New Pacific Voyages since Independence

1960 Onwards

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> The new economic reality made nonsense of artificial boundaries, enabling people to shake off their confinement and they have since moved, by the tens of thousands, doing what their ancestors had done before them: enlarging their world as they go, but on a scale not possible before.[1]

In this chapter we discuss new contemporary voyages Pacific people have embarked upon since the independence period of the 1960s. In doing so we adopt Epeli Hau'ofa's view of contemporary Pacific migration and transnationalism as a process of world enlargement. Pacific migration has often been viewed in limited terms such as outward migration and one-directional flows. The migration patterns and experiences of the region are varied and complex, and current economic theories of migration are inadequate in capturing the nuances of the Pacific region and fail to recognize migration, mobility, and movement as a social and cultural act and not merely economically motivated; they are culturally specific, grounded in social ontologies and historical encounters. In this chapter we argue for a transnational approach in thinking about and understanding Pacific contemporary migration since the 1960s. Pacific migration, mobility, and movement is not simply about individuals themselves but rather about complex networks and flows of people, families, organizations, ideas, and goods, creating communities that expand across multiple nation-states. The chapter begins with a discussion on what is Pacific transnational flow and how this differs to dominate discourses on international migration and movement. We then describe different types of flows beginning with where people have moved to and explore the main drivers of migration: money and remittances. We then outline the different types of migration and mobility pathways that Pacific

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[1] E. Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands', in E. Waddell, V. Naidu, and E. Hau'ofa (eds.), *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands* (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, 1994), 2–16, at 10.

people have undertaken since the 1960s, with a particular focus on educational opportunities and employment opportunities such as seasonal labour migration schemes and sports migration. We conclude the chapter by considering the impact of climate change and migration for future generations of Pacific people.

Pacific Transnational Flows

Hau'ofa's analysis of Pacific migration and transnational flows is akin to Arjun Appadurai's concept of ethnoscapes which he defines as:

> the landscape of persons who make up the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.[2]

Ethnoscapes and indeed Hauʻofa's vision of Pacific migration and transnationalism acknowledge that contemporary notions of people, place, and community have become much more complex, where a 'single community' may now expand across various boundaries. Further Macpherson contends that to understand the real impact of emigration and change in contemporary Oceania we may need to reconceptualize Pacific societies.[3] One possible reconceptualization is a Pacific ethnoscape given that the lived realities of Pacific transnational communities across the globe are having a political impact between and within nations. This is most evident when looking at political elections and the inclusion of overseas constituencies to represent significant populations living abroad. In the Pacific the Cook Islands had an overseas seat that was created in 1981 and then abolished in 2003. More recently the Kingdom of Tonga began floating the idea of an overseas seat in 2017, given the large numbers of Tongans living abroad.[4]

Transnationalism is the sustained and meaningful flows, networks, and relations connecting individuals and social groups across the borders of nation-states. It highlights the complex and complicated network of ties between Pacific individuals, groups, and institutions by including an analysis

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[2] A. Appadurai, 'Global ethnospaces: notes and queries for a transnational anthropology', in R. Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1991), 191–210, 192.

[3] C. Macpherson, 'Migration and transformation in the contemporary Pacific', *New Zealand Sociology* 23:1 (2008), 30–40.

[4] B. Hill, 'Seats in parliament for overseas Tongans seen as problematic', *ABC Radio Australia*, 1 June 2017, www.abc.net.au/radio-australia/programs/pacificbeat/seats-in-parliament-for-overseas-tongans-seen-as/8580498.

of the positive and negative outcomes of migration. Migration and the term diaspora tend to be narrow in focus and often exclude circular or return migration, an important feature of Pacific migration as Pacific peoples abroad still maintain strong links and connections back to the Pacific.[5] These connections are highlighted through this chapter. Migrants are not individual movers. There is no detachment from their families and communities. Furthermore, Pacific cross-border movement is associated with supporting families and communities in their respective localities. Even while abroad, migrants experience an attachment to place – a homeland where identity and being 'of place' is often the source of inspiration and wellbeing while absent from familial surroundings and members.

Such mobility and interconnectedness have a long history. The settlement and colonization of the Pacific Islands by Austronesian-speaking peoples was the greatest nautical diaspora in world history in the pre-modern era, stretching from Madagascar in the west to Rapa Nui in the southeast Pacific in the east. Long-distance voyaging and regular inter-island contacts continued until European conquest in a number of Pacific societies, with all economic exchanges tied to social and political interactions that enhanced community interactions and extended resource bases through intermarriage between kin groups involving mutual obligations. European discovery, exploration, and trade created opportunities for Pacific Islanders to ship out as crew and return with enhanced status through European goods as payment as crew and experiences of the outside world. After European colonial rule, hundreds of thousands of Pacific Islanders from Melanesia in particular worked in commercial plantations in other Pacific Island locations, or in Queensland.[6]

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[5] A. Liki, 'Moving and rootedness: the paradox of brain drain among Samoan professionals', *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 16:1 (2001), 67–84. S. Lilomaiava-Doktor, 'Beyond "migration": Samoan population movement (malaga) and the geography of social space (vā)', *Contemporary Pacific* 21:1 (2009), 1–32; F.A.L. Uperesa, 'Fabled futures: migration and mobility for Samoans in American football', *Contemporary Pacific* 26:2 (2014), 281–301.

[6] On pre-colonial inter-island exchanges see N. Gunson, 'Two indigenous chiefly systems, title and trade', in B.V. Lal and K. Fortune (eds.), *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 132–5, and P. D'Arcy, *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity and History in Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). On shipping out on Western vessels, see D.A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanic Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), and on the Pacific labour trade in the colonial era, see P. Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration, 1870–1914* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973).

