

An Analysis of Approaches To Migration: The Western Samoan Case

**in partial fulfillment of the requirement for an
MA in Pacific Islands Studies**

**University of Hawaii - Manoa
May 1993**

by

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1. Setting and the Problem

If one were to think about the lifestyle on the small islands scattered throughout the Pacific Ocean, two different scenes might come to mind. The first, emanating from the celluloid world of film and common among those who have never been in the Pacific, is a romantic one of basking in the sun and sheltering under ubiquitous coconut trees. The other image is a cheerless, uninviting one of being stuck in a backward, inferior lifestyle and deprived of such necessities of modern living as electricity and running water. This second image is held by many Pacific islanders, who may have been born or lived for some time on these remote islands but who now reside in urban environments around the Pacific Ocean.

It was inevitable that migration occurred as the islands became integrated into the world economy since the mid-nineteenth century. It should be pointed out, however, that island people have always had a penchant to travel and it was part of life in traditional island societies. Travel is a mirror and we voyage forth in pursuit of self discovery. Island peoples, perhaps more than most, love to explore. Just getting to the islands originally was an act of great courage and technical skill, but also an act of great "wanderlust". It is not unreasonable to expect that this lust for exploration has been handed down in the myths and teachings of island cultures. It is not unreasonable to find islanders with strong exploratory drives.

And island peoples, more than most, have a reason to explore, for they find themselves on a small patch of land surrounded by vast oceans, and thus feel a natural desire to get off the "rock" and "walkabout".

But exploration is costly and difficult. It needs a system; a structure to bring it to reality. Long term but temporary migration is such a system. Captured somewhat in the term, circular migration; this is a structure which provides the economic support for the modern islander to fulfill his or her desire for exploration.

And lastly , but perhaps most importantly, circular migration to advanced industrialized nations during good economic times, has added the advantage of allowing island peoples to share their experience with members of their extended families, by sponsoring others to join them in their fun and exploration.

Additionally, for those islanders from collective systems with strong notions of gerontological responsibility, advanced economies in good times, provide the opportunity to send money home, thereby enhancing the quality of life of one's parents and family, and concomitantly greatly enhancing the esteem and status with which one is held by those at home. This is the plain theory and plain economic implications of migration by island peoples.

I would like to set the background for this paper, then, with a poem I composed. It was born out of my involvement with the academic communities of the Center for Pacific Islands Studies University of Hawaii, East-West Center, and Pan Pacific club. The poem illustrates the rich, diverse, and perhaps the ambiguity often involved in islands' myths and cultures. There is a saying "Truth lurks in metaphors". The poem also highlights an increasing awareness of the ambivalent and elusive nature of Samoan character and how the very being of the Samoan interacts in a unique way with the act of migration.

What is a tree?

It has roots in the soil

and it is of the soil.

From its top one may view the sea.

Chop it down, and husk it out.

Carve its bow and aft,

Trim its port and star port.

And on its side one may sail the sea.

Is it still a tree?

The Samoan islands, a set of Polynesian islands in the South Pacific, are a unique group of islands. Not only culturally, politically but also economically. The Samoan islands have not been isolated from contemporary affairs. For over a century Samoa has been the object of international rivalries and deliberations. At the turn of the twentieth century three major world powers namely Great Britain, Germany and the United States, vied for control of the islands. A territorial division of the islands -'Tripartite Agreement' peacefully resolved the hostilities. U.S acquired the eastern islands which were to become American Samoa while the larger islands of Upolu and Savaii became Western Samoa (Janes 1990: 64). Western Samoa was administered by the Germans until World War I, when the islands fell under the New Zealand administration.

Discontent grew with the New Zealand administration and this resulted in a nationalist movement called the Mau in the 1920s-30s, sowing the seeds of nationalism (Shankman 1976). Beginning in 1952 Western Samoa went through the stages of self-government until independence in 1962. This study will focus on the independent nation of Western Samoa.

1.a. Research on Migration

To state that human mobility is universal is a truism, yet the varieties in type and in pattern are great (Skeldon 1990). The movement of people touches upon virtually every aspect of society and the economy and, conversely almost every change in society and the economy will produce shifts in population mobility. As mobility is a universal experience, it is the subject of several disciplines. Demography, statistics, sociology, anthropology, economics, psychology, political science, history, geography and several branches of the medical sciences all consider migration and human mobility to be within their purview. Superimposed on these various "disciplinary perspectives are different ideologies which increase the variety of interpretation but at the same time underline the compartmentalization and insulation of approaches" (Skeldon 1990: 2).

Given this wide concern with population mobility, there has been a knowledge explosion over the last two decades expressed in an outpouring of books, monographs and articles in professional journals, and the spate shows no sign of abating. Anyone brave or foolish enough to add to this literature is only too conscious that it is difficult to say anything new on the subject or to plot uncharted seas.

Yet, despite the volume of research, myths about human migration remain prevalent and conceptual problems still plague some of the basic approaches to the subject. For example, among the common myths is the view that peasantry is immobile and that migration on a large scale really began with industrialization and urbanization. Other misconceptions still widely held are that migration is the most important component of urban growth throughout the developing world and that migrants are primarily responsible for economic problems such as unemployment or social problems such as crime rates in the major cities of the world (Clark 1986).

Among the conceptual problems that still perplex researchers is the relative importance given to the individual migrant as a decision-maker and the social and economic context in which migration takes place which may constrain the volume and direction of movement. A second bothersome conceptual issue arises out of the problem of reification, when population movement becomes a thing in its own right, somehow separate from other aspects of society and economy. A third major question revolves around whether forms of mobility are "culture-specific or whether there are common cross-cultural elements" (Skeldon 1990: 3). I will not be able to resolve all these issues in this paper. Many of the problems are inherent in the social sciences in general, but the framework developed should provide a broader perspective on the nature of migration especially with respect to the Western Samoan situation.

Western Samoa is the largest country in the South Pacific to be significantly effected by emigration (Connell 1983). Yet this population movement is not largely uni-dimensional or uni-directional (Shankman 1988). In this paper Western Samoa's population movement is described and examined in light of four approaches- the structural approach, dependency, circulation approach and MIRAB. This paper begins with a discussion of the structural and dependency approaches which explain part of the Samoan case. Then a discussion of the circulation approach which also explains part of the Samoan case, followed by the MIRAB approach an acronym which stands for Migration, Remittance, Aid and Bureaucracy. The MIRAB theory encompasses both variables of the structural, dependency and circulation approaches, however it still lacks important explanation with regard to Samoan migration.

Lastly, I will discuss factors which are lacking in these four approaches and attempt to provide an eclectic approach which attempts not to replace but to complement existing theories of migration. This approach incorporates the crucial elements of Samoan migration and will do justice to the rich and diverse/complex reasons for the Samoan mobility patterns.

By structural approach I refer to the push-pull factor model which explains shifts in population movement and the macro-economic, political and social factors at the national and international levels which directly or indirectly control movements of people between places of origin and destination. The dependency approach is one variant of the structural approach which emphasizes the relationship between the weaker and stronger nations hence, the dependent relationship. The circulation approach in contrast stresses the importance of indigenous norms and local institutions that result in circular patterns of population movement.

The MIRAB theory has both elements of the structural, circulation and dependency approaches. However, it still lacks significant cultural explanation which influence the migration, remittance and social networks relationships of the Samoans. This paper intends to clarify some of the misunderstanding about the movement patterns of the Samoans in particular, the cultural context.

1.b. Objectives and Specific Issues:

The general objectives of the study are to:

- 1) look at mobility patterns of Samoans, in particular contemporary patterns of mobility.
- 2) analyze theories of migration and scrutinize how these theories have been applied to Samoan migration.
- 3) provide some form of explanation which takes into account cultural, social, structural and humanistic factors in the context of Samoan migration.

The problem focus of the study is the relationship between migration and remittances and how this has operated in the context of Samoan migration. The central concern of the paper is not so much to reiterate what has been said in the literature of migration but to add and provide specific cultural explanations which are vital to a better understanding and amplify our knowledge to the complex mobility patterns of Samoans. It attempts to correct some of the 'myths' and 'misconceptions' about their movements and behaviors. Secondly, despite the large body of migration research, the significance of family, and personal networks has sometimes been understated (Skeldon 1990; Boyd 1990; Untalon-Munoz 1978; Franco 1978).

Future research should focus on the extended family since it is this system which initially necessitates out-migration and then adapts to the needs of Samoans in the urban centres of the US or New Zealand. As Hayes (1991: 2) observes the problem applies equally to internal 'rural-urban' movement as well as to 'international' movement and circulation in its various forms and contexts. To quote Oded Stark (1982: 64), the migration field is currently "...beset with loss of direction, grave confusion and series doubts..." on a wide range of both scientific importance and practical significance. Symptomatic of this situation in the Pacific Islands, as elsewhere, is that many of the basic concepts currently employed in migration studies- primarily derived from study of the movement of Europeans during the industrial revolution- are increasingly being called into question (Chapman 1991; Walsh 1990).

The basic purpose of theory is to allow us to understand and predict. If we follow the structural approach only, then surely Ward's (1989) prediction that the small atolls of the Pacific will be depopulated in favor of the more urban central core islands, and, of course rim industrialized entities such as New Zealand, Australia and the United States will be true.

1.c. Research and available data on population movement of Samoans.

The study will utilize existing research materials relating to recent migration between Samoa, the United States and New Zealand. Since Western Samoa is politically independent, Western Samoans enter the United States as aliens and have to satisfy immigration requirements. American Samoans being US nationals, can move freely in and out of the United States.

While the numbers of Samoans involved in migration is a significant proportion of their total number, it remains a very insignificant proportion of the total U.S. population. Franco (1987: 5) reported, "In 1980 for the first time, Samoans were treated as a distinct ethnic group in the U.S. census. This change resulted in a more complete enumeration of Samoan communities in the U.S and as more census results have become available, a clearer demographic picture of the Samoan communities is emerging. The 1980 census enumerated 41,948 Samoans in the U.S."

The real number of Samoans in the United States could not be ascertained but a 1989 population of about 65,000 assumes immigration and natural increase averaging 3.0 percent per year (Levin 1990). Until the 1990 census data become available, however, we should use caution with the 1989 population estimate.

The table below shows population of Western Samoa counted between 1966-1986.

Table 1. Population 1966 to 1986

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Annual Growth Rate</u>
1966	131 379	2.8
1971	146 627	2.2
1976	151 983	0.7
1981	156 349	0.6
1986	157 408	0.6

Source: Department of Statistics Western Samoa 1988
Note Census figures of November of each census year

The main factors contributing to the low population growth rate experienced during the 1980's are attributable to the high level of emigration and declining fertility and mortality rates. The outflow overseas list the three leading destinations as New Zealand, United States, and Australia. It was projected the population for 1986 would be 161,039 but the actual figure after the census came to 157,408. From 1987- 1990, population was estimated to grow from 162,200 to 165,730. This figure is provisional pending release of 1991 population census.

Table 2 Samoaan Population in New Zealand

1936	362
1945	716
1951	1,336
1961	6,481
1966	11,842
1971	22,198
1976	27,747
1981	42,078
1986	62,558

Source: Adapted from Yamamoto 1993

2. The Literature

Theoretical approaches to migration¹ have been numerous. But for the purposes of this thesis the author focuses on the four main categories of migration approaches namely, structural,² dependency, circulation and MIRAB. The structural approach, focuses on macro-economic, political factors at the national and international levels that often, although not always, result in uni-dimensional population movements. The dependency approach emphasizes the relationship between the weaker and stronger nations e.g. Western Samoa and New Zealand, hence the dependent relationship. The circulation approach, in contrast, stresses the importance of indigenous norms and local institutions that result in circular patterns of population movement. The MIRAB approach an acronym which stands for Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy covers some aspects of the three approaches mentioned. These approaches have different emphases and can lead to diametrically opposed perspectives on population movements. Yet they are complementary in many respects.

¹ Throughout the paper I tend to use the word 'migration' to imply long term or more permanent moves and 'mobility' and 'movement' to signify all types of population movement. There is no hard and fast way of distinguishing between the two terms and in places, for reasons of syntax, 'mobility' and 'movement' are used almost interchangeably.

² Structural has a multiplicity of meanings but it is taken here as the set of institutions and structures in society which directly or indirectly control movements of people between places of origin and destination. My specific interest refers to push-pull factors e.g. economic constraints, government immigration policies that inhibit and/or control population mobility giving less freedom to the individual to make decisions.

Many theories of migration had their roots in the Euro-American setting. Population movements in the Pacific islands are quite different from patterns found in continental areas. For Pacific islanders, there is a greater degree of circulation³. This form of mobility, I believe, stems from the unique cultural orientation of islanders. Most migration and adaptation theories that have been formulated emphasize structural factors as determinants for people's movements. Most structuralist models emphasize discontinuities rather than continuities in the process of circulation over time. "Structuralist explanation assumes, far too often, that peasant and tribal societies before colonial contact were socially and economically undifferentiated, indulged in no trade or in no exchange of labor, and did not subsequently filter the impact of capitalist forces according to the principles of indigenous, and domestic production" (Prothero and Chapman 1983 : 618). According to the structural approach rigidity and similarity are emphasized, acquiescence rather than resilience and dislocation rather than attachment are the themes that characterize this approach.

These explanations have their root in studies made in Euro-American countries in the nineteenth and the twentieth century; rural-urban, national shifts in which migration takes the form of permanent relocation of the population. These explanations have been somewhat automatically transferred to explain what is happening in the Pacific. The next section looks at structural theory of migration and examine its application to Samoan movements.

³ There are several types of circulation but the meaning taken here is in line with Chapman and Prothero's typology. **Circulation** is defined as embracing all movements that both begin and terminate in the local community, in that the villagers return to their homes no matter what the reasons for their departure nor how long they have been absent. I go further to say circulation also occurs in the bi-local residences either within Western Samoa or multi-local including overseas countries. See Circulation in Population Movement 1985 for more detail.

2.a. Structural Theory of Migration

Among theories concerned with the origins of migrant flows "push-pull" formulations are the most widely accepted. Such formulations delineate negatively evaluated economic, social, and political factors in the migrant's place of origin factors that compel people to leave their home village, region or country for destinations where similar factors are viewed more positively. Franco (1985: 345) observes many of these formulations attempt to assess the relative strength of the push or pull in migrant decision making, and tend to emphasize the differences in 'wage incentives between origin and destination area', or more recently between 'peripheral and advanced economies' 'Push-pull formulations' are particularly common in analyses of immigration to the United States (Portes 1984: 5). Portes criticizes push-pull theories, however, on two grounds. First, most push-pull models are developed post facto, that is, they have been successful in explaining existing flows but unsuccessful in predicting new flows. Secondly, they fail to explain why sizable migration occur from one country, while little or no migration occurs from countries in even worse social, economic and political condition.

Two prevailing characteristics have been stressed in previous studies of the area, and are found in migration studies conducted throughout the Pacific (e.g. Connell 1984). First, the particular environmental and locational aspects of small-islands, a narrow base, variable rainfall patterns and fragmented shipping services, that in combination, create the poor economic situation facing people who live on smaller islands. Most island nations in Polynesia face similar problems and Western Samoa is no exception.

