights the separation that also influences their place/s within the home country. For example, during family gatherings in the island nations, those who are physically absent may not be able to participate fully in discussions that occur.

...not all migrants maintain transnational connections and there are...Pacific migrants who make conscious decisions not to participate in transnational activities. However, given the central importance of kin to Pacific peoples it is difficult to withdraw completely from the transnational networks that have been developed...which could in turn lead to exclusion from the kinship group and local community... (Lee, n.d., p. 19)

Those who migrate abroad also experience being outcasted by their own home communities because leaving and being away for extended periods of time means they are not active participants in the daily functions of those communities. Although they may be contributing through remittances and in other ways, their participation is still limited and somehow reduced to being ad hoc in nature. Hence, many migrants feel let down as their remittances are welcome but their ideas and contribution to development are not. Samoa's elections in April 2021 highlighted the issue of internationally based Samoans being outcasted. Currently, the law prohibits Samoans living overseas from voting during elections if they are not registered and physically present in Samoa at the time of the elections (Petaia, Mar 2021 as cited in Stünzner, 2021; Godfrey, 2021). One of the significant factors influencing this is that the number of Samoans in diaspora communities abroad is greater than Samoa's population of just over 200,000. Thus, the influence of Samoan diaspora may not always reflect the situation that those living in Samoa experience. Enari (2021 as cited in Godfrey, 2021) explains that current laws ensure that the livelihood of Samoans living in Samoa are not dictated by those living abroad who may have a different perception of situations from the reality. However, the situation is and should be treated differently for Samoans who normally reside in Samoa but have been unable to return in time for the elections due to Covid-related travel restrictions.

In addition, individuals may develop feelings of being outcasts because they are not physically present. Hence, the 'homecoming' (McGavin, 2017) journeys become crucial in ensuring migrants and their children claim their place within their home communities.

Moreover, the human cost of migration impacts on economic development for the island countries; the experience varies for the Pacific countries, which lose able young people to migration every year. For example, many young men and women from Fiji, Samoa and Tonga were recruited in the 1950s and 1960s to work in agriculture and forestry in NZ. The allure of more money was more desirable than island plantation work (Bertram & Watters, 1985). Hence, the development of plantations and fisheries decrease. Furthermore, the change in immigration policies in NZ and the increase in Pacific countries' skilled labour force have resulted in more qualified Pacific Islanders migrating for better rewards. According to Usher (2004), extensive migration of Samoan Skilled Health Professionals (SHPs) has significantly impacted its healthcare system.

Pacific countries experience varied levels of depopulation, which are associated with migration. The smaller island countries with lower population numbers would experience higher levels of

depopulation than those with higher population numbers. For example, Niue is smaller in geographical size and has a population of no more than 5,200 people at its peak in 1966 (Walrond, 2015). Migration to NZ has caused extreme levels of depopulation as more Niueans migrated to NZ for several reasons. For example, in 1951, 7% of Niueans lived in NZ and it increased to 61% in 1981, which contrasted the massive depopulation in Niue with a population of under 2000 people since the 1980s. Hence, there are 30,867 (Stats, 2018) Niueans living in NZ compared to 1,641 (Worldometer, n.d.) in Niue.

In contrast to Niue, Samoa, and Tonga, which are geographically bigger with large populations experience depopulation differently; for example, Samoa's population had exceeded 100, 000 since independence in 1962. Although migration to NZ (and Australia) has seen large numbers of Samoans and Tongans leaving the island nations respectively, migration does not have dire implications that threaten smaller island countries such as Niue. Stats NZ (n.d.) reported that 182,721 people identified as Samoans and 82, 389 Tongans in the 2018 Census living in New Zealand compared to 200, 239 Samoans in Samoa and 107, 369 in Tonga (Worldometer, n.d.).

Impacts on diaspora communities

There are numerous impacts of migration on the Pacific diaspora in New Zealand, which cannot be fully covered in this paper. However, the examples provided highlight both positive and negative impacts of migration on the diaspora.

