

SAMOAN AND TONGAN MIGRATION:
THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE

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Introduction

American Samoans and Western Samoans have been immigrating to urban-metropolitan America for the last thirty years, while Tongan movements into the United States began as recently as 1968. There has been a great deal of research on the Samoan community in Hawaii, and this interest indicates the visibility and impact of the Samoan there. My research with the Samoan community in California began in 1974 and I have considered the Samoan case from both the island and urban perspective.

FROM SAMOA TO THE STATES

Within this presentation I will discuss the Samoan case in much greater detail than the Tongan case and although much of the discussion about the Samoan cultural response to population growth and migration can be applied to the Tongan case, the Tongans, without political affiliation to the United States, have immigrated in fewer numbers, with a slightly different urban-adaptive response. However, the movements of Samoans and Tongans into urban America has had similar effects on island development and educational systems.

Historical Setting and Background

The imaginary line from Hawaii to New Zealand that demarcates the western boundary of the "Polynesian Triangle" is approximately 4400 miles long. The Samoan Islands, consisting of the "unincorporated territory" of American Samoa, and the independent nation of Western Samoa, lie 2600 miles southwest of Hawaii along this line. The division of these islands into two distinct political entities is a long story presented here in condensed form.

Following years of international intrigue, political struggles for dominance, and threats of war involving the United States, England, and Germany, it was agreed in the Treaty of Berlin (1899) that the Samoan archipelago was to be divided. Eastern Samoa, comprising Tutuila with its excellent harbor at Pago Pago, Manu'a and Ta'u islands, came under the jurisdiction of the United States. Western Samoa, comprising the much larger islands of Upolu and Savaii, along with Manono and Apolima, came under German rule. England was given exclusive rights of negotiation in Tonga, Western Samoa became an independent nation in 19 Tonga has remained an independent, sovereign nation throughout its history. In 1845, Tonga was unified under the leadership of the "Tui Kanokupolu" George Taufa'ahau, later to be called George Tupou I. Although English "negotiations" reached their height in the early 20th century, Tupou II was able to maintain the Kingdom's independent status. Queen Salote Tupou III, famous libertarian, and the current ruler, King George Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, brought the Kingdom of Tonga into the modern era.

Western Samoan Population Growth and Migration - 20th Century

CAED

Epidemics of dysentery, influenza, typhoid, and measles, led to high mortality and slow and steady population growth in Western Samoa, 1900-26 (See Table I). In 1926, medical systems modelled after systems in American Samoa began to take hold. According to Pirie:

Dr. Lambert, an American doctor, working for the Rockefeller Foundation, described the health program in 1926 as 'unexcelled in the tropics'... Infant mortality was reduced from more than 200/1000 live births before 1924 to a mean rate of 79/1000 between 1926-30. The crude death rate was reduced from an average of 35/1000 between 1905-1917 to 13/1000 by 1927. (1970:496).

Population growth has accelerated since this initial mortality transition Population growth, particularly in the period. 1945-56,

JNI
1900-1920
1920-1940
1940-1960
1960-1980
1980-2000

carrying capacity prob.

and continuing to the present, has severely strained the island's ability to support the Western Samoan population. One response to this rapid population growth has been emigration.

LABOR FORCE

Western Samoans have always maintained close ties with their American Samoa 'aiga (extended family) members. Artificial political boundaries had little effect on the traditional practice of frequent visiting (malaga) to "keep relations warm". Park(1979:13) reports that in 1903 both Germany and the United States tried to enforce "Malaga Regulations" in an effort to limit the size of parties travelling between the islands. These malaga movements were bidirectional and balanced each other with no significant population loss or gain.

In the 1940's, Western Samoans were attracted into American Samoa by sudden, large-scale financial investment by the U.S. Naval Administration. Immigration of Western Samoans in the period totalled 953 people. Park states that most of the inter-island immigration occurred in the first five years of the decade, and that there was equal, balanced moves of population between American Samoa and Western Samoa in the second half of the decade. Western Samoans returned to their home village with increased wealth, which apparently allowed them to have larger families, stimulating rapid population growth, 1945-56. (Park. 1979:18).

1940-1945

1945

1940s

1940-45 WS → AS

1945 - 1950 WS ↔ AS

*population increase due to age at marriage
increase in longevity due to better health care*

In 1951, Western Samoans began to immigrate to New Zealand. This migration flow was dominant throughout the period, 1951-74. In 1962, another large-scale American investment in American Samoa attracted Western Samoans east. In 1963, the opening of a second fish cannery and a can manufacturing plant created more jobs for all Samoans. The possibility of sustained economic growth in American Samoa continued to attract Western Samoan laborers throughout the 1960's but this island-island migration was only supplementary to the main migration flow to New Zealand.

