LIVING IN TWO WORLDS

"Challenges Facing Pacific Communities: The Case of Fijians in New Zealand"

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ABSTRACT

Living in two worlds is an insider perspective of how indigenous Pacific Immigrant communities, in this specific case Fijian's living in New Zealand face the challenges of living two cultures in a developed country like New Zealand. The quest to hold on to one's indigenous culture while adapting to another, in order to survive the realities of everyday circumstances can be a complicated struggle.

The main objective of this research was to collate and analyze information from Fijian families who migrated to New Zealand from 1970's to the mid 1980's with reference to the challenges they faced. In order to understand such constant struggles there are underlying questions and factors that should be considered. For example - why do people continue to be conservative about their cultural identities or how do they react to unfamiliar challenges in a multicultural society. Another could be - what influences have been seen in order for their children to recognize their indigenous identity. Comparable factors that will bring to other aspects of living in two worlds which would be considered were socio-economic issues, higher education, technological advancement, immigration policies, development constraints and quality of living standards.

Fijians and other indigenous Pacific people have through the years gained the ultimate will to defend their cultural and traditional identity whilst living in a world of western values and culture. Coupled with this have been the complexities of holding on to the values of both worlds. As this project probed into these newly rediscovered stories about journeys to their new homeland filled with opportunities, capitalism or westernization had never withered their passion and dreams as Pacific people to better themselves. They also enjoyed the luxury of both worlds as conservators of Pacific cultures and exploiters of technological advancement filled with huge dreams, opportunities and better standards of living.

Fijians have the smallest population of Pacific people in New Zealand when compared to Samoa, Tonga, and Cook Islanders. There were relatively small number of Fijians who arrived after the end of World War 2 and they were basically employed in farms, forestry work stations and industrial areas. Others were in New Zealand on government

scholarships, training or internship and work experience programs. Most of these people returned home while a very small proportion stayed behind.

In the early 1970's and 1980's there was also an influx of seasonal workers in the Central North Island areas including Hawkes Bay, Tokoroa and the Waikato region. Most people were recruited from the Pacific Islands including Fiji because of their hard working attitude and cheap labour margins. When their term was completed some decided to stay and work, eventually residing legally and permanently with their families. Another group of men came via Wellington by boat, destined to become maintenance and repair workers. (bound for maintenance and repair work and) but were left stranded when the shipping company ownership changed. The dock and maritime workers union fought for the case stating the government on humanitarian grounds should provide them with employment and residency status. After an extensive legal struggle, which lasted almost seven years these early Fijian workers and their families were granted work and residency permits. The (remaining) other families came as visitors or through marriage links and were granted work and residency permits.

The 1996 statistics (Statistics New Zealand, Census 1996) stated that Fijians were the most highly skilled and educated Pacific Island population in New Zealand. These statistics had been directly influenced by the latest influx of well educated and highly qualified Fijians who arrived in the late 1990's. The research will also highlight whether those who arrived before this latest influx faced the same challenges. These challenges will be compared to those faced by the generation of Fijians and Pacific people who were born and bred in New Zealand.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To my beloved parents; Monika Saulailai and Petero Vunidilo who have both passed away in Fiji. This thesis is for you both.

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Glossary

Vinaka vakalevu – formal way of thanking someone sincerely

Loloma – love or aroha

Talanoa – traditional way of story telling or sharing information

Kaunitoni – the vessel or boat that brought the first Fijian inhabitants as foretold by Fijian oral historians.

Lutunasobasoba – the Fijian chief that was in charge of the Kaunitoni migration and was believed to have originated from Tanzania, Africa.

Kerekere – customary practice of requesting for any item or favour from your relations and would be reciprocated at a later period.

Fa'aSamoa – Samoan traditional (culturally accepted)way of life

Introduction

Living in two worlds is a topic of which the initial aim was to unearth stories, episodes, *talanoa,* journeys and challenges encountering the Fijian immigrant, who migrated to New Zealand within a fifteen year period from the 1970 to the mid 1980's. This time period was specifically crucial in this research for various reasons. Firstly, these groups were the first Fijians that pioneered the development of primary sectors in New Zealand whilst hardly any research has been conducted to identify the challenges they encountered during this period. Secondly, at this time New Zealand was undergoing major industrial change that created a huge shift in economic development. The final reason was because of the needs to isolate the political instability in Fiji the events of 1987 and later 2000 which resulted in mass migrations of Fijians to New Zealand and other countries around the world.

This research would also capture the comparative issues and challenges that face indigenous people and in this special case Fijians. The study would explore the broad issues of economic and sociological challenges facing immigrant communities and Fijians in a developed country like New Zealand. These major economic issues include migration, economic development, employment, education and health. Within these external challenges, there were internal complex sociological and cultural problems facing not only Fijians who were born in Fiji but those that were born and bred in New Zealand as well. Living in two worlds has different definitions and psychological effects to these two groups of Fijians. There were intriguing perceptions of identity crisis, generational gaps and changing mind-set in terms of values, culture and migration specifically to those second and third generations Fijians who were born and bred in New Zealand.

This research is divided into six chapters. The first chapter has attempted to dissect some background history of Pacific people in New Zealand in terms of the migration trends, causes and effects. It also highlights facts on Fijians in New Zealand in the 20th century linked to census data from the Bureau of Statistics. This chapter also includes a brief historical account of Fiji's history and the different levels of migration including the origin of the first Fijian people.

The second chapter is mainly dedicated to a very succinct literature review of the general challenges facing indigenous Pacific communities and Fijians in New Zealand. This review

provides scholarly background on the factors, issues, challenges and history of how Pacific people became a crucial component of New Zealand multicultural heritage. Pacific people had been tagged with stereotypes and the study will show how far Pacific people have progressed to become well respected and dominant in specific areas of professionalism.

The third and fourth chapter entails research methodology used and response. Moreover, the chapter will provide more details of the scope, importance, aims and objectives, conceptual framework, ethic and ethical consideration that were linked to this research. Recruiting the selected participants took a lot of time and dialogue by means of customary protocol of *"kerekere"* and cultural reciprocity. In terms of the participant's information and stories, all of their identities will remain anonymous.

Chapter five involves the detailed analysis of the results in relations to specific challenging indicators facing Fijian communities in New Zealand. The responses are compared with others statistical information from New Zealand statistics on general issues such as immigration, comparative study of development in Fiji and New Zealand, education, employments and health.

The final chapter would be divided in to two parts. Firstly, it would summarise the research result of the two groups of Fijians, those who were born in Fiji and those born in New Zealand in terms of each respective indicator. The second part would provide a conclusion of the overall results of the research. It would also highlight the current dilemma facing those who were born and bred in New Zealand and some possible recommendations.

1 Chapter One   Background

1.1 Pacific People in New Zealand

The growth of the Pacific population in New Zealand has been one of the defining features of New Zealand society in recent decades. After migrating in increasing numbers following World War II, Pacific people faced the challenges of adapting to and establishing themselves in a new country within a new social and economic environment. Since the large scale migrations of the 1960s and 1970s, they have become a well established and integral part of New Zealand's social landscape, a vibrant and dynamic 2 experiencing considerable progress and change (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). By 2001 there were almost 232,000 people of Pacific ethnicity living in New Zealand, making up 6.5 percent of the population (Statistics New Zealand). The majority (58 percent) were born in New Zealand, the Pacific population is very youthful (Figure 1.1) and should continue to grow rapidly for some time to come (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).
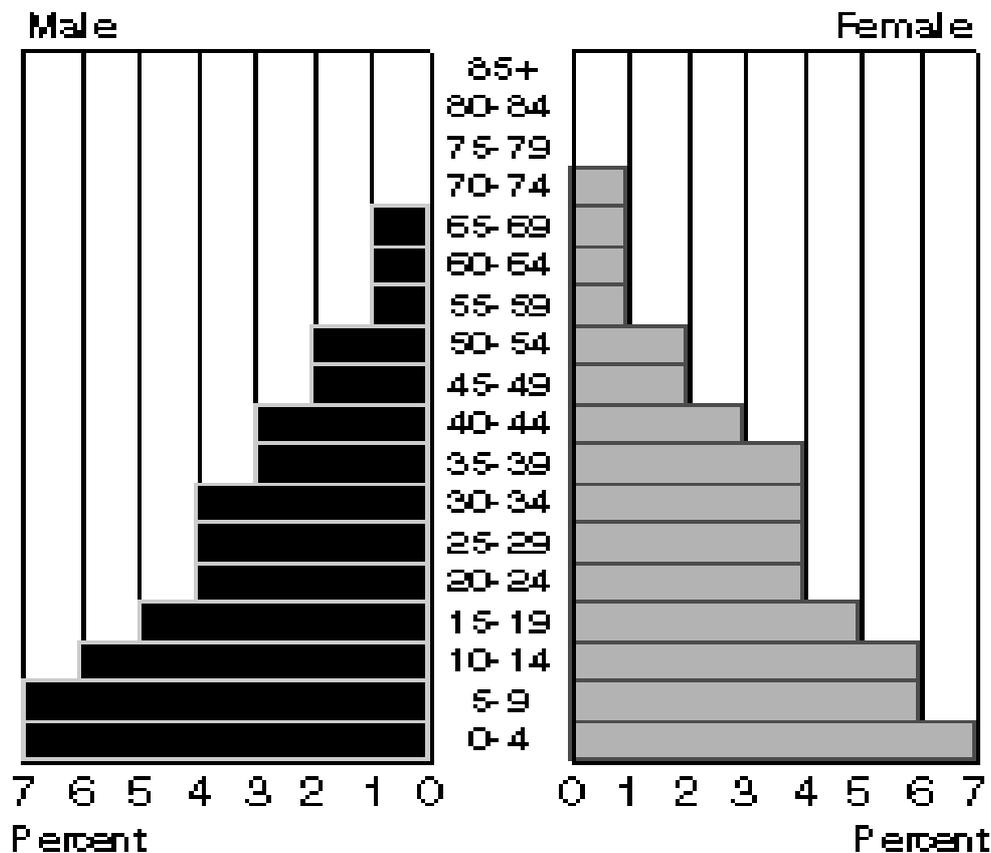
Figure 1.1: Age sex pyramid for Pacific peoples ethnic group

It is also a very diverse population made up of people from many different ethnic groups occupying a range of social and economic positions (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Pacific people have always faced considerable difficulties in New Zealand. Their skills are not always suited to the demands of the New Zealand labour market and they have been over-represented among the unemployed, (Figure 1.2) lower-skilled workers (Figure 1.3) and low income earners (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). These difficulties were accentuated by the restructuring of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which had a disproportionate effect on Pacific people, many of whom worked in industries and occupations that bore the brunt of job losses. (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Figure 2
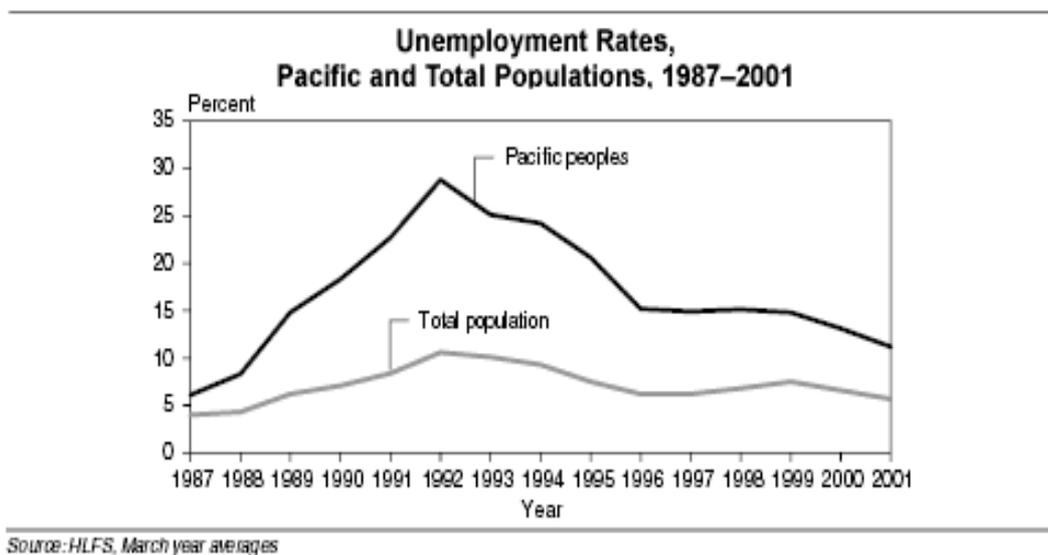
Figure 1.2: Unemployment rates for Pacific people and total population, 1987-2001

The seven largest ethnicities among Pacific peoples in New Zealand are Cook Island Maori, Fijian, Niuean, Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan and Tuvaluan people (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The 2001 census stated that half of Pacific people (232,000) were Samoan; the next largest groups were Cook Island Maori, followed by Tongan, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelauan, and finally Tuvaluan. (Statistics New Zealand, Census 2001). However, there are other Pacific people from the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the nations of Micronesia who made up a very small percentage of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).
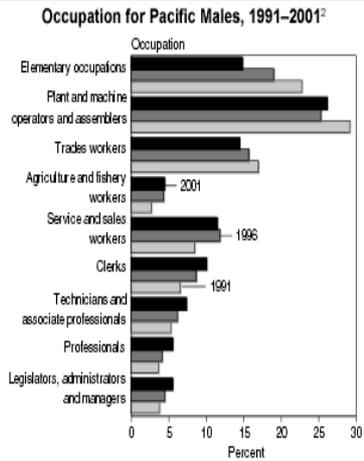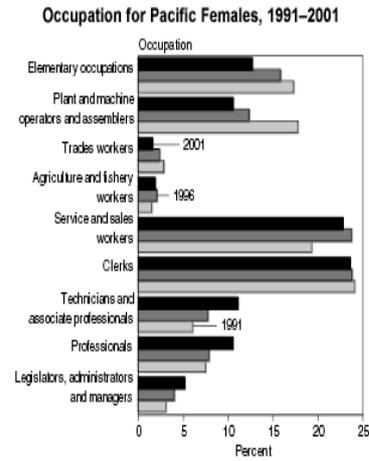
Figure 1.3: Occupations for Pacific Islanders by gender

The South Auckland city of Manukau had the largest members of Pacific people with a ratio of one to four, followed by Auckland City, Waitakere City and finally Porirua City in Wellington (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Two in three people of Pacific ethnicity in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region (Figure 1.4). The geographic location of Pacific Island people in these locations was influenced by a number of factors such as possession or lack of specific skills, economic resources; employment opportunities; already settled communities, families and friends or members of particular ethnic groups living near each other (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). The location of industries where Pacific people have worked also influenced the concentration of Pacific people into the areas earlier mentioned (Statistics New Zealand, Census 2001). It also highlighted the desires of these groups to maintain their cultural identity as a consequence of the strength of social, traditional and customary links within the community.
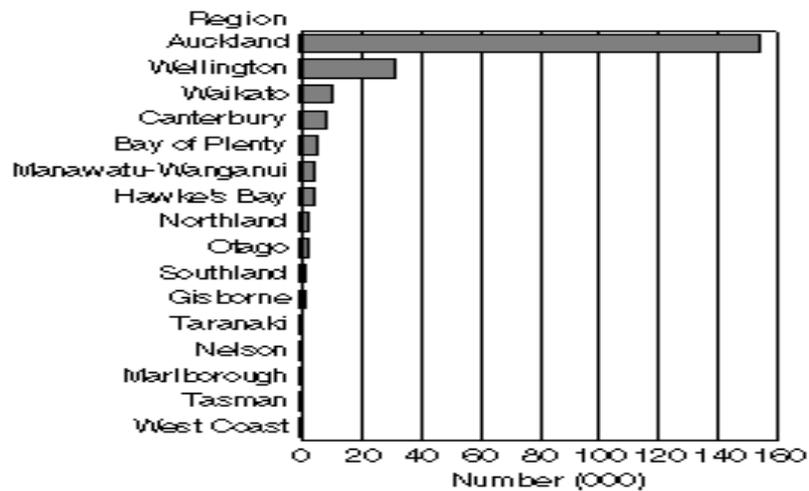
Figure 1.4: Pacific Islanders population by region.

Sources from Statistics New Zealand (2001) have also confirmed that the median age of people of Pacific ethnicity was 21 years, an increase from 20 years at the previous census of 1991, while nearly two in every five people of Pacific ethnicity were aged less than 15 years and three percent were aged 65 and over. This vibrant young and youthful population has caused government policy makers to be more aware of the growing need to concentrate on finding the best possible opportunities to educate and provide the necessary supportive infrastructure to develop this human capital. It has been predicted that by 2020 one in every five people in New Zealand will be of Pacific descent.

Pacific people were generally unskilled, less experienced and were the lowest qualified, than other mainstream cultures, according to the census of 2001 (Statistics New Zealand). As a result, they made up the unskilled labour force (Figure 1.5) in forestry, manufacturing, industrial and other manual low paid employment (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The 2001 statistics state the median income for adults was $14, 800 which is reflected in terms of educational achievements; one in six adults had a tertiary qualification as the highest level of achievement. The most common occupation for adults was plant machine operators and assemblers, followed by service and sales workers and clerical workers (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).
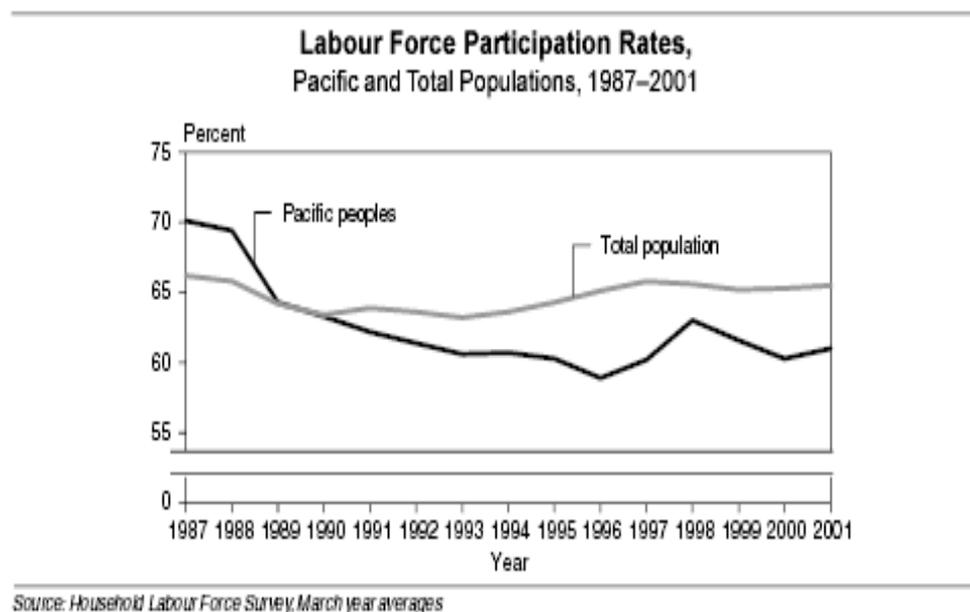
Figure 1.5: Pacific and total labour force participation, 1987-2001

Statistics show that almost all Pacific people born in the Islands are religious and identify themselves as belonging to a Christian denomination (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Presbyterian was the most common religious denomination, followed by Catholic and Methodist. Many of these young Pacific people are born or raised in New Zealand and have been caught up by the changing patterns of behaviour and external demands of peer pressure, advancement in technology and effects of multiculturalism (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). However, the statistics of 1991 revealed that Roman Catholic was the most common religious denomination for the people of Samoan, Fijian and Tokelauan ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

1.2 Fijians in New Zealand

The 2001 census revealed that Fijian people were the fifth largest Pacific ethnic group living in New Zealand, comprising 7,000 or 3 percent of New Zealand's Pacific population (231,800) (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). The Fijian population decreased by 8 percent between 1996 and 2001 (Figure1.6) and during the same five-year period, the Pacific population increased by 15 percent.

Figure 1.1

Fijian Population in New Zealand, 1991–2001
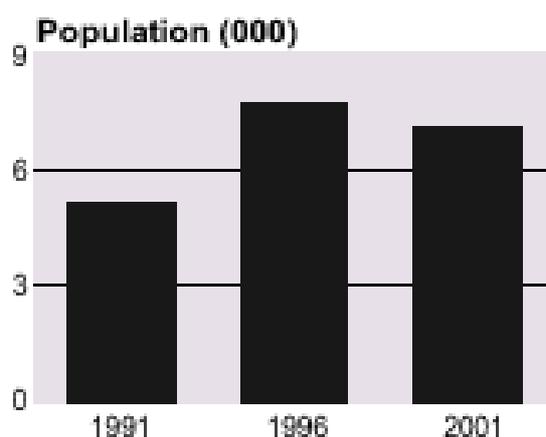
Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure 1.6: Fijian population in New Zealand, 1991-2001

The Fijian population is relatively youthful ((Statistics New Zealand, 2001). In 2001, 33 percent of Fijians were under 15 years of age, compared with 23 percent of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Four percent of Fijians were aged 65 years and over, compared with 12 percent of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

In 2001, the median age, or midpoint of the Fijian age distribution, was 23.7 years. By comparison, the median ages for the Pacific and New Zealand populations were 21.0 years and 34.8 years respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Fijian females (3,700) slightly outnumber Fijian males (3,400) and make up 52 percent of the Fijian population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Although distribution of the sexes throughout the age groups is relatively balanced, women make up the majority (64 percent) of Fijians aged 65 years and over – a reflection of their longer life expectancy (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

New Zealand-born Fijians accounted for 47 percent of the Fijian population in New Zealand in 2001, the same proportion as in 1996. In 1991, 34 percent of Fijian people living in New Zealand were New Zealand-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). In 2001, 95 percent of overseas-born Fijian people in New Zealand gave Fiji as their birthplace (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

The New Zealand-born Fijian population has a much younger age structure than the overseas-born Fijian population (Table 1.1). In 2001, 58 percent of the New Zealand-born Fijian populations were under the age of 15 years, whereas only 11 percent of the overseas-born population were under 15 year (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Two percent of New Zealand-born Fijian people were aged between 45 and 64 years, whereas 26 percent of the overseas-born populations were in this age group in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Nearly a third (32 percent) of Fijians born overseas had been living in New Zealand for between 10 and 20 years at the time of the 2001 Census, while nearly another third (32 percent) had been resident for more than 20 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Eight percent of the overseas-born Fijian population had been in New Zealand for less than one year – up 2 percent from 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Table 1.1: Highest qualification gained by Fijians aged 15 and over

Highest Qualification Gained by Fijian People Aged 15 Years and Over

Highest qualification	New Zealand-born Fijian people	Overseas-born Fijian people	Total Fijian population	Total Pacific Islands population	Total New Zealand
			Percent		
School	47	40	42	33	32
Post-school	28	31	30	19	34
No qualification	26	30	28	47	34
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings, 1996

* Due to rounding numbers may not add to stated total

In 2001, 87 percent of all Fijian people lived in the main urban areas (populations of 30,000 or more) − up from 85 percent in 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). The geographical distribution was largely unchanged from 1996, with the greatest concentration of the Fijian community being in the Auckland urban area (57 percent) (Figure 1.7) in both 2001 and 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Figure 1.3

Geographical Distribution of the Fijian Population, 2001

By urban area

Auckland 57%

Hamilton 3%

Palmerston North 2%

Wellington 11%

Christchurch 5%

Dunedin 1%
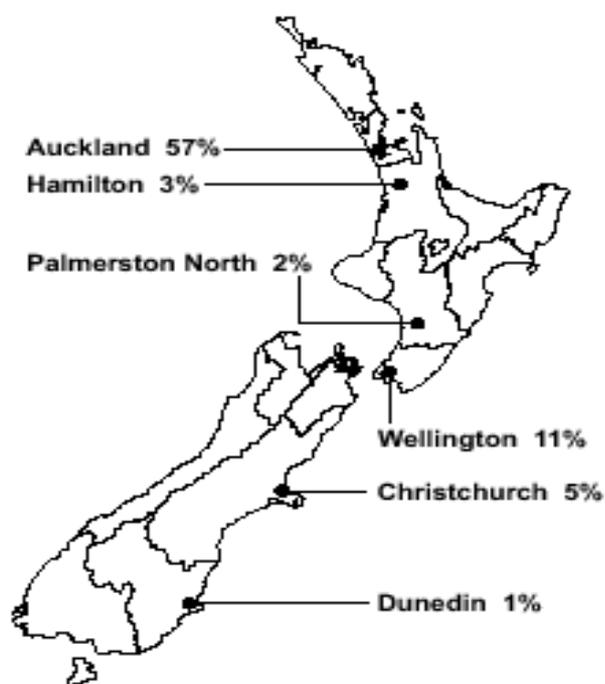
Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure 1.7:Geographical distribution of Fijians

The next largest concentration of Fijian people was in the Wellington urban area, with 11 percent in 2001 (up 1 percentage point from 1996) (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Nearly a quarter (23 percent) of the Fijian population lived in central Auckland, while a further 14 percent lived in southern Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The largest Fijian community in the South Island in 2001 was in the Christchurch urban area, with 300 or 5 percent of all Fijian people (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

1.3 Background of Fiji

1.3.1 Prehistory

Fiji's prehistory is a very controversial topic to discuss. Oral history about *Lutunasobasoba*, the great legendary chief and his voyage across the ocean on the *Kaunitoni* vessel is very influential among most Fijians. It was believed that the Fijian people arrived on the Western Coast of Viti Levu and later dispersed over the hills of *Nakauvadra* while the rest were scattered to other places around Fiji. Some researchers argued through various theories that Fijians migrated from south East Asia through the north Pacific (Micronesia) while others believe that they migrated from South America into Polynesia.