The fact that the Pacific region is often left out from international theories of migration is conspicuous. Rather, theories of migration for the Pacific have been based loosely on regional geography. For example, small island-states in Polynesia are characterized by over-reliance on international migration and remittances as outlined by Bertram and Watters.[7] Melanesia is characterized by intraregional migration and Micronesia is a hybrid of both international and intraregional migration.[8]

The MIRAB model refers to the geographical realities and colonial legacies of small Pacific Island nation-states. Most achieved independence only in the 1970s and inherited limited infrastructure from their colonial rulers. The majority of their populations practise largely subsistence lifestyles occasionally supplemented by cash crops. A significant proportion of the population now travel beyond their place of birth to work in the modern economy, especially in national capitals.[9] The MIRAB model designates the majority of Pacific nations as small, non-viable economies dependent on aid from former colonial powers. As most aid is absorbed in civil service bureaucracy salaries, remittances sent from labour markets in former colonial power nations become the main income source for those outside of government. Such economies predominate in Polynesia and Micronesia, whereas the larger Melanesian states of the southwest Pacific, until very recently, exhibited much less out-migration and considerable resource bases in the mining, forestry, and agricultural sectors. Hau'ofa argued that the MIRAB 'basket cases' were the result of barriers created by colonial boundaries and policies that imposed an artificial sense of isolation and separation upon Islanders. They must now decolonize their minds, and recast their sense of identity by rediscovering the vision of their ancestors for whom the Pacific was a boundless sea of possibilities and opportunities.[10] Numerous chapters in this collection show that Hau'ofa's vision was grounded in fact rather than a mythical vision of the past. While colonial rule opened new opportunities for movement such as travelling overseas to work, it also artificially restricted many social and other ties which expanded the worlds and opportunities open to Pacific Islanders. The flows discussed in this chapter are the latest manifestation of a long

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[7] I.G. Bertram and R.F. Watters, 'The MIRAB economy in South Pacific microstates', *Pacific Viewpoint* 26:3 (1985), 497–519.

[8] J. Goss and B. Lindquist, 'Placing movers: an overview of the Asian-Pacific migration system', *Contemporary Pacific* 12:2 (2000), 385–414.

[9] K. Nero, 'The material world unmade', in D. Denoon (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islander* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 359–96.

[10] Bertram and Watters 'The Mirab economy in the south Pacific microstates', and Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands'.

history of expanding resource bases by means of forging social, political, and economic links. Our chapter is anthropological or, perhaps more correctly, more Pacific-orientated than most migration analysis in that its themes are woven together through the strands of community, family, and personal ties which lie at the heart of Pacific identity and action.

From a regional geography analysis, the majority of international migration comes from Polynesian small island state MIRAB economies such as Niue, Wallis and Futuna, the Cook Islands, and Tokelau, all of which have a majority of their populations living overseas. International migration from Melanesia is mostly from Fiji, with increased migration of skilled and semi-skilled Indo-Fijians as the result of political unrest marked by the first of three military coups in 1987. Micronesians' migration flows from Guam and the Northern Marianas to Hawai'i and the US mainland.[11] This focus on out-migration does provide some useful insights into sociocultural change, economic aid and development, and immigration and migration. As Chappell argues, this 'analysis might also benefit from a *transnational* perspective that gets beyond the mental straitjacket of bounded nation-states'[12] as national economic development perspectives are mostly concerned with the international core–periphery relations between nations that supply raw materials and those that manufacture these materials into high-value exports. This narrow focus distorts Indigenous meanings and expanded notions of Pacific movement.[13] Although transnational communities are an outcome of international labour migration, international labour migration is necessary but not sufficient to understand the motivations, processes, and outcomes of Pacific transnational communities.

Islands, Spaces, and Flow

Since independence the main destination countries for Pacific people have been Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and France.[14] These destinations are unsurprising considering the colonial histories and remaining legacies of Western imperialism. New Zealand, the United States, and France have permanent pathways of inward migration for former territories. New Zealand

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[11] Goss and Lindquist, 'Placing movers'.
[12] D.A. Chappell, 'Transnationalism in central Oceanian politics: a dialectic of diasporas and nationhood?', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108:3 (1999), 277–303, at 2.
[13] Liki, 'Moving and rootedness'.
[14] See H. Lee and S. Francis (eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2009) for a history of Pacific movement to New Zealand, Australia, and North America.

introduced the Samoan Quota in 1970, allowing 1,100 Samoan nationals who meet the criteria to become a permanent resident under a ballot system to ensure fairness.[15] The United States enacted the Compact of Free Association, or the compact, in 1986, allowing free association between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Palau, and the Marshall Islands. Australia does not have any Pacific-specific permanent migration pathway for former territories, including Papua New Guinea, Australia's closest neighbour.

In 1997 Gerard Ward estimated that over 400,000 Pacific people lived overseas, including 170,000 in New Zealand and 150,000 in the United States. Since then this number has increased significantly, with over 1.2 million Pacific people living in the United States alone.[16] The figures in Table 62.1 represent approximately 13 per cent of the total Pacific Islander (PI) population. This number would be significantly higher if we also included European destination countries. The table provides an overview of the census data of populations both at home and in the three main destination countries of Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of selected Pacific Islands and Territories.

The table provides a useful illustration of how migration patterns are affected by colonial pasts, with significant numbers of Pacific people living in former colonial administrative countries. For example, the data from the New Zealand Pacific realm countries of the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau show that there are significantly more Cook Islanders, Niueans, and Tokelauans living in New Zealand than back in their home islands. However, these colonial links differ, as is evident in their immigration policy settings. Polynesian countries have a number of avenues for migration to New Zealand, whereas, as mentioned above, Australia provides limited immigration opportunities to countries such as PNG. This is in part due to Australia's historical race-based immigration policies.

Mass migration to cities in destination countries was also enabled by chain migration, where once one or two Pacific households have established themselves with secure housing and employment new family members from the Pacific would then migrate and the chain or cycle begins again.[17] This is

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[15] C.W. Stahl and R. Appleyard, 'Migration and development in the Pacific Islands: lessons from the New Zealand experience', Report for the Australian Agency for Development (AusAid), Canberra, April 2007.
[16] Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAAJ), *A Community of Contrasts: Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the West*, (Washington, DC: AAAJ, 2015), 2.
[17] C. Macpherson. 'Transnationalism and transformation in Samoan society', in V. Lockwood, *Globalisation and Culture Change in the Pacific Islands* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall 2004), 165–81, at 167–8.