Second, are the aspirations of island people, their growing desires for more contemporary goods and services associated with urban lifestyle, and the increasing attractiveness of the perceived opportunities available in urban settings. These two contrasting features are often seen as push and pull factors that inevitably lead to heavy outmigration. The impact of many people flowing away from remote islands is thus seen in terms of loss of 'talent', 'leadership', and just plain 'manpower' (Graves and Graves 1976: 448).

Any changes in contextual factors like improvement in transport and communication and the growth of ethnic community in metropolitan countries merely encourage the flow of people away from their isolated home islands. Depopulation of such islands seems the inevitable result and is the negative image portrayed many times throughout the Pacific (Bedford 1984, Connell 1984, Shankman 1976).

The structural approach comes in a variety of forms (for example Todaro 1969, Pirie 1976, Gibson 1983, Bellam 1982). Most often it stresses macro-level economic and political constraints, and opportunities for movement. Push-pull factors, income and opportunity gaps, dependency and metropolis-satellite relationships are some of the themes commonly found in this approach (Shankman 1988).

The structural approach as applied to the Samoan data can provide important insights into the relative significance of indigenous versus external structural factors in emigration, return migration, and the structural consequences of population movements.

In this light , urban around Apia and emigration abroad may not represent a desire to live permanently in town or abroad; they may only signify the intensification of movement rather than an overall change in urban involvement or commitment. It may also signify the 'risk-minimizing' strategy of circulation by the movers, taking advantage of both systems of production; the wage economy and subsistence economy (Brookfield 1982: 45).

While indigenous factors may facilitate migration and while some forms of population movement between Western Samoa and New Zealand are circular, the direction of migration and the rates of migration cannot ascribe primarily to indigenous variables. This is evident from studies of individual Samoan motivation for migration (see Alailima 1966; Pitt and Macpherson 1974; Shankman 1976; Levin 1990) and from the pattern of population movement itself. Large numbers of permanent migrants consciously identify economic reasons for their journeys and obtaining job permit are a basic feature of certain visa categories (Shankman 1988).

Structural factors clearly play a major role in determining why large numbers of Samoan wish to go to New Zealand and elsewhere overseas and the rate at which they go. As the economic situation in Western Samoa has changed over the past three decades, Samoans have continued to seek better, higher paying work in town and overseas. In Western Samoa as in other Polynesian groups, the number of those seeking wage labor opportunities exceeds the ability of the islands to supply work (Yusuf 1986).

For two decades through the mid-1970s, New Zealand allowed increasing numbers of Samoans and other Polynesians into the country on both temporary and permanent visas. The extent to which permanent emigration occurred was regulated largely by the number and type of visas granted by the New Zealand government. While the interplay of national and international economic and political structures is not the only dynamic involved, it does seem to be fundamental in explaining where, when, and at what rates Samoans migrate (see Shankman 1976).

M. K. Douglas's study of migration of several different Pacific Island groups to New Zealand holding indigenous factors constant, examined why some groups have more migrants that are permanent settlers while other groups have more migrant who are temporary sojourners or guest workers. Douglas relates these differences to the type of legal and political relationship these island groups have with New Zealand for they are translated directly into eligibility to enter New Zealand and on what terms. In summarizing a rather long study Douglas points to a continuum that describes the pattern of population movement for each islander group:

"Guest worker, sojourner, or settler? At one end of the continuum are the Tokelauans --settlers, who are New Zealand citizens. Niueans and Cook Islanders are settlers and sojourners, most have not yet come to decide which of these two categories they will fall into... The Samoans straddle all three categories, but they probably see themselves as sojourners rather than settlers. Permanent settlement of Tongans in New Zealand until recently has been possible in exceptional circumstances, where the migrant can claim New Zealand citizenship by descent or through marriage... For Fijians, neither citizenship nor long term residence has been easy to obtain..." (1977:148)

Douglas concludes that New Zealand policy concerning international migration provides a clear cut determinant of the degree and type of population movement.

Moreover, Douglas (1985:415) explains economic reasons are not the only ones that cause Samoans to move to New Zealand. Reasons vary for different people at different times. Initially, the first Pacific island arrivals were young, single men; in the last 12 years or so family groups have been important. Economic reasons are significant, but other reasons need to be remembered. In Tonga and Samoa the demand for education, particularly a western, academic education, has far outstripped the local supply, and many migrants emphasize educational goals for themselves or their children in explaining their exodus from the islands.

For all migrants there is an element of prestige involved (Pitt and Macpherson 1974: 14). Leaving the village and experiencing the world beyond gives status. This status may be coupled with the desire of many men to acquire titles in their family and community. Indeed, for Samoans the importance of acquiring titles must be emphasized, the money earned as migrants may help buy a title on return to Samoa. The desire to become a matai and to exercise the rights of the matai title in Samoa keep many from committing themselves to permanent New Zealand residence and citizenship (Douglas 1985).

2.b. Dependency Theory

The modern school of dependency theory came into existence in the mid-1960s (Forbes 1986). This theory has dominated development studies for the last three decades. This theory has since been largely extended to include labor movements of people specifically between those areas that are known as the developing and developed worlds.

Central to the dependency framework are concepts such as labor migration, markets, and politico-economy. The rural - urban dichotomies; that is the presence of commercial facilities and services in urban centers, "urban "-- meaning the local capital town or the metropolitan towns for island countries that had or still have colonial relationships with larger world powers and the lack of these services in rural areas creates this dichotomy. Hence, the "urbanization" process whereby residents leave their homes permanently and relocate themselves in urban environs.

Similarly, the 'world system' framework with concepts such as core and peripheral areas and economic inequalities inherent between the core areas and peripheral areas. The most popular line of argument is associated with Frank's work in Latin America (Forbes 1984). The argument is well known: the world is dominated by a single economy such that all peoples are integrated into the sphere of capitalist production. They are linked by a series of metropolis-satellite chains which draw towards the centre the surplus which is produced at each stage of production. The result is that periphery- the satellites- is impoverished, whilst the centers accumulate and grow. The effect of the rural-urban migration in Latin America is the creation of an urban-proletariat.

The dependency theories were not able to explain adequately the causes of underdevelopment. The essence of their explanation was that the integration of the world system led to a transfer of economic surplus from the colonized and later, underdeveloped regions to the colonizer or core regions and nation states.

Moreover, it was argued that this transfer of surplus was a necessary part of the capitalist economic development at the core. Thus the two processes development and underdevelopment - were two necessarily integrated sides of the one coin. In other words, this theory implied a 'zero-sum' process whereby the advances of one nation were and could only be made at the expense of another (Forbes 1986: 71).

The exchange relations which linked countries analyzed in terms of 'primitive accumulation' and 'unequal exchange' - in Frank's analysis dominated the relations of production (Frank 1978 : 17-18). This part of the argument has been attacked from several directions. For instance, it was implicit in this notion that dependent social formations were to a certain extent, 'passive victims' of their place in the world capitalist economy which was the single main determinant of their internal social structure (Clark 1986; Forbes 1986).

This failure to recognize the significance of autonomous third world histories, especially the process of class formation or to highlight the resistance to colonialism represents a venture into a Euro-centrism that utterly fails to understand the two way nature of relationships between social formations. Hayes (1991) in a more recent paper elaborates on this with regard to the dependency model as applied to Polynesian migration.

This approach characterizes the Polynesian migrants as discontent, over socialized victims of the global capitalist system wrenched from their islands and families by the destructive forces of monetization, individualism, and consumerism, and views migration process writ-large as a destructive force which undermines the culture, social system and demographic balance of the home society (Connell 1987, 1990). Connell's study is generally structuralist in orientation. Dependency is central to the structural argument although it is not explicitly discussed (Hayes 1991).

The failure of dependency theories to properly consider class formation is more than a mere omission. It is the result of their inability to adequately explain different "levels of development and underdevelopment- or more appropriately levels of exploitation- between nations" (Forbes 1986: 73) a reflection according to Leys, of the excessively economic and mechanistic nature of dependency theories. It is economic because the prime socio-economic features of Third World for that matter, Polynesia's social formations- social classes, the state, politics, ideology and social production- are superficially treated, where they are considered at all, and are assumed to be the products of narrow economic processes, specifically, the influence of world market on surplus-generation and the development of production.

Furthermore, the processes which dependency theories deal with are mechanistic because they inevitably produce underdevelopment and offer no escape from it (Brenner 1977; Forbes 1986; Hayes 1990; Meleisea 1990).

In dependency theory, the primary cause of migration from peripheral areas is the social and economic disintegration (underdevelopment) resulting from the penetration of global capitalism and the incorporation of the periphery into the international system. According to Hayes (1991: 40) the Cook Islands in the 1980s does not appear to fit this model.

Studies by Bedford (1973), Brookfield (1972, 1980) and Hayes (1982) show an absence of an urban-proletariat in many Pacific Islands. This is largely attributed to the sociocultural system and the existence of subsistence agriculture in the islands. Instead, they spoke of the fact that it is the islanders' system of production which gives them greater flexibility in movements, and this is the reason for the lack of a significant urban proletariat, evidenced in other Third World places.

2.c. Circulation Approach

A brief history of the circulation approach is essential to clarify some of the points made in the paper. The circulation approach in the current literature on population movement is closely identified with the work of Murray Chapman, R. Mansell Prothero and the early work of Richard Bedford. Initially, based on internal migrants in Africa and Melanesia, the circulation approach has now been applied by a number of social scientists in other areas of the world. It is an approach that emphasizes the constant ebb and flow of people in and out of village communities, the customary or traditional basis of migration, and most important its circular nature.

Extensive research in south-central Africa led the British social anthropologist Clyde Mitchell in the late 1950s to propose a theory of population movement, which he labelled 'circulation'. His work was based on labor mobility of wage laborers in south-central Africa (Mitchell 1961). This notion recognizes the continual oscillation of villagers between their homes and plantations, the mines, the commercial centers and the sea ports to be an enduring feature of African life. Such constant movement or circulation reflects a people who hold strongly to their tribal heritage but who, to fulfill their desire for some of the material items of a money economy, must leave the village to engage in temporary employment. The wage laborer, thus responds to two conflicting sets of forces: centrifugal ones that induce him to leave his tribal domicile and centripetal ones that draw him back again.

Mitchell's concept of tribal mobility as 'circulation' referred only to the ebb and flow of wage laborers. Inherent in Mitchell's formulation and level of abstraction is the assumption that "circulation is a transitory of population movement linked to particular processes and phases of socioeconomic change— notably urbanization, modernization, and industrialization" (Chapman 1985: 5). Again, for Mitchell the circulation of labor between village and town would cease once a rising social commitment external to the rural areas converges with the town-based pull of ever-expanding economic needs (Mitchell 1961: 278).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, further research in Melanesia and South East Asia (Chapman 1969, 1971, 1976; Bedford 1971, 1973; Hugo 1978) broadened Mitchell's position to include all reciprocal flows, irrespective of purpose or duration, while still emphasizing the "dialectic between the centrifugal attractions of wage employment, commercial and administrative forces and the centripetal power of village obligations, social relations and kin ties" (Prothero and Chapman 1985: 17). Chapman and Bedford did extensive study in Melanesia- Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

Wide-scale sustained urbanization is one of the most significant geographical processes of the last two centuries. In Europe the shift of population from rural areas to the towns and cities was closely associated with the emergence of industrialization (Hobsbawn 1974). That did not make it less traumatic for the agricultural workers displaced from the land, nor did the growth of industry guarantee a good life in the city. Many were forced into informal labor market, working in domestic or in petty trade, while factory conditions for the industrial workforce, and housing standards in general were poor. (Forbes 1986).

The urbanization in the Third World lagged behind Europe but, particularly in the last three decades, has grown rapidly. The incorporation of rural societies into the world economy precipitated a destabilisation of village economies, redirecting and amplifying an innate restlessness in rural populations and leading to large-scale permanent and temporary shifts of population to the towns and cities. Zelinsky has termed this process a 'mobility transition'.

He argues:

"There are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process". (Zelinsky 1971: 221-222)

In other words, he has pointed to a general shift in the nature of mobility as society evolves from premodern traditional society through transitional stages to an advanced society. While there are certain parallels between urbanization in Europe and in the contemporary Third World, they occurred in different historical epochs and, therefore can be compared only with great caution. For the Pacific Islands, this mobility transition has taken an even different pace quite distinct from the rest of the Third World.

However, Zelinsky's (1971) operating at a much higher level of generalization, formulated his 'Hypothesis of the mobility transition'. Persuaded by the impelling power of modernization process he argues, a society or people will pass through four unilineal 'phases' of mobility experience- premodern traditional, early transitional, late transitional, and advanced- during its transformation from a traditional-subsistence to an urban-industrial state, in the course of which there is a 'vigorous acceleration of circulation'.

This evolution in mobility assumes a repetition of the Western experience, whose applicability to the Third World has been challenged in several studies. Throughout Indonesia, for instance, changes in mobility patterns about 1500 did not conform to this sequence and the most influential forces have been those of colonization rather than of modernization (Hugo 1983: 90 -103).

Basic to Zelinsky's hypothetical model is the concept of territorial mobility, in which there is both migration ('any permanent or semi-permanent change in residence') and circulation -defined as ('a great variety of movements, usually short-term, repetitive or cyclic in nature, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long-lasting change in residence' (Zelinsky 1971: 225-6).

The distinction between moves that are intentionally permanent and those that are not is crucial to Third World studies and from the 1970s became incorporated into research on Black Africa (e.g. Gould and Prothero 1975) and Southeast Asia (Hugo 1975, 1978). Bedford (1971) in his skillful reconstruction, grouped changes in niVanuatu movement to wage work over 150 years into three phases: 1850-1900, 1870-1940, and post 1930. In sequence, these are seen to constitute a transition in 'circular migration', from labor recruiting for overseas cotton and sugar plantations, coconut estates, and nickel mines, giving way slowly to local and shorter-term contracts when villagers increasingly signed up to work on coconut plantations established by Australian, British and French planters (Chapman and Prothero 1985). Then in 1942, these long standing patterns were dramatically interrupted by labor needs at American military bases on Efate and Espiritu Santo, out of which in the postwar era there emerged the port towns of Vila and Santo (Bedford 1971:Part II).

The paradox of Zelinsky's 'mobility transition' is that, in being presented as a stage-type model, the discontinuities between each of its four cross-sectional phases are magnified. Similarly, in Bedford's reconstruction, the definitional disadvantage of separating inter island 'circular migration from intra island 'oscillation obscures the ongoing linkages between pre- and postcontact modes of movement behavior.

Such schema also reflect an analytic bias. Namely that, under any condition of socioeconomic change, the indigenous elements of mobility system are seen to be of lesser importance and hence are examined more infrequently than whatever the external forces operating upon that system (Chapman and Prothero 1985).

There are a number of versions of the circulation approach. I will focus on the approach as formulated by Chapman and Prothero (1977, 1985) since they offer a general statement of the circulation process and its outcomes. It is an approach that emphasizes the constant ebb and flow of people in and out of village communities, the customary or traditional basis of migration, and most important its circular nature. Apart from internal migration, circulationists argue that external migration should not necessarily be seen in terms of permanent uni-directional moves but rather as part of shorter and longer-term circular patterns in which the village remains central to the life of the migrant. Spatial mobility over time is the crux of this approach (Forbes 1986).