Other researchers argued that the *Lapita* migration were the earliest because they came from South East Asia through Melanesia. Many researchers have substantiated their theory through the analysis of language, flora and fauna, material culture and archaeological findings such as pottery, beads, shells, human bones and other artefacts. For example the recent discovery of *Lapita* excavations around Fiji revealed that it was inhabited by sea faring people 3000 years ago. These archaeological sites found on many islands in Fiji have provided evidence on how it was in prehistoric days prior to European arrival and occupation.

1.3.2 History

Fiji comprises of 300 Islands, two thirds of which is uninhabited. Most land, 83 percent, are native owned and the remaining are Crown lease or freehold. The first capital was

Levuka, Ovalau, an island of the Lomaiviti group (centre of Fiji). The current capital Suva is located on the main island of Viti Levu (Great Fiji) and became capital in 1882 a decade after the Deed of Cession. The first European to have sailed past Fiji was Abel Tasman, a Dutch explorer in 1643. Later in 1774 Captain James Cook sailed through, and made further explorations in the 18th century. In 1789, Captain Bligh sailed through the Fiji Island groups after the mutiny of the Bounty.

1.3.3 Early Europeans

Other Europeans who landed later in Fiji lived among the Fijians. They included ship wreck victims, sailors, sandalwood and beach-de-mere traders, followed by missionaries. When the news of Fiji being ceded to Britain began to spread, many Europeans from Australia, New Zealand and the Americas also came to settle in Fiji. Finally on October 10th, 1874 Fiji was ceded to Britain as a crown colony. The first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, managed to revive Fiji's economy by growing sugar plantations since it was successful in other colonies. Gordon feared though that if Fijians were involved in this labour intensive mission, it could disrupt their traditional way of life so he authorized the mass movement of Indian labourers. The first Indians arrived in 1879 under the indentured system that only lasted until 1916. However by this time almost all Indians decided to stay in Fiji.

2 Chapter Two   Literature Review

"Challenges Facing Pacific Communities in New Zealand"

2.1 Introduction

The underlying aims of this literature review were to staircase and deconstruct the challenges facing Pacific Island migrant communities in New Zealand and how they successfully adapted to the values of mainstream culture; mainly Pakeha. The challenges and issues that Pacific Islanders face today can only be analysed by reviewing the literature conducted by researchers, writers, historians, academics and professionals who reflected on the issues and dynamics of Pacific people in New Zealand. Some case studies undertaken will shed some insights into the minds and perception of Pacific Islanders who have made New Zealand their adopted home regarding issues that surrounds these challenges.

Most of the data and figures used in journals and articles were related to the historical data from the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, New Zealand Bureau of Statistics and census figures. The interpretation of such data by different authors reflects the contrasting perspectives which in turn challenge readers on which views really reflect the real problems and issues facing Pacific Islanders.

However, one has to revisit the true historical records of Pacific Islanders and the complex reasons and dynamics of migration in order to understand the topic. The process of migration highlights the many challenges facing Pacific people and their communities in their adopted home-countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada or the United States of America, internally or internationally. This process has thus become the major regulator of demographic change, together with social and economic development in many of these small Pacific nations. Bedford (1980) and Chapman (1981) argued that in the past migration tended to be seasonal, circular and of short duration. However, there is now substantial evidence that migration within Fiji and from the Pacific was more permanent and involves longer distances.

This review will be divided into five subsections. The first part entails the historical background information and chronological events like World Wars and how it began to

create mass movement of Pacific people in the 20th century. The second section will focus on migration issues relating to international migration and problems and development constraints facing small Pacific Island economies. The next four sub-topics; economic development, education, employment and health issues are the major variables that greatly impacted on the sustainability of Pacific Island growth in New Zealand. Furthermore, the literature and personal case studies of some prominent Pacific Island people in New Zealand portray the reality of the challenges and rewards that awaits them. The final section of the review entails a summary and conclusion of the project and also gives a more balanced perspective and greater appreciation of the issues facing Pacific people.

2.2 Historical Background

The impact of colonisation and European contact as argued by Krishna et al, (1994) in *the Challenge of Change: Pacific Island Communities in New Zealand*, was very significant in the early nineteenth century when many islands in the Pacific entered into trade with whalers. Through curiosity and interest, most Polynesians embraced Christianity by the 1850's. From then Europeans of various parts of the globe became interested in acquiring land to exploit mobility of labour, resources, trade, and even permanent settlements. This gave rise to the spread of commercialisation of natural resources like copra, cotton, sandalwood, sea foods and sugarcane plantations. At the same time there were settlers lobbying with indigenous people, there was intra-rivalry with much of Polynesia (with the exception of Tonga) with eventual colonisation by France, Germany and Britain.

2.2.1 Plight of Pacific people

According to Bedford (1980), labour mobility is nothing new to the South Pacific. During the colonial era Pacific Islanders had little choice about where and when they could move. Indentured labourers, black birding and enticing of young men to join the crews of a passing ship were rife. Increasing dependence of Pacific microstates on other larger nation states coupled with rapid post-war expansion of industrial capitalism have been key factors in modern migration flows (Bedford, 1980). The higher wages offered by metropolitan firms and wider ranges of consumer goods were important inducements to workers from poorer regions and Islands states. These workers in turn were particularly valuable to metropolitan capital since they were raised cheaply in subsistence or marginal economies

and their wage requirements were relatively low. Labour migration had also been spurred by the expansion of capitalist market systems into islands societies themselves (Krishna et al, 1964). In the process the metropolitan economies maintained the balance of production in their own hands.

2.2.2 Factors that Affects Migration

Loomis (1990) identified that World Wars II ([1]WWII) was itself a catalyst of Pacific Island social and economic change but post-war development in the region created the conditions for sustained population outflows to New Zealand. Emigration was facilitated by the dual citizenship some Pacific Islanders held as a consequence of their country's previous colonial or protectorate status. Others were recruited on temporary work permits, settled and became citizens. These processes as argued by Loomis (1990) had been going on for so long that Pacific migrant communities increased their sojourner populations through continuous numbers of guest workers who still arrived annually.

Krishna et al (1964) added that such pressure of migration after the end of WWII coupled with the late 1950's factors such as population pressure from the Island communities began to push large population flows of Polynesians to New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America (USA). In New Zealand specifically, the high demand for industrial growth resulted in greater demand for labour in the manufacturing sector as well as manual labour in the rural agricultural economy. Education also contributed to inflow of people. Some scholars like Shankman (1976) and Connell (1989) concluded that emigration had large negative effects, subverting economic development in Fiji and other islands nations by siphoning off the most physically and intellectually able members of the island populations. This influenced development aspirations, negatively accelerating and perpetuating the peripheral, dependent situation of many Pacific Island countries. However, more positive evaluations take account of the effects of immigration in reducing population pressure and negative social and environmental consequences and the effects of remittances in improving quality of rural life for many island territories.

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[1] WW2 – World War 2 ended in 1945

2.2.3 Pacific People Settlements in New Zealand

In the early years of the WWII, some farmers in the Hawkes Bay, being very short of labour sought to obtain men form the Cook Islands (Challis, 1973). Most of these workers found the loneliness almost unbearable and moved to Auckland. Many New Zealanders did not realize that Pacific Islanders always lived in villages with closely knit families and relations. They settled after securing employment and accommodation in the suburbs of Auckland, signalling for them that a better life in New Zealand was possible than in the Islands. The people from Niue, Tokelau, Samoa, Tonga and later Fiji began to migrate and still continue in large numbers today.

Challis (1973) inferred that another major cause of moving into the urban areas from the rural scene arose because of the lack of educational facility for their children particularly in the Hawkes Bay, where huge numbers of Cook Islanders settled in the past. As children reached secondary schools age, the only viable option for Pacific Island parents were to move to the city. Thus a great majority of the Pacific Island migrants move and continue to live in urban areas such as Auckland, Wellington, Tokoroa and Christchurch. In Tokoroa today, they make up more than 10 percent of the population while South Auckland is the most populated city for Pacific Islanders. On arrival in New Zealand, the Pacific migrant meets a vastly contrasting individualistic mode of life compared to their island communal lifestyle. For the latter this still continues with support for their nuclear family obligations, and their families and relatives back in the Islands.

2.3 Migration Issues

Before the Second World War, New Zealand was integrated into the world economy primarily as an agricultural producer with minimal manufacturing sector. The declining demand for agricultural labour after the post-war period and fluctuations in the international commodity markets gave rise to an era of industrial expansion (Hawke, 1985). As a result, migrant workers were in huge demand to meet the expansion. In 1947, the government introduced a policy of assistance as well as free immigration from the United Kingdom to fill positions in essential production and services industries. From 1950 to 1960 the immigration policy was further liberalised to encourage immigrants from Europe including Netherlands, Austria, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary

and South Africa, and Greece, in order to assist employers over labour shortage (Hawke, 1985).

2.3.1 Influx of Migrant Workers

Castle (1989) identified that between 1945 and the early 1970s millions of migrant workers were recruited into manual occupations in the new industries of developed countries. These migrant workers were concentrated in industries dismantled in the economic recession of late 1970s and 1980s. As a consequence the new migrants of the 1970s and 1980s had been recruited into low skilled jobs in unregulated and non-unionised areas of work such as catering, retails trades and light manufacturing. Castle (1989) argued that the changing public sectors and corporate restructuring had been described as the major cause of job loss in assembly line work in manufacturing and primary employment. In addition, technological change in manufacturing and diversification of production facilities also reduced the huge numbers employed in many developing countries. While economic change and restructuring meant insecurity for some migrant workers, it also provided opportunities for promotion for some migrants and triggered the immigration to increase the competitiveness of their own economies.

2.3.2 Pull and Push Factors

Gibson (1983) argued that, historically, migration of people particularly migration away from unfavourable economic and socio-political conditions to areas of perceived favourable conditions has occurred throughout the globe. The determinants of large-scale migration of population include conditions within donor countries, which either provides people within the ability to migrate or force people to migrate. On the other hand, factors within the recipient countries also determine population movement such as supply and demand of labour (Gibson, 1983). Migration from developing to developed countries could be viewed as an outcome of economic development and may have caused changes in the migrants themselves who find that they prefer to settle in the adopted country because they have become accustomed to their new lifestyle.

The oil crisis that hit New Zealand in the mid 1970s had affected economic conditions, resulting in government and public concern about the high level of unemployment and

immigrations levels. Like other industrialised nations, New Zealand lacked the human capacity to embark on the process on industrial diversification and economic expansion shortly in the post-war period. Pacific people such as Fijians were recruited with other migrants' workers to occupy positions in the manufacturing and agricultural industries (Krishna et al, 1994).

2.4   Development Aspects of Pacific Islanders

The main international migration flows affect the populations of most South Pacific Island nations including movement from the Pacific, to the more affluent Pacific countries of New Zealand, the USA and Australia. The next stage involves movement from one Pacific island country to another or movement from Asia through the Western Pacific islands such as Papua New Guinea and Western Micronesia (Hayes, 1985). In 1981, 100,739 Pacific Islanders and Pacific island-born were recorded as usually resident in New Zealand. Ninety-eight percent of these individuals were Polynesian and two per cent were Melanesian (Hayes 1985:10).

Population Of Pacific people In NZ in 1981

2014, 2%

98725, 98%

□ Polynesia ■ Melanesia
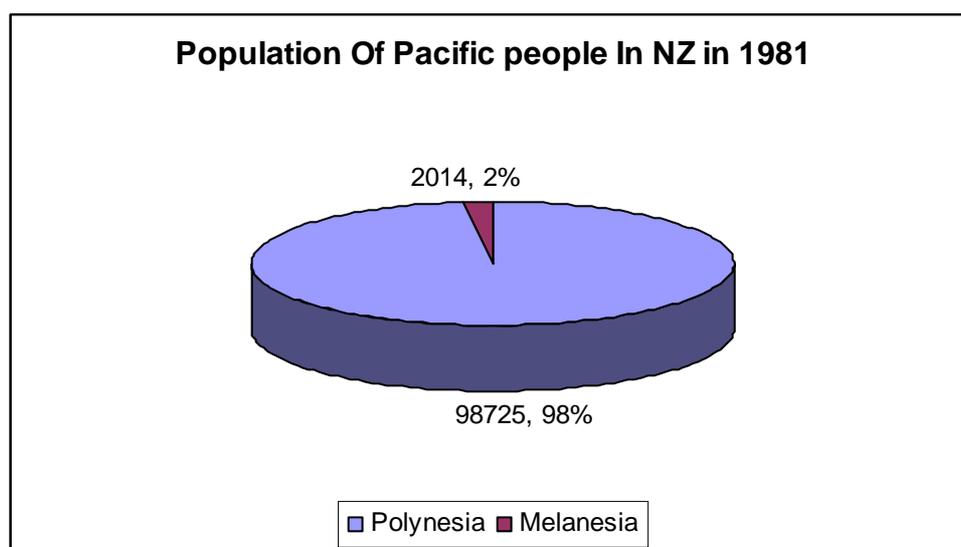
Figure 2.1: Pacific peoples populations in New Zealand in1981

Ministry of Economic Development (Pacific Peoples in New Zealand: Preliminary Review of Development Issues 3) report highlighted that in 2001, 58 percent of Pacific people living in New Zealand were born in this country, hence as a whole, economic and social integration into New Zealand is likely to be much more extensive than for recent migrants and it is no longer appropriate to describe Pacific people as a migrant community.

17

Population of Pacific Islanders Born in NZ vrs PI Born (2001)

42%

58%

☐ Pacific Islands
☐ New Zealand
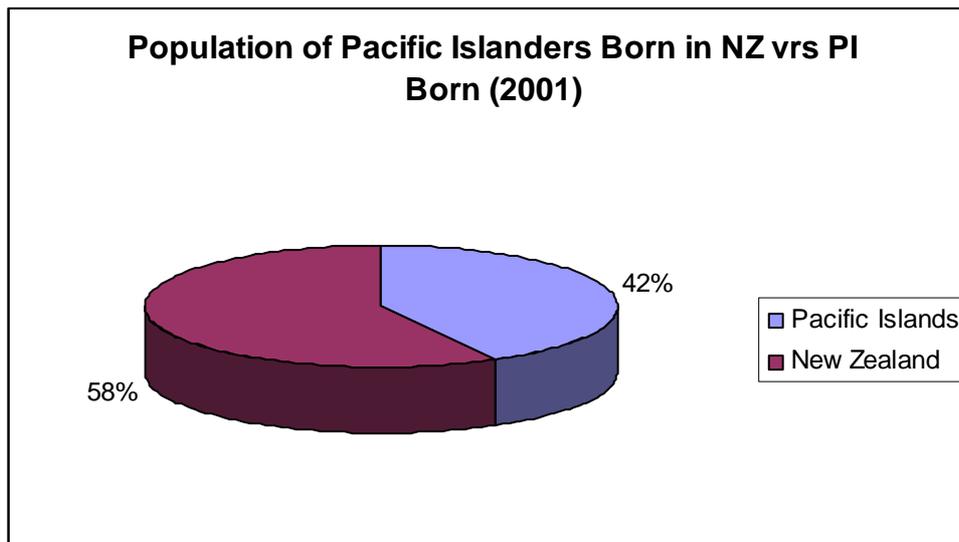
Figure 2.2: Birthplace of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand in 2001

2.4.1 Urbanisation of Pacific People

Pacific people are highly urbanised, with 98 percent living in urban areas in 2001 and 66 percent living in Auckland urban area alone (Statistics New Zealand 2002 Pacific Progress). Whilst this is a reflection of the types of industries in which Pacific people have traditionally worked, it also highlighted their socio-economic status in general. A fairly high degree of geographical concentration may also contribute to, or be a consequence of the strength of social and cultural links within the community. Statistics New Zealand showed that while there are different subsets taken, Pacific people as a whole have some distinctive characteristics.

Loomis (1990:9) debated that an individual's decision to migrate is inevitably shaped by circumstances at home and in the host society. These in turn were a consequence of economic and political arrangements in the social order itself, referred to as 'structural relations, other factors that exist alongside basic life requirements and economic relationships influencing decisions to migrate.

2.4.2 Effects of Capitalism

Today's world economy, in which most third world societies are exploited and dependent on the advanced capitalist countries, had it beginnings in the expansion of Western colonialism (Loomis, 1990). Naturals resources, human capital were extracted from

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subjugated countries and unequal trade relations established. In the South Pacific nations according to Bedford (1980), underdevelopment persisted into the modern era. This happened through unequal terms of trade, onerous credit arrangements, foreign dominated capital formation, fluctuating commodity prices dictated by metropolitan markets, costly to bureaucracies and reliance on aid and remittances.

Krishna et al (1994, 16) confirmed that the post-war industrial expansion created huge demand in recruitment of Pacific Island people beginning in the Cook islands and Fiji. By the 1950s, the increasing numbers of other Pacific Island workers were recruited to work in the industries of Wellington, Auckland, and in developing single industries in Tokoroa. By 1973 -1974, immigration from the Cook Islands, Niue, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa accounted for six percent of immigration to New Zealand (Farmer, 1985).

2.4.3 Politics of Discrimination

In the mid-1970s, however, state-supported discrimination towards the Pacific Island population intensified and the Labour Government began to draw public attention to the issues of over-stayers where images of Pacific Islanders became synonymous with over-stayers (Farmer, 1985). To make matters worse, the National Party promoted racial bias in election campaign on television and advertisements portraying Pacific people as violent, lawbreakers who took jobs away from New Zealanders. Furthermore, during 1976, dawn raids were carried out on homes of people belonging to Pacific Island communities and random street checks were also undertaken on those who appeared to resemble Pacific Island ethnic groups (Krishna et al, 1994).

New Zealand acquired its Pacific empire by simply assuming administrative responsibility from Britain for the small nations like Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau (Krishna et al, 1994). Western Samoa later became a mandated territory from Germany in 1914 at the onset of the First World War ([2]WWI). However, the intentions of successive colonial governments were to administer the islands mainly for the good of the inhabitants, to protect them from exploitation and population decline and to educate and encourage the development of Christianity, modern government and commercial agriculture (Chapman,

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[2] WWI – World War I ended in 1918

1981). Through experience and confidence from dealing with Maori, New Zealand assumed it had the skills and expertise in dealing with Polynesian people in their Island states. Unfortunately, it lacked the wealth, resources, human capital to accomplish its paternalistic ambitions which led to conflicts and resentment by the indigenous Pacific Island people.

2.4.4 New Zealand's Role in the Pacific

Loomis (1990) highlighted that prior to the late 1940s New Zealand abandoned its prime responsibility of education to the church and missionaries who brainwashed Pacific Islanders with Bible study and Christianity rather than science, mathematics and humanities. After the Second World War however, the United Nations applied more pressure to remind New Zealand of its responsibilities to educate the people under its mandate for self- government, self-rule and self-determination. This led to the acceleration of modern education in the early 1950's through the provision of scholarships, internships and exchange programs for selected Polynesian students to attend schools and tertiary institutions in New Zealand. It is significant to note that the Kingdom of Tonga had never been a colony, although Britain had specific responsibilities for its international relations under the Treaty of Friendship.

Loomis (1990) also noted that when independence was finally granted to these small island communities, leaders in these Pacific nations and New Zealand realised that a complete reappraisal of ties could improve aspects of these islands as their economic and infrastructural development were not optimistic (Loomis, 1990). As a result, New Zealand made one of the most generous post-colonial agreements whereby Cook Islanders and Niueans were given the rights of New Zealand citizenships along with the powers of self-government in free association with New Zealand. Tokelau was very small to exercise limited option of independence and remains a territory under New Zealand although remained largely self-governed.

2.4.5 Limitations to Development

For Bedford (1987), distant markets limit the economic development options of Pacific Islands. The continuous sudden change in demand of economic goods and globalisations

has waned over the past century, and traditional exports commodity crops were no longer viable. Island people who are more accustomed to reasonable standard of subsistence living must compete on world markets where there are massive landless agricultural labourers who depend on labour to survive, are paid low wages and where the price of foodstuff commodities is much lower than in the Pacific Islands. Tonga and Samoa have fragile economies based on a narrow range to exports and migrant remittances while Fiji has the most well developed diversified economy in the Pacific region. Farmer (1985) argued though that despite the considerable amount of development through aid in the Pacific Islands, economic growth has been disappointingly minimal. However, the life style of semi-independent countries like Niue, Tokelau and Cook Islands is less dependent on agriculture and fishing that of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa because of the high levels of government employment and remittances from overseas migrants and free access and mobility of resources to New Zealand.

2.4.6 Significant Indicators in Developments

In Fiji, Tonga and Samoa it became increasingly difficult to emigrate but they continued to establish significant overseas communities not only in New Zealand but also Australia and the USA (Bedford 1987). These three nations were basically literate, enjoyed reasonable health systems, were well fed with generally high life expectations and low infant mortalities compared to other developing countries with similar economies. In addition, all have compulsory primary education and fairly high rates of participation in secondary education. Nevertheless, the sluggish economic growth usually stifled opportunities to earn more in the rural areas. Coupled with an increased urban migration and poverty, such factors provided an incentive to look for economic opportunities abroad – initially short periods to target a sum of money, later if possible as settlers seeking new life. In this regard then, migration acts as a political and economic safety net for these small Pacific island states, which encounter struggling economic growth prospects, averting widespread poverty and absorbing surplus population.

Bedford (1987) argued that when population growth exceeds economic growth, developing countries could often not afford to increase levels of schooling, health care, water and sanitation facilities, police services and other amenities. Furthermore, he believed that education, health and law and order enforcement decline will have negative consequences

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on the overall quality of living and prosperity. Population growth will also increase pressure on resources and the environment: destruction of forestry, soil erosion, silting of aquatic life, pollution, over-harvesting and depletion of marine resources.

2.5 Development and Progress

Loomis (1990) strongly protested that Pacific Islanders have played a key role in building New Zealand's industrial economy and through their distinctively social life and cultures, have helped awaken New Zealand to its Pacific identity. Now the children of these migrants are reaching maturity and searching for their own identity. Pacific Island migrants were initially motivated to come to New Zealand for economic reasons and the potential to earn higher wages and increased access to wider range of consumer goods and services (Brosnan & Wilson, 1989).

2.5.1 Dependency Syndrome

In addition New Zealand provided opportunities to give financial support to non-migrant kin who remained in the Islands. However, the population back in the islands became increasingly dependent on remittances, as consumption expectations rise. Migration also provided more opportunities and access for the children of immigrants to higher quality education than that available at home. As Pacific Island communities became established in New Zealand, economic motivation became secondary to social factors. Chain migration to reunite families and friends became a dominant consideration in the migration process (Pitt & Macpherson, 1974).

Statistics New Zealand (2002) reflects the combination of an age structure different to that of the wider population, lower incomes than other sectors of the population (encouraging more intensive use of dwelling space) and cultural influence supporting extended family lifestyle. For example, Pacific people are much more likely to be living as part of an extended family, with 29 percent in such situation in 2001 compared with eight percent of the national population. Thus age care is an important part of the extended family amongst Pacific people. More so, a third of Pacific children were living in one-parent families that included four or more dependent children in 2001, compared with 16 percent of children overall. Additionally, the average number of usual occupants for all households in which Pacific people were living in 2001 was 5.4 compared with 3.5 for New Zealand as a whole.

2.6 Education and Culture

Bray & Hill (1973) strongly argued that fostering improved levels of Pacific Islanders achievement possibly highlights there is a need for increased sensitivity to the cultural background and distinctive needs of Pacific Island and Maori alike. The increase in demand and attention to Pacific Island cultures, signals this as not merely a means to improved attainment but as an end to itself – a demand that education serves to perpetuate their distinctive cultural values and norms. The migration of Maoris to urban areas since WW2 and influx of Pacific immigrants to New Zealand cities over the same period have transformed the demands on education to another level.

2.6.1 Adaptability

When the Pacific Island child enters the New Zealand school, the anticipation is usually in hard work and adapting to the New Zealand education system (Challis, 1973; 49). There may be some difficulty in the understanding and appreciation of English. Very often his reading is fluent, but lacks depth of understanding and is confused by context. Through consistency and persistence, the child can gradually sort out alternative meanings, gain more fluency in English, is more motivated in discussion, and relates more readily to reading programs. However if there were an Island teacher in the school, she/he would be responsible for tutoring the group. Most new entrants at Form three levels would benefit from project work and class visits to commerce and industry, as there is value in viewing and clarifying the New Zealand way of life.

2.6.2 Parents Concerns and Commitments

With great sacrifice, parents often bring their children to New Zealand so their offspring will benefit from higher education, and are able to qualify for better positions in life (Challis, 1973). Therefore parents sacrifice and support their children's' education until they succeed. As a pupil, the Islander is generally welcomed as a classmate and readily included in all activities readily, because he is characteristically cheerful, generous, friendly, respectful, and courteous as well as excelling at sport. Mostly he is often courted by the games organizers of the school because of his strengths and skills, which could divert his concentration from academic work and study. Generally girls achieve better results in their new school systems (Bray & Hill, 1973). Pacific Island students may cling

to their own ethnic group that precludes English conversation but he adapts easily to his new friends who are ready to include him in all aspects of school life.

If he arrives in Form five, sometimes it is a struggle to reach the required level, but he is willing to repeat his studies to reach his goal. In addition, most teachers find the Island children willing to give their best shot but sometimes the influence of a high wage of employment can lure him and can prove too strong especially if their studies are not rewarding. Nevertheless many of these children and youngsters do well as they are aware of the desire of the majority of their parents that their children should be well educated. This is the main reason why some Pacific Islanders come to this country.

The ability to provide their children with education was, and remains for many Pacific families a strong motivation in their decision to migrate to New Zealand (Brosnan & Wilson, 1989). However, high levels of unemployment, particularly in unskilled and semi-skilled areas of work, have disadvantaged many Pacific Island migrant workers. Occupations such as production, transport and labouring, have been disproportionately affected by job losses over the last five years. Krishnan et al (1994) argued that in the latter half of the 1980s, high unemployment might also have provided young Pacific Island people with an incentive to acquire more formal qualifications.