Table 62.1 *Selected Pacific Islands and Territories population census data at home and abroad.*

Country	Census year	Population	Population in Australia (2017)	Population in New Zealand (2013)	Population in United States (2010)
American Sāmoa	2012	55,519	–	–	184,440*
Cook Islands	2016	17,434	22,228	62,631	–
Federated States of Micronesia	2017	104,590	–	–	9,226
Fiji	2017	884,887	37,003	14,445	32,304
Guam	2018	165,768	–	–	147,798
Hawai'i	2019	1.43 million	473	336	527,077^
Kiribati	2015	110,110		2,115	401
Marshall Islands	2011	53,158	871	–	22,434
Nauru	2015	11,288	512	129	–
New Caledonia	2014	269,000	270		–
Niue	2011	1,611	4,958	23,883	–
Palau	2015	17,661			7,450
Papua New Guinea	2011	7,275,324	18,802	807	416
Pitcairn	2008	66	741	177	–
Sāmoa	2016	195,979	75,753	144,138	*
Solomon Islands	2009	515,870	1,883	603	122
Tahiti	2017	189,517		1,407	5,062
Tokelau	2016	1,285	2,329	7,176	925
Tonga	2016	100,745	32,695	60,336	57,183
Tuvalu	2017	10,645		3,537	–
Vanuatu	2016	272,459	956	492	91

Note: Census data for Pacific Countries and Territories and New Zealand from Statistics New Zealand. Australian figures compiled from the Australian Bureau of Statistics census 2016 using the Australian classification of Cultural and Ethnic groups, and the data for the United States from EPIC and AAAJ, 'A community of contrasts' (2014). *Both American Samoans and Samoans were classified as one category with a majority from American Samoa. ^This is the number of Native Hawaiians in the United States.

demonstrated in the clustering of Pacific transnational communities in certain cities. In the United States for example, the majority of Pacific communities on the mainland are located in California (24 per cent). Further demographic analysis reveals enclaves of Pacific groups across the United States, with one

in four Tongans living in Salt Lake City, Utah, while over half of the Pacific community in Arkansas are from the Marshall Islands.[18]

However, recent examination of the experiences of Pacific transnational communities has highlighted that the idea of migration leading to better socio-economic positions in most cases has been fantasy rather than reality. Research has shown that many Pacific transnational communities in urban cities have experienced significant educational and social inequalities and inequities[19] particularly as their vulnerabilities are often linked to their visa status like other migrant groups.

Migrant groups are susceptible to domestic immigration, economic, and welfare policy. In New Zealand, Pacific communities are arguably adversely impacted the most by economic policy changes than any other group.[20] This highlights how migration, which until recently was the exclusive domain of domestic immigration policy for wealthy countries, has now become central to the debate on international development and poverty alleviation.[21]

For Pacific countries, issues of 'brain drain', that is the loss of highly qualified and productive workers, have arisen time and time again in reference to processes of international labour migration. This is a valid argument, however, as a key feature of Pacific migration is that it is often circular in nature. Therefore, rather than viewing the upskilling of Pacific migrants overseas as a brain drain a more apt description would be a brain exchange as Pacific people return home. As Liki argues in her research based on the migration of Samoan professionals, for Pacific people and Samoans, 'mobility spans geographic and social spaces yet is firmly anchored in the 'aiga (family)'.[22] Inevitably there will always be some professionals who will remain overseas; however, it is in the best economic and sociocultural interests of Pacific families, communities, and nations to continue to support brain exchanges.

[18] AAAJ, 'A community of contrasts', 67.
[19] AAAJ, 'A community of contrasts'; Macpherson, 'Transnationalism and transformation in Samoan Society'.
[20] Stahl and Appleyard, 'Migration and development in the Pacific Islands'.
[21] M. Luthria, 'Seasonal migration for development? Evaluating New Zealand's RSE Program overview', *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 3:3 (2008), 165–70.
[22] Liki, 'Moving and rootedness', 80.

Money Flows

The role of remittances in the Pacific has been researched extensively, though much is reliant on financial money transfers. An important motivator for movement is obtaining incomes to send home to families and communities. Most migration in the Pacific is based on household and community decisions. There is also individual choice, however, with the reasons given based around family and community needs and obligations. The act of migration to access further education or obtain incomes often comes with an expectation of reciprocity through remittances, whether it be economic, social, or material.

Many Pacific Island countries are reliant on remittances and for some it is their highest source of income. Sāmoa and Tonga are the highest remittances receivers in the Pacific and are high on the list globally by GDP.[23] Since the Covid-19 pandemic, where many have lost jobs, remittances from overseas-based citizens have become crucial, even in countries that prior to temporary labour schemes were not reliant on remittances such as Vanuatu. Access to overseas temporary labour programmes has provided many ni-Vanuatu with incomes not available at home and are seen as better than aid provided by donor countries: 'We would rather work for our money than be given aid. To do it for ourselves and not be dependent on aid, yes that is why we are here' (Ron an RSE worker).[24]

In recent times the MIRAB model has come under scrutiny specifically due to how remittances are conceptualized and how small island states have been able to diversify national economies.[25] The MIRAB model and other remittance theories have argued that over time there will be a change in generational attitudes and the willingness to continue to remit otherwise known as 'remittance decay'. However, remittances continue to feature strongly in small island economies with many Pacific countries reporting larger remittance contributions compared to aid. This was evident in a recent comparative analysis of remittances from Tongans participating in Australia's Seasonal Worker Program versus total of received Australian aid.[26]

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[23] T.K. Jayaraman, C.K. Choong, and R. Kumar, 'Role of remittances in economic growth in Pacific Island countries: a study of Samoa', *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 8:4 (2009), 611–27, at 618.

[24] R. Bailey, 'Unfree labour: ni-Vanuatu workers in New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme', Master's thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 2009, 58.

[25] C. Tisdell, 'The MIRAB model of small island economies in the Pacific and their security issues: revised version', Social Economics, Policy and Development Working Papers 165087, University of Queensland, School of Economics, 2014.

[26] S. Howes and B. Orton, 'For Tonga, Australian labour mobility more important than aid and trade combined', 2020, https://devpolicy.org/for-tonga-australian-labour-mobility-more-important-than-aid-and-trade-combined-20200121/.

The continuity of significant remittance contributions is based not on economics but rather on the deeply embedded sociocultural nature of migration and the subsequent networks of flows of people, labour, and goods and this is highlighted in research from traditional MIRAB economies such as the Cook Islands.[27]

Knowledge Flows

Pacific people have been migrating for further educational opportunities and scholarships since at least 1885 when the Suva Medical School was established. The first Pacific university established was the University of Hawaiʻi, founded in 1907. It took more than fifty years before the next Pacific university was established when from 1965 all independent Pacific countries began establishing their own national universities in earnest. The University of the South Pacific (USP) was established in 1968 and became one of only two multinational, regional universities in the world.[28] USP has campuses in twelve different Pacific countries, with the main campus based in Suva, Fiji. Table 62.2 outlines national universities established across the region in chronological order.