However, in 1974, New Zealand was no longer able to absorb large numbers of Western Samoan laborers. Samoans entering the country on tourist visas, instead of work permits, overstayed these visas and as an economic situation worsened the "overstayers issue" hit the front page of the newspapers. Dawn police raids and subsequent deportatio created frictions throughout Samoa and the South Pacific community. New Zealand developed an innovative guest worker scheme, attempting to meet the needs of Island laborers. However, with further immigration restrictions in 1976, only migrants with badly needed skills were considered within the work scheme. In 1976, Western Samoan net migration into New Zealand was on the negative side for the first time in twenty years.

From 1974-present, Western Samoan migration has been primarily into American Samoa. ^{AS MIGRANTS to US} Data on the period, 1957-76, indicates that approximately 30,000 Western Samoan-born individuals are currently residing in New Zealand, American Samoa, and the United States, ^{NOT of NON AS born INDIVIDUALS} (Western Samoa Migration Report, 1976. South Pacific Commission Population Report, 1972. ^{very few in AUSTRALIA} American Samoa Census, 1974.).

American Samoan Population Growth and Migration - 20th Century

In 1899, the Treaty of Berlin formalized American jurisdiction over the islands of Tutuila, Manu'a, and Ta'u in Eastern Samoa. One year later the Naval Administration conducted a census of the American Samoan population which showed a total of 5,679 people. Censuses were conducted at irregular intervals in the early period of American administration and the 1912 estimate shows a population increase to 7,251 persons. Census

In 1918, a strict quarantine established by the American Samoan Governor enabled the population to avoid an influenza epidemic that was ravaging Western Samoa^{Toripa} and the world. The epidemic would have had serious implications for American Samoa where population density has always exceeded the density in the western islands of the group.

By 1919, American public health services were firmly in place. The public health system had been providing vaccinations for nearly two decades, sanitation had been improved, pure water was supplied to a large number of villages, and although pneumonia, tuberculosis, and typhoid remained major health problems, "within the limits of contemporary medical knowledge, American Samoa was a model of tropical public health." (Pirie.1970:495). A

Although there were significant improvements in the health field, population growth maintained a steady climb to 8,056 people in 1920, when American Samoa was first included in the United States decennial censuses, and to 10,055 in 1930. Thus, in the first thirty years of this century the population did not quite double. (As we shall see, this trend in population growth-- a near doubling every thirty years-- repeats itself in 1960 and may repeat again in 1990)

In the 1940's American Naval support activities created an almost unlimited demand for Samoan labor. Park (1979) states that the total American Samoan population increased from 12,908 in 1940 to 16,500 in 1945. These figures represent an annual natural increase of 3.7%, and a total annual population increase of 5.0 per cent. The 1950 census shows a total population of 18,937 which represents a natural increase of 2.8 per cent per annum in the period, 1946-50.

1940	Total Population	12,908
	3.7% natural increase	2,599
	West Samoan migrants	993
1945	Total Population	16,500
	2.8% natural increase	2,437
1950	Total Population	18,937

1900-1940
1940-1950
Deaths - Deaths
1908
Checkbook
over
1940-1950

The large financial investment in American Samoa not only attracted Western Samoans, but ^{apparently} led to increased fertility. Samoan ~~men~~ ^{couple} were able to earn relatively large sums of money ^{through agricultural produce +} and support larger families. ^{What} A fair # of children born in A.S. to U.S. ~~servicemen~~ ^{FATHERS + SAMOAN MOTHERS.} is more difficult to explain is why the annual natural increase declined by almost a full percentage point in the second half of the decade. If there were numerically balanced movements between American Samoa and Western Samoa, 1946-50, then possible losses due to migration to Hawaii and California may have occurred before 1950. This would add time depth to the migration of Samoans to the United States.

any
fair
1940-1950

In the 1950's, migration north and east, to Hawaii and California, becomes significant. The departure of the Naval Administration in 1951, marked the end of large scale monetary outlays associated with the war effort, and administration of the territory was handed over to the Department of the Interior. * One indicator of the difficulty Interior faced in American Samoa was the need to appoint four different Governors in the first two years of their administration (HCIIA, 1972). *

Senator Burton

During the war

A large number of Samoans who had learned technical skills in communications, shipping, and transportation, found themselves unemployed when the U.S. Naval Administration pulled out. In 1952, about one thousand Samoans were taken by the Navy to resettle in Hawaii. This first wave of Samoan migrants probably had more employable skills than the migrants that would follow later. (As American Nationals, these American Samoans and those to follow, enter the country without any distinct enumeration from the Department of Immigration and Naturalisation. This status as an American "National" is poorly defined and this has caused problems in human services delivery to Samoan urban communities.)

important point →

OMIT

In the early 1950's a drought sharply reduced food supplies, and the reserves of cash and goods accumulated during the war years depleted rapidly. At the same time, the Department of Interior discontinued programs for educational and vocational training (Lewthwaite, 1973:134). American policy in the islands took a sudden shift, and in 1953, the Governor of American Samoa reported, "It is impossible for the majority of Samoans to maintain the standard of living to which they have become accustomed" (Knaefler, 1965:A-5).