2.6.3 Opportunities and Prospects

Furthermore, technological advances coupled with increased competition for work has created an environment where formal education has become an entry criterion for many jobs. In 1991, one in five Pacific Island people of working age (15 years and over) had post school level qualification. A further 28 percent had school-level qualifications while 44 percent had no formal qualifications. The likelihood of holding post-school qualification varied widely across the age groups, with young people more likely to hold formal qualifications. In 1991, 26 percent of Pacific Island people aged 25-34 years had some post-school qualifications (Brosnan & Wilson, 1989). Three quarters of Pacific Island people aged 55 and over had no formal qualifications compared with 41 percent of people aged 25-34 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). In 1992, Pacific Island men and women were equally as likely to obtained post-school qualifications.

Employment Qualifications of Pacific People in 1991
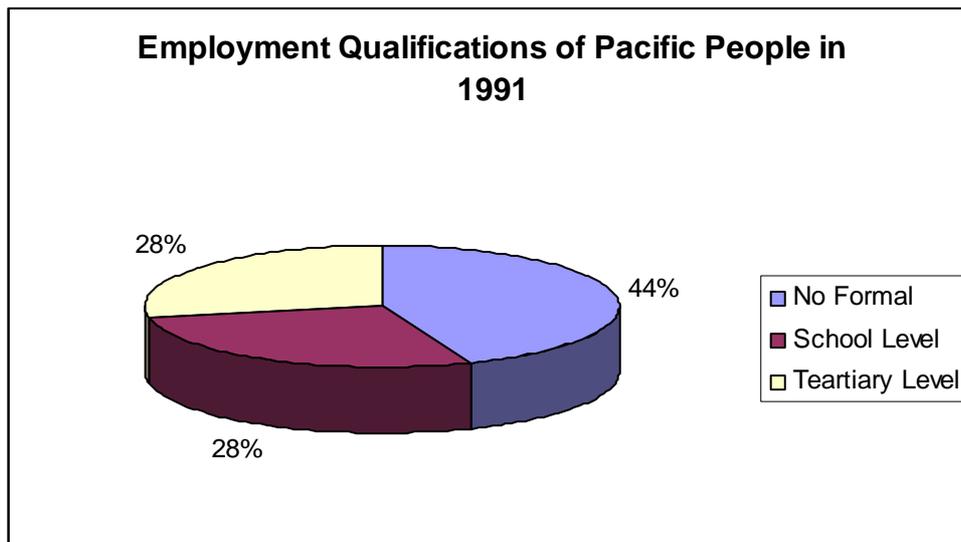
Figure 2.3: Employment qualifications of Pacific people in 1991

However, within the different ethnic groups of Pacific Island, there were also variations. For example, in 1991 census, Fijians and Samoans were more likely than all Pacific Island people to have obtained post-school qualifications. In contrast, substantially higher proportions of Cook Island Maoris and Niueans had no formal qualification. While 44 percent of the total Pacific Islands ethnic groups had no formal qualifications, the comparable proportions amongst Cook Island Maori and Niueans was 54 percent and 52 percent respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

2.6.4 New Zealand Born Versus Island Born

Krishnan et al (1994, 40) concluded that the outcomes of greater access to advanced educational opportunities shows that New Zealand-born Pacific Island people are more likely to hold post-school qualifications and are less likely to have no formal qualifications, compared to those born outside New Zealand. For example, almost a third (32 percent) of New Zealand-born Pacific Island 25-34 years had post-school qualifications compared to 24 percent of those similar ages that were born outside New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

Comparatively, although the total Pacific Island population was slightly less likely than Maori to have obtained post-school qualification, New Zealand-born Pacific Island people aged 25 years and over were more likely than New Zealand Maori to hold post-school qualifications (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Overall however, Pacific Island people

continue to have fewer formal qualifications than those in the general population. Among those tertiary qualifications for men were trade or technicians' certificate and for women teaching or nursing certificates or diplomas and trade qualifications predominated. Furthermore, while 20 percent of Pacific Island women held trade or advanced trade certificates, the comparable proportion for women in the general population was only 12 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). In relation to this the following cases illustrate different examples of education aspirations.

2.6.4.1 Case One

'Growing up as a Tongan in Aotearoa" by Koloto, (2003) clarified another classical case of Ana Hau'alofa'ia Koloto who left Tonga for New Zealand in 1981 having passed the University Entrance Examination (Form six or Year 12) where she persevered to pursue higher education for a degree in maths and a Masters degree. She concluded that life in New Zealand had provided many opportunities to challenge and change her perception of education, children, Pacific peoples and Tongan values. Her main objective in life was to return home to teach one day (Koloto, 2003).

2.6.4.2 Case Two

Brenda Heather-Latu in the "*Daughter, and the Return Home"* personally acknowledges that she is a New Zealand born Samoan but does not really think of herself as a member of a particular Island group. She believes that she is a product of all Pacific Islanders in New Zealand – a product of our combined work and aspirations, our community and families. Brenda feels that New Zealand born Samoan are marginalised from Samoan-born Samoans and thus makes her think that New Zealand born Pacific people are beginning to constitute a subculture within the *fa'aSamoa*, sharing certain commonalities in terms of language, education experience and life-style which are not experienced by Samoan-born Samoans. With regards to institutions, attitudes, values and behaviours of the *fa'aSamoa* and a Samoan identity, a subculture within the *fa'aSamoa* for New Zealand-born Samoans is not so clear though ethnic backgrounds are the same. Therefore the Samoan church can become the bridge by accepting New Zealand-born Samoans for who they are. In contrast, Mailei was a Samoan male, born in New Zealand, spent his early childhood in New Zealand and then moved back to Samoa throughout his adolescent years until adulthood. He is proud to be a Samoan although he also identifies with being a New Zealand-born one through his acquisition of the language and appreciation of the culture as he was exposed

to Samoan institutions, way of thinking and philosophies (*E Lele A Le Toloa a e maau lava I le vai, 2003; 222*).

2.6.4.3 Case Three

Even the legendary All Blacks, 'Inga the Winger', Vaaiga Tuigamala who is Samoan, and his mother Tongan, agreed that he was usually faced with personal family decisions like countless other Pacific families when given the freedom for greater opportunities, better education and a better future. He had to decide whether to continue with a rugby league career in the United Kingdom or do other things. His own parents' wish though was one of him returning home.

2.6.5 Promoting Higher Achievement

Anna Pasikale (Pacific Education in New Zealand, 2002) presented a paper that provides an insight into the issues of Pacific education such as lack of educational success for Pacific learners in the context of Pacific populations and implications for education, the future workforce and other opportunities. Pasikale noted that early intervention in educational initiatives in both mainstream and targeted focus in the area of early childhood through to tertiary education demonstrated some success for Pacific People in education.

Pasikale has been involved with the New Zealand education context for more than 10 years and also identified an interesting aspect of Pacific populations, which is the make-up of the New Zealand-based population and the "home-based settlement. Further, Pacific people are twice as likely to leave a learning environment without formal success, and, at all levels of post-secondary education without a formal qualification. Very few of these people have qualifications at the post degree level. The qualification achievements of Pacific people born in New Zealand were better off compared with those born in the Islands countries.

2.6.6 Training and Empowerment

There are organisations, however, apart from the traditional tertiary institution, like Skill New Zealand that implements various initiatives to reconnect Pacific students to their

learning environment in order to focus their development on education. Thus through successful creative writing workshops for Pacific tutors, participants in such programs were unaware of their talents to create poetry and were surprised by their creative links with others, being valued and the ability to succeed; the two critical ingredients for effective Pacific people development. As argued by Pasikale (2002), the reason the current education system fails the majority of Pacific students are also complex and difficult to pinpoint. A lot of failures have been attributed to family background; students' attitudes and ethnicity although research has concluded that being poor or black are not synonymous with being a failure.

2.7 Employment

Challis (1973; 51) suggested that men were largely employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers although many could excel in particular fields like engineering, carpentry or joinery. The women found ready employment, working in laundries and clothing factories, where some became very skilled as machinists.   Very few were unemployed. Young people who were more adaptable, progressed to semi-skilled or skilled fields, which led to promotions as foreman, supervisors and other similar positions of responsibilities. Usually there was a certain amount of opposition from Europeans to work under an Islander.   In retrospect Pacific Islanders are pleasant to work with and once they learn their job they are trustworthy and reliable

2.7.1 The Working Class

Loomis (1990) clarified the reality that Polynesians are located in almost every social class in New Zealand society. However, it is not unusual for dominant class agents such as managers and estate agents to discriminate or employ ethnic stereotyping, whether in ignorance or malice, to block or divert Pacific migrants from access to certain jobs, housing or qualifications. The result is that most Polynesians have been confined to the working class. Managers may overlook or specifically exclude some immigrants including Pacific Islanders from jobs that are skilled, high paying or involve authority on the basis of racial or ethnic stereotypes. However, since many Pacific migrants are experienced only in semi- or unskilled work or were in the country on short term permits, they have less choice

about the kind of work they do and the amount of overtime they put in which is why they are so valuable to capital.

2.7.2 Barriers to Promotions and Opportunities

There are several ways Polynesians might gain access to positions of authority - aside from those available only to Maori and one way is through co-option by the welfare State into managerial positions within the bureaucracy. In the past such people were recruited to special ethnic program or appointed to advisory committees that mediated government policy and served as a pressure valve for minority concerns. More recently, the Labour Government instituted a number of employment and employment advancement schemes targeting Polynesians for lower management positions in the public services. Another path for moving to the managerial sector is individualism. By avoiding customary commitments and limiting community participation such persons have a better chance to accumulate savings and gain advancement. Otherwise, tokenism and positive discrimination by firms and tertiary institutions have provided some opportunities for promotions for some whilst others have accumulated credentials and status markers, which help override negative stereotypes that might otherwise hinder their life chances.

Another pathway to a position of authority would be to alter one's social identity in order to signal more positive or least natural values of being Polynesian. This can be very difficult to achieve because presentation may not be recognized or permitted by the gatekeepers of the ruling values. In spite of such successful manoeuvring by few, Polynesian fraction of the working class is apparently being reproduced over time. Since many second and third generation Pacific migrants are trapped in the working class, there is mounting evidence that radicalisation and discrimination are continuing to operate. Poot et al (1988) cautioned that over time Pacific Islanders would catch up in income and achieve the same mobility as the general population.

2.7.3 Effects of Economic Restructuring

The global economic oil crisis of the early 1970s caught New Zealand in a vulnerable position because of the costly industry support schemes, dependence on agricultural exports and reliance on a handful of markets. Particularly affected were those industries

where Pacific Island migrants were concentrated, although they were not always the first to be made redundant. Restructuring, particularly in the manufacturing sectors, has affected Pacific migrant labour disproportionately. However, on the other hand the Labour Government came to power in 1984 and introduced its policies which create more job opportunities to Pacific migrants in basic services such as cleaning, sanity services, hospital cooks, orderlies, dry cleaning and laundry services. Pacific migrant unemployment rates show a lag effect until 1988, by which time the effects of the October 1987 stock market crash led to a wave of manufacturing closures and redundancies. For example, the Southdown Freezing Works in South Auckland laid off over 800 workers of whom a quarter were Pacific Islanders.

2.7.4 Employment Representations

Pacific workers were employed as waged labour in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. They were drawn from what were subsistence economies into industrial production. Pacific Island workers made up a substantial proportion of production line workers in industries, which tended to concentrate in areas like South Auckland and Hutt Valley in Wellington (Spoonley, 1990; Bedford and Gibson, 1986). Spoonley (1990) verified that Pacific Island populations continued to live in working class residential areas such as Otara and Porirua. They are not only disproportionately represented amongst this class but are migrants who bring with them a different culture to that of the dominant Pakeha, who are seen as inferior because of their existing racist ideologies. Despite continuing high unemployment, migration from the Pacific, although more slowly than the early 60's and 70s, continued because of the economic disparities between New Zealand and Pacific Islands.

Workers from the Pacific Islands were mainly recruited into agricultural and manufacturing sectors of the economy, By 1976 they were proportionally over-represented in industries such as manufacturing of food, textiles, wood and wood products, paper and paper products, non-metallic mineral products, basic metals, fabricated metal, transportation equipment, construction and transportation (Gibson, 1983). Although large numbers of Pacific Island workers were also employed in wholesale, retail, trade and service industries, they represented only a small proportion of the total workforce in these industries. Specifically, Pacific Island women were proportionately over-represented in the

manufacturing of food, textiles, apparel, footwear, paper products, electrical appliances, together with hospital and domestic services.

2.7.5 Employment Relations

Other characteristics that distinguished Pacific Island workers from the general New Zealand workforce as noted by Pitt and Macpherson (1974) were that union participation and involvement was not strong. It concluded that Fijians and Pacific workers did not see trade unions as an important force in the defence or improvement of their working conditions. Another distinguishing feature amongst Pacific Island workforce includes the process of recruitment into employment. Pacific Island workers often relied on family and friends who are already in employment to find them work in the same workplace (Spoonley, 1978). Employers, in turn, have relied on this process of recruitment to fill vacancies in areas where a significant number of Pacific Island workers were already employed. Thus this informal process also met social needs in many Pacific Island workers who preferred to be employed in areas of work where there are other members of the same ethnic group including support networks within the workplace. This also supported people with language difficulties and problems with making themselves understood by employers and their co-workers. In turn it enabled them to find employment for friends and other family members.

2.7.6 Unemployment

Anna Pasikale (2002, 113) argued in her paper, *"Pacific Education in New Zealand"*, that Pacific people are more likely to be unemployed compared to the total New Zealand population. Furthermore, in the 1996 census, for both men and women aged between 15 and 64, the rate of unemployment of Pacific people were approximately double that of the total New Zealand population. In addition more Pacific women in the 30-60 age groups were employed full time compared to women in the total population. There were fewer in the 15-29 age groups and there were significantly fewer Pacific men in both age groups in full-time employment than the total New Zealand male population. The 1996 census also highlighted that more Pacific men in the older age group had part-time employment compared to the young age group and fewer women in both age groups.

Most Pacific people, as shown by the *Statistics for Participation in Skill New Zealand programmes,* (March 2001) were in occupations that are characteristically low skilled and poorly paid, where the majority were categorised as factory workers. This has a direct correlation to the level of income. The 1996 census proved that in all age groups, the Pacific people have a lower median income, compared to the total New Zealand population. Within the Pacific population however, those born in New Zealand appear to be doing significantly better than their overseas-born counterparts.

2.7.7 Employment Disparities

While Pacific peoples' labour force participation and employment rates have increased slightly since, and unemployment has fallen, they have not returned to their earlier levels, and there are still disparities between rates in the Pacific population and in the national one. Labour force participation is higher for the New Zealand-born Pacific worker than the overseas-born for both sexes and all ages (Statistics NZ, 2002). Overall, New Zealand born males had a participation rate of 74 percent compared with 70 percent overseas born males, while New Zealand-born females had a participation rate of 66 percent compared to 55 percent for overseas born female. Pacific Progress (2003) suggests a number of possible explanatory factors. For example, Pacific people born overseas may have fewer qualifications and skills sought by the New Zealand labour market, so they may have more difficulty than new Zealand-born Pacific people in finding employment; and that recent migrants who are not employed are more likely to withdraw from the labour force that actively seek employment.

In 1987 Pacific unemployment rate stood at 6.1 percent, just over two percent higher that for the total population (Statistics NZ, 2002). Furthermore, for job losses that occurred in succeeding years, total unemployment rate increased to 10.6 percent in 1992 and further increased to 28.8 percent in 1993. By 2001, it fell to 11.2 percent and although this was a substantial fall, that rate was nearly twice as high as the total unemployment rate of 5.7 percent and nearly twice the rate for Pacific people at the beginning of the period. Other factors such as birthplace and residence influence Pacific unemployment. For instance, within each age group, those born in New Zealand are less likely to be unemployed than those born overseas. Duration of residence is a key factor in the unemployment rate of overseas- born Pacific people.

However, those who have been in New Zealand for 10 years or more have an unemployment rate below that of New Zealand-born Pacific people. Nevertheless, this is not unique to Pacific people in New Zealand, but common to the economic assimilation of migrant groups in many parts of the world. In addition, unemployment rates in 2001 for Pacific people were considerably higher that the norm for people with similar levels of qualifications. The most pronounced disparity was among those with vocational qualifications, where the Pacific rate was three times the national rate (Pacific Progress, 2003).

2.8 Health

The Ministry of Health confirmed that the health experience of New Zealand is sharply divided along ethnic lines, and has been steadily accruing over the last 20 years. A clear pattern has emerged demonstrating poorer health among Pacific Islanders than other New Zealanders (Ministry of Health 1999). Factors impacting on the health of Pacific people are less well studied but are likely to be similar to those affecting Maori. Poorer social and economic circumstances are likely to account for a substantial proportion of excess ill health affecting Pacific peoples (Ministry of Health 1997). In response to the effects of such social and economic inequalities, the Ministry of Heath is developing a Pacific Health and Disability Action Plan under the umbrella of the New Zealand Health Strategy (King 2000). Further, the Ministry has initiated a process to identify the health issues affecting Pacific and Maori peoples that should receive priority policy attention.

2.8.1 Residency Status

Half of all Pacific Island people living in New Zealand were New Zealand born and the likelihood of being born in New Zealand was highly correlated with the rights of citizenship applicable to people from various islands. For example, over half of all Cook Island Maori, Tokelauans and Niueans were New Zealand-born (Krishnan, 1994). In contrast, entry of Fijians to New Zealand has been much more strictly controlled and predominantly been restricted to short term labour migration contracts. Consequently in 1991, only a third of all Fijians were New Zealand born. Samoans were more likely than Tongans to be New Zealand born because access to New Zealand has been easier for Samoans than Tongans. Whilst with significant Pacific Island communities now

established in New Zealand, with a high rate of natural increase, the New Zealand born component of these populations is likely to increase rapidly.

2.8.2 Self-Determination

Audrey Aumua, Chief Advisor of Pacific Health (Ministry of Health, 2002) acknowledged that the Ministry of Health and the government of New Zealand continuously supported Pacific people more seriously than ever before rather than being absorbed within the mainstream. Pacific people are determining their own destiny, seeking recognition of their cultural identity, providing significant contribution to arts, education, politics, sports, judicial system and health systems alike.

There are more Pacific people entering health professions such as the health and disability sector. But more than this, Pacific peoples are adapting and refining their knowledge so it benefits the Pacific community. This is being recognised with the advent of organisations such as Pacifica Medical Association and the Pacific Sector Reference group aided by health research through tertiary level health studies and through other institutions. While much focus on the statistics showing Pacific people including Fijians fare poorly compared to mainstream New Zealand, it also needs to be acknowledged just how much has happened over the past decades. We cannot ignore the fact that obesity, diabetes, drugs, alcohol abuse and mental health are particular issues for Pacific populations including Fijians. Instead of focussing on the negative issues, there is also a need to celebrate how far we have courageously addressed and understood these issues and problems.

2.8.3 Pacific Health Initiatives and Achievements

In September 2000, the Ministry of Health established the Pacific Health branch – a team of analysts dedicated to improving the health of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. The team's focus was to develop and implement strategic policy for Pacific peoples. Its goal was to provide an 'umbrella' view of the work being carried out by many Pacific Health providers and other organisations that support these initiatives as well as providing a sense of direction for the country as to where services need to be targeted in future.

Annette King, Minister of Health announced in 2002, that *"…healthy lifestyle and the provision of quality primary health care and support services for Pacific people need to be fostered and sustained"*. Therefore working with the Pacific community, the Pacific Health in New Zealand priority plans included improving health of Pacific peoples in areas like coronary health diseases, injuries, cancers, infections and respiratory diseases - provision of earlier access to health services to prevent unnecessary hospitalisation and reduce deaths. It was also vital to promote and recognise the milestones and achievements of various institutions that have established themselves over the years as flag bearers of Pacific Health initiatives such as Pacific Health Welfare, Ministry of Pacific Island affairs, Ministry of Pacific Island Advisory Council, Pacific Provider Development Fund, Pacific Health Sector Reference Group and District Board appointment of Pacific Health Directors, to name a few.

Future plans of Pacific Health include providing employment for Pacific peoples in Health Sector, better choice of health care providers for community and families, more careers opportunities for young people, well established, sustainable Pacific provider sector delivering quality health services and a better understanding of health issues. However in order to meet these plans there needs to be investment in human resources from Pacific people and a continuous embracing of the changing needs of Pacific people in partnership with other mainstream organisations.

2.9 Summary

Pacific communities and the challenges they face in New Zealand were always in a state of continuous transition. Although there was a lot of negative feedback and perception of Pacific Islanders when they first migrated to New Zealand, more positive trends for Pacific people have emerged since the early 1990s including increasing participation in economic development, achievement in education, lower rates of unemployment and direct shifts away form blue collar jobs in secondary industries and increasing representations in white collar jobs. In addition, there has been more representation of Pacific Islanders who are self-employed, increasing levels of real household incomes, less overcrowding, better quality life style and health status. The fact that positive trends are generally more evident among younger Pacific people and those who are born in New Zealand suggests the future outlook may continue to improve and become much better.

2.9.1 Employment Challenges

Some trends such as falling unemployment and increasing income level does not represent long-term advances but rather recoveries from the setbacks of the 1980's when Pacific people were particularly hard-hit by redundancies, job losses due to restructuring of most public enterprises and statutory organisations. The Pacific Progress Report of 2002 concluded that these trends and others such as levels of educational achievement and growth in skilled white-collar jobs are part of broader trends, which are experienced by the wider New Zealand population. Consequently, there are still major disparities between Pacific people and others across a range of socioeconomic indicators, including unemployment, occupational and industrial distribution, self-employment, personal and household incomes, housing tenure and access to household amenities. These disparities represent a challenge to Pacific communities and the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs of the government.

Nevertheless, future trends in employment are likely to see further contractions in secondary industries, in relations to technological advancement and globalisation. Increasing new employment opportunities will be focussed on service technology and knowledge-based economies that demand more highly educated skilled workers. Currently, Pacific workforce remains more vulnerable than others to declining labour demand in secondary industries and less equipped to take advantage of new growth areas. Furthermore, improvement in educational and skill level not just in absolute terms but also relative to the rest of the population – will therefore see disparities in employment, income and living standards being to be reduced.

2.9.2 Population Growth

These issues and challenges were all the more pressing because of the more rapid growth of the Pacific population, which will continue in years to come. With a young age profile, comparatively high levels of fertility, continuing intermarriages and further migration from the Pacific, it should maintain a much faster growth rate than the rest of the population; thus if the current trend continues the Pacific population is predicted to reach 8.3 percent of the population by 2021 and around 12.1 percent of the population by 2051 (*Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs Report, 2001*).

2.9.3 Positive Outlook

The overall scenario of Pacific people in New Zealand in terms of education achievement, health status, employment and development is not very bright or positive. Pacific people have been migrating to New Zealand since the mid-fifties, to take advantage of education and employment opportunities. However, since the 80's and 90's their employment, participation and achievement in these areas have steadily declined. The reasons and consequences are complex and that is part of what the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs and the New Zealand society is trying to deal with. Further, these issues have created other problems and challenges as well as several political and policy intervention initiatives by the government. Employment, health, housing and education are just some indicators where concerns about Pacific people have been raised, mainly in terms of inequalities, under-representation and under-achievement. However, more research and more exploration of these issues are still necessary for the purpose of finding answers and for better understanding of these issues.

2.10 Conclusion

The Pacific Island including the Fijian population is predominantly urban, with two thirds in Auckland and the second largest concentration in Wellington. Young members of the Pacific Island population were more likely than older members to hold formal qualifications. The likelihood of holding post-school qualifications varied widely depending on age, ethnic origin and birthplace. Young people, particularly those who are New Zealand-born PI were more likely to have post-school qualifications. Some Pacific Islands ethnic groups (example, Fijians) were also more likely than any other Pacific Island ethnic groups to hold-post school qualifications. However, in general Pacific Island people are less likely than the general population to have obtained formal qualification and particularly post-school qualifications (Pasikale, 2002).

Krishnan et al (1994) confirmed the Pacific Island population is the largest immigrant population in New Zealand. It is characterised by a very youthful structure, particularly for the New Zealand-born component. Natural increase, as opposed to immigration, has become a much more significant factor in the growth of some groups in this population in recent years. Pacific Islanders are also the fastest growing population in New Zealand, They are a population which in not only young, but compared with the total New Zealand

one, is also not old. While the ageing of New Zealand's population is currently an important issue for the total population, youth dependency is a much more pertinent issue for the Pacific Island population. Furthermore, given the impact of immigration (particularly children and working age people), the process of ageing of the Pacific Island communities may not be as pronounced as for the national population (Heenan, 1993).

Fijians, Samoans, Cook Island Maori, Tongans, Niueans, and Tokelauans represent the largest components of the Pacific population of New Zealand. Within this population, people who specify Samoan ethnicity were by far the largest group at the time of the 1991 population census. Families belonging to the Pacific Island ethnic groups were more likely than New Zealand Maori families to be two-parent families, but were more likely to be one-parent families compared to the total population. Fewer Pacific Island people tended to live on their own, and thus contradict a trend in the general population which has seen single people households become the fastest growing household type in New Zealand.

3 Chapter Three Research Methodology

3.1 Research Background

A brief synopsis and background regarding the immigrant group of Pacific Island people determines my research methodology. History depicts that Pacific Islanders; Fijians especially, have migrated to New Zealand due to reasons beyond their control. For instance, the effects of war and industrialisation is the major contributing factor to the short supply of labour creating more opportunities for mass movement of cheap labour from the Pacific Islands. The process of migration exacerbated all the challenges facing Pacific people and their communities in their adopted home-countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada or the United States. This process has thus become the major regulator of demographic change and economic development in many of these small Pacific nations. Bedford (1980) and Chapman (1981) suggest that in the past, migration tended to be seasonal, circular and of short duration, however, there is now substantial evidence that migration within and from the Pacific is permanent and involves longer distances.