According to Sin and Ormsby (2018), many migrants including those from the Pacific struggle to find suitable accommodation and employment, and education. Hence, the novelty of a better life fades early in the journey of settling in NZ for those who cannot find work soon after arriving. For many who are first in families to arrive in NZ, arrangements are made with extended kin to accommodate the migrant temporarily until they can find work and accommodation of their own. Hence, some who arrive and live under these arrangements are either welcome and become part of the host families or find themselves in hostile living environments, causing a sense of displacement and disconnect. Also, having to find employment in a competing market makes it challenging for people without relevant experience and/ or qualifications. Although those with qualifications tend to find employment faster than others, they do not always get compensated the same as their counterparts.

One of the significant events highlighting discrimination in NZ society was directed at Pacific migrants and their children living in NZ during the 1970s and 1980s. An economic downturn in the 1970s meant employment opportunities ceased and Pacific Islanders on work visas were impacted. The infamous events remembered today as the Dawn Raids, evidenced the inhumane and unjust treatment of Pacific peoples by the then New Zealand government and its agencies. Pacific peoples

were targeted in their homes, workplaces, and in public places; hence, being brown then had negative consequences. Increasing incidents of home raids carried out by the NZ Police and Immigration Officers in the early hours of the morning and later in the evening where suspected Pacific overstayers were staying (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, n.d.) highlighted the racist attitude of the Muldoon-led NZ government. Pacific Islanders who had overstayed their visas were targeted, and many were caught, detained, and deported to their home countries without a chance to farewell families in NZ. In response to the dawn raids, the Polynesian Panthers, a group of Pacific activists comprising mostly NZ-born Pacific children of migrant parents, amongst other groups challenged the injustices and advocated for the rights of Pacific peoples.

Although the Pacific population comprises 8.1% of the total NZ population, they represent an alarming majority in statistics of those who experience poor health, inadequate housing, low-income households, high unemployment, low education outcomes and shorter life expectancy (Pasefika Proud, 2016). These issues stem from systems that discriminate against Pacific peoples resulting in inequality and derogative descriptions among other things.

Other negative impacts associated with the Pacific diaspora in NZ include the loss of Pacific languages, where second-generation Pacific peoples either maintained a level of comprehension of the languages or not. Migrant parents who worked in the factories aspired to do better for their children and learning English was important to ensure their children would be able to have opportunities that other people have. There are growing fears amongst Pacific peoples that ancestral languages could die out in two to three generations (NZ Human Rights, 2020). For example, the number of Pacific peoples who spoke two languages dropped in 2018 to 37.8% from 43% in 2013 (NZ Human Rights, 2020).

However, despite the negative perceptions and impacts, Pacific peoples have persevered and shown resilience and contributed to the growth of NZ. Pacific peoples have moved from being in low-skilled employment in the factories to being in leadership, corporate, legal, political, entrepreneurial, and educational roles and much more. Pacific cultures and traditions have been embraced and celebrated; and their core values, which include relationships, care, reciprocity, respect, family, community, and spirituality (NZ Human Rights, 2020) added to the tapestry of NZ for generations to come. Decisions being made at all levels from government and corporations to education and communities include Pacific peoples' interests. For example, the Ministry for Pacific Peoples (MPP) takes the lead in pushing for and leading in the development and prosperity of Pacific communities and peoples in NZ. It acts to "...bring the Pacific voice, perspective and understanding to policy and initiatives" (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, n.d., para. 1)

The MPP, facilitated the Dawn Raid apology, a first and significant occasion, which the nation witnessed on Sunday, August 1, 2021. New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, guided by the

Minister for Pacific peoples, Su'a William Sio, complied with the rituals of a formal Samoan traditional apology. Doing this demonstrated the genuine intentions of the New Zealand government to make amends and for healing to occur. As part of the apology, the government donated \$2 million towards meeting the education outcomes for Pacific peoples. Therefore, improvement in Pacific peoples' educational, health and wellbeing, social and economic outcomes have become a priority for the government and various agencies. When outcomes are achieved, Pacific peoples and communities will thrive, become prosperous, continue to be resilient, and gain confidence.