Chapman and Prothero view much previous migration research as being overly concerned with the structure of movement behavior rather than articulating actual movement processes and how they have operated over time. They also stress that indigenous institutions and ideas are critical to an understanding of mobility. More specifically, they propose that:

1. Circulation as a form of mobility is indigenous rather than as a result of contact or acculturation. Indigenous ideas and concepts predispose people to migrate and return. Western influences have altered the patterns of circulation, but circulation itself has endured. It has been modified; "its incidence has been greatly magnified, but this serves only to emphasize customary patterns of mobility." (1977:7) Changes in forms of population movement have been ones of degree rather than in kind.

2. Since circulation occurred prior to European involvement, it reflects basic features of customary village life styles, and population movement remains tied to these life styles. "In analysis therefore, the village or local town can be both the place of origin and the ultimate destination of completed circulations." (1978: 8) In form it is the circuit of migration that may prevail rather than the vector. Return migration rather than one-way linear migration is expectable, depending on the interaction of centripetal and centrifugal forces.

3. What has occurred since European contact has been a more pronounced territorial division of activities and obligations. The growth of commercial centers has intensified circulation, but movement to the town does not necessarily indicate a commitment to urbanism or the abandonment of village life. On the contrary,

"... irrespective of the length of time an individual spends away in town, the continuing commitment to the home community is manifested in two way flow of letters and the return flow of remittances, (the greater incidence of short-term rather than long-term kinds of circulation) local investments made by long-absent persons, and the return upon retirement of those whose entire working life may have been spent in urban, plantation, or mining settlements. In addition, absent individuals make frequent return journeys to fulfill social obligations of family or kin members and to participate in traditions and other festivals." (1977: 9)

4. The incidence and durability of circulation is made possible by the flexibility of indigenous structures. Social structure is not localized, hence physical displacement is not accompanied by social structural displacement. Destinations become a "socio-spatial extension of the home community" which is part of an overall bi-local or multi-local social structure.

The implications of these propositions are clear. Wage labor opportunities and the seeming inevitability of proletarianization become part of the circulation context, but not necessarily the determinant part. Circulation may actually prevent a creation of a true urban proletariat. Indeed, the increase in size of the urban populations in many underdeveloped areas may be misleading for such larger concentrations may simply reflect the intensification of circulation. Migrant may thus be temporary sojourners rather than permanent settlers, sojourners who will return to the village upon retirement.

Chapman and Prothero inquire:

Why should agglomerative destinations, like towns, command so much theoretical and analytical attention when societies are composed of bi-local populations, relatively stable in their demographic composition but composed nowadays of individuals in constant motion between village and non-village places?... Confronted with the rapid pace of social change throughout the Pacific, we should guard against being seduced into thinking its cities and towns have begun a remorseless climb up an evolutionary ladder proscribed by First and Second World history. (1977: 11-12)

By concentrating on indigenous factors and on circulation, Chapman and Prothero hoped to address some of the problems raised earlier in migration research, especially mechanistic, aggregate, macrolevel research common in the literature. Their formulation is notable in de-emphasizing external economic and political factors while stressing the significance of indigenous factors. Hence continuity rather than discontinuity, resiliency rather than acquiescence, and attachment rather than dislocation are themes that characterize the circulation approach.

The structural and circulation approach have different emphases and can lead to diametrically opposed perspectives on population movements. Yet they are complementary in many respects. Recently, circulationists and structuralists have come to view internal and external population movements as closely related. As Jones and Richter conclude, the issue "is not micro-studies versus large scale surveys but rather how best to mesh a series of micro- and macro-studies so that synergistic benefits will be realized and the frontiers of knowledge expanded" (1981:8).

By focusing on movement processes and their indigenous components, the circulation approach may deflect attention away from external structural factors that permit, inhibit, and modify the patterns of movement.

While the structural approach may also neglect certain factors in population movement, especially at the micro-level, it does focus on direction of movement, rates of outmigration and rates of return migration. In assessing the relative significance of indigenous versus structural factors in emigration and return migration, the circulation approach reminds us that the aggregate outcomes do not necessarily reflect individual preferences.

Underhill's (1989) study of the Manihiki population in the Cook Islands looked at population mobility as a household strategy and she concluded: Instead of "depopulation" of the island, the Manihiki society constitutes a socioeconomic network anchored to an atoll environment that embraces not simply islands of the Cooks, but an increasing wide range of locations among the settler populations of Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. In participating in such a strategy, the cultural and social integrity of the Manihiki community is retained and maintained.

Circulation has been occurring for some time, and in fact, is a pre-European pattern. Moreover, indigenous institutions such as the aiga or extended kin group have been instrumental in fostering movements to town and abroad, providing a 'bi-local' and 'multi-local' social structure that facilitates migrant adaptation and the maintenance of ties with the home community. Kin overseas retain their links to the village and there is considerable short-term circulation in the form of malaga (visits) between Western Samoa, New Zealand, American Samoa, and the United States and Australia (Macpherson 1981, 1984).

Furthermore, those migrants who have been overseas for extended periods discuss village life and plan for their return. As Pitt and Macpherson noted, "Despite many migrants' strong motives for coming to New Zealand, they also had a strong desire not to remain permanently. For example, of our samples, less than half, especially of the men, intended to stay permanently." (1974: 14, quoted in Shankman 1988: 5) A survey by Lyons (1980: 67) on Samoan migrants in Hawaii reflected the same responses. Samoans in town and overseas maintain a variety of ties with their original homes. As noted, visits are common as are special trips for weddings, funerals, church openings, and ceremonial occasions.

Remittances are also an expression of circulation and, for the past two decades, they have been the mainstay of the Western Samoa economy. Those remaining behind in Western Samoa view their kin as a resource and as having obligations at home; income from overseas or the port town is appropriate, given the fact of absence. For their part most migrants do not feel that they are 'escaping' permanently from the islands and the breaking of ties unthinkable. In summarizing this viewpoint, David Pitt finds:

" Many feel deeply attached to the countryside. They remain peasants in the cities, a peasantry. Many who go hope one day to return with the wealth and status to ensure a prime position in village society. Migrants may act as vital links in the town for villagers. Migrants in the town may well replicate village type structures" (1976: 120) quoted in Shankman 1988.

As a summary of the circulation approach applied to the data from Western Samoa, this brief presentation is hardly complete; nevertheless it is sufficient to confirm the existence of a number of features of circulation.

How do indigenous factors fit into the larger picture? There is little doubt that the aiga or extended kin group facilitates movement in and around port town and overseas. Yet it could also be argued as many anthropological and sociological studies have reported that the aiga has been so successful in migrant adaptation, especially in New Zealand and California, that it may constitute a barrier to return (Ablon 1971, Shu 1980, Lyons 1980, Kallen 1986). Thus the crucial data for explaining population movements cannot come from examining indigenous factors alone or circulation by itself. Rather the crucial data may be found in long term trends in the direction of migration, rates of emigration, and the rates of return migration.

2.d. MIRAB approach

Bertram and Watters (1985) suggested that for too long conventional economic models used to explain what is happening in the Pacific have not produced fruitful and adequate explanation. Hence, the origin of the MIRAB model which initially stemmed from discussions of the problems of agricultural production and development in small Pacific Island economies (Hardaker, Fleming, and Harris 1984; Watters 1984).

The acronym MIRAB stands for Migration, Remittance, Aid and Bureaucracy. The MIRAB model as applied to Samoan migration can illuminate some of the factors which are missing from the aforementioned theories. These are Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy. While the MIRAB theory mentions these elements as important to the study of economic development of small island economies (e.g. Western Samoa) and their attempt to be self-reliant, it does ignore the conscious efforts and decisions that go into the migrants and families deliberation in sending a relative overseas and the interaction involved.

The underlying assumption of this theory is the original home is dependent on the migrant remitting money and therefore there is dependency in the relationship. What is neglected is the cultural element which is central to the understanding of Samoan migration. MIRAB, in my opinion, does not give the migrants the prominent significance they deserve as dutiful remitters and members of the aiga, who inspite of bad economic times and financial difficulties are still remitting money. The sending of remittances is not only through the overt formal money orders, and tele transfers but also in kind such as shipment of food, clothing, and home appliances, and cash gifts which often go unreported.

Samoans living in Western Samoa often make travel to their emigrant relatives. The traveller is a family member or friend visiting relatives either in New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii or the mainland. The purpose of the travel may be 1) participating in a large ceremonial occasion held in an emigrant community such as a wedding, funeral or church building dedication involving their emigrant relatives 2) visiting relatives and/or 3) collecting valuables for similar ceremonial exchange occasions at home or 4) parents going to their children or grandchildren's graduation. The duration of the travel is usually one month to several months, longer than most other cultural groups visit their relatives.

It is usually the case this person will carry a oso food⁴ to take along (delicacies such as Samoan cocoa- blocks of chocolate, palusami, taro and intestines of sea cucumber in bottles) and some finemats and sleeping mats. Of course, they do this out of their good intention to make their relatives happy. The emigrant relatives enjoy the rare delicacy from home. In turn, when the visitor goes back to Samoa it is probable he will certainly take with him more things in return for the oso. These goods are usually consumer goods, goods that are rare or expensive to buy in Samoa and pocket money.

What is this pocket money for? Isn't gifts such as goods mentioned enough? In Samoan culture when a malaga is pending whether by an individual matai or a village group, there are two fiafia (social gathering parties) involved. One called faamavaega (farewell gathering) in which the malaga person receives gifts for his trip and the other is called usu and alalafaga (welcome gathering).⁵

The relatives overseas know that when their visiting matai arrives back in Samoa, he anticipates a kava ceremony or usu by the village resident title-holders.

⁴ The 'oso' referred to here is usually used interchangeably with 'umu' which means food prepared in the Samoan oven which is like the Hawaiian 'imu' except ours is above the ground. Note the Polynesian airlines has special Umu Pack boxes made especially for these 'umu' pack as most Samoan travellers take a 'umu' as 'oso' all the time.

⁵ The welcome gathering is essentially double for a high chief as he is the head of the whole village and therefore accorded more respect and status. In the 'usu' he attends to his village council by feeding them lunch and distributing money and in the 'alalafaga' he attends to his immediate lineage family. So one can imagine the pressure on the emigrant relatives and resident relatives in Samoa regarding coming up with cash and food resources. As a participant in these functions I have observed chiefs and people who are likely to anticipate these lavish but expensive ceremonies to keep their 'malaga' trips a secret. It is always the case though that 'alalafaga' will take place for any returning Samoan irrespective of their sex and status.

The resident title-holders of the village visit and honor him with a kava ceremony, at which he is expected to distribute money among them. It is noteworthy that what an emigrant visitor is expected to give is money, while resident Samoan visitors from Western Samoa distribute fine mats in the overseas communities⁶.

The resident lineage members often close relatives have another kind of gathering called alalafaga in the evening. Every important member of the lineage comes with some valuable food, and a pastor is sent for to give an evening prayer. After the prayer, food is displayed and dinner is started. Everybody looks happy eating and chatting. After they have served the household heads and their wives in the front part of the house, young members and children also eat a gorgeous dinner in the back. When the house is cleared of leftovers, the returning visitor is again expected to distribute money.

There is a subtle claim inherent in the MIRAB theory that remittances stifles agricultural production because such remittances are a more efficient way to acquire hard currency than is export agricultural production. There is truth to this, however, with the remittance also comes the oso, usu and alalafaga, all of which require extra effort at agricultural production to occur properly. This is not fully explored by the MIRAB theory.

⁶ Many Samoans say in casual conversations that all the good quality fine mats are now with Samoans overseas.

Remittances to Western Samoa may not stifle agricultural production since foodstuffs such as taro, bananas, kava, mats, fine mats and tapa are still essential for the fulfillment of obligations at the local level and international level and for trading and gifting overseas. Remittances are needed to capitalize small efforts to generate a local income. Today, cash also has become a necessary ingredient of Samoan ceremonial occasions.

It is acknowledged here that Western Samoa certainly appreciate bilateral aid to supplement her budgets and development efforts and that the government sector is the major employer in the country taking about 47.2 percent of the economically active⁷ population (Sixth Development Plan 1988). Hayes (1991) writes this is a historical phenomenon which happened in all of the Pacific Islands and certainly not a process typical to Western Samoa.

The choices that Samoans make are rational choices conforming to their changing economic needs. The people as actors in the act of migration are consciously reviewing their options in accordance with the opportunities that are presented them. They are not waiting for miracles to happen or for the government to give them jobs. Instead, in the migration process Samoans continue to rely on their kin members for moral support and mutual aid. The act of migration has a much deeper meaning than just pure economic sense. The cultural values that are inherent in the migration process and the interaction involved are strong. This is related to the concept held in the collective Samoan consciousness that giving and generosity are important paths to everlasting salvation. On a more practical level, improving the collective well-being of the aiga is a blessing that is of more value than improving the individual well-being of the migrant.

⁷ The census classified all economically active persons as either employer, employee, self-employed worker or unpaid family worker.

Moreover, sending remittances does not mean regular payments twelve months a year as implied in the theory so that it becomes a burden. The remittances are sent sporadically when faalavelave is known, other money that is sent is usually voluntary on the part of the children overseas as gifts to their parents on birthdays, mother's day, father's day and Children's Sunday which is a holiday in Samoa.

On the other hand to illustrate a point on the contrary to the Samoan example, the Tongan case shows the inconsistency of the MIRAB ideas. Bertram writes that links between the capitalist and non-capitalist sectors are provided not only by bilateral transfers of funds between aid donor and recipient countries in the Pacific, but also by 'remittance transfers among various component parts of the 'transnational corporations of kin' which direct the allocation of each island family's labor around the regional economy' (Bertram 1986: 820).

James (1991: 3) has argued this analysis ignores the fact that changes have occurred in some of the islands for example, Tonga. The overused terms 'enterprises' and 'corporation' are becoming increasingly inappropriate not because they refer to multinational corporations that have different rules of behavior and economic objectives, but because they refer to networks of kin acting corporately, that is, as groups, and thus providing among 'the major institutional frameworks and agencies of collective regulation' within the society, a status to which most Tongan kainga (extended family networks) are fast losing any meaningful claim. Moreover, she observes that Tongan society has become more individualized in that most of the migrants who leave do not necessarily send money home.

This is due largely to the fact that land is scarce in Tonga and many Tongans are seeking better economic opportunities elsewhere. The MIRAB theory illuminates some of the elements in the Pacific microeconomies which depend for their solvency upon migration, remittance and aid. It is successful in explaining existing flows but unsuccessful in predicting new flows. Operating on a much abstract and higher level, the actors are not accorded importance.

The interaction of the Islanders and the Westerners in their encounter has not been adequately dealt with. The treatment of the islanders' response and influence of their 'manu' and 'mana', and social organization and structures which invariably and constantly influence their actions and behavior have been superficially dealt with. Instead, the MIRAB puts more emphasis on the impact of colonialism and modernization, the consequences of Pacific island nations integration to the global economy, hence migration, remittance, aid and bureaucracy are seen as economic hallmarks of these economies probably incapable of escaping from. Lastly, it fails to completely explain the persistence of remittance flow even in severe and bad economic conditions.