The need to attain post-secondary education and formal qualifications as a pathway for social mobility became a prominent feature of Pacific migration post-independence. This process was facilitated not only by Pacific countries encouraged by Christian ideals but also by former and current colonial powers who were keen to build capacity in a public service sector. This was evident in the number of tertiary training facilities across the region that initially focused on training pathways for teachers, healthcare workers, clerical workers, and agricultural workers. Prior to the establishment of these universities in the Pacific, most students would relocate to New Zealand for their university education as well as for their senior secondary schooling. By the early 1970s, for example, the majority of Samoan migrant families in New Zealand were there for educational opportunities.[29]

Australia introduced the flagship programme the Australia-Pacific Technical Coalition (APTC) in 2007. The main purpose of the programme

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[27] E. Marsters, N. Lewis., and W. Friesen, 'Pacific flows: the fluidity of remittances in the Cook Islands', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 47:1 (2006), 31–44.

[28] The University of the West Indies was the first regional university established in 1948.

[29] C. Macpherson, R. Bedford, and P. Spoonley, 'Fact or fable? The consequences of migration for educational achievement and labour market participation', *Contemporary Pacific* 12:1 (2000), 57–82, at 65.

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Table 62.2 *Pacific national university institutions.*

Year	Institution	Location
1907	University of Hawai'i	Various campuses. Main campus Mānoa, Hawai'i
1965	University of Guam	Mangilao, Guam
1965	Papua New Guinea University of Technology	Lae, Papua New Guinea
1965	University of Goroka	Goroka, Papua New Guinea
1966	University of Papua New Guinea	Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea
1968	University of the South Pacific	Various campuses. Main campus Suva, Fiji
1975	'Atenisi Institute	Nuku'alofa, Tonga
1980	Divine Word University	Madang, Papua New Guinea
1984	National University of Sāmoa	Apia, Sāmoa
1984	Pacific Adventist University	Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea
1987	University of French Polynesia	Papeete, French Polynesia
1999	University of New Caledonia	Nouméa, New Caledonia
2004	University of Fiji	Lautoka, Fiji
2009	Papua New Guinea University of Natural Resources and Environment	East New Britain, Papua New Guinea
2010	Fiji National University	Suva, Fiji
2013	Solomon Islands National University	Honiara, Solomon Islands

is to promote economic development and growth across the region through skills training and employment. Building skills and trades capacity in the region through APTC can provide development gains for the region as well as in developed Pacific Rim countries as APTC offers Australian qualifications. These training schemes can therefore address the issues of high youth unemployment throughout the region and governments can provide training for skills needed both in the region and further abroad. APTC provides a comparative advantage over Pacific-based institutions with Australian qualifications, thereby providing a potential pathway for labour migration for Pacific graduates as skilled workers into Australia and further abroad.[30]

Today there is much discussion regarding gender inequalities and migration as recent educational opportunities have now expanded both in sector

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[30] S. Chand and H. Dempster, 'A Pacific skills partnership: improving the APTC to meet skills needed in the region', Center for Global Development, 2 August 2009, www.cgdev.org/blog/ pacific-skills-partnership-improving-aptc-meet-skills-needed-in-region.

and in region. Historical notions of specified gender roles[31] have clearly been re-defined over the years, but their legacy remains in scholarship policy and decision-making where women are over-represented in vocational training such as teaching and nursing. Scholarships have broadened to Europe and Asia and now include student athlete scholarships targeted towards Pacific males to play rugby union from Japan to the United Kingdom and New Zealand, or American football in the United States. Sports migration is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Scholarships have always been based on meeting the occupational and skills needs of Pacific countries and therefore governments have flexibility over determining in which subject areas to allocate scholarship funding. In recent times there has been a focus on environmental sciences and policy, given the climate crisis facing the region. Scholarships are important for soft-power diplomacy where the provision of benefits seeks to develop empathy for the donor nation.[32] For the recipients they provide an opportunity to increase social mobility for themselves and their families but these recipients are also seen as ambassadors in their respective host countries.

People Flow

This next section provides a brief overview of the main labour and employment migrations that have taken place since independence, including Kiribati seafarers; Pacific healthcare workers; peacekeepers, military and security; labour mobility schemes; and Pacific sports migration. With limited opportunities for formal-sector employment, labour migration is reflective of ambitions and government needs, and is often linked to family and community motivations.

Kiribati Seafarers

The opportunity for Kiribati seafarers to train as crew for international shipping began in the late 1960s. Borovnik credits the 'development of training and recruitment facilities' as the key entry point for opportunities in shipping, further describing seafarer migration as 'transversal' temporary

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[31] K. Mahina-Tuai, 'A land of milk and honey? Education and employment migration schemes in the postwar era', in S. Mallon, K. Māhina-Tuai, and D. Salesa (eds.), *Tangata O Le Moana* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2012), 161–77.
[32] D. Zhang, S. Hogg, and S. Gessler, 'Pacific Island countries, China & sustainable development goals part 3: Chinese scholarships in the Pacific', DPA, *In Brief* 2017/22, Canberra, ANU, 2017.

contract labour circulation and, unlike other migrations situated in land-based communities, creating possible links and roots. This type of migration is multisited in a number of locations. As Borovnik noted:

> Seafarers cannot be immediately recognised as contributing to the transnationalism of their home countries. Criss-crossing internationalised and national waters during their employment of merchant vessels and living with multi-national crews, seafarers could rather be seen in many ways as pioneers of global citizenship.[33]

Understanding how and if seafarers contribute to diaspora links is still in question, when migrating from ship to ship and port to port. It has been an important source of labour migration for Kiribati and Tuvalu since the 1970s.

Pacific Healthcare Workers

Globally, healthcare professionals make up a large proportion of international migrants. Pacific health workers often seek to access initial or continued training in their field conducted overseas. According to Connell, 'By the 1980s it was evident that becoming a [skilled health worker] . . . not only provided an income and upward social mobility, especially for many women, who might otherwise be unemployed, but that nursing offered job opportunities outside the Pacific.'[34] Some go on to become qualified in various aspects of their chosen fields and for others this move is primarily to further their knowledge and use their skills abroad. Nonetheless, there is concern that this can result in brain drain.[35] Connell and Brown's analysis of Samoan and Tongan nurses in Australia further contributes to the discussion of remittances for Pacific peoples and counters the remittance decay argument often related to migration and diasporic studies.[36] As this chapter highlights, Pacific people's experiences show evidence there is a need to reframe and rethink the MIRAB paradigm.