Experience of migration: *Daisy*

As a child, born and raised in Samoa, I dreamed of going on a plane to New Zealand because I had associated it with magical places I had seen on television. My family members who had migrated to New Zealand years before I was old enough to understand visited us from time to time. The stories and treats they brought with them on every visit confirmed this association of NZ being a magical place. The excitement of expecting and hosting family from NZ was always overwhelming because it meant going to the airport to pick them up and being in their presence when they opened their luggage, which almost always included suitcases for clothes and boxes filled with treats, which we call *oso* in Samoan. *Oso* is translated as jump, but in the context of visiting family from overseas, it refers to items of clothing, toys, and food, which visiting family bring with them for those living in Samoa. For me, apples from NZ were a favourite because the freshness and smell that I can recall was something that always made me want to come to NZ.

My parents brought my siblings and me to visit family in NZ during the school holidays in 1987. It was a dream come true because I travelled on a plane and arrived in NZ. My father's brother who had migrated to NZ in the early 1970s and my father's uncle, who had migrated to NZ in the 1950s whom we stayed within Grey Lynn showed us around Auckland and Rotorua. My two-week holiday in NZ was an experience that I still remember fondly today. In 1989, my parents brought us to NZ for a better future. Despite the excitement of moving to NZ, leaving loved ones back home was not easy. My father was especially sad that he would not see or talk to his mother with whom he was close with. Hence, arriving to live in NZ brought different emotions I had not experienced when we visited in 1987. I felt sadness in my heart because I knew I would not be seeing my grandmother and cousins regularly.

Also, I was scared to start a new school where English was the main and only language used to communicate. Although I prided myself as being good at writing, reading, spelling, and basic facts, I suddenly found myself questioning my own capabilities. For me, being the new kid at school was scary because I did not know whether I would be welcomed by both the teachers and students. I was frustrated at times because I remember being teased by other Pacific children who were born in NZ. I

was called a *'freshie,'* which I thought was something positive as I associated it with one of my favourite soaps in Samoa, called 'Fresh.' Hence, I thought that my NZ-born peers were acknowledging my appearance as being clean smelling and nice. However, I later came to know that being called a *'freshie'* was in fact a stigma referring to a new migrant from the Pacific who was not fluent in English; fresh off the boat (FOB). Therefore, I felt I did not belong in my school community because I was picked on. However, I eventually **make friends who** made me feel like I belonged. Also, I was comforted because I had two younger siblings at the same school, so it was important that I protected them.

We returned to Samoa at the end of 1993, and I was confronted by many changes that had happened since leaving for NZ in 1989. I completed my last two years of secondary schooling at Samoa College from 1994 to 1995, then my University Preparatory Year (UPY) in 1996. In 1997, I left Samoa to start undergraduate studies in Suva, Fiji through a government scholarship. Hence, in my journey as a migrant, I had moved from Samoa to NZ, and back to Samoa before traveling to Fiji where I studied for four years **intermittently.**

The decision to migrate in 2009 was not easy to make because by then, my husband and I were parents to three boys; two were born in Samoa and one in NZ. However, after being in NZ for a year in 2007 for study purposes, we started to consider returning permanently like some of my siblings and parents had done a few years prior. Nevertheless, we looked at the push and pull factors before confirming our decision. For example, we both had what we considered to be good careers; mine in higher education and my husband in government services; hence, moving meant we would have to look for work when we arrive in NZ and to start over. The hardest part was saying goodbye to our family who remained in Samoa. It reminded me of the sadness I saw in my father's eyes when he said goodbye to his mother so many years before in 1989.