Loomis (1990) identified World War II was itself a catalyst of Pacific Island social and economic change but post-war development in the region created the conditions for sustained population outflows to New Zealand. Emigration was facilitated by the dual citizenship some Pacific Islanders held as a consequence of their country's previous colonial or protectorate status. Others were recruited on temporary work permits, settled and became citizens. These processes as argued by Loomis (1990) have been going on for so long that Pacific migrant communities have ceased to be transient populations, although numbers of guest workers still arrive annually.

Krishna et al (1964) added that the pressure of migration after the end of World War II coupled with the late 1950's factors such as population pressure from Island communities began to push large flows of Polynesians to New Zealand, Australia and the United States (US). In New Zealand specifically, the high demand for industrial growth results in great demand for labour in the manufacturing sector as well as hard labour in the rural agricultural economy and education. Some scholars like Shankman (1976) and Connell (1989) concluded that emigration has had negative effects, subverting economic development by siphoning off and 'proletariatising' the most physically and intellectually

able members of the island populations, skewing development aspirations unrealistically and accelerating and perpetuating the peripheral, dependent situation of many Pacific Island countries. However, more positive reflections take account of the effects of immigration in reducing population pressure and negative social and environmental consequences and the effects of remittances in improving quality of rural life for the Island.

In the early years of the WWII, farmers in the Hawkes Bay, being very short of labour, sought to obtain men form the Cook Islands (Challis, 1973). Most found the loneliness almost unbearable and moved to Auckland. Most New Zealanders did not realize that Pacific Islanders always live in villages with closely knit families and relations. They settled after securing employment and accommodation in the suburbs of Auckland and sent word back home that life is better in New Zealand than in the Islands. The people from Niue, Tokelau, Samoa, Tonga and later Fiji began and continue to migrate in large numbers. Thus a great majority of the Pacific Island migrants live in urban areas such as Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui, Christchurch and Tokoroa. In Tokoroa today, they make up more than 10 percent of the population while South Auckland has by far the largest concentration of Pacific Islanders.

3.2 Scope of Research

Given this background, I will specifically focus on Fijian communities, where families and interview participants within highlight issues linked to Fijian challenges in New Zealand. These families are located in these specific areas namely: Auckland, Hamilton, and Wellington. In Wellington, I have chosen a family who migrated in the early 70's and have been residing there for the last 30 years. Their children were all born in the Islands but came to New Zealand because the parents were granted residency status. With three generations residing here, it will be interesting to analyse the different challenges they face. Another family whom I managed to interview came to New Zealand to study in the Police Academy in Wellington and returned to Fiji in the mid 1970's. However after serving in various police positions including the Pacific Islands, they decided to migrate and have lived in New Zealand ever since.

The second community of Fijian families migrated and lived in Auckland in the early 1970's. Through family support and availability of work, the first acquired employment as a welder with Fletcher Constructions. Three years later he met his wife who came to New Zealand as a visitor, got married and have been residing in Auckland ever since. I also managed to interview another Fijian family who came to New Zealand as a visitor in the early 1970's.

The final area of research is Hamilton. Two families agreed to give separate accounts of how they decided to migrate to New Zealand during difficult times in the 1980's. In one account - the availability of seasonal work permits granted by the government in the mid 1980s provided the opportunities for most young Fijian men to work in New Zealand. Most of these young men came directly from their villages to work in rural farms and forestry or agricultural stations throughout the greater Taranaki and central region of North Island. However, once their term expired, most returned home while some decided to stay in New Zealand because they believed that their skills would not be fully utilized in Fiji. After they were granted residency permits, their families came over to reunite with them and they still live in New Zealand. The second family arrived in the early 1980's with his family of six siblings. After spending three years in Hamilton, they were offered another employment position in Fiji as a Director and spent six years there. Later they finally returned to New Zealand and have been residing permanently ever since.

3.3 Importance of Study

The notion of living in two worlds is a reflection of the journey by many Fijian pioneers who migrated to New Zealand in the early 1970s and later in the 1980s. The significance of this research is its relevance concerning the issues facing Fijians or Pacific Islanders. It also addresses the issues of how to work collaboratively with the new generation of youth, and to cope with the challenges that most indigenous immigrant communities encounter in a foreign nation like New Zealand.

Furthermore, the research will provide a more in-depth analysis of untold stories from experienced community members who have been living and working in New Zealand throughout their entire working lives and realistically seek to address the problems, solutions and challenges they face.

It will also give researchers and readers in New Zealand more insight, and an insider perspective of the realities of what Pacific people especially Fijians face in their adopted countries. Moreover, researchers and writers should involve grassroots people and be more aware of the realities when addressing issues facing Fijians or Pacific people in general. These people have acquired local knowledge and experience which can be very effective in addressing problems facing Fijians communities in New Zealand.

3.4 Aims of Research

The aims of the study were:

- To collect primary data and information on Fijian communities who migrated to New Zealand in the 1970's and the 1980's.
- To analyse and interpret the data to redefine and reconstruct the causes and effect of the challenges that Fijians communities face in New Zealand in relations to other Pacific communities
- To interview a group of families from Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington who have been in New Zealand for the last three decades and compare the problems and challenges they face in relation to their families, especially children and grandchildren.
- To compare and contrast the different challenges facing each generation within the same family and examine the causes of these similarities and differences.
- To analyse and compare research in comparison with problems and challenges facing other Pacific communities in New Zealand.

3.5 Research Methods

The questionnaire methods will be both quantitative and qualitative. In addition, other secondary sources and primary sources from Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs will be used as background data for the Fijian communities in general.

The quantitative method will focus on background and personal details such as date of birth, age, year of arrival, number of children and academic achievement. These details will remain confidential but will be used as an average in the survey response and analysis of the data. The qualitative section will entails detailed information on each specific issue

of the questionnaire namely; employment, education, economic development, health and so forth.

Furthermore, the research project will take a qualitative methodological approach by engaging in a 1-2 hour semi-structured in-depth interview with the respective members of each nuclear or extended family according to the number of generations in these various communities. The interview will be electronically recorded and transcribed.

3.6 Conceptual Framework

"Living in two worlds" aims to identify the dynamics and implications of how indigenous immigrants react to the challenges of adopting a home away from home. Living a double life can be very controversial because one is criticized by both ends of the human spectrum; whether you pretend to hold on to your own culture and appreciate the dominant one or assimilate your culture to the mainstream one.

This I believe is one of the complex characteristics of identity crisis. Being an indigenous person – Fijian; living in a multi-cultural world of people with different backgrounds and identities, the ability to preserve your cultural identity whilst you adapt to the challenges of being competitive and competent can only be associated to those who are born and raised in the Islands. Although they may have migrated and live away from home for a number of decades, they still value their connections and the significance of those relationships in both worlds.

However, those who are born or raised in New Zealand, will definitely face the dilemma of trying to confront the realities of their true identity. They physically know that they are Fijian but their mind set and social and cultural upbringing is tuned and instilled with the cosmopolitan life style of New Zealand. A Fijian youth in Auckland once said that: *"although I may physically look like a Fijian, I can not identify myself as a Fijian because I can not speak the language and feel out of place when I attend a community gathering…thus I can honestly say that I am a plastic Fijian…"*

In addition, this research will also conceptualize the framework of place, time and population characteristics of Pacific people in New Zealand. The growth rate of Pacific Island population in New Zealand is estimated to double or triple in the next two decades.

The population pyramids of Pacific people shows broad based structure which basically proves that there is a huge proportion of very young and youthfully population compared to other mainstream cultures.

Therefore their positions and sense of place and belonging through time will ultimately make them more accustomed to a very affluent kiwi life-style even though their parents or grand parents are more culturally conservative. Thus the identity of our Pacific people or Fijian children in years to come may reflect more than a one dimensional type – with a reflection of mixed heritage irrespective of their cultural background. The question to answer is whether they really wish to live in two worlds and if not which would they really want to belong to.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Traditional Fijian protocols were followed when approaching these communities and specifically the families directly involved in the research. Such protocols and cultural rites and customs include a traditional approach and negotiating the terms and conditions of the research in relation to the preferences of the interviewee. All wishes and special requests of the research participants would be observed with confidence and respected as agreed.

Prior to the research, legal considerations and approval of the research framework was approved by the Ethics committee of the University of Waikato and my supervisor, Ngahuia Dixon. The research would be observed and carried out as per the content and aims of the research proposal.

As a member of the University undertaking human research this study, I confirmed this study would conform to the ethical standards set down by the University of Waikato in their Human Research Ethics Regulations 2000. Particular attention would be focused on issues of:

- Informed Consent of Participant, as per Section 8, of the University Regulations;
- Archiving of data and privacy and storage of personal information as per Section 10 of the University Regulations.

The following five ethical responsibilities were applied throughout the duration of this research:

1. Voluntary participation
2. Informed Consent
3. No harm
4. Confidentiality, anonymity, and
5. Privacy and information exchange throughout the research

The participants were told explicitly that their participation was voluntary; that they may choose not to answer any particular question and that they may withdraw from the study at any time. The participants were informed of both the nature and the aims of the intended research and all possible steps would be taken to prevent unintended harm. The participants were given the option to remain anonymous; if this option was chosen all records containing identifying information would be removed.

3.8 Selection Criteria

Selecting the families and participants to this research was a daunting task. Since there are only a handful of indigenous Fijian families who migrated in the early 1970' and 1980's, I personally contacted them and enquired about the possibility of an interview and the implications and significant of the research.

I also noted that most of these families in the various Fijian communities around New Zealand have either migrated overseas, returned to Fiji or have passed away. Some people were reluctant to be part of the research or could not make the time to be interviewed. The few families who agreed to be interviewed accepted the invitation because of the reasons behind the research. Although some families allowed their names and stories to be published to assist other researchers in the future - there were others who wished to wish to remain anonymous.

The families who have agreed to be a part of this interview were also approached using the cultural protocol of *"kerekere"* know as reciprocity given the nature of the research results being published for future use by researchers, students and academics alike. This basically means that all their information will not be used for any other purpose other than for this research only. The questions and letter of consent were mailed to their individual addresses

in advance to give them time to familiarize themselves with the project prior to the interview date.

The interviewees were also assured that they were not required to answer any questions they felt sensitive about or breached their confidentiality arrangement. They would also be given copies of the results of the interview and a copy of the publications as requested.

3.9 Selection Participant Process

This was a very straight forward case of identifying each member of the families who agreed to be part of the interview process. For instance, families in Wellington were all present at the interview so a recorder was used to get the maximum amount of information with both parents and their children. However in another setting, the husband was only required to be interviewed since the wife was sick and in another case the wife was available or not confident in her abilities to handle the intensity of the interview.

With the other remaining interviewees, both parents were willingly involved with the discussion while special questions were used for the children during the interviews. It was obvious that in most cases the children were nervous so that parents assisted them in answering on behalf of their children. It is also very important to note that the socio-cultural structure of most Fijian families requires limited or minimum participation of children unless consented by the parents or adults.

On most cases, the interview lasted about one and half to two hours depending on the nature and people who participated in the interview process. The interviewees were thoroughly informed about the implications of the research and the specific sub-topics outlined in the questionnaire before the actual interview took place. In some sections; very informative discussions occurred such as the definition of development, constraints of development in Fiji, migrations issues and the effects of education to society and its relevance to Fijians living in New Zealand. In some of these discussions the interviewees were able to reflect on how they have progressed in terms of their education, skill levels, employment conditions, contribution of the community and support to their relatives in Fiji.

Most interviews were concluded by actually thanking and praising the participants for their contribution and how well they have contributed in the whole process. In all instances, they expressed how fortunate they were to be selected to supply their personal stories and journeys including the challenges they encounter with their families. To be able to compile all these stories and publish them was a great honour to some families.

4 Chapter Four   Research Response

4.1 Participants

The participants of this research were selected based on a number of factors.

Firstly, given the time line of 1970s and early 1980's, it narrows the search to only those who have been residing in New Zealand for the last 20 to 35 years. Therefore, one had to conduct a more specific secondary research and literature review on government immigration policies during this time period. The result of the review shows that economic development and immigration policies for the last three and a half decades was basically tailored on a major shift from agricultural based to more industrial, construction and manufacturing trend. Therefore the majority of work force working in agricultural farms, forestry and primary industries shifted from rural to semi-urban centres and towns which provide the opportunities and demands for more skilled work force.

This transition also create more opportunities in the agricultural and forestry sectors and provides the cause and effect of mass movement of Pacific Islanders including Fijians to migrate for seasonal work in farms and forestry sectors. The huge demand in labour can not be met by the shortage of supply whilst forcing the government to review it migration policies to bring labourers at the cheapest possible cost and the highest efficiency rate. These were the first group of participants that I was targeting to interview.

The second factor in selecting the participants is based on their availability. Some of these people have migrated overseas after they have fulfilled their dreams of moving their families over to New Zealand and so they decided to further their aspirations for greener pasture in either Australia, US, Canada or Europe. Others stayed as temporary workers for a couple of years and have basically become so homesick they have returned to Fiji while a small proportion have passed away leaving their families behind. Whilst the remaining number are scattered all over the major city centres such as Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch and surrounding towns of Tokoroa, Wanganui, Tauranga, Dunedin and Whangarei.

Thirdly, the participant's willingness to provide the necessary information required in the research which may have been too personal for their families was another set back, which they needed to work through themselves. After contacting the potential participants, time was taken to visit them and using traditional protocol or sometimes discussing with the most prominent family members as mediators for the interview process. This coupled with the use of customary protocol for requesting permission to use their stories was the best strategy for some of the participants. However, confidentiality agreements were signed and subjects were assured of their rights and privileges to censor private information. In addition I gave them more assurance that information would be treated for the purpose of research and they would remain anonymous throughout the publication of the research.

Most of the participants who finally agreed to support the research were very excited for their names to be published for the purpose of this thesis. However I believe that the best decision is not to mention names but use other names so as to respect wishes of the participants and their families. This was also explained to all the participants and was agreed to principle. Thus the final counts were two families in Auckland, two families in Hamilton and four families in Wellington.

The names of the participants have been altered to protect their identity and privacy. They have been identified as Families, A, B, C, D, E, F, and G.

4.2 Family Analysis

4.2.1 Family A

The first interviewee, Manate arrived in Wellington in 1973 with a group of other Fijian workmates, on a boat which was bound for repairs and maintenance. His wife Teresia and five children arrived seven years later after much legal proceedings from the Dock Workers Union of New Zealand.

The boat which belonged to the Nauru government, was bound to be repaired in Wellington, but the owner left the crew members stranded, and later deserted them. They were left at the mercy of the Dock Workers Union of New Zealand who fought hard for their cases. Some decided to return to Fiji while the rest stayed on for almost seven years to

get legal work permits and later permanent residence. Manate was offered work as an engineer work on the Inter Islander ferry until he retired last year at the age of seventy. There were twenty Fijian crew members **in total** and some had migrated to Australia, the USA or back to Fiji.

Manate and his wife Teresia originate from Qalikarua village, Matuku being in the Lau province. He has two sons and three daughters who have all married and permanently residing with their respective families in Wellington. Manate was raised with his cousins, left school in Class eight (year 9) because his cousin was given the privilege to continue his education. Manate stayed behind at a village in Matuku until he got his opportunity to work on a cargo boat in Suva and later around the Pacific Islands.

Specific parts of the research would be focused on this family given its three-generational characteristics and the different challenges faced by each generation. It was interesting to analyse the contrasting perceptions of how the older generation embrace these challenges from a migrant view point compared to the younger generations. The grandchildren who were New Zealand-born regard themselves not as immigrants but were constantly faced with the problem of identity, culture and generation gap that link them to the question of living the challenges of two worlds.

4.2.2 Family B

In this family, Jone, 48, the eldest son of Manate was married to Mereani, 36, and had four New Zealand-born children. Mereani originated from Dratabu, Nadi, in the Ba province, arrived in 1986 and was a registered early childhood teacher. Whist working full-time, Mereani would eventually complete her university degree. Jone worked with his Dad as an apprenticeship and was promoted as an Engineer on the Inter-Island ferry.

Their eldest daughter Marica, third generation, attends Wellington Girls High School as a Year 13 student. There were three other daughters aged sixteen, eleven and seven respectively. It was very interesting to analyse the contrasting perceptions of challenges faced by these third-generation siblings in comparison to their parent and grandparents. Since the children were well versed with New Zealand life style (their real world), they found it very complicated to understand their parent's traditional Fijian way of life. For instance, they know the Fijian language but they can not speak it. In addition, these New

Zealand-born children have a crisis of identity which would be analysed in detail in the proceeding chapters.

Table 4.1 Fijian Interviewee Data and Information

Fijian Interviewee Information					
Couple	Province	Age	Arrival Date	Employment	Province
Manate	Lau	72	1973	Engineer	Lau
Teresia	Lau	75	1980	Housewife	Lau
Jone	Lau	48	1980	Engineer	Lau
Mereani	Ba	36	1986	Teacher	Ba
Moce	Lau	48	1987	Electrician	Lau
Lua	Lau	47	1980	Hospital Orderly	Lau
Luke	Ba	60	1975	Pastor	Ba
Adi	Tailevu	57	1975	Housewife	Tailevu
Semesa	Tailevu	55	1972	Welder	Tailevu
Ana	Serua	48	1975	Self-Employed	Serua
Nonu	Namosi	56	1973	Retired	Namosi
Lose	Namosi	41	1988	Social Worker	Namosi
Niko	Rewa	57	1983	Journalist	Rewa
Nate	Ba	55	1983	Mid-wife	Ba

Jone is the second-generation family born and raised in Fiji but arrived in New Zealand when his father, Manate was given residence status in 1980. The challenges faced by Jone were fairly similar to his father because they can compare difficult life styles in Fiji and New Zealand respectively. Although Jone held various part-time employment positions, he did not have many opportunities because of his level of education. However, he persevered and was determined to follow his father's footsteps as an engineer on a ship. His wife, Mereani, came to New Zealand as a visitor, met Jone married and has settled in New Zealand.

4.2.3 Family C

The third family have three children all New Zealand born aged fifteen, thirteen and four years old. The husband Moce arrived in New Zealand in 1987 and his wife Lua is the second eldest daughter of Manate in Family A. Moce who originates from Nasaqalau village, Lakeba in Lau, started as an apprentice and later graduated as a highly skilled certified electrician while Lua works as a hospital orderly. Moce who has been working for the last 18 years has no extended relatives in New Zealand.

This was the other second-generation family of Manate. His daughter Lua attended high school in Wellington and was very well versed with both worlds (Fiji and New Zealand). Moce and Lua have similar view points about the major socio-economic problems facing Fijians in New Zealand. When comparing the results of their interview with those that arrived in the early 1970's, it is very interesting to note that they had a very balanced analogy behind the challenges of living in both worlds. Thus this second-generation of Fijians can adapt to both worlds easily because they lived in Fiji long enough to appreciate the benefits and problems of living in another world, New Zealand.

4.2.4 Family D

Luke, originally from the village of Dratabu, Nadi in the province of Ba is married to Adi from Verata, Ucunivanua, Tailevu. They have two children, the eldest daughter Mereani being married to Jone of Family B and the second daughter is married with children and residing in the United States of America (USA). Luke came to study for three years in 1975 at the police academy, and the University of Victoria in Wellington as a criminal investigator. He has studied and gone for police exchange programs in Japan, United Kingdom (UK), Australia, Senegal, and then on to Micronesia as the Police Commissioner. They finally migrated to New Zealand in 1993 when they completed their contract in Micronesia.

Luke is a senior pastor in Wellington and representative of some Fijian communities in various community groups and the Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs. His role was only restricted to advisory or counselling. Although he has been offered permanent employment by the Royal New Zealand Police, he turned down the offer because of his commitment to his calling as a pastor of his church. Luke's insight to this research gave a more neutral perspective in terms of weighing up the challenges faced in comparison to the overall problems facing other immigrants' communities around the world.

He believed that the international problems facing the world today namely; terrorism, wars, ethnic violence, coups, refugees, illegal trafficking of goods and so forth, were only creating more challenges to governments like that of New Zealand to tighten its local and foreign programs. For example; the current immigration policies, employment regulations

should be observed not because it makes it more problematic to immigrants but should be seen as a safety net to New Zealand safety and the wellbeing of its citizens.

4.2.5 Family E

Semesa, 55, originated from Naselai, Nakelo in the province of Tailevu. He migrated to New Zealand in 1972 while his wife Ana, 48, from Korolevu in Serua came later in 1975. Semesa was employed as a welder at Fletcher Constructions and Ana was self-employed. They now have four children, all New Zealand-born which consists of two grown girls and two boys. Semesa only managed to reach Year eight in school while Ana left at Year 10. Semesa came to New Zealand as a visitor - he later got a work permit, played some club rugby and finally decided to stay. Life in Fiji was extremely difficult, as well as problems with increasing unemployment and limitations of development capacities.

It was very interesting to compare the challenges faced by these couples and their children. This is a two-generation Fijian family with completely opposing views of the world they live in and the challenges they face. Semesa and his wife encountered huge problems in seeking employment when they arrived, given their level of education. However in comparison life and work for their children was not a problem, they eventually completing high school education and enjoying their life style as New Zealand citizens. These children had no issues with immigration, were familiar with the Kiwi culture, well versed with how the system works and excelled in the latest technology. The only challenge they encountered was how to become accepted as indigenous Fijians and have the interest to be immersed in the Fijian world of tradition, language and customs.

Participants Arrival Date in New Zealand
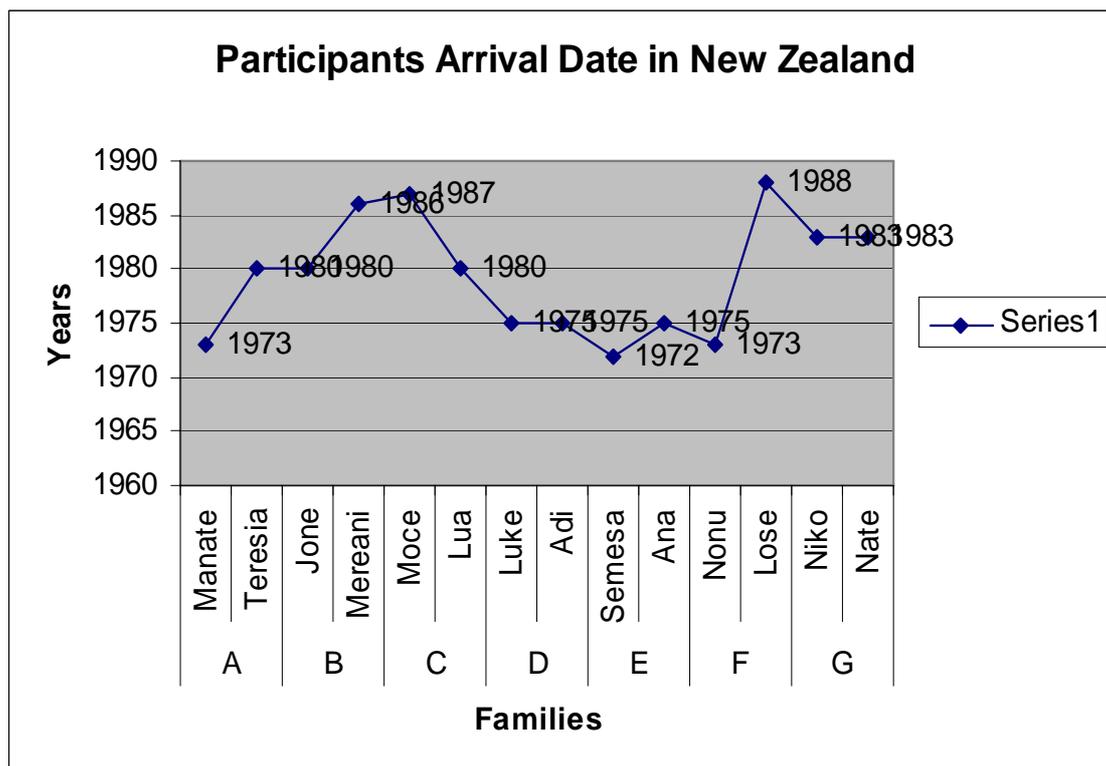
Figure 4.1: Participants arrival date in New Zealand

4.2.6 Family F

Nonu arrived in New Zealand on a visitor's visa in 1973, eventually married a New Zealand woman and have two children. Nonu who originates from Nakavu village, Veinuqa, in the province of Namosi, has been in New Zealand for approximately 36 years and has retired after working as a electrician in the steel mill in South Auckland. He has remarried Lose and have another four children, all born in New Zealand.

Nonu has his own home in South Auckland and was planning to move to Fiji in the near future. His wife Lose is Fijian and employed as a social worker. Lose enjoys the New Zealand lifestyle and was very supportive of their children in learning Fijian values and culture. They have taken various family holiday trips to Fiji so their children could experience village customs and traditions. However, although the children enjoyed their extended families in Fiji, they were more accustomed to the western system of things. All the children preferred to live in New Zealand because it is less challenging and has more opportunities than Fiji.
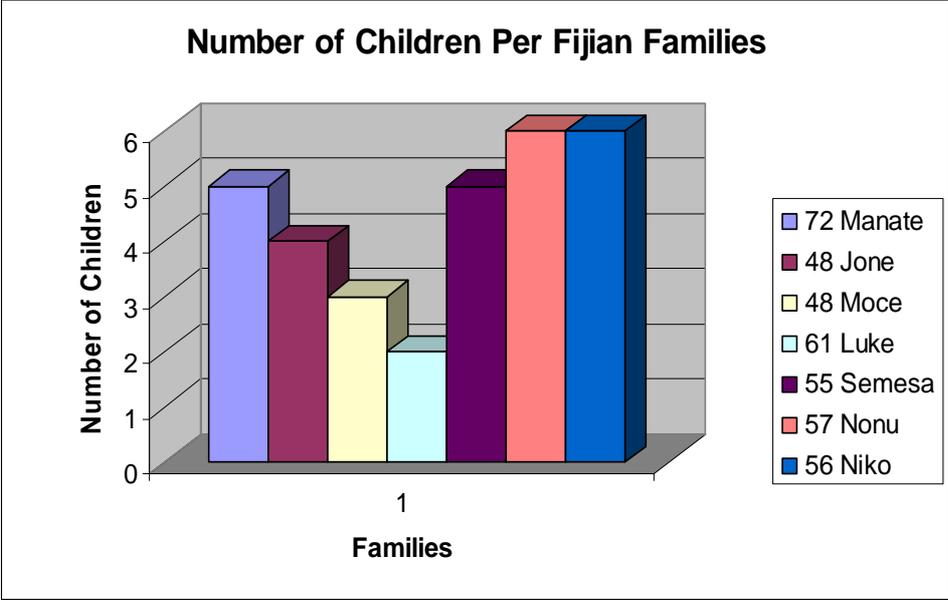
Figure 4.2: Number of children per Fijian family

4.2.7 Family G

Niko originated from Vutia, in Rewa and works as an editor at the Waikato Times, the region's biggest newspaper company. His wife Nate was employed as a mid-wife at the public hospital in Hamilton. They have six children who completed academic studies and graduated; as a doctor, school teacher, engineer, two at university and the last one still at high school.