3. Enhancement of Theoretical Perspectives for the Samoan Case

3.1. Samoan Culture

This section argues that the Samoan culture has elements peculiar to an understanding of the interaction and perception of Samoans of their movement and behavior. The discussion is divided into two sections. First, the Samoan culture and its features that are relevant to migration and second, is the discussion of Samoan migration.

In order to understand Samoan migration one must know something of the Samoan culture. The Samoan culture speaks of the unity and the holistic view of life. The word for culture in Samoan defines this unity. Aganuu speaks of nature and nurture in the same breath; for aga is the essence of the nature of things while nuu represents the sum total of man's learned experience. The word nuu also refers to the social organization of the faa-matai or specifically to the matai group. The Samoan especially the matai, is encouraged to look at all sides of an issue, especially those that might effect those who are not his immediate kin.

3.1a. Matai System and Land Tenure

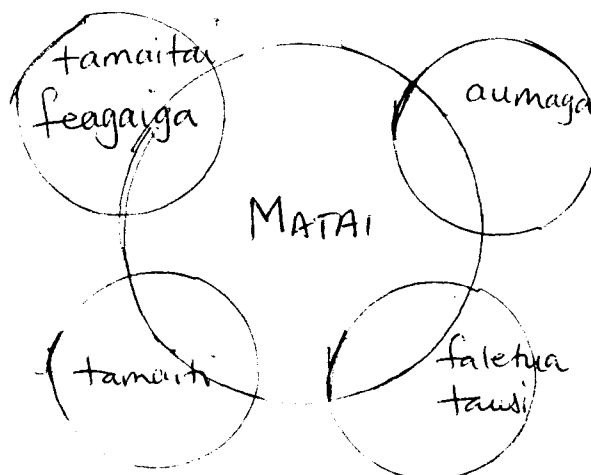
The matai system and land tenure are an integral part of the fa'a-Samoa.⁸ The faa-matai is a social organization of matai titles and the heirs of matai titles, both male and female. The matai title can have the rank of paramount chief, chief, or orator. All the sons, daughters or descendants of a matai title are heirs who have equal opportunity and proximity to the title or to becoming the bearer of the matai title because primogeniture does not apply in the faa-matai culture of the Samoan. Every Samoan is a member of the matai's aiga potopoto (extended family) the heirs- child, youth and adult has a matai title-holder each identifies and belongs to. A matai is neither male nor female⁹. As the head of a family he/she presides over the village and social affairs of the

⁸ When one speaks of the faa-Samoa, it is not only doing things in the Samoan way but it connotes matai system, land tenure, kinship and all the features which are characteristic of Samoan culture.

⁹ The Electors Register is not specific by showing who is a female or male matai in its recording. Obviously gender is not a sensitive issue, the record being one of electors or matai, not men or women who happen to be matai.

family. Aiono Fanaafi (1992) depicts the faa-matai system in the following way: the members of the community are arranged in five groups, viz 1) tamaitai (the ladies- daughters of matai and sisters), tamaitai is also the feagaiga (covenant) she is the healer, the teacher, the priestess and maker of wealth, and the peacemaker, 2) aumaga (untitled young men, sons of matai) also referred to as the strength of the village, 3) faletua ma fausi (wives of matai). This group represents the foreign element in the social organization. They are the non-heirs of the matai title, although as wives and mothers of the tamaitai, aumaga, and tamaiti, they possess much power. They do not have the authority of the tamaitai. However, once they return to their own aigapotopoto (extended family) and nuu (village), they automatically assume the status and authority of tamaitai, 4) tamaiti (children of matai who are still in school 'the little ones') and 5) matai (the titled men or women- chiefs and orators). The matai is the representative and elector of the aiga on the village council. The matai is also the head of aiga. These five groups of the faa-matai are shown in the form of socio-metric wheels with the matai group as its hub, the other circles exist side by side and operate and inter-relate in concentric connections of blood ties and marital reciprocity.

Diagram 1. Samoan social organization



When an heir is bestowed with a matai title, the person immediately assumes the responsibility of being the 'trustee' for the family properties; protector and promoter of the aiga welfare. The matai has an obligation to his/her kin group and vice versa. The aiga members are participants and all have obligations to one another. This is especially true in times of fa'alavelave (life cycle events). This is where remittances in the form of tautua (service) and fesoasoani (help) are important. This is also obvious in the pattern of migration and in facilitating migration of family members.

Aiono Fanaafi (1986) showed about 81% of land is customary land (567,000 acres) the rest is divided between government owned and privately owned land. In Samoa land is the aiga's property and is supposed to be passed on to the next generation. The matai is responsible for safeguarding the 'family's heritage, making sure it is utilized properly and allocated fairly to the heirs who require or wish to cultivate the land' (Aiono Fanaafi 1986: 105). All family members have rights to use land in both their mother's and father's villages on condition they obey the matai and fulfill family obligations (Thomas 1989).

Everybody has access to land and therefore a Samoan can move freely in and out of the family and is still comforted by the thought that there is still your aiga land to fall back on if things do not work out in Apia or New Zealand or the United States. This aspect of the land tenure plus the extended family networks in multi-local communities are clear factors which facilitate mobility among Samoans and prevents the development of a landless urban proletariat which characterizes rural-urban migration in Latin America. The traditional system of land rights has allowed considerable personal mobility as young people may move to live with family where their opportunities seem best. They are aware of

the fact that they can always go back and work on their family land, using a piece for themselves.

The matai system is an important social institution for every Samoan. Every extended family is represented by its matai, who supervises the household as a trustee, while village or district is governed by its council constituted of the matai in its locality. To Western Samoans the matai system is the wisdom of their ancestors continuing from ancient times. Although many Samoans embrace this image of a never changing matai system, it, nevertheless has been transformed through contact with the West before the mid-19th century. The point is that, matai system is not a static system; it has transformed to adjust itself to the socio-economic conditions of the world system.

3.1b. The inclusive decision-making process of Soalaupule

The decision-making process of Soalaupule. Soa means two or a pair; lau means to recite or declare; pule means to distribute or portion out and conveys authority. The given meaning of the three words in soalaupule should make it easy to understand the inclusive decision-making process pertinent to the faa-matai (matai system). The faa-matai insists on making decisions on a consultative basis. At least two people are involved in the making of the decision, but the ideal is to include and involve all the relevant people.

How can anyone hope to get things done within a reasonable amount of time, if people insist on soalaupule? That doubt is frequently voiced, especially by western- educated Samoans. Discussion, dialogue, and discourse are the means by which contradictions and ambiguities between the group and the individual are addressed, a process that outsiders often consider tedious, exasperating, and a distinct misuse of time.

Aiono Fanaafi (1992: 123) writes "Most of the government departments have come to realize that it is necessary, in fact essential, to go through the soalaupule process if the project is to be properly executed- even within the departments themselves. The Department of Education learned to use soalaupule very early in its development and has benefited by receiving the full support of the villages and districts in the construction of school buildings and other facilities without government having to give grants-in-aid. Every village and district in Western Samoa has a school built and financed by the people. The government pays the teachers' salaries and some very minor expenses. "

As she ably explains, the Samoan culture firmly believes in the efficiency of the consultative approach in the making of long-term decisions, because it is the decision making process that makes the appropriately involved individual feel important by being consulted. It is an excellent way of identifying those who shall execute and supervise the implementation of the decision within the community or public and within the government ministry and service. Everyone agreed, therefore, everyone will see to it that the decision is carried out successfully. The point is, this decision making process is still being practiced and this can be seen in the early phase of migration by Samoans and it is also true of migration today.

3.1c. Tautua and faalavelave and fesoasoani

There are several proverbs or metaphors in Samoan which directly relate to tautua. (service). O le ala i le pule o le tautua- interpreted as, The way to authority is through service. Before being given a matai title a person has to satisfy certain criteria and one of these is his ability to do a good tautua service in times of fa'alavelave (life cycle events). As a matai he, in return will receive the same service that he rendered when he was a taule'ale'a (untitled man). The most fundamental aspects of Samoan culture, the rule of tautua (service to chiefs and families) and fesoasoani (help), constantly and inevitably shape the relationship between migrants and their homeland. The practice of remitting money home is one of the key forces in shaping the character of the small island states of Polynesia as Watters and Bertram (1985) have noted in their characterization of MIRAB.

Both of these forms of obligations are referred to as tautua, a term which might be approximately translated as 'service'. Along with descent, knowledge and ability, tautua is one of the most important criteria taken into account when choosing a matai to head an extended family. To be selected as a matai means that the individual selected will occupy an extremely privileged position. Among his privileges will be the services of his family and their obedience to his will. The privileges of a matai are earned by his services- tautua and fesoasoani in times of faalavelave to his family during his youth and young manhood.

According to Samoan custom there are four main types of tautua¹⁰:

The first is tautua matavela involves the production, cooking and serving food for the matai. To render tautua matavela, a youth or untitled man must be always willing and available to cook, and serve food for malo (guests) and village people who come to the matai's house, for whatever reason, on a day to day basis.

The second is tautua tuavae is being willing and available to carry out the wishes of the matai and perform errands on his behalf such as obtaining mats or other forms of wealth for ceremonial occasions, to summon senior members of the aiga potopoto (extended family) to meet for family deliberations.

The third is tautua toto is a willingness to shed blood in physical battle for the matai and the family on any occasion on which the matai's dignity and authority is insulted or endangered.

The fourth is tautua taumalele. This refers to the service provided by members of the aigapotopoto who live away from the place which is the seat of the family title. They render tautua by providing goods and money to help the matai and his family meet public material obligations (fa'alavelave) to God and society. This form of service is particularly important to women who marry into other families and villages. According to the feagaiga (covenant) between brothers and sisters, a brother has a lifelong duty to respect, honor and protect the sister; and she has the reciprocal obligation to support his aspirations and interests. In old Samoa, women of the highest rank had titles but were not matai as many women are today.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Malama Meleisea and my mother for clarifying some of these concepts.

As wives they render day to day service to their husband's family, but as sisters and daughters, they never lose interest in their own family. Each woman is an economic linkage point between two kin groups, each calling on the resources of her own family to assist her husband's family, while simultaneously trying to push resources from her husband's family towards her own family. This is still a source of ambiguity and tension in Samoan marriage today. Nowadays, migrants of both sexes leave not only their homes but their country as emigrants and render tautua malele while they are away.

3.1d. Aiga or kinship system/networks

The kinship system is very important for it is the basis for social organization. The matai system is highly relevant to aiga or kinship system. Kinship is the basis for group and individual identity, basis for claiming rights to land and title, basis for obligation, participation and reciprocity.

The kinship system as basis of obligation and reciprocity is better explained in this saying, E manumanu le tava'e i ona fulu , means- The tava'e, a most sought after bird cherish its feathers. This bird was hunted by Samoans in olden days for its feathers (red and yellow). They were the ideal feathers for the alii (chief) and taupou (village maiden) head dress, fine mats and titi (waist band ornament). Because tava'e were so rare and hard to hunt, possession of their feathers was very important, people competed to own and cherish these ornaments. This is compared to the matai and his aiga. The ideal aiga is run by a matai who keeps social cohesion and harmony of his kin group. In a way, he is safeguarding the integrity and dignity of his aiga and therefore the aiga's status is enhanced.

This also connotes the idea that, a good and dutiful matai is a good leader who does a good job, taking care of his aiga and attending to his extended family's faalavelave, such as paying respect to relatives funeral, dedication of a relative's church, weddings and others¹¹. These people, in turn, will always come to any faalavelave pertaining to him. When these people come, from as far as New Zealand, Hawaii, California, American Samoa, Upolu and Savaii there is large public display of food, finemats and cash. This is a very positive sign, symbolizing renewal and cementing of kinship relations. The process, not only will it maintain and retain the aiga heritage and status, but their self esteem and identity are enhanced. Therefore, just as the tava'e cherish its feathers, the matai and his aiga cherish their heritage and relations.

The kinship network provides social resources and physical resources especially during faalavelave. The aiga in which a faalavelave takes place will prepare their own food, pigs, kegs of beef and others ahead of the occasion then, they await the arrival of kin members and guests from afar¹².

¹¹ When a person pays respect to a relative or friend's funeral it is mainly to acknowledge the lineage relationship or relationship through marriage or as a work colleague. This form of obligation is fesoasoani (help)

¹² Kin members are usually told of a faalavelave or if not when they hear of it through other kin relatives they will go to give assistance. When kin members are not told of faalavelave or do not hear of it on the radio, they get offended for not being told. To them, it means they are excluded in the aiga and the matai thinks less of them. Notice of death and funeral service of people, dedication of churches are broadcast on the radio for that purpose. When people hear of any notice they will certainly go to pay respect and acknowledge their aiga relations.

The kin members are delegated different roles such as chief cook and her helpers, men to make umu for pigs, taro and breadfruit, ladies to display and distribute mats and fine mats, the cleaners, and those to serve food, orators to receive guests and do all the oratorical speeches while the chief watches and acknowledge his kin relations who come to pay respect and give fesoasoani. He is the supervisor of the whole affair, and will only interrupt when the reciprocal exchange made by the orators is not correct according to the aiga relationship to the kin members¹³. It is also the basis of control, for all kin members know their standing within the family, those who make orders and those who execute/implement the orders. It is also in these occasions that people learn of new members and reaffirm relations.

Samoans take pride in their family name or matai of their aiga. This is where they find identity and sense of belonging. Anyone who can trace himself to the aiga lineage, whether on his father's side or mother's side, may join in the aiga, though his claim varies with his relationship. There is a Samoan saying E tele aa o le tagata. A person's roots are many and varied. This means a Samoan has many relatives and they are widespread. This is so because our kinship system is ambilineal. Shu (1980: 154) observes "A characteristic of ambilineal kinship system is that a given individual may have hundreds of relatives through intermediary relations. Also there are interesting characteristics of the Samoan kinship system in migrant community, namely its extensibility and permeability.

¹³ The closer the relationship the more finemats, goods and money involved in the exchange e.g. if a relative comes with 20 fine mats, a roast pig, and \$200, the receiving matai gives back 10 fine mats, a carton of fish in place of the pig and \$100 for his fare back. Reciprocal equation varies between 50/50 and 60/40 generally.

In addition, there is a qualitative distinction in the Samoan case in that the relationships are typically more affectionately involved. Throughout the lifetime of a Samoan he is continuously living with his kinsmen and is certainly true before he comes of age. This is true even after he is married. A Samoan couple will live with either the husband's or the wife's family."

Whereas in the case of other ethnic group's migration tends to disperse kinship ties, the selective pattern of Samoan migration counteracts this general rule and may even reunites an individual's contact with his migrant kinsmen. As the entire migration process is usually channelled through the auspices of his relatives, the new comer finds that upon arrival, he is placed into a community of pre-existing actual and potential kin networks.

Adoption of a brother's child by a sister or even one's own parents is a common practice. The main reason for this is either because the brother's sister is barren or does not have a boy or a girl, and for the parents it is just emotional reason or to have somebody younger to do their light chores. These adoptions are not legally binding like in the Western sense. The child is free to move back and forth between the two or three sets of parents. The natural and adopted parents all contribute to the welfare of the child.