We were fortunate that we had good support when we arrived with our three young children in February 2009. We stayed with my parents and some of my siblings for the first few months while my husband and I searched for work and looked for a place of our own. We were an extended unit in a small house, which was a huge contrast to how we lived in Samoa. The early beginnings of our migration story are characterised by the challenges we faced, especially looking for work and finding a place of our own. We had to start all over again and finding work in a competitive NZ market was difficult; we were not entitled to the benefit, which meant my husband had to look for work everywhere and anywhere to ensure we received some income. We found ourselves questioning whether we had made the right move by coming to NZ. My husband found blue-collar work at a scrap metal place to support us; we felt burdened because we relied heavily on my parents.

We applied for a Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) house when we first arrived and were placed in a new build in July 2009. Shortly after we moved into our own home, I was successful in

my first ever job in NZ as a Tutor at a private training establishment (PTE), which had a large Pacific student population. For us, it felt as though our NZ dream was starting to take shape; however, it was not until years later that my husband and I started to feel that we were no longer new migrants but saw ourselves as part of New Zealand's diverse society. Although we have a good income, we still have goals, which we set prior to leaving Samoa, to be achieved; owning our home, and acquiring advanced qualifications.

Our five children, two Samoan-born and three NZ-born, are "second-generation" Samoans who have grown up in NZ only hearing about and seeing recordings of Samoa; thus, they are physically isolated from our homeland. My husband who was born and raised in Samoa all his young life is determined that our children learn and develop a deeper understanding and appreciation of their heritage.

Therefore, we model and incorporate our traditions into our daily ways of being. For example, we have continued with our evening devotions where we sit together as a family and sing hymns, read the Samoan bible, and pray in Samoan. Sharing this tradition with our children ensures that they learn and continue a ritual that is core for many Samoan families in Samoa and abroad.

In addition, as Samoans living in diaspora in NZ, we willingly became part of our Pacific communities in our church, schools, and workplaces. We participate in our children's schools' cultural events displaying their Samoan heritage through dance performances and attending family gatherings and *fa'alavelave*, which expose them to elements of their Samoan culture and language. My husband, a holder of two chiefly titles, is steadfast in our Samoan culture and language; he has taught our children the Samoan alphabet and how to read the Samoan Bible. Although our children are not fluent Samoan speakers, they know and understand when we speak with them in Samoan. They have learned and developed a good understanding of our core values, which are God first, love, humility, and respect.

I yearn to return to the land of my birth, and I aim to one day take my five children to Samoa so they experience their land, and their heritage, which will connect them to our land of origin, which they were destined to be part of long before they were born. In our return visit/s, we will prepare and take a *oso*, which will be reciprocated when we go back for our loved ones awaiting us in NZ. However, my husband and I will one day return to our birthplace permanently to validate our children's place in Samoa if it is our God's will.

Experience of migration: Ioane

I am the eldest of five children born to my parents Aolagi Aleke and Tonga Fevaleaki Fa'avae. I grew up in the village of Mutalau to the north of Niue until I left Niue at the age of seven with my mother and younger brother in 1988. I attended the local Kofekofe Primary school. I grew up using a kerosene lamp and no electricity in our household until I was 6. It took my parents a long time to pay a substantial

outstanding power bill from previous relatives who occupied the home. The kerosene lamp at times was very dim that I could not see my homework. We were equipped with two exercise books and a pencil.

We came as part of the Mutalau women kilikiki team touring Auckland but ended up staying for two years. During those two years, I acquired the English language from schooling and my home environment. Our household was bilingual, but at most times, English was the medium of communication.

We stayed with our great grand aunty Faseini Pierre whom we dearly called her nana. There were ten of us in total who lived in one household. My aunt Marie, uncle Nekeliu, and their three children later shifted to a new statehouse on Norrie Smith Avenue off Orlando Drive, which later changed to Te Irirangi Drive and Dawson Rd, Otara. It was only one of the five houses in the area at the time with farm areas. During our two-year stay in Aotearoa, mum enrolled herself in a design textile course with the Kuki Airani Pakari Trust, which later changed to Pacific Island Homecare Trust in 1995.