In regard to scholarships, Connell highlights that Pacific scholarships offered were not necessarily in people's preferred interests.[37] However, they

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[33] M. Borovnik, 'Transnationalism of merchant seafarers and their communities in Kiribati and Tuvalu', in H. Lee and S. Francis (eds.), *Migration and Transformation: Pacific Perspectives* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2009), 143–57.

[34] J. Connell, 'The two cultures of health worker migration: a Pacific perspective', *Social Science Medicine* 116 (2014), 73–81, at 75.

[35] Connell. 'The two cultures of health worker migration'.

[36] J. Connell and R.P. Brown, 'The remittances of migrant Tongan and Samoan nurses from Australia', *Human Resources for Health* 2:2 (2004), 1–21.

[37] Connell, 'The two cultures of health worker migration'.

provided overseas educational opportunities. For example, 'Many people, and especially the more skilled, only became health workers because scholarships were available.'[38] Pacific migrants in health sectors often hope to gain the education and skills and use them in their respective countries. However, returned healthcare workers are often frustrated due to the lack of infrastructure or resources they became accustomed to in their countries of training, which results in many returning to these destinations. This can have a negative impact on the already limited numbers of skilled healthcare workers within the Pacific.[39] Healthcare workers are not necessarily migrating to the metropolitan Pacific Rim countries. Increasingly, healthcare workers are participating in intraregional migration, often assisting with shortages of skilled labour in neighbouring countries. For example, a number of Solomon Island nurses work in neighbouring Vanuatu.[40]

Peacekeepers, Military and Security

Service in the armed forces has been one of the main pathways for migration to the United States for compact Pacific countries and United States Pacific territories, as well as for social upward mobility.[41] Elsewhere in the Pacific, military service provides transnational movement further afield, including twinning training programmes between former British Pacific colonies Fiji and Papua New Guinea and the United Kingdom. The Fiji military are well known for their different roles as UN peacekeepers and as private security guards, particularly in the Middle East, with more than 800 Fijian personnel actively involved in peacekeeping duties during the 1990s.[42] However, there are risks of income insecurity from pay disputes, as highlighted by Maclellan: 'The boom for recruiting in Iraq and Kuwait has raised many issues for the Government of Fiji: the unregulated role of private recruitment contractors, the social impacts on family life, and the capacity of government to support workers with pay disputes or post-deployment health problems.'[43] Apart from these risks the most obvious risk is of course the loss of life during

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[38] Connell, 'The two cultures of health worker migration', 78.
[39] T.S. Yamamoto et al., 'Migration of health workers in the Pacific Islands: a bottleneck to health development', *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Health* 24:4 (2012), 697–709.
[40] https://dailypost.vu/news/vanuatu-needs-800-nurses-director/article_fc466a75–1086-5589-9563-9c5e9e6f091c.html.
[41] T. Fa'aleava, 'Fitafita: Samoan landsmen in the United States Navy, 1900–1951', PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2003; Uperesa, 'Fabled futures'.
[42] T.K. Teaiwa, 'Articulated cultures: militarism and masculinities in Fiji during the mid 1990s', *Fijian Studies: A Journal of Contemporary Fiji* 3:2 (2005), 201–22.
[43] N. Maclellan, 'Fiji, the war in Iraq, and the privatisation of Pacific Island security', APSNet Policy Forum, 6 April 2006, 3, https://nautilus.org/apsnet/0611a-maclellan-html/.

warfare. An argument used when New Zealand announced the Recognised Seasonal Employment Scheme (RSE) was that it was a labour mobility alternative to people from the Pacific entering war-torn countries and risking their lives for the sake of employment.

South Pacific Work Schemes 1960s–1980s

Temporary work visas have been made available to a number of Pacific Island nations since the initiation of New Zealand's South Pacific Work schemes in the 1960s, and the Fijian Rural Work Permit Scheme. All involved short-term migration only. Nonetheless, many immigration policies, restrictions, and opportunities are reflective of the migrant-receiving country's needs.

New Zealand's South Pacific Work schemes were initiated in the mid-1960s and ended twenty years later. At the time, there was a need for labour in specific locations either that New Zealander citizens would not work in or that had low unemployment rates. Stahl and Appleyard noted, 'By responding to short-term labour requirements immigration intakes basically reflected contemporary economic conditions.'[44] These work schemes had limited capacities for the Pacific labour force to source permanent migration. They were essentially temporary schemes with varying governance mechanisms for particular countries and communities. Fiji was the biggest winner in this scheme. Levick provides in-depth analysis of the evolution of these schemes and Pacific Islander engagement.[45]

During the first ten to fifteen years of this period, Australia and the USA did not have any specific work schemes available to Pacific Island nations. Nonetheless, as this chapter demonstrates, this evolved over time. As with other host nations already discussed, their own labour needs were the prime catalyst for change.

The South Pacific Work schemes continued until 'a decision by the New Zealand Labour Government in October 1987 to restrict Fijian workers to employment opportunities in New Zealand effectively puts an end to the reality of temporary labour migration under the terms of the South Pacific Work scheme as it was developed in 1976'.[46] Levick and Bedford suggested 'The *coups d'état* in Fiji provided a convenient excuse to put an end to the

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[44] Stahl and Appleyard 'Migration and development in the Pacific Islands', 19.
[45] W. Levick, 'Contract labour migration between Fiji and New Zealand: a case study of a South Pacific work permit scheme', MSc thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1988.
[46] W. Levick and R. Bedford, 'Fiji labour migration to New Zealand in the 1980s', *New Zealand Geographer* 44:1 (1988),14–21, at 14.

most successful work permit scheme that had evolved between New Zealand and a Pacific country.'[47] This demonstrates that the sustainability of labour schemes is dependent on the economic and political climates in which they exist, as was notable with Fiji's initial exclusion from Australia and New Zealand seasonal workers programmes.

Seasonal Worker Programmes from the 2000s

Since 2007, new temporary labour mobility programmes have been established that favour citizens of Pacific Island Forum (PIF) nations, with the exclusion of the French territories of New Caledonia and French Polynesia, who were not full members of the PIF at the time of establishing the temporary labour programmes.[48] Australia's labour mobility schemes also include Timor-Leste. The chronology of recent labour schemes is:

2007 New Zealand's Recognised Employer Scheme (RSE)
2008 Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS)
2011 Added to H-2A and H-2B visa programmes in the United States[49]
2012 Australia's Seasonal Worker Program (SWP)[50]
2018 Australia's Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS).

Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme (RSE)

In 2005, industry growth and the reduction of available seasonal labour in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries led to a collaboration with the government and the formation of a seasonal labour strategy for the future. As a result, in 2007 the Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme was established.[51] The RSE scheme was a grower-initiated policy to provide New Zealand growers with reliable labour in the horticulture and viticulture sectors. The objectives of this policy are twofold: first, to fill labour gaps of

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[47] Levick and Bedford, 'Fiji labour migration to New Zealand', 21.
[48] The Pacific Islands Forum consists of eighteen Pacific Island member nations: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, New Caledonia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Sāmoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.
[49] www.uscis.gov/archive/archive-news/new-countries-eligible-participate-h-2a-and-h-2b-programs.
[50] Prior to SWP Australia piloted the Pacific Seasonal Workers Program (PSWP), 2008–12.
[51] Bailey, 'Unfree labour'; C. Bedford, 'Picking winners? New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) policy and its impacts on employers, Pacific workers and the island-based communities', PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 2013; S. Ramasamy, V. Krishnan, R. Bedford, and C. Bedford, 'The Recognised Seasonal Employer policy: seeking the elusive triple wins for development through international migration', *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 23:3 (2008), 171–86.

the horticulture and viticulture industries, and second, to encourage economic development in Pacific Island states by prioritizing workers from the region. Historical temporary labour schemes with the Pacific discussed above 'had a significant influence on the design of the RSE policy'.[52]

Participation in the RSE has resulted in positive individual and community developments. In 2007, the Lolihor Development Council (LDC) from North Ambrym, Vanuatu, selected twenty-two men to participate in the RSE. The objectives were to earn money for the 'good of the community'. During 2007–11 there was much success. RSE incomes contributed to a market house, community wells for twelve villages, scholarships for education, and two boat motors to continue generating income for the communities; they paid a salary to a nurse to reside at and run the local medical clinic, built a kindergarten, made renovations to three local churches, established a microcredit scheme, and purchased water tanks for villages.[53] Bedford et al. record the range of RSE community projects in Tonga, Sāmoa, and Vanuatu.[54]

Although some RSE workers have participated for many years, permanent migration is not a goal for all. Their relationship with their families, home communities, and land is embedded in their personhood and identity.[55] Even those who migrate permanently often have goals of returning to their homelands. Temporary labour schemes provide the option of obtaining overseas incomes. Due to the circular nature of the schemes, people return home and can apply for successive seasons, without the need to migrate permanently. These incomes are an additional source of resources that are often used for the purposes of school fees, building homes and purchasing land, community development, customary practices, and, for some, small business enterprises. Nonetheless, there are positive and negative unintended consequences that are related to temporary labour schemes. Because of this, the schemes require constant monitoring and management in order to ensure that potential benefits continue to flow for Pacific Island families and communities.

The PSWPS and SWP

In 2008, Australia introduced the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS). Although this was small in scope, PSWPS ceased in June 2012 and

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[52] Bedford. 'Picking winners?', 57.   [53] Bailey, 'Unfree labour', 102–3.

[54] C. Bedford, R. Bedford, and H. Nunns, 'RSE impact study: Pacific stream report', 2020, www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/statistics/rse-impact-study-pacific-stream report.pdf

[55] J. Bonnemaison, 'The tree and the canoe: roots and mobility in Vanuatu societies', in M. Chapman and S. Morrison (eds.), *Mobility and Identity in the Island Pacific* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985), 30–62.
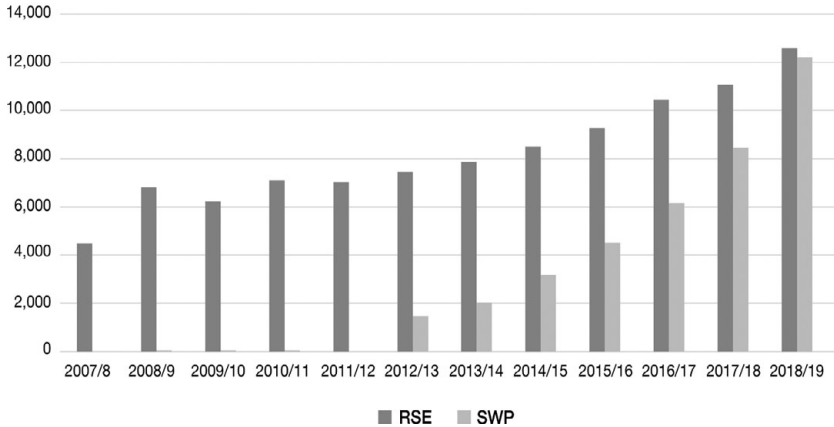
Figure 62.1 Participation rates of RSE and SWP 2007–2019.

was replaced by the Seasonal Worker Program (SWP) on 1 July 2012. SWP is open to nine Pacific countries and Timor-Leste. One significant difference from SWP is that it is part of Australia's aid programme, whereas the RSE scheme was industry driven. These schemes fill a void in industries that have low uptake by domestic citizens, due to the rurality and seasonal nature of these often temporary occupations. The largest labour contributing country for both the RSE and SWP is Vanuatu, followed by Tonga.

Prior to these temporary work schemes, citizens from Melanesian countries have had limited access to visas in Pacific Rim countries. In the case of New Zealand, a number of visas have been available, mainly for Polynesian countries, especially those with historical colonial links. Yet the links with Australia and Papua New Guinea have never developed into similar access avenues. There has been extensive growth in both RSE and SWP as shown in Figure 62.1.

Australia's Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS)

In July 2018, Australia's Pacific Labour Scheme commenced. Like SWP, PLS is open to Pacific Island nations and Timor-Leste; it allows not only for low-skilled workers but also for semi-skilled workers for a period of up to three years in rural and regional Australia. Like the SWP, it does include accommodation and tourism sectors, but this scheme also includes aged care, non-seasonal agriculture work, forestry, and fishing. This visa offering of up to

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three years is significantly higher than RSE's seven months (except Kiribati and Tuvalu, nine months) and SWP, which increased to nine months in 2018. Visas for PLS and SWP are multi-entry, giving employers and workers greater flexibility in immigration processing. Australia's establishment of temporary labour schemes shows changes within Australia's immigration policies. However, these changes also reflect labour needs in both Australia and New Zealand.