A review of the literature (Shu 1980, 1977, Franco 1985, Macpherson 1974, 1984, 1990,) indicates that the Samoan kinship system plays a significant role in the migrants adaptation overseas. As Shu (1980: 204) well stated, "Typically the descent group raises the necessary funds to send one of its members, who would take advantage of the superior earning power in the new country and remit money back to Samoa and eventually sponsor for the migration of other members of the family.

As a rule intra-group referrals are prevalent among Samoans, whereas palagi workers may be concerned with potential conflict of interests in such situations, Samoans see it in terms of moral obligations to help out one's kinsmen. Put differently, it is not enough for a Samoan to have a job; it is his job to put his relatives to work too. From a rational viewpoint, it is understandable why the Samoans are so eager to place their relatives to work. Even if the Samoans aren't as generous and cooperative as some of them claim to be, they would still be economically and socially motivated to help make their kin self-sufficient, for the alternative may well be to have the latter and their families to move in and share one's earnings instead. And to refuse that is to risk being ridiculed and gossiped around the community."

Kinship becomes significant to the migrants because of their lack of coping resources to begin with. The kinship system operates like a levelling mechanism such that while everybody may be poor, nobody would be helpless. Had the Samoans, or as they acquired in time more skills and capital, it is conceivable that kinship as a support system would be less crucial in the community. But it is also likely that, had the Samoans not value their kin ties presently, they would not only be poor, but also be demoralized in the urban environment.

3.1e. Church as integral part of faa-Samoa

The motto for Western Samoa's seal runs like this, Faavae i le Atua Samoa translated as Samoa is founded on God. This statement states the importance of Christian principles and the incorporation of church teachings to Samoan customs and traditions.

Since the introduction of Christianity, Samoans integrated lotu (church things) to the faa-Samoa (Samoan way of doing things). Aiono Fanaafi (1992) writes, the ability of the faa-matai to cope with change and the introduction of new ideas has been demonstrably successful in many spheres. The first example was how the matai system dealt with the introduction of Christianity. The arrival of the London Missionary Society in the early 19th century brought a new group-- faifeau (the missionary or servant) into the ideal social organization as depicted above. The new group was placed not as faifeau (servant) but as faafeagaiga or similar to tamaitai of family and villagesee (diagram a) The faafeagaiga is to be like covenant between brother and sister, man and woman. The foreign missionary was therefore given maximum protection and privileges and rights of the tamaitai, and was in the eyes of the faa-matai, a group with similar responsibilities as the tamaitai.

The church role in Samoa is important. About 99 percent of the population are Christian. Most people if you ask them belong to one of these four main denominations, London Missionary Society, Catholic, Methodist, and Mormon. The other denominations such as the Seventh Day Adventist, Assembly of God and Bahai are recent . Many observers feel that the Samoans are very religious people as this is evident from the number of churches in every village. In my village alone, there are eight churches. Each sub-village of Salelologa has its own church and within that village you might have three different denominations. This scene is true of all villages in Western Samoa.

A number of students in Samoan culture have pointed out the important roles churches play in Samoan communities, both within Samoa and abroad (Ablon 1971, Pitt and Macpherson 1974, Kotchek 1978, Ualetanesa 1980). A study by Howard and Fitzgerald (1990) lend support to this contention. "In Western Samoa 91.6% of those interviewed said they provided support for the local church; in American Samoa 93.9% and in Hawaii 82.4% responded this way." In light of implementing village rule and curfews, the minister or pastor or catechist work hand in hand with the village council of matai in enforcing these curfews or sa. The sa and the seriousness of their regulations vary from village to village. In general, many villages prohibit swimming of course, in the sea or freshwater pools on Sunday, or playing except strolling and walking. On Sunday every family must have their umu ready that is, no more scrapping taro or preparation of food, the umu should be covered for baking by sunrise about 6.30am the latest. This ensures that the people preparing food have ample time to get ready for church at 8.00am. Samoans have their best meal on Sunday called toonai. Usually everyone looks forward to Sunday, a day of rest and lots of good food. Moreover, every evening there is a curfew bell rung by the pastor about 7.00 pm for evening prayers when people hear it , everybody must go in their houses for prayers and dinner. The village matai takes over after dinner in making sure the conch shell is blown at 10.30pm the time for everybody to sleep.

The church plays a major role in education. Most of the high schools and elementary schools were established by the different churches. At the village level, Sunday school and pastor's school are an integral part of the village. This is where the five year olds get their bible reading, and basic arithmetic lessons. Indeed, most wives of pastors run pre-schools now. Each Samoan family has church obligations. These include donations to the pastor every first Sunday of the month, food¹⁴ every Sunday as well as contributions to funds for building of a new church or any special request the pastor asks for. Apart from the regular donations of money and food that every family makes, there are other families that continue to shower the faifeau with food everyday. This is due to the well-ingrained Samoan belief " that the more you give to religious people the more blessings you will receive". The faifeau in Samoa and abroad rely on the village (his congregation) where he is the minister for almost everything he needs¹⁵.

¹⁴ On Sunday there is always a toonai at the pastor's residence. Matai and their wives have toonai with the pastor's family after the morning service. This is why many parents send their daughters and sons to help serve the food etc.

¹⁵ The relationship between the faifeau/faafeagaiga and his village where he is the minister is such that it can be considered protective and reciprocal. Occasionally, some faifeau have been transferred or evicted because he did not conduct himself in a manner acceptable to his parish e.g. drunk in public, interferes too much with the village council of matai politics, or sometimes when a girl from the village got pregnant.

What I have described above demonstrates the significant role the church play in Samoa and how it has been integrated into the faa-Samoa. There is no doubt church obligations and family obligations together, have become part of life of Samoans. Many Samoans in private, think that there is too much church faalavelave, yet building of new churches and donations to Church such as Me (donations each year in May at annual meeting of church leaders) are still going strong. All these obligations plus the everyday family expenses prompted many people to opt for multiple income streams. Many parents sent their sons and daughters away, mainly to New Zealand.

Although many migrants say they left Samoa to make a new life and escape the burden of faa-Samoa, large numbers of migrants create new obligations for themselves in their new homeland which are similar to those they experienced back home. When migrants from Samoa first went to New Zealand in large numbers in the 1960s the Presbyterian Church looked after most of the migrants (Meleisea 1990). However, as migrant communities became established, many formed groups and set up their own congregations, importing a pastor from Samoa, renting or buying premises for a church, and a house for the pastor to live in. Besides these expenses, the families forming the new congregation pay the pastor's salary, and pay the fares for him and his family to return to Samoa each year for the Me. In addition they raise a handsome donation to the church Headquarters' collection each year. The amount each family donates to meet all these expenses is known to all because it is read in church.

Meleisea (1990) writes there are now several dozens of Samoan congregations in New Zealand. Obviously, thousands of Samoans who bear the expenses did so, while they still send money to Samoa to meet other obligations. The Samoan congregations in New Zealand have grown to full-fledge organizations similar to Samoa. The service is in Samoan and the church in New Zealand is part of the whole Samoan congregation¹⁶ with its headquarters in Apia. The Samoan churches are now complete with a hall, and premises for Sunday schools in which bible classes are conducted in Samoan. The above example is drawn largely from the L.M.S followers.

Other churches were less specifically linked with the faa-Samoa, but parallel trends have been evident. The Samoan Methodists and Catholics, relatively few in number, tend to share the facilities of papalagi (English) churches but developed separate Samoan services and maintain a continuity of fellowship with Methodist and Catholic churches in the islands. These Samoan congregations are the connecting points and hosts for many of more recent malaga (group tours) from Samoa. The following excerpts shed light to church development in the United States.

"This sense of Samoan solidarity found further expression and reinforcement in a revitalized church life. The churches quickly became the centers of Samoan life,...the perpetuators of faa-Samoa. Their very formation nourished latent tendencies to join forces in California and re-establish links with churches in the home islands. Thus the members of former LMS churches made history for the Samoan people in San Francisco in 1957 when they formed the First Samoan Congregational Church...it was not long before preparations for separate Samoan churches were under way. For independent buildings freed them from potential limitations in scheduling and eased the development of a day-long round of Samoan language services, social activities, and Sunday school."
Lethwaite, Mainzer, and Holland (1973: 148)

¹⁶ While LMS is still used, the church adopts Congregational Church of Samoa now.

3.2. Samoan Migration

The migration pattern is often complicated by the close relationships between the two Samoas. Western Samoa's population movement gravitates to New Zealand and recently Australia, whereas American Samoa's moves to the United States. Had it not been for the Tripartite Agreement of 1899, the Samoan islands would have remained one single political entity. Nonetheless and in spite of the political division American Samoa and Western Samoa are still bound by centuries of cultural homogeneity and inter-island marriages.

Samoans often travel across the islands either on short trips or long durations, and their travels may be due to a variety of reasons. Marriages, funerals, church dedication, graduation, vacation, and family gatherings on account of title successions involve brief visitations. Collectively, such visits are traditionally institutionalized in the form of malaga parties in which the visiting group headed by the alii (high chief) and his tulafale (talking chief) travel to another village for such specific purposes as seeking betrothal of a taupou (village maiden). On the other hand, trips leading to ultimate settlement in other islands are common. Adoption of children, ambilocal residence upon marriage, pursuit of education and increasingly commonly employment prospects are some of the prevalent situations. The point is, intra-Samoan movements, especially if consolidated with kinship ties, can eventually lead to further emigration to either the United States or New Zealand.

Furthermore, with the United States generally considered by the Samoans a much more attractive destination than New Zealand, there has been a heavier volume of emigration from Apia via PagoPago into the United States than vice versa. Janes (1990) found in his study three distinguishable modes of migration among the Samoans 1) permanent 2) sojourners, and 3) circulators.

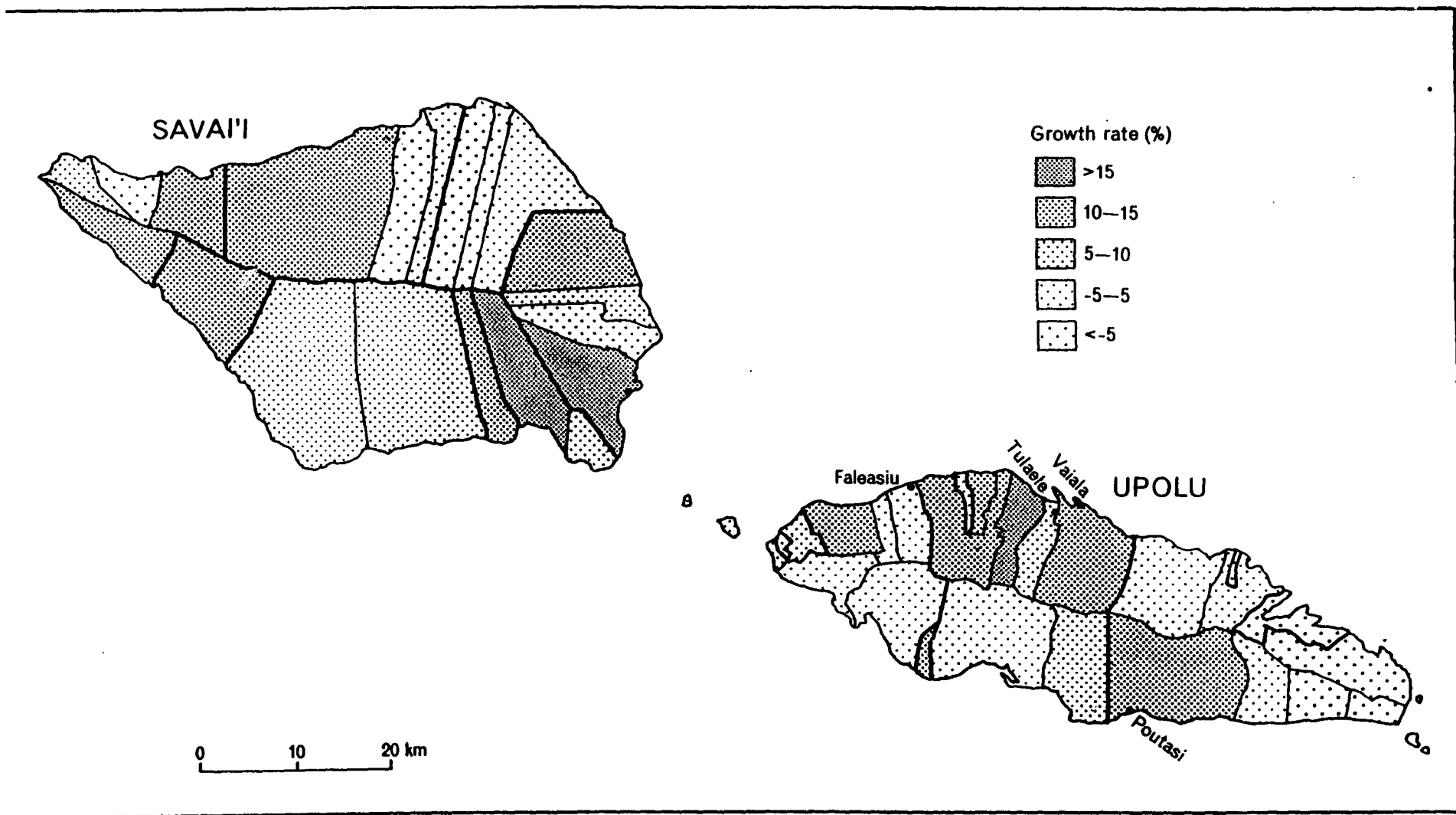


Figure 5: Population growth by electoral district, Western Samoa, 1971-81

He concluded that Samoans were adept at circulation. Circulation is facilitated in the case of Samoans by the ease of traveling back and forth, and by the fact that the migrants can be readily absorbed into their overseas communities through extensive kin networks and religious affiliations (Shu 1980).

3.2a. Western Samoa

There is a substantial corpus of information on various aspects of internal and external population movement from Western Samoa (Connell 1983; Fairbairn 1961; Pitt and Macpherson 1974; Macpherson 1975, 1981, 1985, 1990, 1991; Douglas, 1986; Bellam 1982; Pirie; 1976; Shankman 1976, 1978; Government of Western Samoa 1976). Most recent studies by Ahlburg and Levin (1990; Hayes and Levin 1984; and ESCAP 1982) of American Samoa take similar views, that is almost all of these works deal with migration from a structural and adaptive perspective. The data I will examine will fit into the circulation framework as well.

Internal Migration

Through the 1970s, there were two Western Samoan population movements corresponding to internal and external migration¹⁷. Internal migration has not been carefully studied, but government reports indicate that about 10% of the population changes residence within the islands each year with no net increase in urban population as a result of this kind of movement.

¹⁷ It is important to remember the two types of movements are not mutually exclusive of each other and circulation occurs in both processes.