A census conducted in 1956, in conjunction with the Western Samoan census, shows only a .6 per cent annual population increase to 20,154. There was a population decrease to 20,051, in the three and a half years between 1956 and 1960 censuses. Fertility remained high during the decade but outmigration almost completely negated the population increase. According to McArthur, "The net loss through emigration was 3,000 against 4100 of natural increase" (1968:144-145). Approximately

to CARD 3 →

1950 1160

2550

2450 (11)

census decrease 11%

1950-1960 check this

omit []

omit
 1100 of these migrants went to Western Samoa and 1800 went to Hawaii (and California.) Park reports that:

During the period 1956-60, there were about 2450 more births than deaths while there was a decrease of 103 persons in the total population. These figures suggest a net loss of 2550 due to emigration, or an average annual emigration rate as high as 3.6 per cent. (1979:16-17).

The population nearly doubled in the thirty year period, 1930-60. This represents the same doubling time as in the first thirty years of the decade. This doubling time represents 2.3 per cent per annum growth.

1950	Total Population	18,937
	Natural Increase	4,100
	A. Samoans to W. Samoa	-833
	A. Samoans to Hawaii-California	-1,871
	W. Samoans in A. Samoa to W. Samoa	-179
1956	Total Population	20,154
	Natural Increase	2,450
	A. Samoans to Hawaii-California	-2,553
1960	Total Population	20,051

omit
 Another major change in American policy in the islands manifests itself in the 1960's. The change in policy reverses the population growth trend. A massive infusion of American dollars attracts Western Samoan laborers and a natural increase of 8400 is recorded for the decade. ^{to carry} The intercensal increase is 7108, implying an annual growth rate of ~~3.1~~ per cent and 1292 net emigration. This figure, combined with an influx of 2831 Western Samoans, 990 American-born (mostly government personnel), and 955 other foreign-born, suggests that as many as 6000 persons may have emigrated from American Samoa in the period. In addition, 416 American-Samoa born returned from Western Samoa, suggesting a possible 6400 emigrants.

3000
 0 Aug 1960
 1950-1960

1960	Total Population	20,051
	Natural Increase	8,400
	Western Samoan influx	2,831
	American Samoa born influx	416
	American born influx	990
	Other foreign born influx	955
	Emigration	- 6484
1970	Total Population	27,159

B-D U.S. STATES

6500 emigrants

From 1970 to 1974, the population maintained a natural increase of 3.0 per cent, with an increase of 2849 Western Samoans. To attain the 1974 census figure of 29,190 (Levin.1979) at least 4225 American Samoans have migrated to Hawaii and California.

1970	Total Population	27,159
	Natural Increase	3,407
	Western Samoa influx	2,849
	American Samoan emigration	-4,225
1974	Total Population	29,190

70-74

4225
1970-1974

1970-1974 WS - AS. 4225 N.Z. 24,000 US. 1975-76 alone

If one assumes that this rate of emigration has continued to the present then it is entirely possible that approximately 20,000 American Samoa-born individuals are currently residing in the United States.

Immigration and Naturalisation Service data from 1963-78 show that approximately 2800 Western Samoans have entered Hawaii and the United States mainland. Probably, at least 23,000 Samoans have entered the United States in the period, 1950-78. 80.

1953-1979 2077

Conclusions

Only after 1951 does migration emerge as a significant response to rapid population growth in Samoa. Western Samoan movements have been primarily to New Zealand, especially in the period, 1960-74. In this same period Western Samoan migration into American Samoa also increased accelerating in the period 1975-76.

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Significant numbers of American Samoan nationals began to leave the territory for Hawaii and California in 1952. The number of American Samoans migrating to those two states has increased steadily over the last quarter century.

WESTERN SAMOAN POPULATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

YEAR	NUMBER	DENSITY/ Km ²
1900	32815	
1902	32612	
1906	33478	
1911	33554	
1917	35404	
1921	32522	13
1926	36688	14
1936	52266	20
1945	62422	24
1951	80153	30
1956 *	91833	34
	97327	
1961	114427	40
1966	131377	46
1971	146461	52
1976	149774	55

<p>DATA FROM: McArthur. 1968 South Pacific Commission. 1972 *Data for 1956 is not in agreement.</p>
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AMERICAN SAMOAN POPULATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

YEAR	NUMBER	DENSITY/ Km ²
1900	5679	29
1912	7251	37
1920	8056	42
1930	10055	51
1940	12908	66
1950	18937	96
1956	20154	102
1960	20051	102
1970	27159	138

<p>DATA FROM: Park. 1979</p>

Most social scientists are impressed with the strength and resiliency of the Fa'a Samoa (the Samoan Way) in the post-contact period, 1722-present. Holmes is clearly impressed with this cultural stability and brings together statements from early Samoan ethnographies to confirm his investigations; (1957:420-1)