Niko is familiar with both Fijian and New Zealand life systems. Whilst he experienced living in Fiji, all his children were born, raised and have been working in New Zealand for the last 15 years.

5 Chapter Five   Research Analysis

This section of the research covers the detailed analysis of the information and quantitative data collated from the participants. Most of the respondents were interviewed with both parents, or husband and wife present, together with their children. The responses were grouped under each respective family. The reason for this was that each individual family was approached with their own arrangement that views shared by each individual in each family would be regarded as the response of the whole family.

5.1 Participants and Research Scope

The participants were carefully chosen based on the objective and the specific time frame of the research. Most of these interviewees and their families arrived in New Zealand from early 1970's to the mid 1980's. The importance of this time frame would isolate the effects of the political instability in Fiji during 1987 and 2000. In addition, these dates were crucial to New Zealand economic transition context, from a more agricultural base to a strong industrial one, and the major shifts in development infrastructure and creation of employment opportunities.

Moreover, the participants that took part in this research were representative of all the entire Fijian families in New Zealand in terms of their place of origin in Fiji provinces, employment status, gender, educational background, and employment. However, although the saturation of Fijians that migrated over the last decade and a half had rapidly increased the population of Fijian ethnic group among our Pacific people in New Zealand, this research would only focus on the issues faced, during the specified time period of this research.

5.2 Qualitative Aspects

The challenges that the Fijian immigrants face were discussed and analysed using qualitative questions based on major indicators like; immigration issues, development constraints, opportunities, education, employment and income and so forth. These individual indicators or subheadings under the chapter entails approximately five to eight questions which requires the participants to explain the effects and implications of each respective issue and what they face in New Zealand in terms of its effects. Whilst not

quoting names of the interviewee, their responses and perspectives were analysed in relation to other families that took part in the interview. The results are further summarised in chapter six and compared with the overall challenges facing Pacific people and other immigrant communities in New Zealand and the international community.

5.3 Structure of the Research Analysis

The first part of the research analysis will discuss the immigration issues. The second part entails the development constraints in Fiji and other Pacific Islands nations. Development constraints in Fiji could be seen as a push factor because of the vulnerability of resources, lack of development infrastructure and low investment opportunities to create attractive employment opportunities for Fijian people. Economic development and better opportunities in New Zealand could be the pulling factor that attracts Fijians and other immigrant communities and would be the main focus of third subheading. Hence the section would also feature the comparison of the two nations. Fourthly, the issues of education and its implications in relations to employment opportunities would be discussed in detail focusing on how Fijians value excellence in educational achievement as the foundation of better future for their children. The final section of the analysis includes the topic of health and how each family perceive the health systems in relation to their life style in New Zealand and the challenges they face.

5.4 Immigration and Identity Issues

Almost every individual family I interviewed still regard themselves as a Fijian immigrant, although they have been living in New Zealand for more than three decades. However, most parents and adult believe that their children will definitely have contrasting reasons about their identity for various reasons. All these families still have strong family ties back in Fiji and they continue to support and visit them during family reunions or special occasions. One participant explained that he still maintains his Fijian passport and still believes that they will return to Fiji once their children are able to become financially independent.

5.4.1 Global Trend

One interviewee from Family D perceived migration in the 1970's as being very difficult in terms of the mode of transportation which was either by boat and air. However, nowadays, the nature of international transportation and communication is more sophisticated and although we have to undergo more strict travel guidelines, the movement of people to visit, work, and study or attend business commitments is more affordable and more efficient than three decades ago. For example, this participant said he has travelled extensively around the world and has met many Fijians in the process, a point to prove that the rate and frequency of Fijians moving all over the world has been phenomenal. Even in the last decade, there has been an influx of Fijians to the Middle-East, Asia, South America, Australia, USA, Europe, New Zealand as well as across the Pacific Islands.
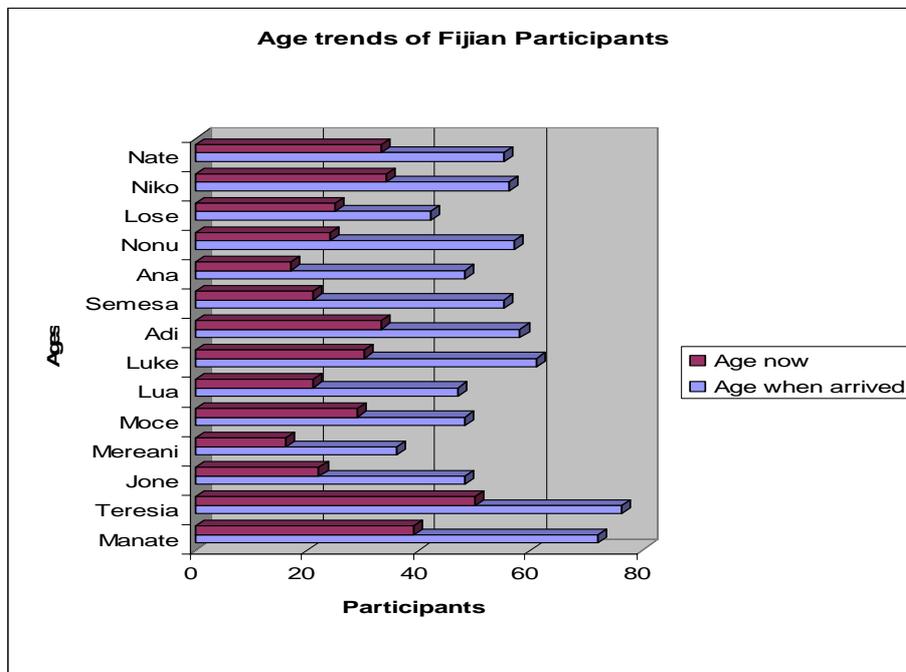
Figure 5.1: Age trends of Fijian participants

5.4.2 Immigration Policies

The majority of the participants of this research believe there was huge pressure on the New Zealand immigration policies today which makes it tougher to enter into New Zealand than three decades ago. For example in Wellington, in the late 1970's, the immigration policy was very flexible and allowed people to visit, even work and allow extended vacation. One interviewee said that she was given residential status on the same

day she applied in the New Zealand Embassy in Fiji in the early 1980's. However, the changing dimensions of world events, political circumstances of Fiji and movement of people around the world to New Zealand have limited the chances for people to migrate permanently and as easily.

5.4.3 Work and Employment

Every interviewee from all the families commented of how well they were received and treated in their work places. Some believed there was no direct discrimination among their work mates and because they were regarded as low socio-economic workers they were very supportive of each others problems. All participants believe that New Zealanders were great people to work with since they provide equal opportunities to anyone who was willing to take responsibilities and perform their job effectively. If Pacific people do their work with the best of their abilities and make a commitment in areas like punctuality, work ethics, integrity, respect, professionalism, mutual trust and goodwill, they would be rewarded like anybody else. Pacific Island people were now better educated, and more respected, many having achieved the upper hierarchical end of the employment scale compared to two decades ago.

5.4.4 Political Fall Out

The event of the dawn raids of the 1980's was political fallout that showed unfair treatment of Pacific Islanders by the National political party. Some participants argued that there were more over-stayers from other immigrants' communities than from Pacific Islanders. The government should never have been involved in such shameful activities but should have granted an amnesty period for all illegal immigrant communities including Pacific Islanders. One participant defended the actions of the immigration departments as legally correct given the context of mutual trust between the visitor and the host nation. Everyone should be aware that no one is above the law and from a political stand point the National political party was taking advantage of the situation in trying to score political points, at the expense of Pacific people. Today, no one can deny the success of Pacific Islander's in all areas of life in New Zealand, thus transferring the historical embarrassment to a legacy of determination and perseverance.

5.4.5 Immigrant Policy Change

Most participants believe the government immigration policies is far tougher today and they should be more flexible to Pacific people such as skilled and trained people from Fiji, and other islands. Some interviewees accepted the fact that the New Zealand government's priority is to provide the best support systems to its citizens in all areas like education, health, employment and socio-economic development to name a few. Therefore government policies were geared towards creating opportunities for the local people first and for the immigrants later. Some participants commented that immigration policy is not tough but it simultaneously provides the best option to people who are threatened by political unrest as in the case of Fiji, asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants who really need protection. Furthermore, the tightened policies will protect current citizens from international drug trafficking, illegal trade of arms, terrorism, bio-security threat, and illegal activities whilst making New Zealand the best and safest destination to visit, live, work and develop international business relationships in trade. Another participant explained the fact that Fiji is one of the best developed place among the Pacific Island states compared to Samoa, Tonga, Niue, Cook Islands or Tokelau which should be given more support and opportunities.

In terms of choosing between places to live permanently in the future for their children, most parents recommend that New Zealand provided more choices, opportunities, effective support systems and well developed infrastructure than Fiji. In addition being born and raised in the New Zealand environment and lifestyle, there is very unlikely chances for their children to migrate away from New Zealand. Only three families I interviewed thought that their children will decide where they would prefer to live once they became independent. Living in New Zealand will enable them to prepare well in achieving better education, more life experiences and responsibilities to make informed choices.

5.5 Development in Fiji

All the interviewees and their families argued that the major development constraints in Fiji were reflected in the working conditions and living standards. The workers in Fiji are overworked and underpaid in comparison to working conditions in New Zealand and other developing nations. One participant argued that Fiji should at least raise its income or minimum wage level to reflect the standards of the International Labour Organizations

(ILO). Promotional opportunities and better incentives were possible in New Zealand because they have the resources and infrastructure system to support it. Higher education and qualifications is the difference between having a better future and not having one. The Fiji government should not only create better opportunities but it should also increase the standard of living to meet the overall demands of development.

5.5.1 Greener Pasture Syndrome

The Fijian government have every right to decide what policies were best for Fiji in order to prevent highly sophisticated people from migrating to greener pasture overseas. One interviewee noticed that the cycle of migration is an international phenomenon since more qualified people in New Zealanders are also leaving for better opportunities. It's easier to get people from overseas to work in New Zealand but it is more expensive to train and compensate them therefore they recruit people of neighbouring Pacific Islands states like Fiji or Tonga with the best skill sets and the most reasonable remuneration packages. There was also a very significant population of Fijians who recently migrated as skilled workers in the last five decades to take up the void left behind by nurses, tradesman, apprenticeship, doctors and other specialized fields of work where there is great demand.

5.5.2 Better Quality of Life

Most interviewees believed that development refers to raising the benchmark of living standards in all areas of life; physically, mentally, socially, economically and spiritually and should be reflected in indicators such as housing standards, infrastructure, road systems, health, education, business development and equal opportunities. The Fiji government has the capability and resources to create the best possible living standard given its ratio of population to resources and development. However, restrictions in investment, vulnerability of resources infrastructure and the unstable political environment are some negatives factors that hinder development and progress. This results in Fijians and other Pacific Islanders migrating to countries like Australia or New Zealand where they fit into the work environment with ease. Fijians in New Zealand are well known for their dedication to work, determination and technical experience. Their educational advancement was very compatible to the New Zealand qualification standards.
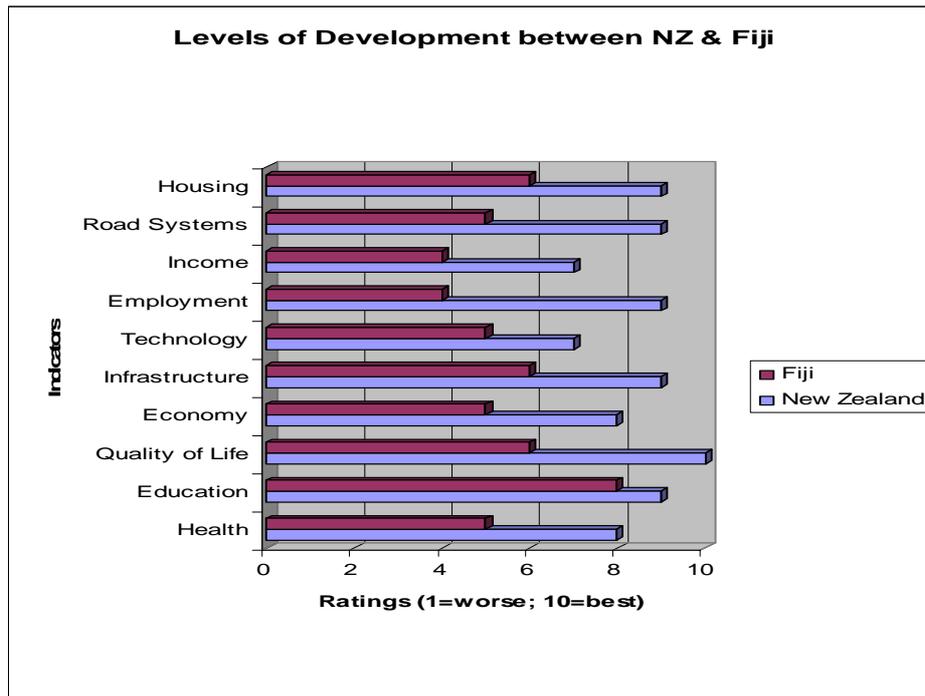
Figure 5.2: Comparison of development between New Zealand and Fiji

Another very significant aspect of their capabilities in the New Zealand work environment is because Fiji is not very advanced in technology, and working conditions like Occupational Health and Safety issues is not very generally enforced. Although Fijians do have the skills, experience, proficiency, competency to be competitive, the work environment in Fiji limits their advancement compared to New Zealand. Fijians are believed to be very hands-on workers, fast learners, flexible, have very adaptable natures and blend well with the communities and organisations they are committed to.

5.6 Development in New Zealand

5.6.1 Effects of Recognised Qualification

Most of the people I interviewed acknowledged that the single most challenging factor of living in New Zealand was their level of education since many did not complete secondary or tertiary studies whilst in Fiji. Therefore opportunities were very limited and they were left to do low paying jobs in factories, farms, forestry and projects that need labour. One participant highlighted that when he arrived in the early 1980's, he began to assess his strengths and learned to adapt to the culture and work ethics of New Zealand. He worked as an electrician for a company and through his dedication and commitment he is

now graduated with recognition from the New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA) having become a licensed and registered electrician.

Another participant who arrived in 1975 went back to secondary school (Form five) but could not complete the year because of the necessities of work to support the family. She admitted the result of not achieving personal goals and plans in education is all part our culture since we are always engaged in communal or village activities in Fiji. Now that she is living in a different world she always looked down on herself as being an underachiever and not being exposed to an environment of challenges where she being encouraged to pursue long term family or personal goals. With support from her husband, they set personal gaols with their children to raise their achievement in all areas of life.

5.6.2 Raising Families

Raising any family in the early 1970's and 1980's as an immigrant was very challenging. Half of my interviewees have large families of four to five children who were/are students at primary and high school. They also live in low socio-economic areas of the main city centres of South Auckland or Porirua in Wellington and work in low paid employment. Some family members have more than one job or part-time jobs and rented state houses or low rental homes in order to support their families. Managing large families with minimum average income involves strict budgeting and control of unnecessary expenditure.

One interviewee usually teaches his children religious perspectives of living a simple life, i.e. "live within your means" and avoid wastage of resources. Thus they stuck to their non-luxurious Fijian lifestyle. Another family addressed the principle of working together with all their four children and putting their income in one account so they could control their necessary payments or debt, expenses and savings. This strategy has been very successful for them because they have their own individual monthly allowances and savings accounts and were also able to meet their extended family obligations, community responsibilities and church activities. For another family however, their grown children have their own homes and have now developed the habit and values of determination and of supporting their own family affairs and responsibilities. In addition one family admitted they were very thankful to their in-laws for their support in providing the deposit to purchase their family home a decade ago, have never regretted that direction, and have always been

appreciative of that support to this day. This particular family have been saving and investing enough funds to assist with the education of their children.

5.6.3 Dedication and Determination

Most of these families are not academically gifted in any way as most of the participants admitted but it was through sheer guts, sacrifice, determination and spending time in learning on the job as apprentices that they developed and advanced their life style. They agreed that sacrifice is the ultimate benchmark for everyone whether they were academics or not and consistent hard work will take people a long way. A typical example was shown by one of the families I interviewed who joined the Fiji police force without passing the Fiji Junior Certificate (Fourth form examination).

Consistent high performance and hard work was evident throughout his police career - he was promoted as a Police College trainer to Head of Criminal Investigation and later as the Police Commissioner of the Federate States of Micronesia before immigrating to New Zealand. Apart from these achievements, he also travelled the world to many business meetings and training programs including the New Zealand Police Academy, Australia, Africa, Japan, USA, Britain and Europe. In addition, he admitted that his two daughters were also not academically proficient and like their dad, they did not even pass the Fiji Junior Certificate. However, one of the daughters is now a New Zealand qualified and registered early childhood teacher and is also successfully completing a degree in Education at University.

5.6.4 Life Skills Strategy

Teaching and educating children who are born or raised in New Zealand requires strategies to face the challenge of life that was very different from the way most parents were familiar with in Fiji. The communal and social responsibilities of teaching life skills and customs were commonly the responsibilities of extended family elders or senior members of the tribe or villagers. Children were left to learn by continuous practise and exposing them in real everyday life situation such as fishing, village life, ceremonies, traditional farming techniques, in contrast to the western value systems of nuclear family and self

learning. Appreciations of these processes of delegating these obligations were carried out without resistance, objection and respect without question.

However in New Zealand, most of the research participants enjoyed the luxury of spending a lot of time without extended family interruptions and could focus more on their children doing homework, engaging in discussion and being open about teaching them life skills and being tolerant to other cultures. Most children born or raised in New Zealand were very well versed with the life style, cultures and expectations in schools and the work environment. Most Fijians parents I interviewed believed in strong family relationships and teaching their children to be religious, respectful, and honest and to value excellence in everything they do. Such life values and virtues will keep them focused on identity and of being a Fijian and the family reputation back in Fiji. A mother argued that they are fully able to play their role as parents and as role models in their nuclear family whereas in Fiji, their children can be influenced by the teachings and ways of their extended families and grandparents. A particular family argued that the challenges their children face would not be as difficult as they would have encountered two decades ago.

On a different level they have had to obtain a better education and have been exposed to better opportunities in the hope of a more successful future. Another family reaffirmed that it has became a habit for their children to remain calm, pray, work extra hard or even change their life style to a more manageable and very simple one during hard times. In addition they have also engaged in discussing problems through open communication with their children so they are aware of the challenging situation they face, remind them to work hard and achieve better results in all areas of work.

5.7 Education

Although most of the parents and adults that were interviewed had not completed secondary school or achieved well, they respected tertiary qualifications and believed that having a recognised qualification was a pre-requisite to a successful and sound future. One particular parent reiterated that communication with his work mates and employers was one of the main barriers when he started working in his first job.

Since they did not complete secondary school level, they encountered great difficulties when they arrived in New Zealand in the early 1970's and were left with very limited choices and opportunities, worked on farms and factories with minimum pay to meet their family needs. At times they felt disillusioned and looked down upon themselves. One parent confirmed that he realised the real value of education when he arrived in New Zealand because it was not a barrier to change but a very significant tool in all areas of life otherwise they would be behind in technology and the changing economic landscape.

Table 5.1 Fijian participant's formal years of Education (Primary, Secondary & Tertiary) from Fiji and New Zealand

Name	Age	Years of Stay (NZ)	Formal Education (Yrs)
Manate	72	33	6 (Fiji)
Teresia	75	26	4(Fiji)
Jone	48	26	12 (Fiji)
Mereani	36	20	20 (Fiji & NZ)
Moce	48	19	18 (Fiji & NZ)
Lua	47	26	13 (Fiji & NZ)
Luke	60	31	25 (Fiji, NZ & UK, Japan, etc)
Adi	57	25	14 (Fiji)
Semesa	55	34	8 (Fiji)
Ana	48	31	11 (Fiji & NZ)
Nonu	56	33	10 (Fiji)
Lose	41	17	12 (Fiji)
Niko	57	22	22 (Fiji & NZ)
Nate	55	22	14 (Fiji & NZ)

5.7.1 Passion and Sacrifice

Most of the participants of this research hardly completed secondary school level education for various unforeseen reasons. One participant explained that since his parents both passed away when he was an infant, he spent most of his life growing up with his relatives. Since he was raised by his uncle, his cousins were given the opportunity to migrate to a reputable boy's college in Suva and later he, to New Zealand to further his studies as a lawyer.

Another participant had given the opportunity to his younger brother because their mother could not afford to pay for both their school fees when their dad passed way. He stayed in the village all his life until he migrated to visit his uncle in New Zealand at the age of 18

years. Whilst his wife did not complete the fourth form level and willingly gave up attending school for her younger sisters and brothers because she believed that she should find a job to support her parents and young siblings.
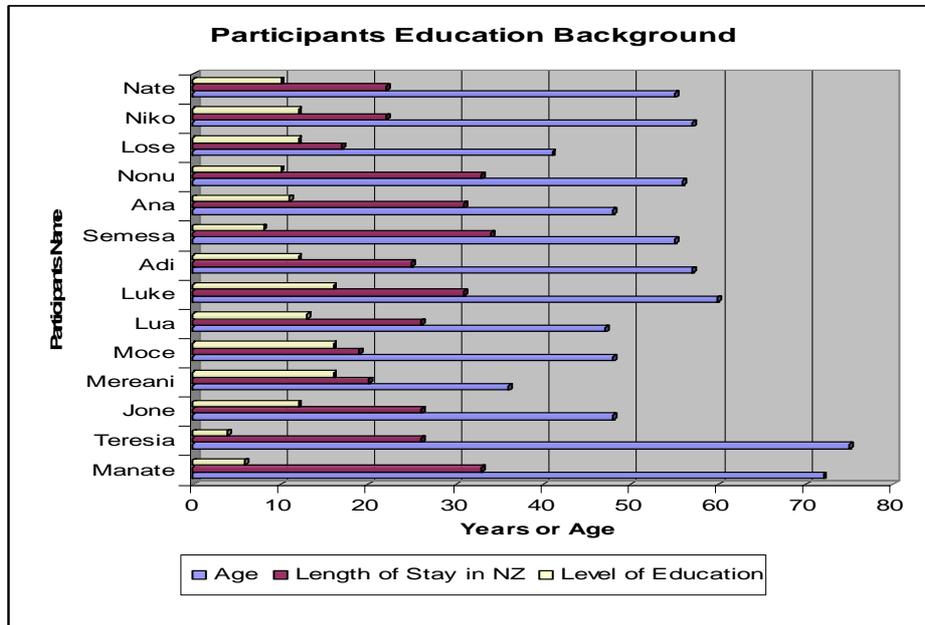
Figure 5.3: Educational level of participants

Only a handful of participants in this research completed secondary education and have any formal qualifications in trade. They continued to pursue further education in their specific field of interest. In the early 1960's to the mid 1980's the education curriculum and examinations in Fiji was based on the New Zealand format. The British Cambridge examination was replaced by the New Zealand School Certificate (Form five exam), NZ University Entrance and New Zealand Form seven examinations. Thus only a handful of Fijians who were fortunate to sit these examinations were selected and given scholarship to continue their studies, mainly in New Zealand and return to hold positions in government and statutory institutions.

5.7.2 Knowledge Based Opportunities

The entire participants that I interviewed believed that education is such vital tool for their children and has become the major requirement for better employment and security for their future. In addition, all the participants believed that as a knowledge-based economy, New Zealand provides the best opportunity for everyone to achieve the best qualifications

possible. They always stressed to their children the significance of education and the implications for setting up oneself for a better future. Another parent re-enforced that quality education is the backbone of progress and we should teach and set our children the goal, that without proper qualifications, it impossible to be competent and competitive internationally.

Another very significant question in the research was focused on the problems and challenges that parents and their children face in the New Zealand education system. Most parents collectively agreed that although they did not have proper formal qualifications in education before they migrated to New Zealand two decades ago, they were firm in their continuous support for their children and grandchildren to succeed and achieve a better chance in education. Some parents and grandparents have taken a consistent stance in supervising their children and grandchildren in their homework, attending parents' interviews in schools and providing moral support in assignments and assessments for those in high schools and university. One family confirmed that since they arrived in New Zealand they have continuously set consistent support programs for their six children who have gone through the New Zealand education system. As a result more than half of their children have all have graduated from university and were now working, as a doctor, teacher and engineer, while another two were still at university and the last son at high school. Another family had their children working in well respected employment. They gained qualifications within their own independent families while another family had children married to other ethnic groups, and had migrated to Australia, the USA and even Europe.

Another advantage of the New Zealand education system was that it was internationally recognised, flexible, effective and efficient. Most of the short courses and training institutions like Polytechnic, Colleges and Universities were offering courses that meet the growing international demand in the blue collar job market. Most of the Fijian parents interviewed agreed that having a qualification from New Zealand is very well received and respected in international nations including Fiji. For instance, almost every well qualified and experienced Fijian who returned to Fiji was snatched up by large companies and offered government positions because of their qualification and work ethics. The current chief executive officer of the current welfare department in Fiji was a Fijian, a New Zealand graduate and has held various key positions in the Wellington City Council. He

had also been contracted to a regional position in Papua New Guinea before moving back to Fiji.