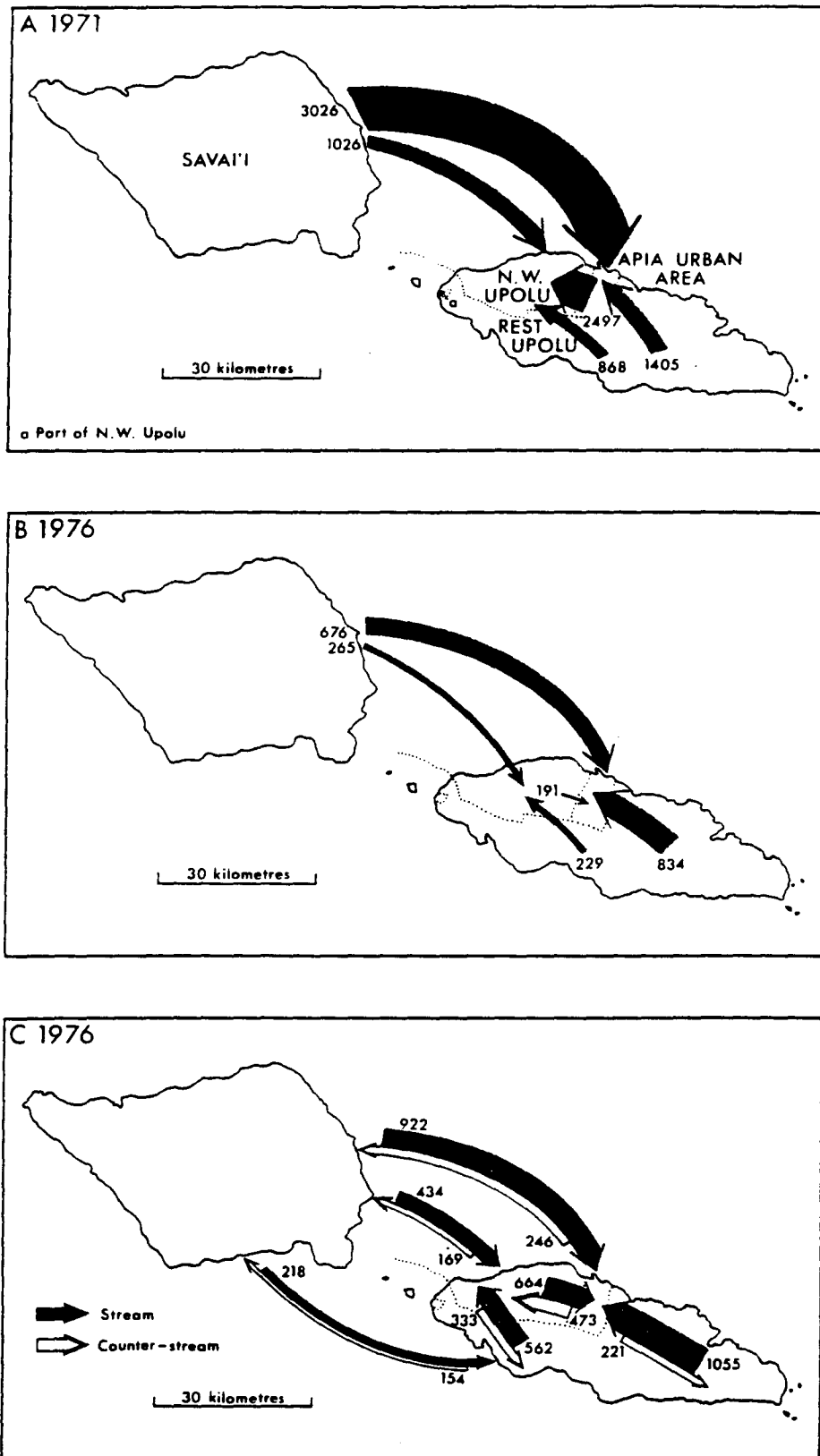


Figure 9. Samoa: Migration, population aged 15 years and over, 1971 and 1976:
 A Net migration, place of birth and place of usual residence, 1971.
 B Net migration, place of usual residence 1976 and previous residence, 1971.
 C Stream and counter-stream, 1971-1976 (based on B).

Source: ESCAP Report and Survey 1982

ESCAP (1982: 88) reported "One very pronounced feature of Samoan migration (and the much greater numbers of emigrants need to be borne in mind) is the counter movement, even to the less developed regions." (see map)

There has also been slow but perceptible urban drift over the past three decades as well as the expansion of the percentage of the population influenced by the port town of Apia and an increasing number of people in the wage sector of the economy. The town, Apia and its contiguous Northwest coastal region have much better infrastructure than it did two decades ago.

This region has become relatively densely populated (Statistical Bulletin 1989). This density is mainly brought about especially by relatives or students from rural areas or from Savaii who live with their aiga while going to work or schools in Apia. There are now more daily commuters to the Apia area although residence itself may still be technically 'rural'. Bedford (1973) referred to this daily movements as 'oscillation', whereby people go in for business or to visit relatives in town for short periods usually within a day or a week.

There is little doubt as to the concentration and intensity of movement of people between Apia and the outer villages of Upolu and Savaii. The concentration of better education, medical, political, commercial and economic activities in Apia naturally induce a flow of movement to do business and take advantage of these services. This conglomeration of activities in Apia has manifested itself in the traffic jams in the capital. During holidays and school breaks, the visible effect of people mingling on the wharf and airport trying to get on a boat or airplane to go to Savaii is incredible.

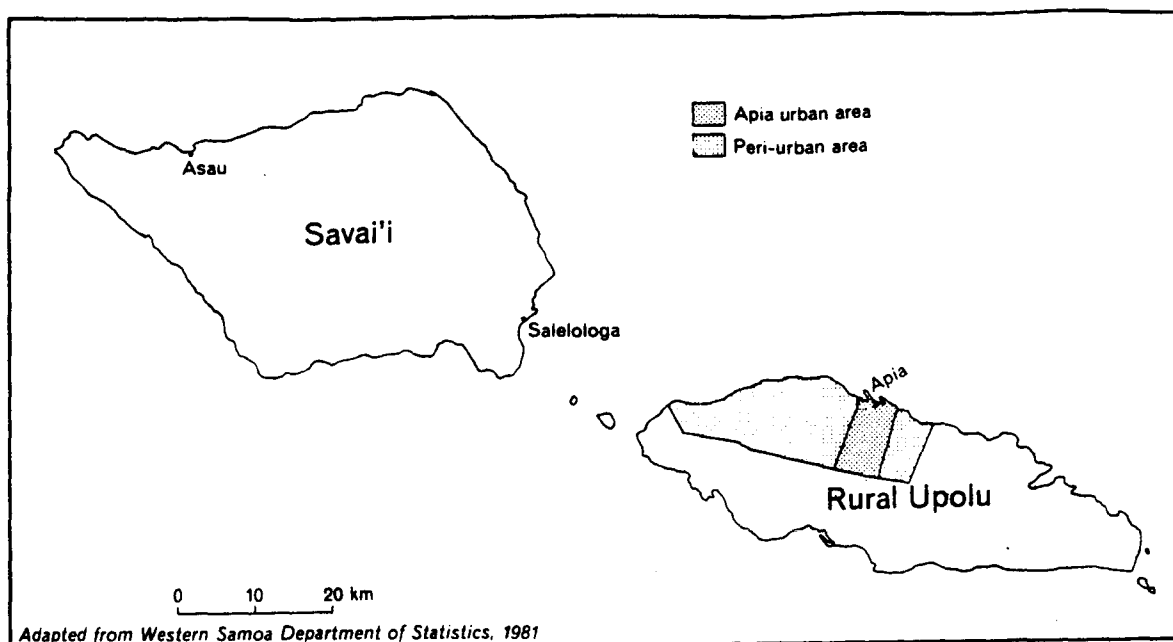


Figure 4: Map showing the four major population regions. Western Samoa, 1983

Table 4: Population distribution by region. Western Samoa, 1961-81
(Percentage of total population)

Area	1961	1971	1981
Apia Urban	18.9 (21.6)	20.6 (30.2)	21.2 (33.2)
Northwest Upolu	24.2 (27.8)	24.3 (35.6)	25.8 (40.3)
Rest of Upolu	28.7 (32.9)	27.4 (40.2)	25.4 (39.7)
Savai'i	27.8 (31.9)	27.7 (40.6)	27.6 (43.1)
Total	114,427	146,627	156,349

Note: Figures in parentheses are population size in thousands
Source: Adapted from Western Samoa 1979, 1983a.

The density of this movement also shows the volatile process of people moving back and forth reflecting, contemporary mobility is only a reflection of traditional mobility patterns. Every weekend the ferry that goes between Upolu and Savaii is packed with passengers going home and on Sundays returning to Apia. These people represent people who work, students going to school in Apia, workers going back to work, relatives going to visit friends and relatives going to fa'alavelave (life cycle events) or to do business in town. This ebb and flow of people signifies a people on the move and circulating because of the structural location of economic activities in Apia, and also because of cultural/life cycle events fa'alavelave. These fa'alavelave could occur either on Upolu or Savaii island.

External migration

The 1960s, the first decade of political independence in Western Samoa, saw relatively few major social and economic changes within Samoa, but the expanding economy in New Zealand allowed increasing numbers of Samoans to obtain employment in New Zealand as dock workers, metalworkers, factory hands, cleaners, seamstress, and other unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. This was the process of a family-based chain migration in which those who have become established helped newcomers to find jobs and become part of the migrant community.

The number of Samoans in New Zealand jumped from 11,842 in 1966 to 27,876 in 1976 and there are now over 42,000 Samoans in New Zealand (Bedford 1984). A figure of 62, 553 in 1986 was reported in (Yamamoto 1993). More recently the economic downturn of the 1980s in New Zealand has slowed Samoan migration.

The second type of population movement has been emigration overseas, primarily to New Zealand, but also to American Samoa and the United States, including Hawaii and the mainland. In 1984, New Zealand alone counted over 42,000 Samoans in its census (Bedford 1984). While both emigration and urbanization, as the terms are commonly used, imply movement in a single direction, these population movements are more complex, and in many respects, circular (Shankman 1988). Hence, "People involved in such a dynamic process do not see themselves as belonging exclusively to a city residence or to a rural /village birthplace or as explicitly modern or explicitly traditional in their personal behaviors and collective orientations, but as belonging to both societies and simultaneously pursuing the goals of each" (Chapman 1987: 12).

The data Table 1a and 1b below indicate the main reasons for travel and it is interesting to note that visiting relatives accounts for the greatest amount of movement. Also the number of Samoans leaving Western Samoa has dropped. The countries where Western Samoans go reflect their country's ties with New Zealand. The recession has hit New Zealand severely and an increasing number of Western Samoans are moving to Australia. However, American Samoa has the biggest number of Western Samoans and an explanation for this could be the cultural affiliation plus the relatively easy access to American Samoa. Many people from Western Samoa go to PagoPago to do their shopping for special occasions and in particular fa'alavelave such as funerals, weddings and Christmas. The big number for American Samoa does not necessarily represent permanent movement. The number of Western Samoans in the United States is increasing gradually and this would be an interesting path to follow up.

Table 1a.

International Migration: Departures by purpose of going abroad

(Western Samoan citizens)

Purpose of visits	1987	1988	1989*	1990*	1991*
Business	5053	2073	3849	5229	3527
School	1618	206	743	1278	1113
New employment	6533	1230	4764	7384	10091
Visit Relatives	17833	2168	12006	23468	23579
Pleasure	8336	2065	7130	8089	5200
Other	–	–	20421	5630	4809
Not Stated	10148	36979	440	5115	4081
Total	49521	44721	49353	56193	52400

Source: Adapted from Department of Statistics Western Samoa 1989, 1991

* Provisional figures

Table 1b.

International Migration: Departures by main place of stay abroad

(Western Samoan citizens)

Place of Stay	1987	1988	1989*	1990*	1991*
Am. Samoa	30125	15691	22949	42745	40804
New Zealand	14070	10556	11698	9275	6653
Australia	809	3709	2185	1138	1525
U.S.A.	1621	3736	2154	1300	1290
Other Pac. Is	1096	5422	2310	1104	990
United Kingdom	63	453	264	47	71
Canada	35	281	130	27	21
Other	–	–	6716	485	935
Not Stated	1556	3107	41	343	–
Total	49521	44721	49353	56557	52400

Source: Adapted from Department of Statistics Western Samoa 1989, 1991

* Provisional figures.

Table 2.**Arrivals and Departures by Citizenship and Sex**

Country	1987	1988*	1989*		3rd	4th
			1st	2nd		
			M	F		
Western Samoa						
Arrivals	52139	47903	7187	5864	—	—
Departures	49521	44721	8758	7438	—	—
American Samoa						
Arrivals	10429	10360	1343	1305	—	—
Departures	8373	11276	1634	1462	—	—

Source: Adapted from Department of Statistics Western Samoa 1989

Note Figures for 1989 3rd and 4th quarter are not available

* Provisional figures.

We cannot make conclusive remarks from Table 2 above except for the fact that for the years 1987 and 1988 there were more arrivals than departures experienced by Western Samoa. The year 1989 showed an increase in departures in the first two quarters. The data are useful though in that they indicate that there are other factors beyond than what these numbers reflect. Also reliable data takes a long time to come in Western Samoa.

3.2b. The Migratory System- Phase I

Samoa society is hierarchical and there is no doubt about the competition in status. There is tremendous pressure by and from parents to maintain and increase their status, mainly through their deeds, and imparting this to their children. In a subsistence society, social status was attained by birth (ascribed status) or by talent in oratory, war or productive capacity. As Samoa become modernized, achievement remained crucial to personal advancement, and the opportunities to stand out in a ranked society were very limited.

This kind of economic obligation may dominate an individual's financial priorities for the first five or so years abroad. Many of those who left were individuals with some good knowledge of English and many took advantage of the working visa permit the New Zealand government allowed during the period of 1960s-70s. The kinship system serves as the primary auspices of Samoan migration, ranging from initial motivation to eventual settlement (Alailima 1966, Lewthwaite et al 1973, Kotchek 1978, Franco 1985). Even prior to emigration, kin factors are involved in deciding which family member will migrate, how to finance the trip, and how to choose the best prospective destination (Shankman 1976). The following example illustrates the process:

Case Study 1

"The first decision by the family was to send Fale, the 19 year old daughter to New Zealand. She would earn enough money to help build our palagi house and bring the rest of the family over. Fale's fare was paid for by relatives in New Zealand where she stayed with another of (her mother's) relatives. On arriving in Auckland, Fale almost immediately began remitting small money orders and saving for the fares. A year later, Mosamoa (her father) was able to arrange for a work permit for himself in New Zealand and ... Pula's (her uncle) civil service post made him instrumental in arranging for Fale's and Mosamoa's immigration papers."

The following example shows how personal friends and even fellow villagers were also used as sponsors in the initial phase of migration. My parents decision was based on the same sentiment most parents had at the time. My parents were thinking of building a big Samoan guest fale (house) and this coincided with the big wave of migration to New Zealand. It was decided my eldest sister, Malia will go as she will be a good remitter. Also the major reason was for her to find a good future and later when she was settled she will help bring some of her brothers.

My eldest sister, Malia went to New Zealand in 1968. She was about 18 years old. We did not have immediate relatives but my parents were very good friends with the LMS pastor in our village. It was through the pastor's wife's brother and his family in Porirua, Wellington that my sister got a sponsorship to go to New Zealand. She went on a working permit visa. The brother of the pastor's wife paid my sister's fare and it was the understanding once Malia works, she will pay back her fare.