Every Saturday was a joy for me because I got treated with a happy meal from McDonald's, and mum would go shopping for island produce from the local Otara flea market. Often we would visit our extended family members and Mutalau community events.

We united once again with my father and two brothers on our return to Niue in 1990. I returned to the unknown amalgamated Niue Primary School which consisted of eight primary schools around the island. I caught the bus with other students from the village without an adult accompanying me to enroll at the school in town fully. The first day opened with a school assembly, and students were called accordingly to their classes and teachers. Everyone left with their teachers except me, standing on my own in the green until the principal approached me. I felt very overwhelmed because I did not know or am familiar with anyone or students. But eventually, I was enrolled and sent to my class. My learning was not the same as that in Aotearoa, and often at times, I withheld myself from fully participating in-class activities. Our classes were continuously streamed according to test results.

My father owned a construction or carpentry business and employed 8 to 10 people. He builds many family homes around the island. I remembered many Niue people from New Zealand who came to see him at home to build their houses. Most people still have memories of my father and acknowledge **That** we lived a very comfortable lifestyle and enjoyed luxuries that others did not have. Although my father had a successful business, mum earned extra income by selling fresh local produce at the Niue Market every Friday.

My mother had a difficult pregnancy in 1993 and decided to migrate to Aotearoa for further medical advice. Once again, my youngest brother and I accompanied her back to Aotearoa. There was no intention of staying permanently. Mum stayed with nana Faseini Pierre in Papatoetoe, while I lived with aunty Marie and uncle Nekeliu with their three sons who were older than me in Otara. I was reunited

with some former classmates from Rongomai Primary at Clover Park Middle School from 1993 to 1994, now Kia Aroha College. I quickly adapted to the schooling environment and was very influential in school activities and creating a Niue cultural group. In my last year, I decided to run for student council, which I successfully won. These were the initial years where my leadership skills developed with a solid cultural and vagahau Niue language.

In completion, I was enrolled at Hillary College, now Sir Edmund Hillary Collegiate. On my first day, I overheard two students in my form class saying that I was a FOB. I was very reserved and didn't say much, so they presumed I didn't speak English. But the moment I was asked to introduce myself they were silent. Most of the students had come from the nearby intermediates except for me. One of the reasons why I chose to attend Hillary College due to its strong fanau support system that enhanced my learning. The school offered vagahau Niue as a subject and was compulsory. It had a strong Niue cultural group that participated in the annual ASB Polyfest. At the age of 14, I was asked to help tutor the group. For 20 years, I was very proactive with the Niue stage at ASB Polyfest as a tutor, MC and a judge.

I went onto complete my undergraduate and postgraduate studies from the University of Auckland. During those years, I was heavily involved in Pacific student bodies who advocated for student issues on campus. In 2008 I was elected the president of AUPISA Auckland University Pacific Islands Student Association who served over three thousand both undergraduate and postgraduate Pacific students on campus. It was through these leadership roles that I was appointed onto portfolios like the MoE Pacific Advisory Group and University of Auckland Pacific Reference Group. I also worked as a Mentor for the university's Schools and Partnerships Mentoring programme. It was an opportunity to mentor Year 12 students who are Pacific from low decile schools. During my postgraduate years, I was fortunate to have been successful in my application to become a Research Assistant for the Endangered Pacific Languages Research that was led by Dr Melenaite Taumoefolau, team members included John McCaffery and **Judy McCaffery**. It armed me with many research skills. We have continued to cross paths in Pacific language revitalisation spaces like many others I have met over the years in other spaces.