Level of Education and Achievement of Fijian Paticipants Children
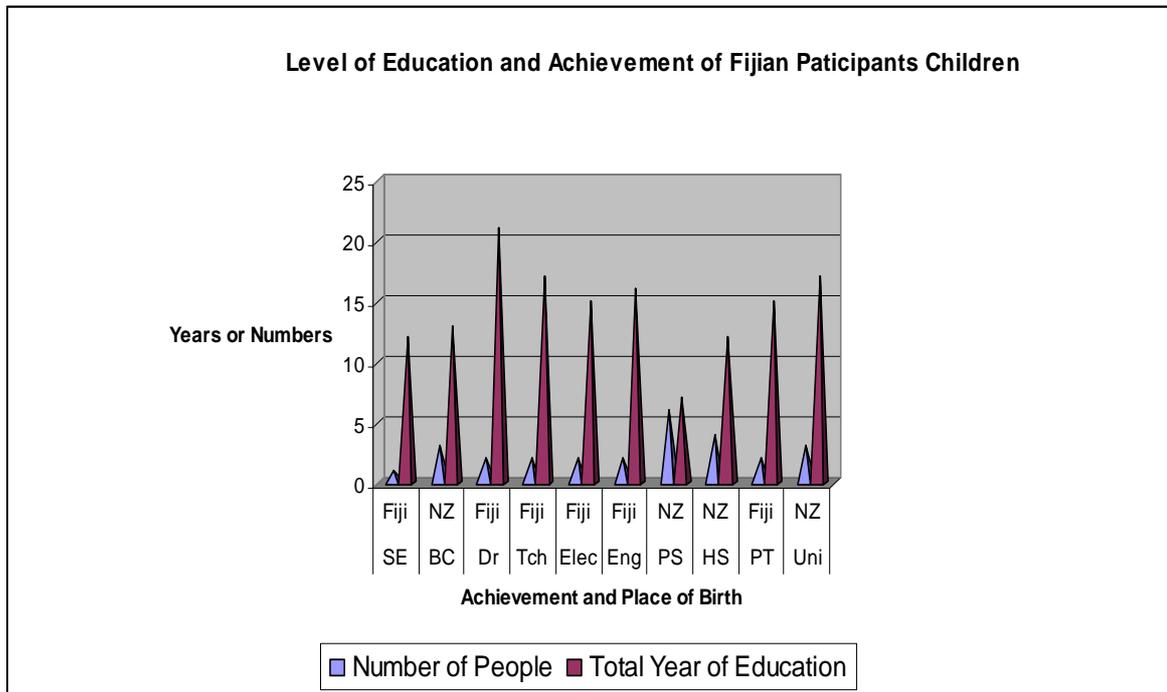
Figure 5.4: Level of education achievement of Fijian participants children

5.7.3 Adapting to the School Systems

Some interviewees relate real life experiences with the problem of bullying, and how their children were being bullied or verbally abused at school. Most parents continuously discussed with their children the reality of being an ethnic minority in a foreign nation and how they should try to react or avoid those situations. Parents interviewed teach their children the Christian values of being patient, long suffering, self control and being conscientious in focusing on achieving better results than teenage issues they face everyday. In a particular class, one Fijian student stood up in class to defend the teacher while the rest of the mainstream students defended their rights to say whatever they wish in criticising their teacher. Although the student came home feeling frustrated about the whole situation, the parents were very relieved on how their daughter used her maturity and courage in doing what very few students with the right conscience would do. Another family who faced the same situation advised their children to report the matter to their teacher or the headmaster if they are being bullied or just walk out of the situation and remain calm.

5.7.4 Truancy and Absenteeism

Truancy and absenteeism were some of the major uncontrolled problems in the New Zealand school systems. When this particular issue was raised to the interviewees, all of them were aware of the situation but none have ever encountered such problem with their children. Most families have very effective systems of checking homework, books, and school equipment on a regular basis and sometimes they would call and make appointment with their individual subject teachers to check on how their children were progressing with their school work. A particular family explained that they constantly took their students to the library after dinner every week day and stayed with them for at least three hours in reading, studying for examination, assignments and other assessments from school. Their children developed such a habit from a very young age and had been very successful in all their exams, having also progressed through to university and to eventually graduate, and hold respectable employment as doctors, engineers, teacher and in the field of architecture.

5.7.5 Adult education

Some parents and adult children continued their journey by enrolling in adult education or part time study at polytechnic and university. One parent has a private library and text book collection in his office at home where he spent most of his time reading and researching. Two of the interviewed participants were very enthusiastic with the latest technology and computers. They have purchased the latest version of computers for the whole family to be used in research, assignment and assessment. Both wives of these families are now enrolled in specialised training in their respective field of work thus one was almost completing a degree in education, while the other has started a diploma in community health science. As one parent said, age is no barrier to life long learning in New Zealand, so when one continued to learn about the changing phases of technology, one became got more determined to learn new skills and sophisticated technology.

It was not surprising to acknowledge that Fijians are the highest achievers in education compared to other Pacific Island groups (New Zealand Statistics, Census 2001). Although their population is only about six percent of the total Pacific population their excellence in education in proportion to other Pacific Island ethnicity is very significant indeed. This data proved that the majority of Fijian people that mass migrated after the political events

of 1987 and 2000 were well qualified, better skilled, very experienced and adapted well in the New Zealand work environment. The shift in demand from labour intensive industry such as agriculture, forestry and manufacturing sectors to more knowledge based economy was a bonus for highly skilled workers who came to fill the gaps left by those who left New Zealand for better opportunities in Australia, the US, Canada and Europe.

5.8 Employment

Most of the participants interviewed were without specialist skills or recognised qualifications and worked in low paid skill sectors when they arrived in New Zealand in the early 1970's. They were employed as labourers, forestry workers, seasonal fruit pickers, cleaners, assembly line jobs, casual workers, security officers and kitchen hands. A typical case in a family that was interviewed confirmed that the parents begin as cleaners, kitchen hand and at times had three jobs during summer. Although he now has a permanent job as an electrician and the wife is a hospital orderly and cleaner they remembered how challenging it was two decades ago but they managed to complete some recognised courses and training which ultimately cemented their positions in their current work places.

Another interviewee who arrived in 1973 as a seaman stayed in that same employment and became an engineer through work experience until he retired in 2005. He argued that he could not apply for other employment since he was unskilled and unqualified so he stayed on the same job until he retired. Later his son joined as an apprentice in the same company and was employed as a part-time casual worker until 2003 when he was promoted to a permanent position. One member of the families who arrived in 1974 explained how tough it was to work as an unskilled labourer for more than five years, shifting from one temporary and sometimes seasonal job to another. He later acknowledged that although there was a lot of low skilled employment available in the 1970's, formal qualifications and advanced skill sets were requirements to better paid employment opportunities. Therefore since most of them were not qualified or left school in Fiji at secondary level without any recognised qualification, life was very challenging indeed when they begin to have families of their own in New Zealand.

There was also a significant relationship between the level of education and the employment opportunities available to these people that were interviewed. The lower the level of education the lesser employment opportunities and the more likely to be lowly paid was stated. For example; one participant only reached eighth year in the intermediate grade and is now permanently employed in a construction company with a reasonable wage. Another interviewee who left school at the sixth year in primary grade was employed in the same job throughout his entire working life. The same pattern was reflected for women and wives, who were also cleaners or temporary workers at various jobs. However, another set of participants in the research who arrived in the early 1980's who have some valuable skills and recognised qualifications were performing well above their expectations coupled with better working conditions and salaries. Two of them work in blue collar jobs as engineers and electricians while another was a subeditor of a recognised national newspaper company.

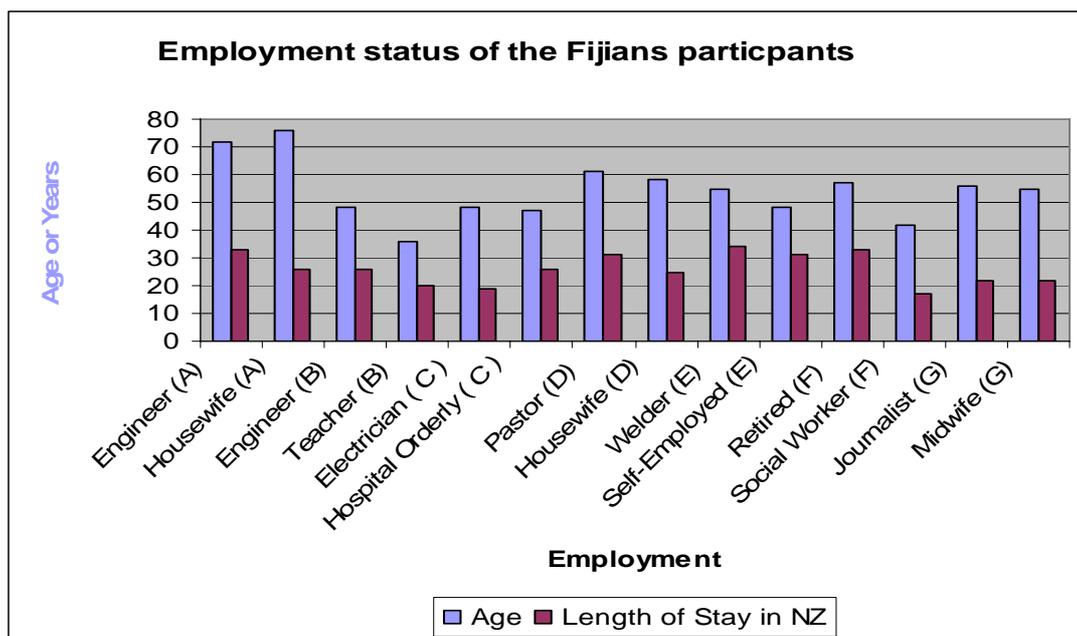**Figure 5.5: Employment status of participants**

5.8.1 Motivation

There was another interesting analysis I discovered whilst interviewing the participants of this research. Almost everyone who arrived in the early 1970's that did not completed secondary level education was more likely to have low paid employment and was not motivated to pursue further education. Almost every individual interviewee believed that

they were not only disillusioned by not being able to achieve a decent education but were not motivated to continue with further education because of the preconceived idea of failure. In Auckland, both participants were not interested to engage in any formal training or motivated to pursue further adult education. They believed that although age is no barrier to education, their failure to complete their education in Fiji and being engaged in the New Zealand work ethics of hard work in order to support their families were valid reasons for not pursuing further training. Only two interviewed participants were made redundant by their respective companies so they transferred to another group with the same condition of employment and pay. In addition another interviewee set up a new business and became self-employed after being made redundant.

It was surprising that most of the parents interviewed believed that the cost of living in the early 1970's was very much proportional to the current trend but it continued to be more expensive now because of inflation and the increasing wages and salary. Although their income in the 1970's was not as much as they received nowadays, life was very challenging because of the number of children they have had to raise as well as providing for normal family expenses like rent, school fees, transportation and other weekly bills. In the last decade however, the high cost of living has also dramatically change the life style of most Fijians that were interviewed. Most young families have an average of two to three children, own their own home, were well educated with well respected jobs and were living a more affluent and better living standard.

One particular participant believed that the current crop of young Fijians who are either raised or bred in New Zealand; were very well versed with the expectations and demands of being highly skilled, achieving the right qualifications, were highly motivated and confident to acquire respectable employment opportunities like doctors, lawyers and management positions in any cosmopolitan society. A very specific example of how far Fijians have proven their worth in New Zealand was reflected by the recent promotion of the first Fijian Governor General of New Zealand. This was a classical example of the sacrifices most migrants pursue in achieving a better living standard, opportunities through higher education.

5.9 Health

Health is an area that most Pacific people and Fijians took advantage of in terms of life style and health problems facing them. Almost every individual that was interviewed believed that Fijians' health is the best amongst the Pacific people in New Zealand but they were not really sure whether their claim was necessarily the truth. All the people interviewed in this research confirmed they were never diagnosed or hospitalised with common diseases suffered by Pacific people. Common disease such as heart problems, cancer, obesity, and diabetes although common among people of low socio economic level were not diagnosed among almost every Fijian family that participated in the research. They stated that they were not diagnosed with these diseases.

Most families confirmed that they only visit the hospitals or private clinics for normal check-up, viral infection, flu or when some one is injured. However, when the question arose whether they had family medical insurance, only those who had insurance provided by their employers were covered together with their dependents. Some families believed they could not afford the premium so they did not need insurance because the government provides another alternative program known as "Accident Compensation Corporation" (ACC) scheme in case of unforeseen eventualities. In addition, only a few of these medical insurances were utilised by family members when travelling overseas or when encountering medical problems.

5.9.1 Better Health Standards

When comparing the health system in Fiji and New Zealand, mostly every participant of the research confirmed that New Zealand is far better in terms of its specialities, professionalism, high standard of technology, infrastructure and convenience of services. New Zealand is regarded amongst the Pacific nations as the best providers of high quality health services even in the public hospitals and private clinics. Most people that were interviewed argued that health was one of the necessary requirements of a better standard of living and was evident because their families and children were not diagnosed with common diseases like tuberculosis and diabetes that were rampant among developing countries like Fiji and other Pacific Islands.

Although the standard of health in Fiji could not be compared to New Zealand, Fiji had always produced some of the best nurses and qualified doctors. The political events of the late 1980s and 2000, triggered huge mass migration of these professional people to New Zealand, Australia, US and Canada. Most of these nurses and doctors are trained in the New Zealand medical practices and most have now have migrated over with their families to establish a more accomplished lifestyle coupled with achievable opportunities.

5.9.2 Longer Life Span

Most of the research interviewees believed that the health system in New Zealand is making people living longer compared to Fiji or other Pacific Islands. This generalisation could be justified because in almost every family interviewed there were those between the age ranges of 55 to 85 years old. They believed that that could not have lived that long if they were back in the Islands because the age group in Fiji have all diseased by that age, especially in the outer islands or villages.

Only two of the families interviewed had members of their families who suffered an illness in Fiji before they migrated to New Zealand. Since they had children and grand children born and raised in New Zealand, they have not encountered any problems of illness. The free medical treatment for children and availability of medical services gave them the confidence to seek assistance and medical advice in advance. For instance one family were so health conscience that they had medical and dental check up yearly and thus changed their life style to keep fit, healthy and strong. They have also quit smoking and taking alcohol for more than a decade and were very conscious of their diet and regular exercise.

One parent argued that the saturation of information, health education and promotion of awareness program have actually shaped the mind-set of most people in New Zealand including Pacific about health consciousness and awareness of their health and that of their family. The health conscious message had significantly improved the overall life style of Fijians in New Zealand from their children in school who were being warned and educated on the negative implications of unhealthy life style to adults in more mature years.

6 Chapter Six   Summary and Conclusions

6.1 Summary

In Krishna et al's (1994) book entitled: *the Challenge of Change: Pacific Island Communities in New Zealand*, it was argued that the impact of colonisation and European contact was very significant in the early nineteenth century when many islands in the Pacific entered into trade. Pacific Islanders embraced change through the teachings of Christian missionaries. However on the other hand Europeans from around the globe became deeply interested in acquiring land through mobility of labour, resources, trade, and even permanent settlements which gave rise to the spread of commercialisation of natural resources.

The mobility of resources and human capital became rampant and intensified after the end of both WWI and WWII. The implications of reconstruction and capitalism also affected mass movement of people. This exodus included Pacific people who moved into new communities leaving behind their country of birth and extended relations in search of better living standards and the hope for a better future. Fijians have been moving and migrating within the Pacific Islands and out of the Pacific Rim in search of better opportunities even before the first Europeans discovered Fiji. The challenges and problems encountered throughout these journeys and the effects of settling in a foreign nation could be perceived at different levels depending on the country of destination. Although there were also various factors and determinants of the challenges that different ethnic communities face this research in the main focused only on the main indicators discussed in the preceding headings.

The challenges facing Fijian communities in New Zealand from 1970 to the mid 1980's should not be isolated from the changes and effects of government policies such as economic restructuring, privatization of corporate entities, foreign investment policies, shift from agricultural to manufacturing productions, political situation and other international trends of increased industrialization and development.

This chapter will now summarize the interview responses in relation to other determinants of change within the time period specified in this research in-line with government programs, economic policies, and development issues facing New Zealand.

6.1.1 Immigration Issues

Those people who were born and raised in Fiji always regard themselves as Fijian regardless of the challenges and problems they face in New Zealand. These groups of people were very conservative in trying to maintain their culture, way of life, identity and continue to speak their native language. They also maintain strong family links and travel back to Fiji every now and then on special occasions. Those who were born and bred in New Zealand however were usually confused about their identity since some say they could not speak the language and regard their new adopted culture as being too open lacking the conservative nature of their parents' traditional life style.

Migrating to foreign nations requires sophisticated modes of transportation and determination. Effective transportation system was one major factor that intensifies the process of migration whether by sea, air or land. It changed very dramatically in the last two decades. Movement of Fijians nationally and internationally was nothing new given the cycle of international migration, albeit for different reasons and the implications of these migrations. Most people that were interviewed believed that the latest tough immigration policies in New Zealand and internationally would not dampen the spirit of determination for many Fijians throughout the world in search of a better quality of life. Furthermore, these policies would not only protect current citizens and national security within New Zealand but they would help defend the country from external forces like illegal drug trafficking, bio-security threat, terrorism and human trafficking.

Fijians were treated favourably in their work places without any risk of being victims of discrimination. Although, most worked in low paid employments, they created a positive impact through their commitment, diligence, hard work ethics and loyalty to their employer and fellow employees. The dawn raids of the 1980's hardly affected the Fijians residence but they believed that there were other illegal immigrants overstaying in New Zealand besides people of Pacific origin.

6.1.2 Development Aspects of Fiji

The development problems of many Pacific nations including Fiji were believed to be caused by numerous factors namely; vulnerability of resource base, distant markets,

limited infrastructure, undeveloped markets and a shrinking economy. In addition, continuous changes in demand of economic goods and globalisations has waned over the past century, and traditional exports and commodity crops were no longer viable. Fiji has relied heavily on its traditional sugar exports, inefficient economy and agricultural exports, together with a wealth of well trained human personnel to support its development. Therefore the majority of the population were overworked, underpaid and living in sub-standard living conditions.

Despite the considerable amount of development through aid in Fiji, economic growth has been disappointingly minimal. There were also high levels of government employment and remittances from overseas. However, Fiji was the most developed Pacific Island nation with the highest basically literate group, enjoyed reasonable health systems, were well fed with generally high life expectations and low infant mortalities compared to other developing countries such as Samoa, Tonga, Papua New Guinea or the Solomon Islands with similar economies. In addition, Pacific Island nations have compulsory primary education and fairly high rates of participation in secondary education. Nevertheless, the sluggish economic growth usually blocked opportunities to earn more in the rural areas coupled with an increased urban migration and poverty, providing incentives to look for economic opportunities abroad. The participants argued that in this regard, migration acts as a political and economic safety net to overcome the struggling economic growth prospects, averting widespread poverty and absorbing surplus population of their island nations.

6.1.3 Development in New Zealand

In comparison to Fiji, New Zealand was more advanced in all areas of economic development, infrastructure, and business and has a very well developed market to compete internationally. Most Fijians that were interviewed believed that the economic shift from subsistence economy in Fiji to a more developed knowledge based economic system was overwhelming indeed. New Zealand had a far better standard of living, well developed education system, better health services, a workable social welfare institution and an abundance of employment opportunities.

Most Fijians that migrated in the mid 1970's had no proper qualification and a low range of skills, therefore were challenged to support their families. Through perseverance, dedication, commitment and sacrifice, they endured to fulfil their dreams of bringing their families to a land of opportunity. These groups of Fijians believed that through their diligence and endurance their children and extended families enjoy the culture and benefits of both worlds.

The oil crisis that hit New Zealand in the mid 1970s worsened economic conditions resulting in government and public concern about the high level of unemployment and immigrations levels. Like other industrialized nations, New Zealand lacked the human capacity to embark on the process of industrial diversification and economic expansion in the post-war period. Thus labourers from the Pacific Islands were recruited among other migrant's workers to occupy positions in the manufacturing and agricultural industries (Krishna et al, 1994). In fact most Pacific people were recruited as forestry workers, seasonal employment in farms and timber mills as far as Tokoroa, Hawke's Bay, Wanganui and the Waikato region. Apart from other Pacific Islanders, Fijians were not in great numbers in those days but they took advantage of the opportunity to bring their families and relations from Fiji to work in these essential areas.

The changing phase of New Zealand's economy from the 1980's in public sectors caused by restructuring and privatizations has been described as the major cause of job loss in assembly line work in manufacturing and primary employment. In addition, technological change in manufacturing and diversification of production facilities has also reduced the huge numbers employed in many developing countries. Most Fijians who were made redundant never moved back to the primary production work such as agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, however, they stayed close to major urban areas in South Auckland, Porirua in Wellington and Tokoroa in Southern Waikato. While economic change and restructuring has meant insecurity for some migrant workers, it also provided opportunities for promotion of some Fijians because of their positive work records and involvement as members of powerful unions.

6.1.4 Education

Most parents realise the significance of being well skilled and well qualified were the products of not only an effective education system but a supportive economic structure. Developed nations like New Zealand invested a huge part of their funding in quality education, enhancing the full potential and talent of its population. In comparison to Fiji, most of the research participants believed that although Fiji had an effective training institution and efficient education system, there was not enough investment and opportunities to support its well informed population. As a result the most experienced and well trained professionals and Fiji's human resource base have moved on for better opportunities internationally.

Fijians who migrated to New Zealand in the 1970' to the mid 1980's were not as qualified, skilled and well educated as the majority that mass migrated after the political events of 1987 and 2000. The earlier migrants were just very determined and believed in their individual will to make a difference for their children's future. Having experienced the harshness of having to resort to low paid casual work and being made redundant; most parents placed education as a priority for their families. Education as a vital tool in the 21st century has become the necessary requirement for better employment and secured a future. Most Fijian families were very supportive of their children in achieving higher qualifications and quality grades both academically and non-academically.

The New Zealand education system and qualifications were internationally recognised and respected. Most people who were educated in New Zealand schools, tertiary institutions and universities do not encounter many problems in fitting into employment anywhere in the world. For instance, international students from Fiji and the Pacific send their students for specialised qualification in strategic areas of study and research. These graduates will be of great benefits to their governments when they return to their respective nations. Another very significant influence of the New Zealand education system to Fiji was its role as the major donor of scholarships and development projects to enhance educational possibilities.

6.1.5 Employment

Most of these Fijians families agreed that Fijians and Pacific Islanders have played a key role in building New Zealand's industrial economy, and through their distinctively social life and cultures has helped awaken New Zealand to its Pacific identity. Now the children of these migrants are reaching maturity and searching for their own identity is an underlying motivation, apart from economic reasons or the potential to earn higher wages, and hold on to their identity and cultural roots..

This research suggests that men who migrated in the 1970's were largely employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers although only a handful had excelled in particular fields like engineering, electrical works, carpentry or joinery. Furthermore, women were easily employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs such as cleaners, laundries; clothing factories, assembly line, manufacturing. Some became very skilled, as machinist; while very few have been unemployed. Most of these people have just migrated with large families to support them therefore life was very challenging at the start. These groups of parents were not willing to undergo any further training or pursue further advance qualification because of their fear of previous experience of failure in schools. As a result most of them remained loyal to the same employer until the present while a few had retired. The challenges and problems encountered by that particular generation left a legacy to other Fijians in terms of determination and independence.

The young generation of Fijians who were either born or bred in New Zealand were better adapted to the culture, expectations, mindset and life style of the mainstream people of mixed origin and background. These young enthusiastic generations were well qualified, technologically advanced, highly skilled and were more likely to be employed or promoted in better employment opportunities compared to their parents. The census of 2001 confirmed that New Zealand-born Fijians were more likely to have post secondary school qualifications and had an increasing rate of holding better skilled and professional employment.

6.1.6 Health Issues

Although there was a clear pattern which emerged to demonstrate poorer health among Pacific Islanders than other New Zealanders (Ministry of Health 1999); Fijians had no specific data base to prove their health status compared to other Pacific people. It was believed that given the low ratio of the Fijian population in the major Pacific statistics, minimal information is known about the health issues affecting Fijian people. It was also believed that factors impacting on the health of Pacific people are less well studied but was more likely to be similar to those affecting Maori. Moreover, Pacific people were always grouped within the poorer socio-economic group through circumstances such as those highlighted, and were likely to account for a substantial proportion of excessive ill health (Ministry of Health 1997).

Most participants of this research believed that they were physically healthy since they have not being diagnosed with any terminal illness or suffered from common diseases like diabetes, tuberculosis, or heart diseases. In addition, the availability of free medical support and health programs assisted them and their families to make regular routine checks about their health. Some of the Fijians took advantage of medical insurance provided by their employers while other used their personal medical insurance in cases of unforeseen circumstance in their health. The availability and affordability of these facilities provides clues as to why Fijians were living much longer in New Zealand compared to those in Fiji.

New Zealand's medical and health system is more advanced and technologically sound and provides the best services in both public and private clinics. Medical schools in New Zealand have records of producing some of the most highly qualified doctors, and in line with this were developing specialised areas of research within the medical field. Fiji and other Pacific nations relied mostly on developed nations like New Zealand to support and sponsor some of their best students to gain experience and provide internship in their careers as future doctors and nurses.