The whole process took about three to five months from the time first contacts were made, taking of passport photos, making the passport, and waiting for forms and papers from New Zealand. The names of people who were lucky to get their applications faster from the New Zealand High Commission were announced on the 2AP our only broadcasting radio service.

I remembered vividly we had a big faamavaega the evening before they (my sister and parents) leave Savaii for Faleolo airport on Upolu. Everybody was crying and sad when they said goodbye to her. The pastor of LMS and the catechist, both from my village and everybody in the extended family came for the farewell gathering. There were speeches by the ministers, other relatives, and my father. I was still a kid, and I could remember all we were thinking of that night was for all the formalities to finish so that we could play with my other cousins. My aunt got hold of me throughout the prayer service and I would not dare protest her power as she was a big homely lady!

My sister visited home in 1972 and when she went back to New Zealand in 1973 instead, of going to Wellington, my parents sent her to Auckland to live with my father's cousin who came with her husband to visit Samoa when Malia was still home. After some deliberations, Malia was again getting ready to leave for Auckland and she would stay with Vai and Fuimaono (my father's cousin's family). In December 1976, she came to visit home again and she was engaged to be married. However, she felt she had a different call in her life and she decided to follow a long time (latent) yearning to be a nun. She entered the convent in Ponsonby, Auckland in 1977. In 1971 Malia paid for my adopted brother's fare to go to NZ where he is still living.

My father paid her visits in 1971 in Wellington, and in 1974 in Auckland when he took my village fundraising malaga for our church in 1974. In 1978 my father visited her in Sydney, Australia in the Little Sisters of the Poor's convent while he was on a government trip.

While the above examples concern immigration from Western Samoa to New Zealand, the basic mechanism holds for migration from American Samoa to the United States as well. The example below illustrates the other kind of family migration.

While generalizations cannot be drawn from one case, I wish to share with my readers the results of one data point which I collected from a family interview.

Case Study 2

The interview is with the Alai family. The father, V came to the United States to seek his education at Washington D.C. While there he met and fell in love with F. The two were married and moved back to Samoa, first American Samoa and then Western Samoa between 1952 and 1966. There in Western Samoa V served as chairman of Public Service Commission as well as a farmer. Later, he and F moved to Hawaii in 1966 to educate their children.

They have six children K, B,C, M, F, and S. At this interview the parents, S, K, M, and F, who was visiting from Samoa and R and L, husbands of S, and M were present.

I posed the question: "When you moved to the U.S, was it your intention to stay or to eventually return? V answered, he noted that after their stay in Hawaii from 1966 - 1986; he and his wife F moved back to Samoa where they have a house and a farm still.

He explained also that there were always visits back and forth between Samoa and the United States during the time they were working in Hawaii. They were in a way living in Hawaii permanently while their children were in high school and then in college.

Upon his return he ran for elections and he became a member of Parliament and contributed to Western Samoa by serving in the government.

F (the daughter) indicated that she has returned to Samoa and working in the Public Works. K and S both plan to return to Western Samoa, S and her husband R are both physicians and plan to use their expertise to help the people of Western Samoa. But they also plan to spend some of their lives in the US. In the meantime there are frequent visits between Western Samoa, American Samoa and Hawaii where some immediate members of the family also work. They have two sons and a daughter in American Samoa with families, and two daughters in Hawaii and one on the mainland. One of the sons is in the process of moving to Western Samoa to practice law.

F (the mother) was perhaps the most eloquent. The author of numerous books about her life as an American married to a Samoan male, she lives in two cultures concomitantly. Her words were, "Moving between the two and standing still in both."

The terms 'bi-local' and 'multi-local' residences are applicable in these cases as with most Samoan migrants.

Phase II

The second obligation concerns all migrants and is likely to involve them throughout their lives, or for as long as they remain emotionally attached to their homeland and the extended family members there. This obligation is to send money as needed in order to support the public financial obligations of the family and its matai. These occasions include weddings, funerals, title-bestowal ceremonies, building of new churches, houses for pastors, village schools, support for relatives in theological colleges, annual gifts of money to the church or village pastor and special needs of the family in times of crises.

There is the second wave of migration. Sometimes people migrated for the honor of the whole village, to earn money to build new churches or schools for example. This group tour for fundraising is often organized by local church organizations or the local village council if it is for a school building. Before the malaga is arranged there is a village fono (meeting) of matais. This is in accordance with the soalau-pule decision making of faa-Samoa. In the meeting, there is discussion about gifts mainly fine mats and qso to take to New Zealand for the people in New Zealand, how the fares are paid, where they will stay in NZ and how they will be hosted, length of the trip and how they will go about raising money. Once everything is cleared and set in Samoa then the word is sent to fellow matais and villagers in NZ of the pending trip and to see if they accept the request. This is very important as without the support of the people in NZ, or the US matters regarding host, accommodation and fares will be up in the air. It is rare that a request is rejected as the Samoans overseas cannot contemplate putting their village and families in great shame. In addition, as long as the proper channel of communication is used, denying a malaga from Samoa is unthinkable.

In the mid-seventies most of the fares were footed by relatives in New Zealand for the malaga people. However, with the recession hitting NZ now the people in Samoa try to get a loan locally to pay for their fares hoping that the money they will get from the malaga will be enough to pay back the loan. More recently, organizers make arrangements with their fellow migrant villagers in NZ that, instead of sending a malaga group the head organizer of the village people in NZ will hold fiafia (social dances) monthly themselves for the purpose of building their village church in Samoa and send the money to the matais and pastor in Samoa. It is not surprising that Samoans in NZ often tell relatives in Samoa that they went to Samata village luau or Sagone village luau.

According to the malaga custom, participants usually stay at the hall of a host church, but sometimes each of them stays either with their own relatives or a Samoan family of the host organization. They are also treated to reception ceremonies by their host. The malaga visitors own contribution is to put on a show of traditional Samoan songs and dances. When they dance, everyone in the audience is expected to throw money to a dancer in appreciation of the dance. Also after the group dance, there is an individual family siva a aiga (dance) in which the relative who comes from Samoa is called to dance to a song and all his relatives living in NZ plus friends will give him or her money. This money represents a donation from this person's family and that is usually their matai title. All of this money is recorded by a person at the table and after every thirty minutes the head organizer, a matai will call out what each family donated. As the members of the tour group are competing with each other to see how much money is given to them, everyone in the audience related to a dancer also competes in giving money. Malaga members also receive money for the fine mats they have brought.

Case Study 3

An example of the later type of movement is a 'malaga' trip my village Salelologa made in 1974. The malaga to New Zealand was to fundraise for building of our village church. The money received from the trip was primarily from people of Salelologa although donations came from other Samoans who went to the function known as tusigaiqoa or equivalent of luau in Hawaii. The malaga was well received as it was well advertised through the church and the grape vine throughout the Samoan community in New Zealand.

The 1974 trip was arranged by my father, 30 members joined in the malaga. Each matai of the parish had a member representing that matai and his family. A loan was made to pay for the fares and each malaga member was to pay NZ\$300 to the treasurer, a matai in the malaga group who was elected to do just that, collecting money and keeping records of money. Before the group left, they were deeply involved in practising and rehearsing songs and dances and a concert play. These were the plays and dances they were taking with them to New Zealand. Also each was assigned to collect 15 ordinary size and one large size fine mat. Altogether they collected 465 fine mats. They left on March and came back on May.

On the first day they were received with a kava ceemony by one of the host congregations in Auckland. The malaga group gave away some fine mats during the welcoming ceremony and received NZ\$4000. The next day evening they performed dances and the play in the hall of a different church congregation, and they distributed some fine mats also and received NZ\$7000. The next day evening, they repeated the dances and play in the hall of a different church congregation and received NZ\$6000 and they distributed some fine mats and received another NZ\$3000. Thus, having performed several times and distributed fine mats, and having received money from ceremonies by families with whom they were staying in both Auckland and Wellington, the malaga collected a total of NZ\$47,000.

When the time came to return to Samoa, the host Samoan church as well as relatives in New Zealand came together to give a big faamavaega (farewell party) as well as aiava (farewell gifts). In this final occasion a lavish feast was provided, sua¹⁸ (formal presentation often acknowledging the establishment of aiga relationship between host and visitor and also the important status of the person who is visiting or guest speaker) were again presented to the alii (chiefs) who headed the malaga. And in the aiava there were even gifts for wives and children of the malaga group. The new church was built and was dedicated in December of 1976. This date was chosen to allow the Salelologa people from New Zealand to participate in the celebration as they also contributed much to the completion of the project.

¹⁸ The formal presentation of 'sua' in Samoa consists of a husked coconut with a dollar note rolled and put in the hole, a table mat tray of baked taro, chicken, a roast pig, tapa cloth and fine mat. Sua presented in urban and overseas setting now consists of a soda with the dollar note, can of corned beef or spam, chicken, two yards of material, keg of beef and fine mat.

Note that the people in Samoa also have their own lafoga (contributions) toward the new church, like every Sunday each matai must give WS\$50.¹⁹ However, money collected from the Samoan community overseas is a great help in speeding up the building process. Not only it comes relatively fast it is also a one time lump sum.

It is now a common practice for dedication of new churches, church halls or school buildings to be around Christmas time. This is the time most Samoans overseas can come home to spend their holidays with their parents or even with their children as sometimes their young children are left with the grandparents while they work. The young child is usually reared by the grandparents until they reach their kindergarten age, then they are flown back to New Zealand or to Hawaii.

There are many villages making malaga for fundraising for their church or school building now. The case study above illustrates the dynamics of these trips. Salelavalu our next door village had just finished building a magnificent Methodist church in 1991. They also went on a malaga to New Zealand to supplement funds collected locally. I know personally of this church as I saw it being built in August 1991. The roof of this church was completely blown off and reduced to rubble by cyclone Val when it blew in December 6-9, 1991 (Savali 1992). It is no doubt rebuilding of the church will be a painstakingly slow project involving both Salelavalu communities in Samoa and overseas.

¹⁹ These are the two main family obligations Samoans have mea faa-le-lotu (church affairs) and mea faa-le-nuu (village affairs).

Case study 4

This example is reported in Yamamoto (1993). She wrote and informant told her this story about a malaga her Sunday School Teachers's group made to San Diego, Los Angeles and Hawaii in 1990. There were 23 members and each member had to raise WS\$800 for a one way-ticket. The church congregation made a loan from a bank for their return tickets. They brought 800 fine mats, six sacks of taro, many blocks of chocolate and bottles of sea cucumber intestines.

On arriving at San Diego they were received by the host congregation with a kava ceremony. They distributed many fine mats and received money in return including lafo (gift) money for each orators of the group. They performed dances on the next day and received US\$5000. In the same way, they were received by three more church congregations in Los Angeles and one in Oahu. They performed dances and distributed fine mats at different church congregations and received large sums of money. Their food, shelter and car transportation were provided by the host congregations. Some congregations were kind enough to take them for sightseeing to places of interest such as Sea World in San Diego, Disneyland and the Polynesian Culture Center in Laie, Hawaii. In total they came back with US\$70,000.

The purpose of the malaga was to raise money for building a Sunday school building and to buy teaching material resources for the children.

3.2c. Migration and Remittances

The importance of remittances from relatives abroad has been well documented for Western Samoa (O'Meara 1986, Pitt 1970, Shankman 1976). This is one way 'kinship reciprocity and ties to home communities are maintained at a distance' (Howard 1990: 43). Remittance cannot be dissociated from its cultural context. This includes both Western and American Samoa as a cultural milieu. Economic concepts understood and practiced in Western societies for instance do not completely explain or predict Samoan migration.

For example it is incorrect to assume that capital accumulation is a universal desideratum (Vaa 1990). Often ignored in western economic thinking is that some cultures also have their own social and economic goals. In fact capitalism may be counterproductive to these aims. In traditional Samoan culture, "wealth" is determined by how much you have given rather than how much you have accumulated. To highlight it a little, Conspicuous giving is to the Rest to what conspicuous consumption is to the West. This ethos is embedded, though sometimes very deeply, in the actions of modern Samoans.

For the modern Samoans their 'economic ethos' is also different from the European. What is "economic goals/development"? For the Samoan economic goals is putting children to school -education, building a European house, getting a car, television set and video. These are things personal, close to a parents heart. Fulfilling their obligations fa'alavelave in village affairs faa-le-nuu and church faa-le-lotu all these are forms of economic goals and development. The successful implementation of these social obligations falls on the aiga and matai as a whole and the status of the aiga is therefore vigilantly guided. Population mobility as a household strategy (Underhill 1989) that is, distributing its resources 'members' of the family intra-island and extra-island is not draining a family's resources. Rather, this is a strategic response by households to varying economic resources, opportunities and constraints.

Migration is a process not atypical to Samoa, it happened in the continental areas, Africa, Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific. So the fact that it happened later in the Pacific did not make it bad and unique. Although in the case of the Samoans one element which distinguished its pattern of movement is the persistence and density of kinship networks which facilitate these movements of people. The sending of remittances is not unique to Samoans as other first time migrants do remit money to their families. The difference for Samoans however, is sending remittance home is an on-going process irrespective of the length of absence from home. One can argue the amount may decline considerably over time, but suffice is to say the obligation to send money is still very strong because not only it is a social obligation, it is also a form of maintaining links and ties to one's aiga for future purposes. In a way it is a political weapon for consolidating a person's claim to land and titles back in Samoa.

Samoan who migrate, parents in particular, are comforted by the thought that after their children's education and the time comes to retire to Samoa they can do so with all honors due is clearly a comfort to them. If the parents do not want to earn a matai title any of the children can be selected to be a matai as the parent's tautua is counted and honored as heirs to the title. This is a reward for the tautua malele they performed so well from overseas.

Moreover, in the Samoan community at both ends of the scale there are a number of mechanisms, sanctions and constraints operative to ensure the migrants are aware of their social and economic obligations to their village kin.

While it would appear that the local community either in New Zealand, United States or in Samoa seems to mobilize no specific action against defaulters, a degree of approbation is leveled at those who overlook or renege on their obligations. A certain amount of repute and community prestige is thus involved in such undertakings and migrants receive payment from the esteem which accrues to those 'who play the game according to the rules'. Part of this is undoubtedly the realization that if one's own personal or financial situation was to change one could rely upon the assistance of a widely ramifying network. Curson (1979) observed similar patterns with the Cook Islanders community in New Zealand.

Franco (1991) reinforces this observation that in the past Samoan patterns of economic exchange centered on tautua (service to chiefs and families) and fa'alavelave (mutual support during crucial life cycle events) have gained additional meaning within the context of urban centers in Samoa, New Zealand and the United States. Tautua and fa'alavelave remain important social transactions between leaders, supporters and kinsmen, and these transactions provide the economic basis for what is now an international kinship system.

Pirie (1976: 90) echoes similar observation in his study of three Samoan villages experiencing population 'loss' - he says "The loss of these migrants would have worse effects were it not for the characteristic feature of Samoan social life, a feeling of obligation to support one's aiga wherever, and whenever possible." Moreover, he reports in 1968 a net balance of over WS\$1,300,000 in remittances accrued to Western Samoa from New Zealand alone. No data exist on the allocation of this flow of money. A further significant but unknown sum comes from American Samoa and the United States.