Mead characterizes the Samoans as possessing,
"All the strength of the tough willows, which bend and swing to every passing breeze, but do not break." (1928:495)

Sir Peter Buck feels that,
" The Samoans are...more conservative than other branches of their race and their satisfaction with themselves and their own institutions makes them less inclined to accept the change that foreign governments consider would be of benefit to them. Their viewpoint is bounded by their own immediate horizon. The Samoans are self-contained." (1930:5)

Another student of Samoan culture, Reverend J.D. Copp, suggested to Stanner,
" The consequence (of European contact) was a conflict of choice, of great poignancy and irresolubility. In such circumstances, Fa'a Samoa remained not ^{only} deeply "right" but also became a place of refuge. Fa'a Samoa was home." (1953:315)

Oliver comments that the Samoans,
" Provide a fascinating and almost unique example of Polynesians surviving the strong impact of westernization without changing their everyday lives and without losing their numbers, their strength, their dignity..." (1951:158)

Although the Samoan islands have been politically separated for eighty years,"the entire Samoan archipelago reveals a remarkably unified identity and striking homogeneity...There is a shared commitment to a large number of kinship and political institutions " (Shore:Preface.1977).

In Samoa

Population growth is a demonstration of this shared commitment to the 'aiga (the extended family) and the matai (the chief). The 'aiga is more than a single extended family; it is a localized segment of widely dispersed descent groups. Numerous extended families may overlap in one localized segment and an individual always belongs to several different 'aiga through relations with both his mother's and father's family. As Tiffany notes:

Indeed, it would be most difficult, if not impossible, for an individual to meet the political, economic, and psychological obligations involved in maintaining active membership in all 'aiga to which he could

conceivably claim consanguinity...The presence of multiple 'aiga membership in the Samoan system of nonunilineal descent means that some members of an 'aiga will be geographically dispersed, while other members who choose to reside on that 'aiga's land will constitute the localized core, or nucleus (1974:36).

The 'au aiga is a wider extension of kinship ties, covering great geneological and geographical distance. There is considerable ^{individual} movement between localized segments. Shore points out, "...the ambiguous and shifting character of boundaries defining residence groups" (1977:38). Manpower requirements, ceremonial observances, and malaga (group travel, visiting) all work to reenforce an intricate network of family ties.

Children are highly valued by the 'aiga because they provide evidence of the fertility and virility of the 'aiga, they represent additional wealth for the matai, and they will support and care for their parents and grandparents in later years (Keene, 1979:23). Adoption is a common practice in Samoa. Children move into the households of different members of the 'au 'aiga where they help with the supervision of younger children, and take care of the elderly. This movement outside the nuclear household reenforces in the child the idea that an individual's family responsibilities extend beyond the nuclear family and immediate kin. Levin (1979) reports that as high as forty percent of children in Western Samoa are not the biological children of the mother of the household where they are living.

Some intervillage movement is directed at providing better supervision and care for younger children and the elderly, but a significant amount of this mobility is the movement of taule'ale'a (untitled men) to meet the needs of the family and the matai. Each 'aiga has a matai with a titled status relative to other matai within the 'au 'aiga. The most consistent indicator of the strength or status of a matai title is the quality and quantity of the land he controls. Farrell states, "the land provides a special status to the matai who holds authority over it." (1965:325). ^{Ember} comments on the relationship between land, the matai, and the 'aiga:

One of the constituent extended families of the clan has usufruct rights over certain house sites and cultivable lands because it is headed by the holder of the senior matai title. (1971:18)

The matai controls the land, mobilizes and supervises the manpower producing from the land, and allocates the resources of the land to the 'aiga. At special life-cycle events like births, weddings, funerals, the matai demonstrates his ability to mobilize the entire 'aiga into a production unit. The product of the men's labor--fish, taro, breadfruit, pigs, chickens, beef-- and the women's labor--fine mats (ie toga), mats, tapa, necklaces-- are displayed. It is at these large gatherings that a matai may advance his status. These displays of wealth and power will be munificent if a higher title to which the matai aspires is unfilled.

Samoa culture revolves around the interplay of matai, 'aiga, and 'au 'aiga.

The Fa'a Samoa is resistant to change because its elaborate social and political organization is self-perpetuating. The matai derives his power from the land and from his ability to mobilize and supervise the manpower exploiting the land. The resources of the land assure the survival of the 'aiga. The value the 'aiga ascribes to children assures a perpetual source of manpower to exploit the land. As long as 'aiga numbers grow, children and the elderly will always have children and young adults to care for them.