Throughout my work career as a former broadcaster and journalist and now an educator I have continued to be a staunch advocate of vagahau Niue language and culture in Aotearoa and Niue. It is the foundation of all success I have endured with firm support of my family especially my mother. As a proud father it is one significant aspect of my identity as a tagata Niue that I am embedding in my son's upbringing.

Experience of migration: *Venusi*

I am the 2nd child of 4 children to Venusi Taumoepeau and Taufauliuli Taumoepeau (Faleola). I was born in Auckland, New Zealand in the suburbs of Lynfield, often mixed with all my weekends staying at my grandmothers in the suburb of Otahuhu. Both homes were filled with people and activity.

Lynfield provided me with a safe suburb where I could walk, bike, and explore in, and a school with a great education that set up my curiosity in creativity. Otahuhu was full to the brim of my grandparents on my mother's side, Aunties, Uncles, and Cousins. It really gave me a sense of all the values Tongans hold. These values are mostly based on humility, generosity, and respect. Having experienced and felt these values and not understanding the language is a connection that keeps me connected to my Tongan heritage.

My primary school was predominantly European with me and my brother often being the only children of Tongan heritage. My parents were migrants, and their English was not very strong and wanted us to speak English well. We participated in Tongan traditions; cultural events mixed with a 'kiwi' environment made for a diverse childhood. Connection to Tongan culture is more felt than understood, whereas the NZ culture is much more understood, but my connection is not so patriotically felt.

Even within the Pacific community, I would be called a 'plastic' Tongan, which is a local slang used to describe a Pacific person that does not understand their language. Often used as humour in social circles but still a term that defines a line within the diaspora of Pacific people in New Zealand.

I continued my education at Sacred Heart College for boys and my pursuit in the arts. Took a gap year after school and took an odd job moving computers at Vodafone, this turned into a job interview where I found the confidence to say I could fix computers. This turned into a 5-year career in I.T. as a Desktop and Network Engineer. It presented me with a corporate world full of problem-solving gave me no fear when it came to Computing and due to its lack of representation of Pacific people, it gave me the confidence that Pacific people are strongly equipped as diverse employees.

Creative pursuit is what led me to leave my career in I.T. to pursue Film and Television. I studied Cinematography at Unitec and have worked on Several Marketing and Promotional Campaigns targeted at Pacific People around health, labour, education, and many other topics. I still film and produce content for Pacific Communities. This creative outlet has allowed me really to stretch my creative abilities to help communicate with Pacific people in New Zealand.

Having freelanced full-time in Film, the career became more of a job than artistic pursuit. Looking for another challenge, I then came across a colleague who was working at Unitec and sent me an opportunity to work as an Academic Development Lecturer, which is my current career. This has opened a different lens of Pacific ideology, theories and concepts that have helped me help students and in turn understand Pacific people's place in New Zealand.

My experience as a New Zealand-born Tongan living in NZ has been diverse. Navigating spaces from Suburbia, a Pacific Migrant family on to the Corporate and Creative world and now as an academic.

These experiences have really given me a perspective not only on myself but the personal perspective that Pacific People bring in Aotearoa and how high their value truly is.

Conclusion

To conclude, Pacific migration has had a significant impact on Pacific Island Countries and New Zealand. Pacific Islanders who migrated to NZ in the 1950s and 1960s were motivated to find employment, earn an income, and send money home to support families. The economic troubles of the 1970s ended flexible conditions, which led to the Dawn Raids scarring many Pacific peoples who were impacted. Despite the challenges, the Pacific population in NZ increased and changed in composition from a dominant island-born Pacific population to an overwhelming majority of NZ-born Pacific peoples. The Pacific diaspora in NZ reflects diverse narratives of the early, island-born migrants, the second-generation and/ or NZ-born Pacific peoples, which provide insights into the dreams, hopes, aspirations, struggles, perseverance, and resilience of Pacific peoples from Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Niue, Cook Islands, Tokelau, Tuvalu, Kiribati and Rotuma and beyond. Pacific peoples are a permanent part of New Zealand.

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