Australia's and New Zealand's temporary seasonal worker schemes have no potential pathways for permanent migration. Given the new longer-term visa for workers it will only be a matter of time before there needs to be more consideration of pathways to permanent residency. This transition will be vital, especially for workers from countries suffering climate and environmental degradation. Labour migration is not necessarily the answer to these problems. It can, however, assist financial needs, population pressure, and possible connections to set up a new transnational diaspora.

The New Zealand government is exploring new industries for Pacific Island countries, such as construction and fisheries, while other industries such as forestry and dairy have also been lobbying for an overseas workforce similar to that of the RSE.[56] The recent Pacific Trades Partnership (PTP) recruiting Pacific workers for the Canterbury rebuild after the devastating 2011 Christchurch earthquake has made positive achievements so far, and demonstrated potential for further expansion.[57] The government of New Zealand is working with Pacific nations, taking stock of the impacts associated with labour mobility programmes in an attempt to understand the unintended and intended consequences resulting from participation to engage in future pathways. Australia and New Zealand have greatly benefited from these labour schemes, and for the Pacific the main benefits of participating in these programmes are the financial, social, and material remittances. However, unintended negative outcomes need further examination. As Macpherson observed:

> there is a significant literature which documents the history of Pacific migration to the Rim countries and analyses the social, economic, demographic and political ramifications of movement for the 'receiving' countries.

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[56] R. Tipples and P. Rawlinson, 'The RSE, a tool for dairying? Understanding the Recognised Seasonal Employer policy and its potential application to the dairy industry', Working Paper 16, Lincoln University NZ Faculty of Agribusiness and Commerce, 2014.
[57] www.scoop.co.nz/stories/ED1806/S00077/mbie-contracts-ara-to-assess-pacific-island-labourers.htm, accessed 13 May 2019.

There is a very much smaller literature on the history and ramifications of that movement for the labour-supplying economies.[58]

The United States Agricultural Programmes

The United States offers the H-2A and H-2B Agricultural Visa Programs for citizens from the independent Pacific nations of Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Sāmoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. Yet the uptake of this opportunity has never been realized. Like RSE and SWP, this programme is driven by employer demand and there is no pathway to permanent residency. Advocates have promoted these programmes in places like Vanuatu, and also brought farmers from the United States to visit the country.[59] This visa is similar to PLS in that it is for up to three years. However, as Hay noted, the cost of this visa is between five to ten times that of RSE and SWP.[60] The significant associated costs, distance from home islands, and the lack of information in the region explains why the uptake of this by Pacific people has not been noticeable.

Pacific Sports Migration

A new Pacific migration phenomenon has recently begun in which two distinct gendered pathways to social mobility have emerged. While Pacific women are still encouraged into the education pathway, Pacific men are increasingly looking to sports as an avenue to improve their social status through semi-professional and professional pathways, particularly in the sporting codes of American football, rugby union, and rugby league. This trend has largely been facilitated by the increasing visibility of Pacific male athletes in American football in the USA, and rugby union and rugby league in New Zealand, Australia, and France. This sport-related migration reflects sports' preferences promoted by the former colonial powers that now benefit from these flows.[61] The rising presence of Pacific athletes has received much media attention since the 1980s, as typified by rugby union journalist Spiro Zavos in his now infamous 1987 sports article on 'the browning of

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[58] Macpherson, 'Migration and transformation in the contemporary Pacific', 34.
[59] www.pidcsec.org/news/united-states-interested-in-vanuatu-seasonal-workers/.
[60] www.devpolicy.org/new-pacific-seasonal-workers-scheme20110131/.
[61] S. Zavos, 'The browning of the Wallabies', *The Roar*, 31 May 2007, www.theroar.com.au/2007/06/01/the-browning-of-the-wallabies/.

the All Blacks', noting the over-representation of Pacific athletes in New Zealand's national rugby team. Twenty years on Zavos reused 'the browning' term, this time in relation to the Wallabies, the Australian national rugby union team, when four Pasifika athletes played in an international test match.[62] Today, it would be of interest to see what catchphrase Zavos would use to describe the National Rugby League (NRL) competition in Australasia where almost half of all players in the competition are of Pacific heritage.

Professional sports have become a widely accepted vehicle for social mobility, particularly for men. While sports migration is often described as a type of 'muscle trade'[63] or 'brawn drain',[64] commentary is mostly focused on the spatial movements of athletes and the economic push and pull factors for migrating, and an increasing number of scholars contend that Pacific sports migration is enmeshed within the broader arena of sports politics. These scholars argue that the participation and over-representation of Pacific males in sports reveal deeper identity, citizenship, and mobility complexities for Pacific migrants in their respective nations.[65] The life of former National Rugby League star Leaupepe Nigel Vagana epitomizes this transnational existence. Nigel is a dual rugby league international and captained both New Zealand and Sāmoa national rugby league teams over the fourteen years of his professional rugby league career. He retired in 2008 as New Zealand's all-time leading try scorer at international level. Nigel is the only player in the history of the game to have topped the try-scoring charts in both the southern hemisphere (NRL) and the northern hemisphere (Super League) elite rugby league competitions.[66]

Nigel was born in New Zealand in 1975 to Samoan parents who had both migrated to New Zealand in the early 1970s. In 1995 Nigel was selected for a

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[62] Uperesa. 'Fabled futures'; L. Panapa and M. Phillips, 'Ethnic persistence: towards understanding the lived experiences of Pacific Island athletes in the National Rugby League', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 31:11 (2014), 1374–88.

[63] W. Andreff, 'Sport in developing countries', in W. Andreff and S. Szymanski (eds.), *Handbook on the Economics of Sport* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006), 8–15.

[64] J. Bale, *The Brawn Drain: Foreign Student-Athletes in American Universities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

[65] A. Grainger, 'From immigrant to overstayer: Samoan identity, rugby, and cultural politics of race and nation in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 30:1 (2006), 45–61; B. Hokowhitu, 'Tackling Māori masculinity: genealogy of savagery and sport', *Contemporary Pacific* 16:2 (2004), 259–84; Y. Kanemasu and G. Molnar, 'Pride of the people: Fijian rugby labour migration and collective identity', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 48:6 (2013), 720–35.