In his study of Samoans moving to New Zealand Ualetanesa (1980) estimated that by 1966 about eight percent of Western Samoa's population migrated. The remittance sent back by a total of 16% of the overseas population was about 30% of the total national income in 1966. Significantly, it must be admitted that the particular mix of push and pull factors that leads to migration in one person may be totally the opposite from that which leads to the migration of another. He concludes that Samoan migration process is largely economic and social in nature.

The Samoans think that in helping to bring a relative or remitting money to people in Samoa, they in future would not worry about accommodation in Samoa when the time comes to visit home. The relatives at home will seize this opportunity to reciprocate the hospitality given to them earlier by their relatives when they needed that assistance. Also in light of the case studies I mention above the involvement of both the local Samoan community and the emigrant Samoan community indicate a strong commitment to the well being of Samoan communities at home. Moreover, for the emigrant Samoans, this participation and contribution reaffirm their love and tautua taumalele to their families and villages back home. The dedication of a church or school building symbolizes the completion of collective efforts and this further enhances their cultural identity. Therefore, aiga kinship network and remittances are important for they are an integral part of a much wider system of interaction involving obligation , participation and reciprocity.

According to the financial controller, Sefo Boume of the (Central Bank of Western Samoa 1990), about 75% of the remittances²⁰, come from Samoans living overseas, 20% comes from churches and non-profit organizations and 5% are destined for expatriate Europeans living in Samoa. The percentage of remittances from various countries was: New Zealand 52%, mainland USA 26%, Australia 9%, American Samoa 7%, Hawaii 4%, and rest of the world 4%. Incidentally, the proportions in the remittances reflect well the concentration of Western Samoa's migrants in those countries. The most important effect of remittances, besides helping the relatives in Samoa is that they provide an indispensable source of foreign currency with which to pay for trade deficits

3.2d. Mobility and Identity

For Pacific Islanders movement means far more than the physical transfer of a person or a family in one direction at one specific movement in time. Equally, it involves the exchange of kin, food, goods and belongings. For example the interaction space will include Apia- Savaii- PagoPago- New Zealand or Hawaii. It is not rare to find Samoans thinking of themselves as being three people (identity) in one body. First the ethnic Samoan, second the real self, the roots (a'a) of the place in which he/she was born and will always belong e.g. Salelologa, Savaii, and third one who has been influenced and shaped by the outside world, education overseas, workplace and cultural associations.

²⁰ No doubt that cyclones Ofa 1990 and Val 1991 have largely contributed to the increase in remittances.

There coexists a deep feeling for the natal environment for the people and place where they no longer live but continues to be closely associated with and for the outside world of the town where by preference they now stay with their families either for economic reasons, educating their children or because of marriage. What to Pacific islanders constitute an ongoing experience of life that is rich, challenging, at times painful, seems to observers to be ambiguous and paradoxical, to represent personal behaviors in conflict. The malaga visits and brief visitations of Samoans is a strategy used to cope with this.

Against this profile, mobility must be seen not as a simple movement away from the villages, but as complex set of movements carried out over different periods and within different clan, household, and individual economic and social contexts. "Considering Pacific Islanders movements as an interaction between different places, some urban and some rural as incorporating a range of times simultaneously ancient and modern; and as an ongoing dialog between people and institutions comes far closer to capturing its sense and contemporary meaning." (Chapman 1985).

We have a saying and this is echoed in every Samoan speech, E lele le toloa ae ma'au i le vai - The kingfisher flies but will always anchor in the water, refers to family relations and family ties (identity). The toloa which is a precious bird for its feathers, no matter where it scavenges it will always go back to the water. This is used by matai and orators or even parents in their speeches when they gather in big occasions to celebrate a relative's arrival from a trip overseas or to farewell anybody when he leaves for overseas.

Implicit in this proverb is an advice for any Samoan that wherever he goes he should never forget his roots, his family, and the proud culture in which he has been brought up. It perpetuates the resilience of the faa-Samoa in the person's mind. It is difficult for those who are not Samoans to really believe this, but these notions have profoundly influence the Samoan behaviors. These cultural elements, which I believe, have also contributed to the maze of confusion experienced, particularly by our young people when the presence of village council and parents is absent, youths become alienated. Specifically, with the onset of modernization and moving overseas²¹.

3.2e. Misreading Cultural Differences?

The dependency model has often echoed the negative impact of the remittance dependence and lack of real 'development' in the islands as symptomatic in this statement " The desire for progress is beyond the means of their own resources has induced a dependency and accelerated rate of social change..." (Connell 1990: Introduction in Pacific Research Monograph). This implies the frustration the administrators and aid donors feel when development or cultural change are not producing islanders and economies that are symmetrical to Western models and institutions.

²¹ I intentionally omit discussion of migrant adaptation overseas as this aspect deserves a study unto itself.

What has often been ignored is: Social relationships, not economic ones, constitute the core of many non-Western societies. To borrow a phrase from Sahlins and turn it around a bit, "Kinship is to the Rest to what money is to the West."²² In Pacific island societies, obligations to family, clan, church and traditional leaders take precedence. The carrying out of these responsibilities, requires a considerable expense of time, energy and effort.

Hanlon (1984) ably explains that Micronesians have a strategy for survival in a world not totally within their power to control. Part of the problem in misreading cultural differences, especially since the Pacific islands were integrated into the world economy, lies in the adoption and use of Western political, educational, and economic institutions by the islanders. In the act of borrowing or adopting, there also occurs a transformation or adapting.

In the process of transformation, the western norms of doing things are adapted to the islanders traditions, which makes them more compatible and more appropriate to the types of societies in which they have evolved. In doing this, the Western norms have become Samoanized, Polynesianized, Melanesianized or Micronesianized, a fact that is rarely accepted or respected.

Franco (1985) suggests that theories about migration have predominantly stressed structural factors in determining people's movement. He argues that structural explanation can be compelling, but only after considering cross-cultural differences in enterprise and entrepreneurship.

²² Quoted in Hanlon, D. (1984) "Myths, Strategies, and Guilt in Micronesia." East-West Perspective Vol 23, pp 23-27.

Entrepreneurship is one of many work patterns and perceptions that vary cross-culturally. Most of the studies (Barth 1963; Portes and Manning 1984) that preceded Franco's work focused on entrepreneurship as a distinctive and important form of social transaction and exchange. Yet nearly all international migration and adaptation theories neglect cultural differences in immigrant work patterns and perceptions. Generally, immigrants are viewed as culturally homogeneous mass, all aspiring for the same work-related goals.

Franco demonstrated that Samoans are adapting to overseas labor market through culturally distinctive work perceptions and patterns. Tautua and fa'alavelave are unique social transactions powerfully influencing work and adaptation. By examining Samoan perceptions and patterns of work he identifies unique 'alternative competencies' rather than deficiencies in Samoan workers.

In a material sense it can be argued that the money people spend on their relatives and church reduces their ability to buy property, automobiles, and other consumer goods. In the long run this may become a problem, since it renders Samoans as a group more vulnerable to the capriciousness of the economy than they would be if they saved and invested their money in what Americans consider to be appropriate ways (Janes 1990). On the other hand, it can be argued, as many Samoans do, that they are investing; and in a much more fragile and valuable commodity: their aiga and kindred groups.

In the final analysis, which is the more valuable and represents the least cost in human terms? For the Samoans the answer is elusive. They do not like being poor, but they highly value their culture, are proud of their kin groups and enjoy the public displays that bring them together and provide a sense of shared history, tradition and identity. The solution for Samoans is therefore, not to reduce the degree of involvement but to increase their access to the resources needed for that involvement, to keep their communities alive, integrated and distinctive.

3.2f. Migration and faa-Samoa

A basic understanding of Samoan migration must be rooted in an understanding of the dynamic interaction of the faa-Samoa with the reality of migration. At the heart of the Samoan culture is the faa-Samoa. If this ideology remains intact in an individual and is not materially altered by the experiences of the act of migration, then the aforementioned theories of Samoan migration do not completely allow us to understand the migration act and do not allow us to make valid predictions about future migratory patterns of Samoans. But if the experiences of migration impact upon the individuals such that their basic cultural values of the faa-Samoa are materially adapted, then the theoretical constructs already in the literature are sufficient to understand and predict migration behavior of Samoans.

There are many forces that insulate the faa-Samoa. Numerous have been mentioned: the offshore aiga; the visitation of kin; land tenure; matai system; the church; and the knowledge in Samoa of what has happened to other Polynesian cultures that have not resisted adaptation strongly enough.

Another factor must be considered. The Samoans individual self-concept and self-esteem. When the Samoan migrates, the new world in which he finds himself, outside of the expatriate aiga, may be quite harsh. In the workplace he feels at a disadvantage, being unfamiliar with what is expected. On the city streets he senses an unacceptance and occasional hostility from his host nation denizens. In the shopping center he is encountered with less than respect by the shopkeeper. Even the local police behave as if they were suspicious of his intentions.

All these factors attack on his self-esteem. He feels under siege. He must defend himself. It is his faa-Samoa which is his strongest barricade of defense. It is his invincible wall of protection and so it must remain invincible. It assures him of his self worth. It recalls for him his import in society. It is the substance of his self-esteem. He will never forego it!

And so, it is the absolute impenetrability of the faa-Samoa which requires us to make it a more central element in any theory of Samoan migration. The faa-Samoa relates the motives of migration to Samoan perceptions of the self-concept in a manner which may clarify for us a fuller understanding of Samoan migration. Because of the faa-Samoa, and its link to self-esteem, Samoans emigrate only in body, not in spirit, and this implies their migratory behavior may be different than that of other groups. Thus, I am proposing that the faa-Samoa is an important causal link in any theory of Samoan migration. It is a construct which relates the micro to the macro level by interlinking the individual to the group and then to society. Without a full investigation of the faa-Samoa and its link to Samoan self-esteem, no theory of Samoan behavior can be considered complete.

4. Summary and Conclusion

Each of the main theories of Samoan migration have shortcomings. If the structural approach is followed then it renders the indigenous factors less important and insignificant, thus it is this author's belief. Push-pull models of migration applied to Samoan movements are limiting in that they are not particularly helpful in understanding the Samoan case because Western Samoans view their initial movement to New Zealand as movement within a single political and economic system. This was during the time when Western Samoa was a mandate territory of New Zealand. Indeed, going to New Zealand has become a *rite de passage* of a person's life to becoming an adult in Samoan society.

Later, movements took the form of chain migration this was due to the great economic boom times in New Zealand and the high need for labor in meat and other factory works. Most of Samoan movement in the latter part of the 70s to the 80s was through family sponsored migration and in combination with education and visits for families fa'alavelave (life cycles events) in New Zealand as well as malaga (visits for raising money) for a village project in Western Samoa.

The circulation approach originated as a counterbalance to the structural approach which emphasizes macro-level and aggregate numbers. In other words, its focus is the micro-level/grass-root level view of population movements. However, if the circulation approach is followed in its totality, it also is rendered narrow when applied to the Samoan case. By focusing on the individual and stressing the prominent role of indigenous factors and institutions, it renders it blind to the larger external forces which also influence society and the individual.

The dependency theory is generally structural in orientation. The emphasis of the dependency theory upon the economic vulnerability of the Pacific island nations is overrated. The MIRAB theory, while it considered migration, remittance, aid and bureaucracy, it is more than migration theory per se. It was formulated primarily to study the agricultural economies of Pacific island states and places too much emphasis on economic motivation/results.

The people as active agents in their decision-making process is somewhat ignored, and if considered, are treated as secondary to economic factors. Yet cultural values are very strong constructs which profoundly influence people's behavior and in turn influence migratory and remittance patterns, especially in Samoan society. That is, it is argued here that Samoan culture is far more resistant to change than many other cultures, and this fact is a significant issue in the formulation of theories of Samoan migration.

Population mobility must be seen not as a simple movement away from the village, but as complex set of movements carried out over different periods and within different household and individual economic and social contexts. It is clear that Samoan migration is definitely not uni-directional but involves a more complex set of movements. There are those who have migrated and have eventually made New Zealand, the United States or wherever they may be their home but still keep their kinship relationships intact. There are those that circulate and this may range from a year to twenty years until their desired goal or retirement age is reached.

Additionally, it is also clear that the extended family network aiga is a significant factor in the migration process. Indeed, it is rare for any single person to emigrate by himself without the assistance of family members in securing accommodation and employment and social support. The church is a major element that should be considered in Samoan movements also.

Most Samoans talk of getting the benefits of higher pension from the United States or New Zealand and then retire to the relaxed and less strained lifestyle of Samoa and thereby allowing them to participate and contribute to the affairs of their aiga and village. There are others, of course, who love their new found freedom, and the material things that money could provide, and therefore would not return to Samoa. There are various reasons why people move and circulate. However, there is strong evidence to believe from the literature that Samoans do not see their movement patterns as severance of ties with the homeland. Rather, it is an attempt by those who are able to migrate to fulfill their desired goals whatever those may be and eventually return.

There are compelling reasons for the urge to return. For many Samoans who have moved, the aiga overseas make the adaptation to the new society easier. Because of the effectiveness of the kinship system in adaptation, particularly regarding accommodation, and kin channeled employment, return home, though originally planned, may never occur.

On the other hand, because of the tendency of the Samoans to integrate and band together in their overseas communities, rather than assimilate, this would facilitate the comparative ease of fitting back to Samoa, and could be a driving force in keeping the migrants closer to their homeland, hence, reinforcing the circular movements of both the migrants and those who visit them from Samoa.

Samoan population movement is a combination of unidirectional, permanent migration, and circular, temporary movements encompassing a wide geographic expanse from New Zealand, through Samoa to Hawaii and the United States mainland. Samoans often conceptualize the more circular, temporary movements as malaga, the traditional practice of inter-village and inter-island visiting and resource sharing. But today the movements are international, with the visits being to kinsmen aiga residing more permanently in New Zealand, Samoa, and the United States proper, and the resources, in addition to taro, breadfruit and mats, now include American and New Zealand dollars.

One Samoan orator explains that in Western thinking there are two views of looking at things, the bird's-eye view and the worm's-eye view. This would translate to the macro-level and micro-level studies. In Samoa and Polynesia there are three views: the mountain view where one gets an overall view of things, the view from the top of a tree, and the view from the canoe where one can see the school of fish. It is the Samoan belief that it is only when a person looks at something from all the three levels, that a holistic view of life and its processes is accomplished, therein lies the cosmic world of being.

In this study I have found that the structural, dependency and MIRAB approaches tend to stress the mountain-view of looking at things i.e. from the macro-level and circulation approach stressing the canoe level, emphasizing the micro-level. I propose a theory which takes into account all the three views of looking at things- the mountain, the top of a tree and the canoe, this will come far closer to capturing the Pacific Islanders mobility patterns. Thus, all these approaches should not be seen as exclusive of each other rather they should be synthesize to make analyzes of migration more fruitful. Recognizing the necessity of studying interrelated mobility patterns and employing realistic/eclectic approaches may make the task of evaluating causal priorities more difficult, but it should produce better understanding and explanation in the long run.

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