Elaborate displays of wealth by matai at crucial life-cycle events--births, weddings, funerals-- make known the 'aiga's ability to incorporate demographic change into the cultural continuum. Population growth and mortality decline in the 20th century have required that the Fa'a Samoa absorb increased numbers of births and weddings.

the rest of the community
display his relative chiefly power and provide for the welfare of the community
... require the matai to look elsewhere for the resources by which he can display his relative chiefly power and provide for the welfare of the community

THE CULTURAL RESPONSE TO MIGRATION

The self-perpetuating nature of the Fa'a Samoa is based on its relationship to the land. This has been recognized by westerners since the late 19th century when land claim courts were established to return land to the Samoans and to restrict any future "expatriation" of Samoan soil.

Twentieth century economic development efforts were framed within this relationship to the land. These efforts were making steady progress and in 1964 some optimists were predicting a boom in the Western Samoan economy. But, in 1966:

Western Samoa was devastated by the worst hurricane in the South Pacific in seventy-five years. Hurricanes struck againⁱⁿ 1968. The important banana industry, already decimated by bunchy-top disease, was almost eliminated. The hurricanes curtailed production of the other two export crops, copra and cocoa...Although copra production rebounded dramatically, falling prices led to new lows in agricultural revenues. (Shankman, 1976:27)

(The rhinoceros beetle, initially a scourge to agricultural production, remains a persistent problem in current rural development efforts.)

In the period, 1966 to the early 1970's, production from the land declined sharply and this created the potential for change in the Fa'a Samoa.

In 1965, the American Samoan population was deriving less and less from the land, ~~In this lengthy quote~~, Farrell discusses the relevant factors in this changing relationship to the land:

The land provides reasonable sustenance, it performs a useful function in traditional custom...Prestige for most Samoans however, may be obtained more readily away from the land by non-agricultural pursuits and service, and by paid employment either on Tutuila, in Hawaii, or on the mainland. As a result the lure of paid employment reduces the number of young farm workers and the people as a whole become considerably less dependent on their environment than one would normally expect...farmers receive little or no encouragement from the administration to plant crops...Development of the rural economy in American Samoa is a thorny problem and the territory is likely to develop education, health, transport, and commerce while land remains in comparison virtually undeveloped. (1965:325-327)

While the vulnerability of rural development was becoming more apparent in Western Samoa, and the influx of federal dollars was changing the American Samoan relationship to the land, the population continued to grow. The

* cultural response of the matai, the 'aiga, the Fa'a Samoa, was ~~to send~~ the taule'ale'a to the cities instead of the plantations. By 1965, earlier Samoan migrants had established Samoan communities in Auckland, Honolulu, and the United States west coast. In the later migration flow, the 'au aiga remains geographically extended and resources via remittances become increasingly important to the 'aiga in the islands. As Douglas states:

As time goes by migration becomes more widespread, more institutionalized. Young adults expect to get the opportunity to migrate (rites of passage) and those left behind in the village expect to receive the monetary benefits that should accrue. (1979:12) (Parenthetical remark from Pitt.1975).

But what effect does emigration have on economic development within the islands? Shankman is the first to focus on this question and comprehensively discuss its implications:

* When viewed as a third sector, next to the agricultural and government sectors in the Samoan economy, the migrants were, and continue to be, the most productive sector in terms of personal revenue generated. They are indeed Western Samoa's "most valuable export." (1976:28).

The Western Samoan Migration Report reiterates many of Shankman's concerns:

It is clear that the country would find itself in an overly critical situation without the alternative of migration, and it is also clear that the overseas migration has a conserving effect on the large numbers of people engaged as homemakers and unpaid family workers. It is also conceivable that those with better skills and higher incentives dominate in the group of migrants and that as such, the depletion of the potential for generating economic activity takes place as a result of the large overseas migration. (1976:17-18).

Until other forms of economic development are underway in Western Samoa, external migration will remain a viable source ^{of} per capita income for many Samoans. If an increase in per capita income represents economic development, then emigration will be a viable form of economic development. As long as emigration is a viable form of development, the more motivated Samoans may be leaving the country, and rural development in the islands will remain a difficult challenge.

Shankman points out that, "In 1974, twenty percent of the Western Samoan population was living overseas and remitting more than fifty percent of the national income." He goes on to say that the strength of this remittance base for economic development is dependent on migrant opportunities for employment overseas, and this makes the Western Samoan economy extremely vulnerable. But rural development efforts have been affected by even less predictable factors--bunchy-top disease, the rhinoceros beetle, and hurricanes. Rural development may be preferable to an emigration economy but past efforts in the rural sector have been discouraging.

X The Fa'a Samoa will adjust to either contingency, continued high rates of emigration or improvements in the rural sector. The matai system will have to continue adjusting to a resources via remittances structure if emigration continues at high rates. With improvements in the rural sector the matai position would solidify, his base of power returning to the land. The 'aiga may remain a viable support structure as it extends from California through Hawaii and Samoa to New Zealand. (See Franco.1978).

Douglas suggests that a fertility decline in the Pacific depends on trends in economic development, which is partly dependent on migration. A brief look at three possible development options suggests that there may not be a relationship between economic development and fertility in Samoa.