[66] Co-author of this chapter Ng Shiu (ANU) and Nigel Vagana have worked extensively together on intercultural sports education in a partnership between the Australian National Rugby League and Pacific Studies at the ANU.

wider squad for the newly established franchise, then the Auckland Warriors, in the National Ruby League competition. In 1996 at the age of 21 he debuted for the Auckland Warriors in the NRL competition. At the end of 1996 Nigel was recruited to play in the United Kingdom's Super League competition commencing in 1996. Nigel was part of the first wave of rugby league players who were recruited straight out of high school into a professional sporting team environment. Out of the twelve players for this first wave, eight were of Pacific heritage.

Nigel continued to play in the Super Leagues during the 1997 season, when he was recruited again by the Auckland Warriors for the following 1998 season. He continues to play in the NRL competition for the next ten years. Towards the end of his playing career Nigel was offered contracts to play in the United Kingdom again or play rugby union in either France or Japan.

Rather than continuing his professional athletic career he decided to retire in 2008 and remain in Australia for family reasons. Nigel became the first Pacific Wellbeing and Education Manager for the NRL. In 2019 Nigel's sports migration story came full circle when he returned to New Zealand to become the General Manager Football and Wellbeing for New Zealand rugby league.

In reflecting on his migration story he recounts how often Pacific male athletes do not have the luxury of choosing where they play or who they play for, as playing professional sports provides a kick start in life for families who are often struggling out of poverty. Of the first wave of high school players who moved to the United Kingdom, all but one player have returned to New Zealand since then. Most returned via Auckland and the NRL.

Having played professional sport and now working as a sports administrator focusing on Pacific athletes, Nigel has observed that more Pacific families are relocating from New Zealand to Australia to pursue the NRL dream for their sons, some as young as 14 years old. Parents and families are now more aware of how sport can lead to social and upward mobility, adding further pressure on young boys to succeed. Unfortunately, this pressure mounts the more successful a player becomes.

Nigel's story exemplifies the transnational nature of Pacific sports migration, where the drive is financial but the motivation is family. The network of flows not only is limited to athletes themselves but involves a complex network of people, families, organizations, media, and ideas moving across multiple boundaries, and sometimes the same boundaries multiple times. In the end, the majority return home.

Future Flows

Internationally, a number of reports and researchers have suggested international migration will become a major adaptation strategy for those experiencing detrimental climate change impacts. There is therefore a pressing need for countries across the globe to begin to develop and implement climate migration policies.[67] There is concern that climate migration will become a reality sooner rather than later for significant populations due to climate change impacts and responses associated with sea level rise; water insecurity from lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation; coral reef degradation; and further food insecurity from reduced agricultural productivity.[68] Environmental migration is not a new phenomenon in the Pacific. People have relocated and resettled for generations due to climatic conditions and changing environments across the region. The majority of these relocations have been internal. For example, a series of volcanic eruptions between 1905 and 1911 on the island of Savai'i in Sāmoa forced the relocation of several villages to the island of Upolu in Sāmoa.[69] In more recent times the people of the Carteret Islands in Papua New Guinea have risen to global prominence after being labelled as 'the world's first environmental refugees' in international media.[70] They have been involved in a number of formal relocation programmes since the 1980s to the island of Bougainville, with limited success due to resettlement issues and Carteret Islanders preferring to remain on the island, a sentiment shared with Tuvaluans. A widely cited study investigating climate migration for people living on Funafuti, the main island of Tuvalu, has shown that Tuvaluans are less concerned with climate migration and would prefer to remain on the island.[71] Adapting to climatic variation was part of the reason for of Pacific Island peoples' social and political alliances across large areas throughout their history, as noted in the opening quote from Hau'ofa.

International migration is becoming increasingly popular as an adaptation strategy globally, even with resistance and reluctance from people living in

[67] R. Black, S. Bennett, and S. Thomas, 'Migration as adaptation', *Nature* 478 (2011), 447–9.

[68] J.R. Campbell, 'Climate-change migration in the Pacific', *Contemporary Pacific* 26:1 (2014), 1–28.

[69] A. Fepuleai, E. Weber, K. Németh, T. Muliaina, and V. Iese, 'Eruption styles of Samoan volcanoes represented in tattooing, language and cultural activities of the indigenous people', *Geoheritage* 9:3 (2017), 395–411.

[70] J.M. Luetz, 'Over-researching migration "hotspots"? Ethical issues from the Carteret Islands', *Forced Migration Review* 61 (2019), 20–2.

[71] C. Mortreux and J. Barnett, 'Climate change, migration and adaptation in Funafuti, Tuvalu', *Global Environmental Change* 19:1 (2009), 105–12.

the Pacific. The irony is that the migration opportunities that do exist are least available to those who live in the most vulnerable locations and circumstances. Opportunities for migration overseas are limited for those without the requisite qualifications.[72] The World Bank Pacific Possible report, for instance, recommended that there should be open-access migration from Tuvalu and Kiribati for work and permanent settlement in Australia and New Zealand.[73] This is an important start in acknowledging the peculiar environmental vulnerabilities that small island atoll nations such as Tuvalu and Kiribati face. However, it is also worth noting that all the detrimental influences of climate change will affect all Pacific Island nations.

A Pacific Ethnoscape? Reconceptualizing Pacific Flows

Pacific migration, mobility, and movement is best described by Epeli Hauʻofaʻs process of world enlargement. This perspective is shared by many Pacific scholars whose research and case studies have shown that current labour migration theories cannot fully encapsulate the Pacific experience. The economic drive for migration and movement is real; however, the underpinning motivation is family.

Rather than limiting migration to outward flows and emigration that is economically driven at both micro and macro levels, Pacific migration must be viewed as an enterprise involving a broad and complex network of various actors and agencies. Flows must be multidirectional, expanding across multiple nation-states and involving multiple generations. This argument is not new, and the various case studies in this chapter highlight how the notion of a Pacific ethnoscape of transnational communities is not merely an abstract reconceptualization but an actualization of the lived experiences of Pacific communities across the globe. As we have highlighted, this Pacific ethnoscape is not without its problems, issues, and limitations. This latest Pacific ethnoscape provides just as many opportunities as challenges for Pacific peoples who are now making new voyages across the globe as humanity faces the existential threat of global warming.

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[72] R. Curtain and M. Dornan, 'A pressure release valve? Migration and climate change in Kiribati, Nauru and Tuvalu', Canberra: Development Policy Centre, ANU, 2019.
[73] http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/555421468204932199/pdf/labour-mobility-pacific-possible.pdf.