6.2 Conclusion

Living in two worlds was a very self-fulfilling topic in trying to uncover unique perspectives of the realities and challenges facing Fijian immigrants pioneers that arrived in New Zealand during the early 1970's to the mid 1980s'. It was also a great personal

journey filled with excitement and passion in rediscovering and researching stories, secrets, sufferings and sacrifices of these early and later Fijian settlers and the sheer determination to survive and thrive until today. Spending time with interviewees, listening to their stories and observing how much they have learned and valued as indigenous Fijians immigrants was very encouraging indeed. The participants were very enthusiastic in providing very detailed accounts of their self-determination, passion, self belief, support, work ethics and patience in settling in their adopted country. Most Fijian families developed open minded strategies in embracing and being tolerant to other ethnic communities and cultures.

The high standard of development and better life quality in New Zealand compared to Fiji were the major determining factors of choosing to gain permanent residence or even become citizens of their adopted country. Some of these Fijians were living very reasonable socioeconomic life styles in New Zealand when compared to the mainstream ethnic groups, and were far better off when compared to other Pacific ethnicities. Although some had low skilled employment and lacked recognized qualifications, they were employed in more permanent and well respected jobs and were loyal to their employers for more than two or three decades. The women on the other hand who arrived as full time housewives were now employed as permanent workers in their respective companies. Some Fijian families were also challenged by raising large extended families and created huge pressure on parents but have worked with their respective nuclear families to support their kin.

Living in two worlds was a phrase that really reflected the challenges encountered by the generation who arrived in New Zealand in the 1970s until the mid 1980s. It was more logical to understand that these groups of Fijians managed to adapt to the culture of mainstream New Zealand through integration and sharing of values, ideologies, knowledge, work ethics, priorities and virtues. However at the same time they aspired to hold on to their Fijian identity, language, values, culture, customs and to respect the realities or challenges of the physical world around them. Most of the people that were interviewed in the research believed that although there were some costs and loss their children encountered during their struggle, they were in a more predictable position today then they were three decades. Furthermore, their children were now more able to support

their own families for better opportunities and higher standards of living for future generations of Fijians.

The final conclusion of this thesis can be summarized in two major categories. Firstly, the Fijians that arrived in New Zealand from 1970s until the mid 1980s faced whole complex levels of challenges as outlined in the research analysis. Although there were differences in views from each family, there were similar arguments that relate to each in terms of the challenges they faced. The literature review was also a reflection of how similar the issues were with other Pacific people in terms of the physical, socio-cultural, economical and political challenges they face. These Fijians were not as well educated and highly skilled as those that migrated later but they persevered until today.

The second category was specifically about those Fijians who were born and raised in New Zealand. They face a more contrasting aspect of challenges from their parents and grandparents. They were not worried about education, employment, life-style, immigration issues, health but they struggled to associate themselves with Fijians who were born in Fiji. Therefore they were more familiar with their New Zealand life style and felt left out because they cannot speak the language or dialect fluently and were being misunderstood by their parents. The body language and behaviour of some of these New Zealand-born Fijians interviewees proved that there was a more complex, invisible and emotional challenge they face everyday that outweighed their parents. Some of the challenges could be identified as cultural misconception, social acceptance, generation gap, identity crisis, low self esteem and low self confidence during family reunions or when they return to their families in Fiji. These new generations of well-educated and highly qualified New Zealand-born Fijians have a larger vacuum to fill. There should be immersion programs conducted to support their emotional and cultural needs.

6.3 Further Research

There has been very little in the way of detailed research conducted in the areas of cultural identity, social acceptance, generation gap, and cultural misconception within some interviewee participants.   These issues together with other aspects of social and economic interest such as health and employment are definite possibilities for future research where there would definitely be a huge niche for researchers to explore.

This research has also highlighted other areas that requires further in depth research. One of this is social identity. This applies more to those who are were born in New Zealand, or those who were brought from Fiji when they were young. They adopt and adapt quickly to the New Zealand way of life. This in turn affects their level of knowing their own Fijian identity by way of knowing their language and culture.

Other specific areas of research and development include:

- Recording stories of young ones and their experiences and view points of living in New Zealand
- How these young ones cope with external pressure of forgoing their own Fijian identity from their Pacific island peers?
- Developing mechanisms that parents can use to help in instilling cultural identity to their children
- Working with the government machinery such as the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs to develop friendly frameworks that assist our youth and their families in relation to bridging culture and heritage.
- Coordinating programs with the existing tertiary institutions such as Te Wananga O Aotearoa who were currently developing a curriculum framework for Pacific communities.

Researchers from the Fijian communities can be encouraged to learn from other Pacific or Maori communities in New Zealand who were facing the same challenges in sharing their views and effective solutions and recommendations. Researchers should also be encouraged to liaise with indigenous research frameworks and protocols that are culturally friendly and encourage collaborative sharing of resources and information.

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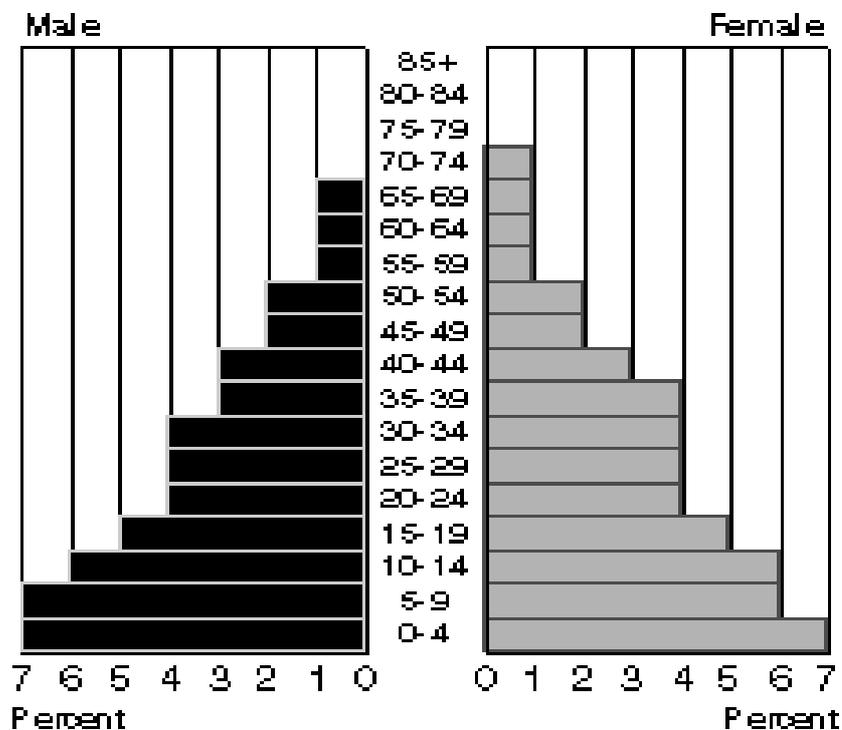
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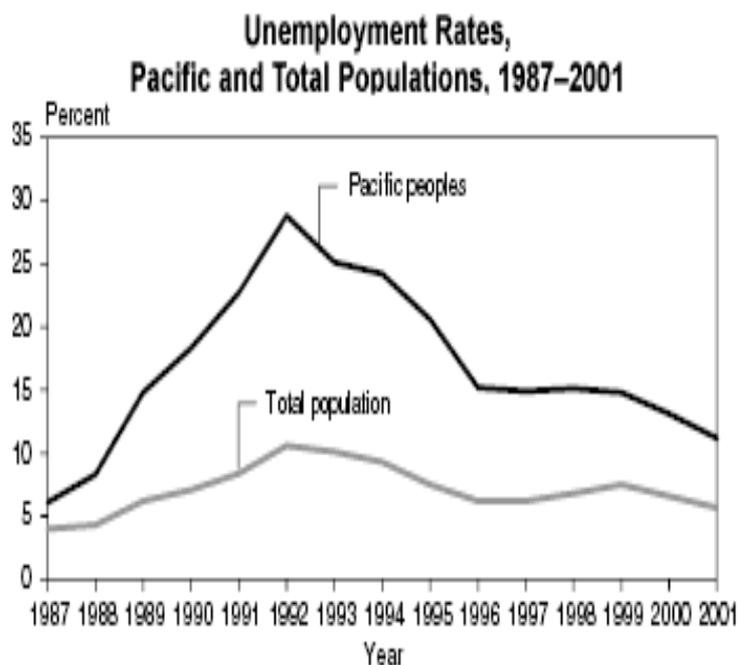http://www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/pacific-profiles/fijian/default.html

8 Appendices

Figure 1.1: Age sex pyramid for Pacific people's ethnic group

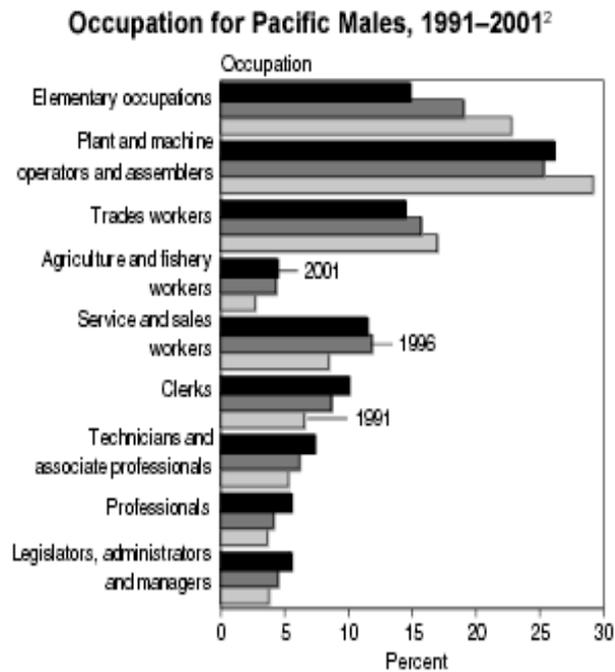**Figure 1.2 Unemployment rates of Pacific people and total population**

Figure 2
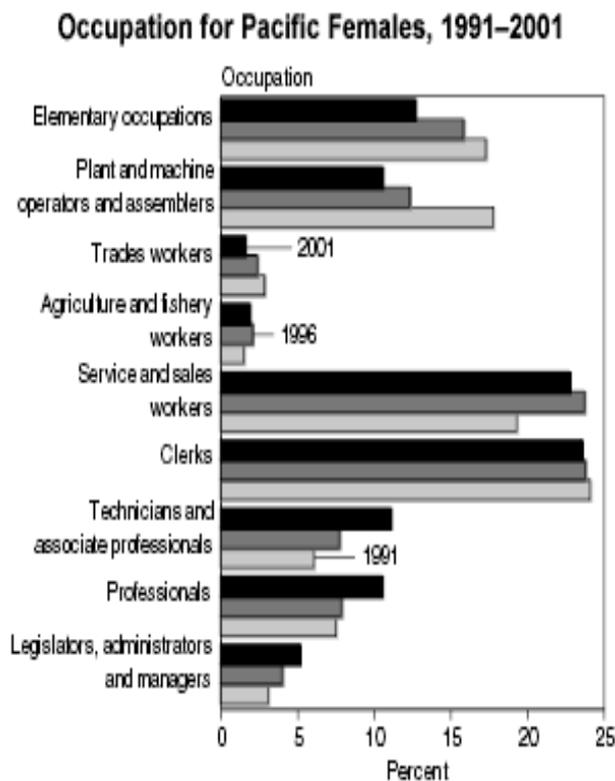

Source: HLFS, March year averages

Figure 1.3 Occupations for Pacific Islanders by Gender (Males) 1991-2001
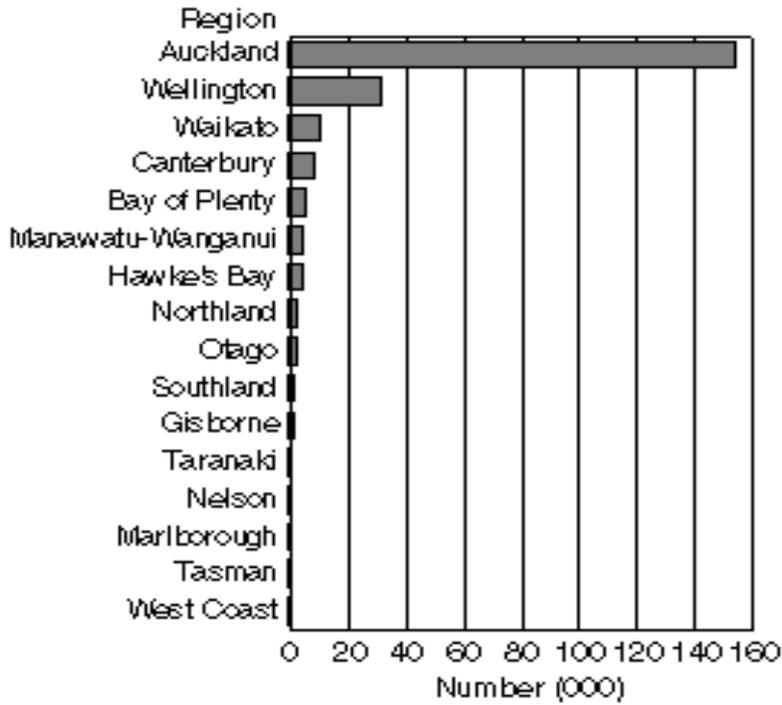
Figure 3

Occupation for Pacific Males, 1991–2001[2]

Figure 1.3 Occupation of Pacific by Gender (Females), 1991-2001
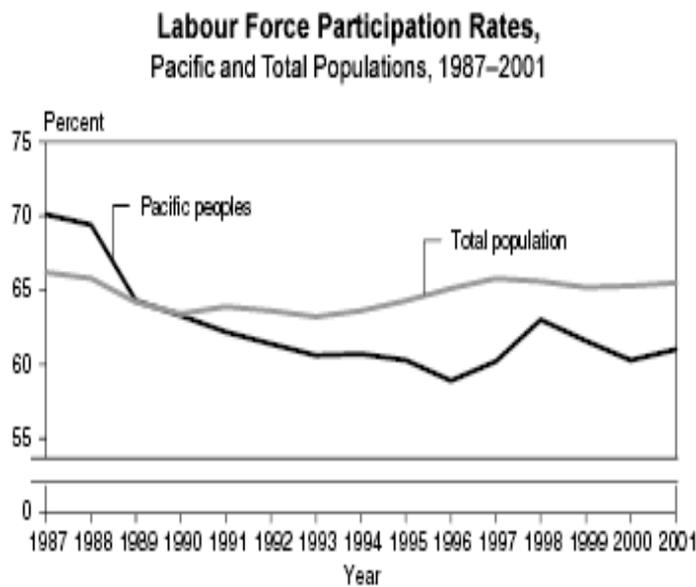
Figure 4

Occupation for Pacific Females, 1991–2001

Figure 1.4 Pacific Peoples Ethnic Group Count by Region

Figure 1.5 Labour Force Participation Rates, Pacific and Total Population 1987 - 2001

Labour Force Participation Rates, Pacific and Total Populations, 1987–2001

Source: Household Labour Force Survey, March year averages

Table 0.1: Highest qualification gained by Fijians aged 15 and over

Highest Qualification Gained by Fijian People Aged 15 Years and Over

Highest qualification	New Zealand-born Fijian people	Overseas-born Fijian people	Total Fijian population	Total Pacific Islands population	Total New Zealand
	Percent				
School	47	40	42	33	32
Post-school	28	31	30	19	34
No qualification	26	30	28	47	34
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

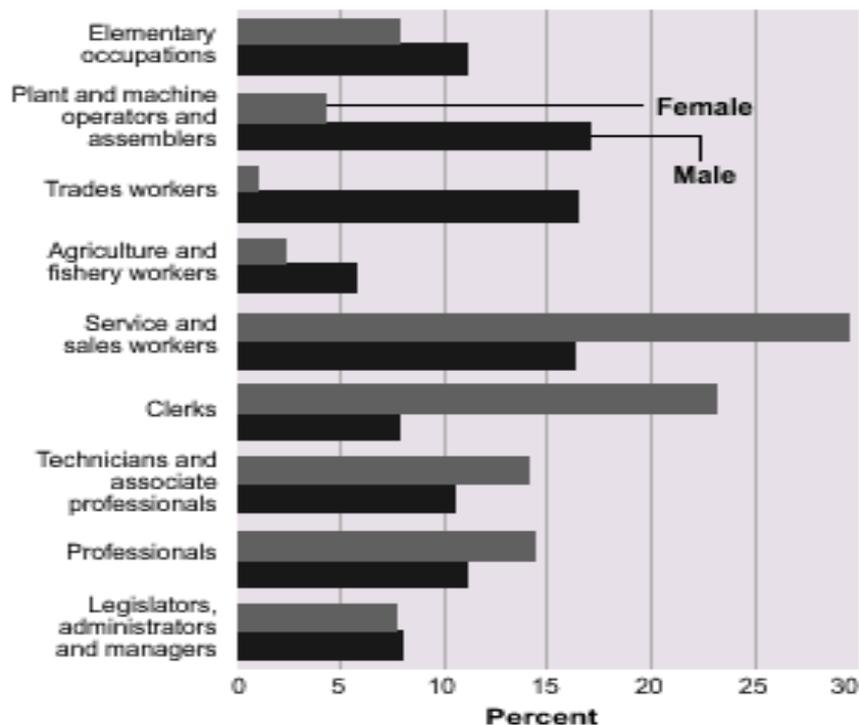Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings, 1996

* Due to rounding numbers may not add to stated total

Figure 1.5 Pacific and total labour force participation, 1987-2001

Figure 6.5

Occupations of the Employed Fijian Population, 2001
By sex

Source: Statistics New Zealand

Table 4.1 Fijian Interviewee Data and Information

| Fijian	Interviewee	Information			
Couple	**Province**	**Age**	**Arrival Date**	**Employment**	**Province**
Manate	Lau	72	1973	Engineer	Lau
Teresia	Lau	75	1980	Housewife	Lau
Jone	Lau	48	1980	Engineer	Lau
Mereani	Ba	36	1986	Teacher	Ba
Moce	Lau	48	1987	Electrician	Lau
Lua	Lau	47	1980	Hospital Orderly	Lau
Luke	Ba	60	1975	Pastor	Ba
Adi	Tailevu	57	1975	Housewife	Tailevu
Semesa	Tailevu	55	1972	Welder	Tailevu
Ana	Serua	48	1975	Self-Employed	Serua
Nonu	Namosi	56	1973	Retired	Namosi
Lose	Namosi	41	1988	Social Worker	Namosi
Niko	Rewa	57	1983	Journalist	Rewa
Nate	Ba	55	1983	Mid-wife	Ba

Table 5.1 Fijian participant's formal years of Education (Primary, Secondary & Tertiary) from Fiji and New Zealand

Name	Age	Years of Stay (NZ)	Formal Education (Yrs)
Manate	72	33	6 (Fiji)
Teresia	75	26	4(Fiji)
Jone	48	26	12 (Fiji)
Mereani	36	20	20 (Fiji & NZ)
Moce	48	19	18 (Fiji & NZ)
Lua	47	26	13 (Fiji & NZ)
Luke	60	31	25 (Fiji, NZ & UK, Japan, etc)
Adi	57	25	14 (Fiji)
Semesa	55	34	8 (Fiji)
Ana	48	31	11 (Fiji & NZ)
Nonu	56	33	10 (Fiji)
Lose	41	17	12 (Fiji)
Niko	57	22	22 (Fiji & NZ)
Nate	55	22	14 (Fiji & NZ)

Figure 1.6: Fijian Population in New Zealand 1991-2001

Figure 1.1

Fijian Population in New Zealand, 1991–2001
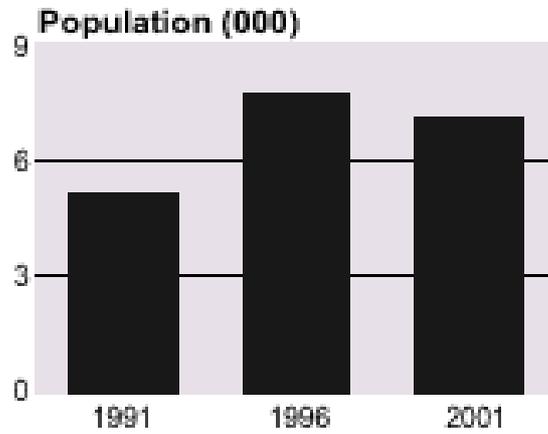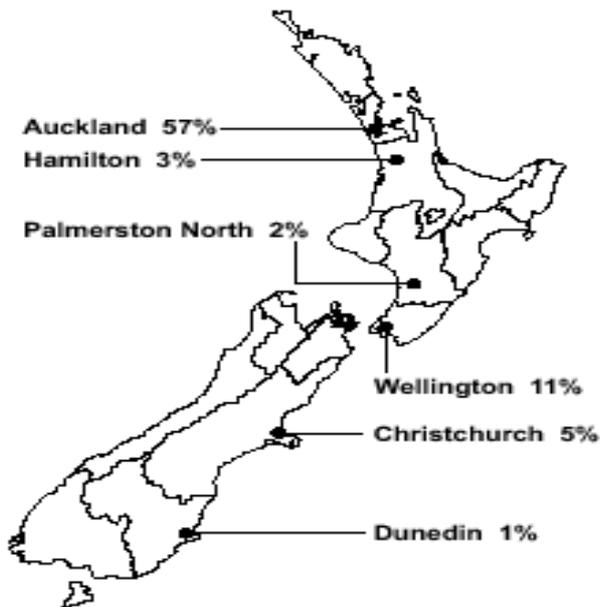
Population (000)

Source: Statistics New Zealand

**Figure 1.7: Geographical distribution of Fijians**

Figure 1.3

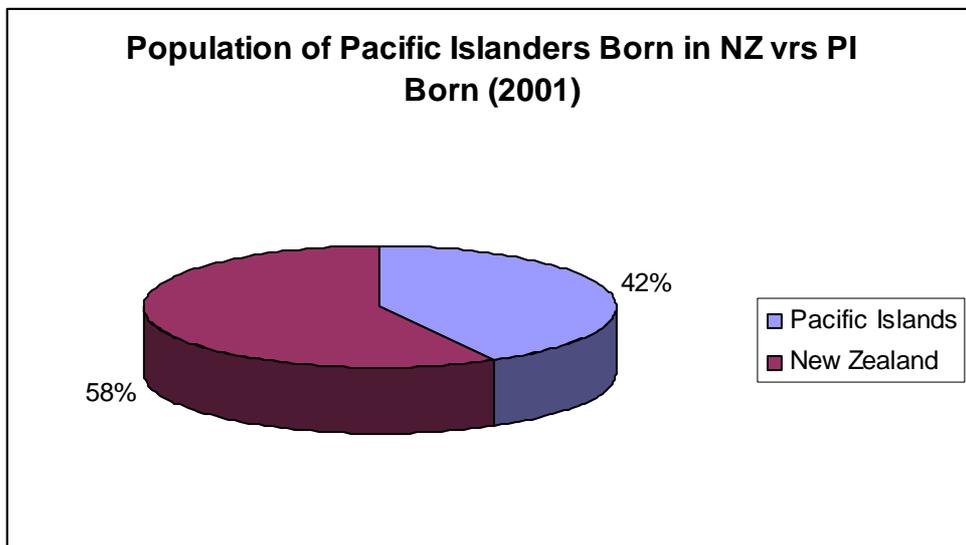## Geographical Distribution of the Fijian Population, 2001
By urban area

Auckland 57%
Hamilton 3%
Palmerston North 2%
Wellington 11%
Christchurch 5%
Dunedin 1%

Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure 2.1: Population of Pacific People in New Zealand in 1981

Population Of Pacific people In NZ in 1981

2014, 2%

98725, 98%

□ Polynesia ■ Melanesia
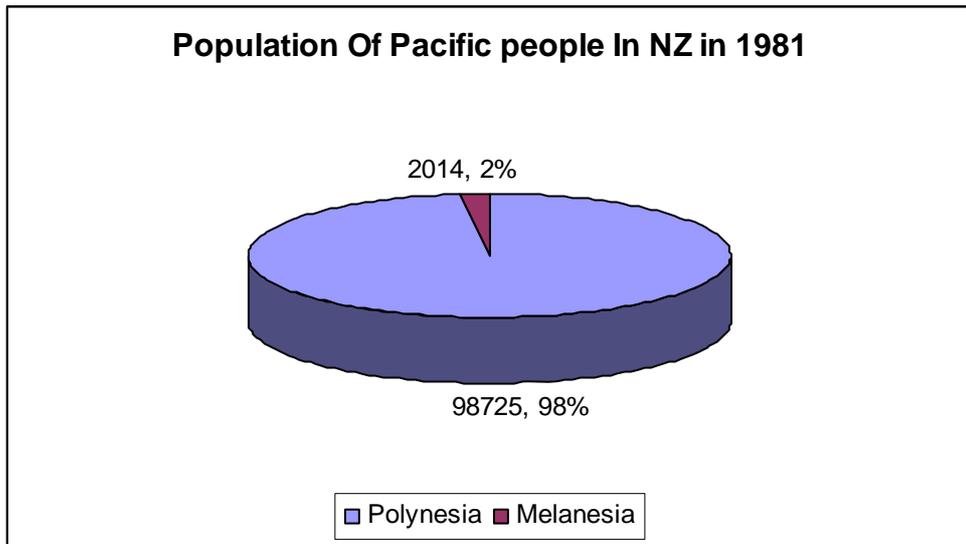
Figure 2.2 Birth places of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand in 2001

Population of Pacific Islanders Born in NZ vrs PI Born (2001)

42%

58%

□ Pacific Islands
■ New Zealand

Figure 2.3 Employment Qualifications of Pacific Islanders in 1991

Employment Qualifications of Pacific People in 1991

28%

28%

44%

- No Formal
- School Level
- Teartiary Level

Figure 4.1 Fijian participants arrival date in New Zealand

Participants Arrival Date in New Zealand

Years

Families

A: Manate, Teresia
B: Jone, Mereani
C: Moce, Lua
D: Luke, Adi
E: Semesa, Ana
F: Nonu, Lose
G: Niko, Nate