MODEL I - Continued High Rates of Emigration - Migration is a demographic process nearly three decades old. There has been little fertility decline in the period.

MODEL II - Rural Development - Greater productivity from the land will strengthen the Fa'a Samoa, the 'aiga and its values. Labor intensive agriculture will require more workers on the land. Fertility declines are not likely.

MODEL III - Industrialization - Industrialization is currently not a very popular option. If the tura canneries in American Samoa are indicative,

industrialization will attract migration from other islands, eventually leading to increased migration from Western Samoa and American Samoa.

Increased emigration with industrialization may lead to increased fertility, just as increased economic activity in American Samoa in the 1940's led to spectacular population growth.

Within these three development models, and in view of past population growth, Douglas' suggestion that fertility decline may depend on economic development is ~~NOT SUPPORTED~~

Levin (1979) has collected data in Western Samoa showing a positive relationship between female educational level and fertility decline. ^(TABLE FORTHCOMING) This relationship does not hold consistently in American Samoa, although at the highest levels of education, fertility is the lowest. Marsack indicates that women's roles have had to change because men have entered the cash economy. If, with increased male entry into the cash economy, these roles are still in flux, and if educational levels lead to lowered fertility, this would suggest that a more important role for women in education and rural development would lead to their greater economic productivity and ^{perhaps,} to fertility declines. Greater female economic productivity and higher levels of education, coupled with remittances from male and female migrants overseas, would produce more resources for the matai to distribute, thus enhancing his status, while lowering fertility. ^{calls}

Whatever the course of fertility levels in Samoa, the age structure of the population—greater than fifty percent of the population is under fifteen years of age—will require emigration as a response to rapid population growth. The Fa'a Samoa and the 'aiga will have to adapt to urban environments in Hawaii and California, ^{however}

to card 5

TONGAN POPULATION GROWTH AND MIGRATION - 20th Century

[As in American Samoa and Western Samoa, Tonga sustained a slow and steady population increase in the first forty years of the 20th century (See Table 3). In 1942, Tonga gave the United States accomodation for troops and facilities. At one time there were 10,000 troops from overseas in Tongatapu] (Wood.1977:201). These troops brought additional revenue into Tonga and this money may have enabled some Tongans to support larger families. For whatever reason, [the Tongan population increased from 45,000 to 56,000 in the six year period, 1950-56.] This increase has triggered continued population growth to the present day. This rapid population increase led one author to speculate that, "If unchecked, this natural growth will produce a population by the year 2000 of about 190,000, an impossible total in such a small country " (Wood. 1977:206).]

[One response to this rapid population growth has been the increased rate of emigration. The basis for emigration was laid in 1966, when the New Zealand government established a sponsorship program for temporary entry of Tongans into New Zealand. Tongans could come to New Zealand if they could produce evidence of means of support, namely \$200 a month for every month they intended to stay or if they could obtain a letter of guarantee from a New Zealand citizen or permanent resident.

The scheme was not widely used until 1970 when increased availability of jobs attracted between "4,000-7,000" Tongans (de Bres.1976) Andrew Afeaki, a long-time New Zealand resident Tongan, explains why Tongans migrate:

The new migration is caused by the success and limitations of Tongan development. The paradox is that most of the Tongan achievements of the last 100 years of effort tend only to highlight the limitations of the Tongan situation and push people to migrate...The forces pushing them to migrate are the very things that we proudly point at as evidences of modern Tonga-- education, Westernization, improved communication, an educated elite, money, economy, and freedom. We can be justly proud of the achievements of the last 100 years. Yet all these achievements have served only to whip up people's appetites and aspirations for things that Tonga has not, cannot yet, and may never be able to provide for the majority of the people...The interaction of factors that result in migration is complex. It involves factors inside and outside Tonga. It involves factors in our environment and in our minds. It involves attitudes, aspirations, beliefs, commitments, and opportunities. These factors affect the individuals in differing degrees of importance...The final reason for migrating is different for each individual.

In 1974, New Zealand was no longer able to absorb large numbers of Tongan laborers. Many Tongans returned home while others continued into Australia. ^(~2,000) Tongan migration into the United States has accelerated since 1970. Information from the Hawaii State Immigration Service indicates that approximately 2500 Tongans entered the United States in the period, 1970-76. Total Tongan emigration in the period, 1967-78 is at least 31,077. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Hawaii State Immigration, New Zealand Government Statistics Office). This represents greater the 33% of the total Tongan Islands population.

Remittances from New Zealand, Australia, and the United States, make a significant contribution to the Tongan economy. [In the period from July 1976 to January, 1978 over seven million dollars in migrant remittances entered the Tongan economy (Government of Tonga Statistics Office, 1979).

Discussions with numerous Tongans indicate that the kainga (extended family) now extends from Nuku'alofa to New South Wales, from Sopo to San Mateo, from Ha'apai to Honolulu. As with Samoan migration extended family responsibilities are met, no matter how distant the family household. Migration will continue to be the Tongan response to rapid population growth. ^{PAU} Educators from Sydney to San Francisco will have a significant impact on the future direction + magnitude of ST migration.

1975
→ through
non-linear
US

39,000
10,000
Age 16

NON-linear

will have a significant impact on the future direction + magnitude of ST migration.

will have a significant impact on the future direction and magnitude of ⁵⁴⁷ this migration.

The following data is provided by the Government Statistics Office, Tonga, 1976 Population Census. This baseline data is presented here to give the concerned educator, in the cities and in the islands, a clear picture of Tongan educational attainment.

Total Population - 90,128

<u>Literacy</u>			
<u>In Tongan Only</u>	<u>In English Only</u>	<u>In Tongan and English</u>	<u>Illiterate</u>
31,319	472	36,639	4,952

<u>Highest Educational Attainment of Household Head</u>				
<u>No Standard Passed</u>	<u>Primary School</u>		<u>Secondary School</u>	
24	<u>Completed</u>	<u>Not Completed</u>	<u>Completed</u>	<u>Not Comp</u>
	1,631	5,016	18	6,489

<u>University Degree</u>		<u>Vocational/Technical Certificate</u>	
<u>Completed</u>	<u>Not Completed</u>	<u>Completed</u>	<u>Not Completed</u>
149	10	354	4

Total in Labor Force - Age 15 and older - 21,429

Total Not in Labor Force - Age 15 and older - 28,452

<u>Occupations</u>		
<u>Professional/Technical</u>	<u>Administrative/Managerial</u>	<u>Sales</u>
2,452	187	549
<u>Service</u>	<u>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing</u>	<u>Production Transport</u>
549	9,421	2,205

An article in Time magazine in 1978 reported that of the six hundred high school graduates in American Samoa, in 1977, four hundred were off-island within twelve months after graduation. In Tonga, there are more Tongans in the age group seven to ten, than in the age group twenty to forty-five. Clearly, a large number of Tongans and Samoans have entered, and will continue to enter the United States looking for a better education for themselves and their children.

TABLE 3

Tonga - 20th Century Census Figures	
1918	22,842
1919	22,689
1931	28,859
1939	34,130
1950	45,070
1956	56,358
1966	77,439
1976	90,128

From Wood, in Rutherford, 1977. History of Tonga, p. 206. And Government Statistics Office, 1976 Census, Nuku'alofa, Tonga.

cf. L...

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION- SAMOANS AND TONGANS

{ The educational process in Samoa and Tonga has produced and continues to produce a large number of young Samoans and Tongans who aspire to the relative ease and affluence they know to exist in New Zealand and the United States. The educational paradox is that Tonga and Samoa need their educated youth to understand and use modern technology and to develop appropriate technologies for their own benefit. Education has given people knowledge and aspirations that only a developed country's resources and facilities can fulfill. Education, therefore, is a force generating emigration of highly motivated youth.

The monetary cost of sending an individual student to New Zealand and the United States is extremely high and this requires parents and family to participate in a lucrative cash economy. Parents and relatives often migrate to large urban areas to earn the money necessary to educate their children in metropolitan schools. If you ask a Samoan why he came to the United States he will usually reply, "To get a good education," or "to give my children a good education." Education is universally valued in Samoan and Tongan urban communities, but a quality education has been difficult to attain. Hawaii Health Department Statistics indicate that only four percent of Samoans aged twenty-five and over have completed college. (Honolulu Magazine.1980:74). , *note this may be on the disc*] *pac* →

According to Leuga Alaimoana Turner, a Samoan social worker in Honolulu, Samoan children have some unique adjustment problems. Many Samoans arrive in Hawaii speaking little or no English. According to Turner, difficulties stem from children's having to meet two entirely different sets of expectations. In a Samoan home, a child is taught to be obedient unquestioning, respectful of authority. In an American school, however, this training can result in a child's sitting passively and listening-

22

not asking questions even when he is confused. Such behavior can be misinterpreted by teachers, causing bright children to be labeled "withdrawn" or "slow learners." (Ibid. 1980:75),

[Several researchers have discussed problems encountered by Polynesian students in metropolitan school systems:

- 1) Extended family and church requirements occupy time that could be spent studying. Older Samoan and Tongan students must care for their younger siblings and are very active in household maintenance. A household may have many members and a quiet space is difficult to find. Church fund-raising events divert students from their homework. (Samisoni, 1980)
- 2) Children are taught to be quiet and respectful, that they should not speak out. This (as Turner points out) gives students a withdrawn appearance in the classroom. (Graves, 1978:162)(Howard, 1974:52-)
- 3) Frequent household relocations, as parents find low paying, high turnover jobs, affects Samoan and Tongan educational success as learning continuity is frequently disrupted. (Franco, 1977:19).
- 4) Island born Samoans may enter metropolitan schools three years behind their classmates in reading and language skills. (Mailo, 1978:)
- 5) Traditional Polynesian child-rearing practices emphasize group cooperation but western school systems stress competition and individual achievement. (Graves, 1978) (Gallimore and Howard, 1968:10)

Having taught at 'Atenisi Institute in the Kingdom of Tonga, I encountered many of these difficulties with Tongan students. In all my classes- Mathematics, Pacific History, and Communications- I was concerned about whether I was being understood. When I asked for feedback from students, I received only few responses. When I asked questions of students, knowing that some knew the answers for I had discussed the topics with them the day before, knowledgeable students would not answer because they did not want to appear smarter than their peers.

After frequent discussions with ^{Dr. 24} Nancy Graves, I was convinced that my Tongan students would respond to a group learning exercise. I set up six groups of four persons to present papers in front of the class. The topics chosen by the groups demonstrated a great deal of thought. The topics ranged from, "The Impact of Tourism on Tongan Culture," to "Environmental Impacts in Tonga," to "Human Cloning." The students were very excited about this assignment- some worked overnight in the library- and members of the local community attended the in-class presentations. There appears to be great potential for group learning exercises with Polynesian students.

BIO-
BLOTTER
SISTER
INCEST
TARA

Many of the students at 'Atenisi expressed an interest in going overseas for further education but there is a serious concern about losing talented students to the bright lights of Hawaii and California. What kinds of programs can be developed at the tertiary level to best assist Samoans and Tongans?

Thinking out loud

It seems to me

NEEDS TO

There ~~should~~ be closer coordination between the Community College in American Samoa, Western Samoa College, 'Atenisi Institute, and the four year institutions in the region, University of the South Pacific, University of Hawaii, ^{SUN.H} Auckland and Wellington Universities. Also U.C. ^{AUSTRALIA} Santa Cruz, Univ. of New South Wales, and the University of Victoria, B.C. might provide relevant programs. (Curriculum should be developed along two tracks because Samoans and Tongans are living in two ^{different} ~~distinct~~ environments.)

different
distinct
Socioeconomic

*

The first track would be concerned with island development and would include courses in Coastal Marine Studies, Agriculture and Livestock

Management, courses in the Humanities and the Arts, as well as Energy Research, Public Health and Education. The second track would be Urban Studies and would include English as a Second Language, Demography, Anthropology, Sociology, Political Science, Urban and Regional Planning, Public Health and Education.

Perhaps
The money for the development of these programs ^Cwould be provided through a system where migrant remittances could be pooled into a development fund. Remittances used in this way would reduce the need for large outlays of AID dollars and would allow Samoans and Tongans the opportunity of developing their island educational systems in ways they consider appropriate.

At the other end of the migration stream, in the urban areas, there is an urgent need for staff development at those schools with large numbers of Samoan and Tongan students. Samoan and Tongan students in California are often bussed to upper middle class schools creating an educational environment rife with value conflict. Curriculum development efforts in Hawaii are a step in the right direction but there is a need for Samoan and Tongan staff to better implement the curricula.

Tutorial programs, working within the Samoan 'aiga and the Tongan kainga enable older, better educated Samoans and Tongans to teach their younger siblings. This type of system fits well within the traditional child-rearing process but requires that the parents make fewer demands on students time. With both parents working and many mouths to feed, time demands can be extensive.

Vocational training and adult education can be enhanced by teaching Community College teachers how to teach Polynesians. These training programs are important in improving the skill levels of Polynesian workers. Improved skill levels mean improved salary levels which should

a program initiated in the California Samoan community

free up time, a valuable commodity to Polynesians and Polynesian culture in urban environments.

Finally, many ethnic groups receive Federal Educational Opportunity Benefits through Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Student Special Services Programs. The poorly defined ^{status} of American Samoan "Nationals", ^{rather than citizens} and a general lack of knowledge and interest in Polynesian urban communities, has made it extremely difficult to initiate university recruitment programs for these students. In addition, ^{Because} ^{large} ~~although~~ a high ^{number} ~~percentage~~ of American Samoans are Veterans of the U.S. military, entitled to Veterans Administration Benefits for Education, ^{more} ~~little~~ effort ^{should} ~~has~~ been made to encourage Samoan students to attend four year university programs.

In conclusion, the supposedly recent migration ^{of} ~~(of~~ Samoans and Tongans) is now in its ^{thirtieth} ~~thirtieth~~ year. We can no longer think of Samoans and Tongans as residing in distant Polynesia. Samoans and Tongans everywhere share a similar culture and a common ^{concern for} ~~interest in~~ the education of their children. Metropolitan nations must respond to the unique educational needs of Samoans and Tongans in a unique and innovative way, linking Polynesians [&] Polynesian culture through regional educational institutions and the meeting of Islander-defined development objectives.

↳ to Archie

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