1973, 1980, 1980, 1980, 1986, 1987, 1980, 1975, 1975, 1975, 1975, 1972, 1973, 1988, 1983, 1983

Series 1

Figure 4.2 Number of children per Fijian Family

Number of Children Per Fijian Families

Legend:
- 72 Manate
- 48 Jone
- 48 Moce
- 61 Luke
- 55 Semesa
- 57 Nonu
- 56 Niko

(Y-axis: Number of Children; X-axis: Families)

Figure 5.1 Age trends of Fijian participants

Age trends of Fijian Participants

(Y-axis: Ages — Nate, Niko, Lose, Nonu, Ana, Semesa, Adi, Luke, Lua, Moce, Mereani, Jone, Teresia, Manate; X-axis: Participants)

Legend:
- Age now
- Age when arrived

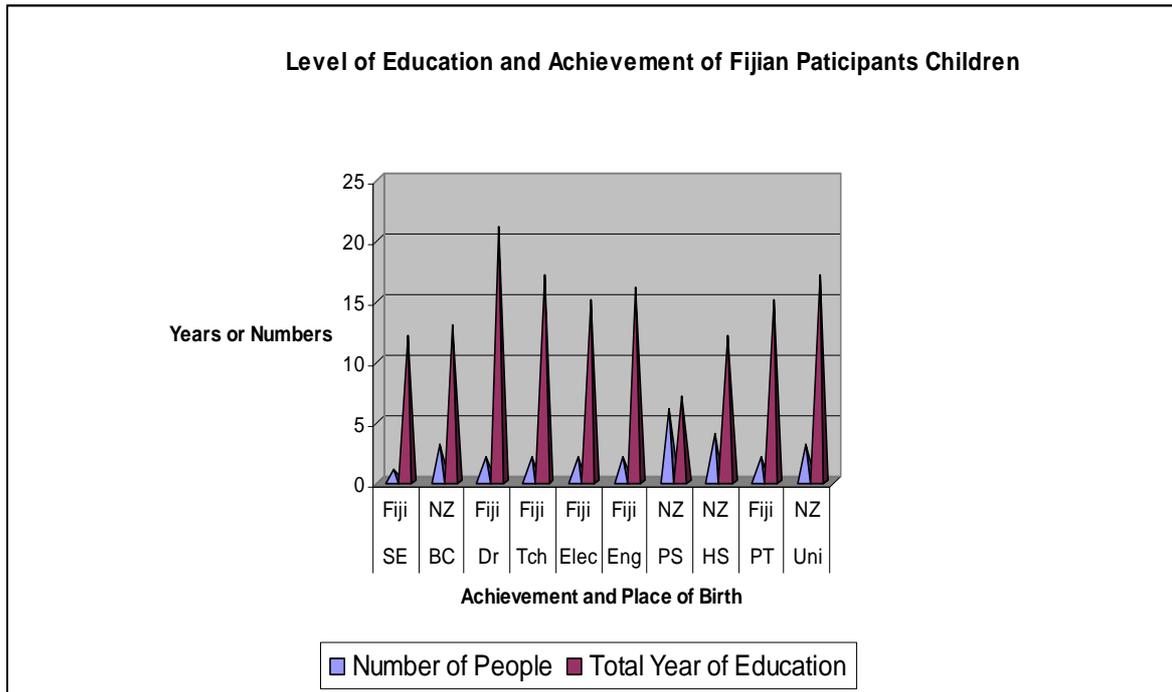**Figure 5.2: Comparison of development between Fiji & New Zealand**
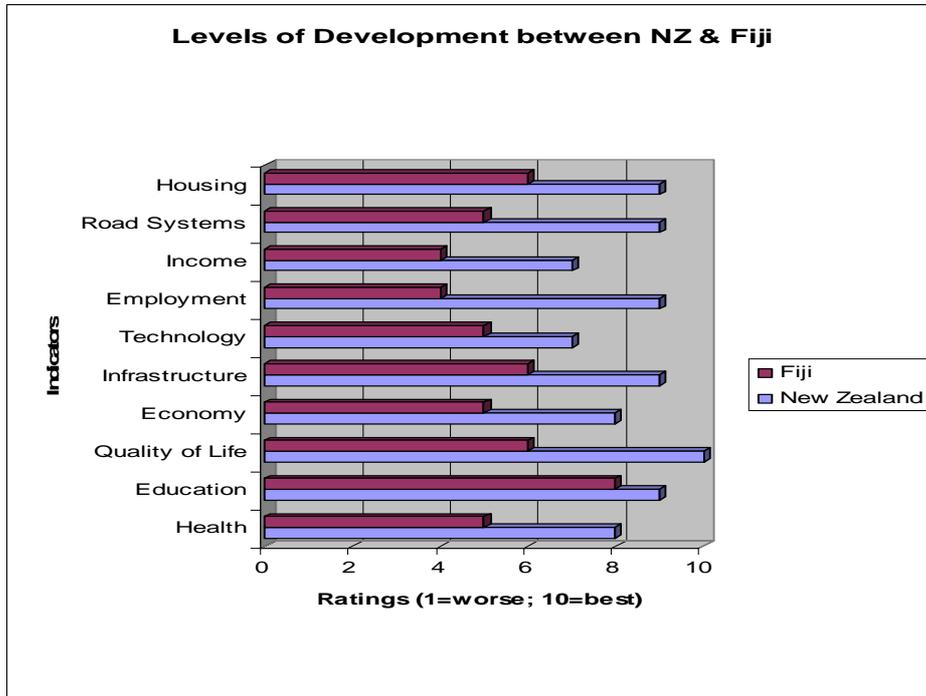
Figure 5.3 Education levels of participants
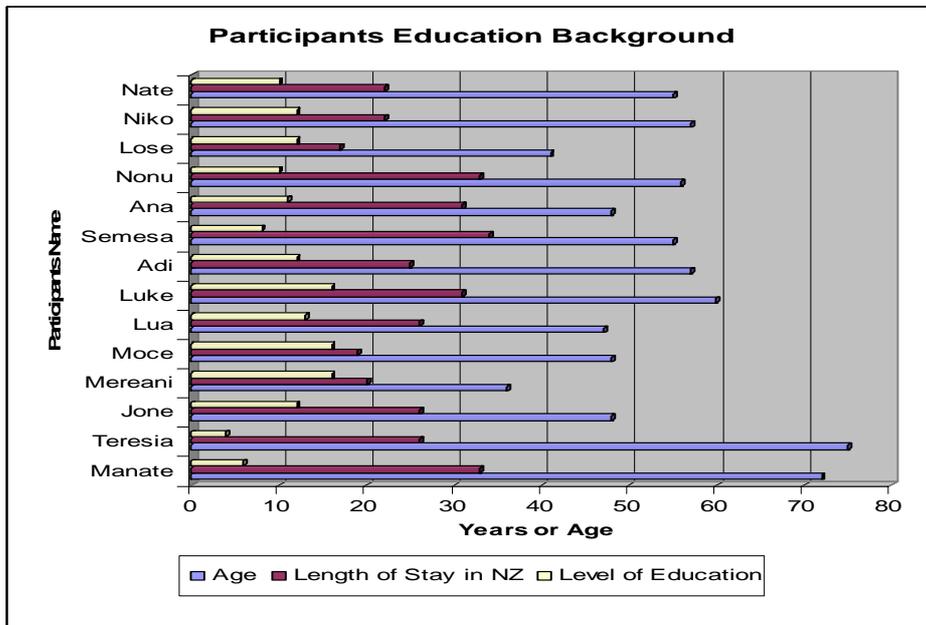
Figure 5.4 Level of Education and Achievements of Fijian Participants Children

Level of Education and Achievement of Fijian Paticipants Children

Years or Numbers

Achievement and Place of Birth

□ Number of People ■ Total Year of Education

Figure 5.5 Employment Strategies of Participants
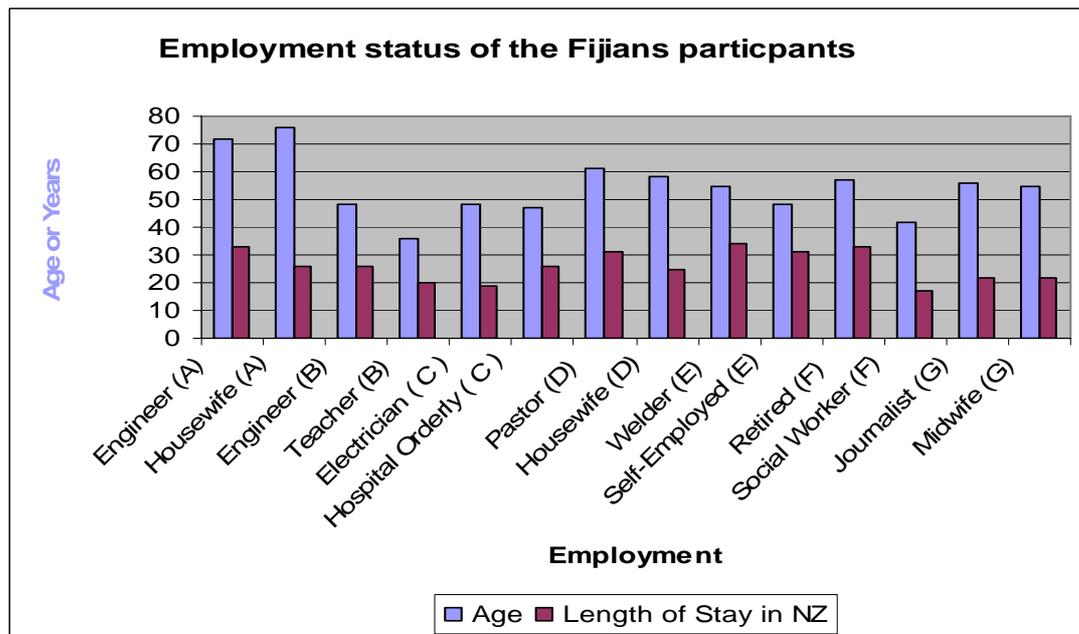
Employment status of the Fijians particpants

Age or Years

Employment

□ Age ■ Length of Stay in NZ

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao
(School of Maori and Pacific Development)

Application for
Human Research Ethics Committee Approval 2006

Before applying for approval applicants must familiarise themselves with the Human Research Ethics Regulations 2000 in the University Calendar.

This form is to be completed by staff and students doing research **prior to** the collection of any data. If no people are involved in the research as participants, completing this form is unnecessary. Applications should also be made for research which re-analyses individual data which was collected for another purpose.

Upon completion of this form please forward to the Reception at SMPD. Occasionally further information will be requested. Upon approval of this research project, a signed copy will be returned to you for your records. If the research method is amended in any way from that which has been approved, the Application for Ethical Approval from the Human Research Committee must be resubmitted, noting the change.

The SMPD Human Research Ethics Committee is establishing procedures for reviewing the ethical appropriateness of proposed research particularly as it affects Mäori and indigenous peoples. The Codes of Ethics of a number of academic groups have been used for guidance.

PERSONAL DETAILS

Name of Applicant: **Kalisito Vunidilo**

Address: **23 Carlson Crescent**

 Silverdale Road, Hillcrest

 Hamilton, NZ

Please notify the Convenor of any changes of address.

Alternative Contact details: **Tarisi Vunidilo, Waikato Museum**

Ph: **07 856 9446**   Email/fax: kv3**@waikato.ac.nz**

Ethnicity: **Fijian**   **Male** / Female (Please circle)

ACADEMIC DETAILS

Degree: **Masters**

Course: **DEV593 Dissertation**

Department: **Maori & Pacific Development**

Lecturer / supervisor: **Ngahuia Dixon**

Proposed start date of field research: 15   / 03   / 2006

Proposed completion date of field research: 06   / 09   / 2006

CHECKLIST

 ** Only** submit this application form when the checklist is complete (insert additional pages if required). All forms **must** be delivered to or posted to SMPD Reception with the following details: SMPD HREC

School of Mäori and Pacific Development
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton

Personal details   ☐   Academic Details   ☐

Participant Consent Form   ☐   Signatures (where required)   ☐

Research Information Sheet   ☐

RESEARCH INFORMATION

Briefly outline the research topic:

The topic: *"Living in two worlds – The Case of Fijians Living in New Zealand"* **is a journey by some Fijian pioneers who migrated to New Zealand in the early 70's and 80's. The research is based on the relevance of the issues and challenges facing Fijians, including Pacific Islanders and other indigenous immigrant communities when they migrate to a foreign nation like New Zealand. Moreover, the research will give a more in-depth analysis of untold stories from experienced community members who have been living and working tirelessly in New Zealand throughout their entire working lives. The research will also address problems, solutions and challenges and how they have developed and grown to become responsible citizens.**

Brief outline of Research Methods for Ethical Review:

This research entails a combination of direct interview with individual participants from the questions that will be provided. The interviewee will also be given an opportune time to tell their stories and experiences in his own language (Fijian) with the assistance a tape recorder, video camera and digital camera if preferred by the participant. Any additional information required would be hand written and explained to the participant for any clarification. In Wanganui for example, all the interviewees will be asked to be assembled for a focus group session, which includes *talanoa***, and open forum discussion on issues that they feel has not been addressed well by researchers and authors of the same subject. However in Wellington, since the research is focused on one family alone, a family gathering including** *talanoa* **and focus group discussion may be the most applicable approach.**

The following questions address specific aspects of the research method related to ethical considerations.

Part 1. <u>**Refers specifically to the criteria for participation**</u>

1. Who will be the participants?

A Fijian family in Wellington who have been living in NZ for the last 35 years with their children and grandchildren and another in Wanganui who arrived in the early 80's. Other participant includes a family in Hamilton who arrived in the early 80's and another in Auckland who migrated in the early 70's. These participants are chosen due to their different background and representative of the whole cross-section of Fijians and the different provinces they originate from in Fiji.

2. *How many participants will there be?*

- **Wellington Family: 6 people; two from each generation. (Husband and Wife – first generation, two married children – second generation and two grandchildren – Third generation).**
- **Wanganui Family: 6 people three from two households (two generations each)**
- **Hamilton family: family of 5 including the parents**
- **Auckland family: family of 6 including the parents**

3. *How will the participants be*
(a) *Selected*

- **Wellington: This is the only one fortunate family with three generations so selection is not an issue since they are the only family left while others have either died or migrated.**
- **Wanganui: Since there are a handful of them, they would be selected randomly**
- **Hamilton: The only willing family to be interviewed and share their stories and experience**
- **Auckland: Random selection by Auckland Fijian community. The community also strongly recommend this family because they have are always supportive of culture and art promotion amongst the Fijians.**

(b) *Recruited*

I have been contacting them from the beginning of this year and they willingly accept the invitation to be part of the research. However, I need to formally approach them and present a customary invitation and explain the significance of the research and it implications.

4. *Will participants be selected on the basis of their ethnicity, culture, gender, sexuality and/or in other ways which will exclude some people.* **YES** / NO

If **YES**, *explain how the selection process ensures that no person or group will feel offended by either their inclusion in or their exclusion from the research.*

These are very specific segment of Fijians who arrived in NZ in the 70's and 80's and only a handful of them are still alive and available to be interviewed.

5. *Will any participants differ from the researcher in any significant way relevant to the research? e.g. culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, etc?*
YES / **NO**

If **YES**, *what procedures will be used to ensure that involvement in the research is culturally safe and non-offensive for the participants?*

NA

6. *Will the research make comparisons between groups of participants on the basis of their culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion or ethical belief? YES/* **NO**

If **YES**
(a) How will the individuals be categorised into specific groups?

   NA

(b) What has been done to ensure that the participants will regard the categories as suitable and appropriate?

NA

(c) What steps have been taken to ensure that neither the conduct of the research, nor its outcomes, will unfairly affect the participants?

NA

7. How will participants give their consent?

The consent forms will be presented and explained in detail to them during the formal customary presentation for their approval to be interviewed. And since I have maintained my contacts and net-works among the Fijian communities in New Zealand they are most willing to assist my research and have given their prior approval tentatively.

(a) *When will this consent be given?*

Two weeks before the actual interview begins with the individual interviewee.

8. How will the participants be informed of:

(a) *the right to withdraw from the research at any stage?*

Before the interview

(b) the conditions for withdrawal?

They can withdraw at anytime during the interview or decline to answer any particular question or answer they provide is not recorded as per the interviewee request.

9. *If the participants are unable to give consent on their own behalf what provisions are being made to obtain consent?*
   Seek consent from older people in the family or their parents and whänau

---

Part 2. <u>Refers to the research methodology</u>

10. *Where will the research be carried out?*

   Individuals' residence or any particular venue of their convenience.

11. *What procedures will be carried out?*
(Please attach interview, questionnaire or survey items. These may be in draft form).

   A combination of formal interview, survey, individual story telling and focus group will be used interchangeably.

12. Are there any potential risks or discomforts to participants?

   No. I can relate to them well given their background as Fijians, it will not be a potential problem or create any discomfort.

13. *What steps have been taken to preserve confidentiality?*

   No mention of names and identity during the analysis and write up of the research, unless they agree otherwise.

14. *Who else will see any information provided by the participants which is linked to the participants' names?*

Supervisor and other University Staff involved

15. *Are you associated with the participants in any way that might influence the ethical appropriateness of your conducting this research (e.g. employer/employee, supervisor/worker, personal relationship etc)* YES / **NO**

16. *Will participants receive material benefits from the research, such as payment of any kind for taking part, or reimbursement of expenses? Please specify. (NOTE: Researchers in the SMPD are encouraged to consider 'koha' to participants.)*

Yes, Koha

17. *What provision is there to provide participants information about the outcome of the research?*

They participants have to circle which option they prefer on item 6 on the consent forms. What ever they prefer will be delivered to them and agreed.

18. *What will happen to the data after the completion of the research?*

Keep them in the archives at SMPD or destroyed if not needed.

19. *What has been done to ensure that the research procedures are not likely to be insensitive or cause offence (e.g. to specific ethnic, gender or age groups) or as not to waste the time of the participants?*

The questions are worded carefully to avoid any offence or sensitivity or waste their time.

Part 3. <u>Refers to concealment of information</u>

20. *Does the research involve any concealment of information or deception?* YES / **NO**

*If **YES**, please answer the following:*

(a) What is the justification for the use of such procedures? Include an explanation of why other, non-deceptive procedures could not be used.
NA

(b) How will you obtain consent from participants to waive their right to prior information on the nature and purpose of the study?
NA

(c) How will you ensure that all participants are given full explanation of information withheld and the reasons it was withheld as soon as practicable?

NA

(d) How will participants be debriefed about the deception?

NA

Applicant's Signature: _____   **Date:**   /   /

Supervisor's/Lecturer's Approval

Staff members carry full responsibility at all times for the ethical appropriateness of all graduate and undergraduate research under their supervision, even when this research has been submitted for ethical review.

I have read the ethical review, and in my opinion, this research is ethically sound. I consider that this student has the necessary background and experience to carry out this research ethically under my supervision.

Supervisor's/Lecturer's Name: _____

Supervisor's/Lecturer's Signature: _____

Department: _____   **Date:**   /   /

SMPD Human Ethics Committee Approval

Name: _____
Signature: _____
Department: _____   **Date:**   /   /

Name: _____
Signature: _____
Department: _____   **Date:**   /   /

Name: _____
Signature: _____
Department: _____   **Date:**   /   /

Research Questionnaire

These are the field work questions that will be used during the interview:

All information and data that will be collected from this research will remain confidential and will be used for the sole purpose of this research. All names of people used will not be revealed or mention in the findings or the research.

Personal Details:

Name:_____ Occupation: _____

Age: _____ Religion: _____

Gender: _____ Village Name: _____

District: _____ Province: _____

Traditional Status: _____

Do you Rent ___   Own your home: ___   Board: _____   State Housing: _____

No. of siblings: _____

Historical Background:

1. Year arrived in NZ: _____   Location: _____

2. Length of Stay in NZ: _____

3. Reason for migrating to NZ: _____

4. Extended families in Fiji: _____

5. Number of Children: _____

6. Were they born in NZ?: _____ Ages: _____

7. How do you keep your connection back to Fiji? _____

Migration Issues:

1. Do you regard yourself as a Migrant? _____ Why? _____

2. Explain the difference between migration issues before and today? _____

3. How were Pacific Islanders or Fijians treated in the 70's or 80's compared to today? (For older members only) _____

4. Compare how immigrants (PI) were treated when you arrive than today? _____

5. The down raids of the 80's did not go well for PI's, what were you reactions to such political campaign. _____

6. The immigration policies today is far tougher than when you arrive, explain what you believe the immigration department should do to assist PI or Fijians who wish to migrate to NZ? _____

7. Would you recommend you grand children to return and live permanently in Fiji or anywhere else in the future?_____ Why? _____

Development Constraints in Fiji:

1. What could Fiji do to stop people migrating to greener pastures? _____

2. Fiji is less developed than NZ, what does the word development mean to you? _____

3. It more obvious that living in Fiji is becoming more unrealistic and cost of living is ever increasing, name 1 development strategy the government should implement to encourage growth and development? _____

4. How do you compare development in Fiji and other nations of the Pacific like Samoa or Tonga? _____

5. Are Fijians and other Pacific people having the necessary skills to do what its takes to live in NZ? _____ Are they competitive enough to succeed? _____

Economic Development in NZ:

1. List the challenges you face in trying to working and raise your family._____

2. What does economics development mean to you? _____

3. Now that you have manage to have s fulfilling live with everything you want, how did you plan and manage the resources to earn? _____

4. Not everyone is academically gifted, what is your philosophy about work and sacrifice? _____

5. What do you teach children about how to face challenges at work or at home? _____

6. Will your children live this life style if they were in Fiji? Why? _____

Education:

1. Do you value education as a migrant? Why? _____

2. What level of Education did you reach when you came to NZ? _____

3. Have you further your education since then _____ why? _____

4. What level of education did your children reach? _____

5. Why do you believe that education is necessary for children today?_____

6. List some of the challenges of education that you and your children face in NZ? ____

7. What can you do to improve you level of educational achievements? _____

8. Statistics NZ stated that Fijians are the most education and well paid compared to other Pacific Islanders in NZ. Do you agree or disagree? _____ Why? _____

Employment:

1. What work did you do when you first arrive in NZ? _____

2. Have you ever change your job since then? Why? _____

3. Why is the cost of living more affordable back then compared to today? _____

4. Can you identify different levels of skill people who migrate from Fiji in the 70's and 80's compared to those who came in the 90's and 2000's? _____

5. What challenges do you see for Fijians have to face in order to get respectable jobs? __

6. How do you define a Fijian with a good paid job?_____

7. Do you believe you can work this hard if you were back in Fiji? Why? _____

Health:

1. Do you believe that Fijian's in NZ are in good health compared to other Pacific people in general? _____ Why? _____

2. What are the major causes of health problems for our Fijian people? _____

3. How do you compare the health systems in Fiji than NZ? _____

4. Do you believe that the health system in NZ is making people live longer than Fiji? __

5. Have you or any of your family members suffered ill health? If so list what they are?

6. What should Fijians do to improve their quality of life or life style? _____

7. Do you have medical insurance? Why or why not? _____

8. Is the government providing more affordable health systems than private providers? __

Other Issues:

1. Do your have any other particular issues you want to elaborate in this interview? _____

2. What should Fijians do to reduce the challenges they face in NZ? _____

3. Do you enjoy the privilege of being part of this interview process? _____

4. Do you want your name to be published in the research thesis? _____

SMPD HREC
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone: 64-7-838 4737
Fax: 64-7-838 4742
E-mail: ngahuia@waikato.ac.nz
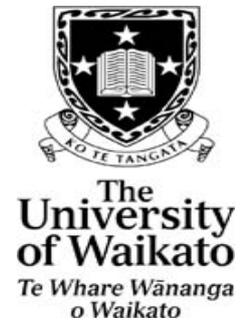
Participant Consent Form

Research Project Title:

"Living in Two Worlds – The Case of Fijians Living in New Zealand"

1. I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.

2. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

3. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study.

4. I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the information sheet.

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

6. I would like my information: (circle your option)

   a) returned to me

   b) returned to my family

   c) other (please specify)……………………………………………….

7. I consent/ do not consent to the information collected for the purposes of this research study to be used for any other research purposes. (Delete what does not apply)

Participant's Name: _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: / /

Contact details: _____

_____

Researcher's Name: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Fijian Customary Letter of Formal Request:

Fijian Interviewees were approach using the Indigenous method or traditional protocol of seeking approval and permission to collating Information

Nai ka 12 ni Epereli, 2006.

Kivei   Mr & Mrs _____

             _____

             _____

             _____

Ni sa bula vinaka,

Ena yalo e vakarokoroko kei na veidokai au gadreva meu vakaraitaka yani na noqu vakavinavinaka ena yalo vakaturga e tu veikemudrau mo drau vakadonua mo drau lewe ni noqu vakadidike ena tabana ni vuli au qarava tiko ena Univesiti e Waikato.

Na vakadidike oqo e vakagolei vakatabakidua vei kemuni na i taukei mai Viti o ni sa mai vakaitikotiko tudei e Niusuladi mai na 1970 kina 1980. Oqo nai ulutaga ni vakadidike: ***"Bolebole e sotavi keda nai Taukei mai Viti eda sa mai vakaitikotiko tudei e Niusiladi"*** **(Challenges Facing Fijian Immigrant Communities in New Zealand")** ka umani tiko ena i ulutaga levu ka vakatokai na **"BULA ENA RUA NA VURAVURA" (LIVING IN TWO WORLDS")**

\

Na vakadidike oqo e raica vakamatailalai na bolebole kei na veidredre o ni mai sota kaya ka donua na gauna dredre ni 1970 kina 1980 ena nomuni mai tauyavu yadudua se kei ira na nomuni matavuvale.

E tolu (3) nai vola e curu vata koto yani kei nai vola oqo ka vakamatata taki tiko kina na veika me vaka na:

1. Tukutuku raraba me baleta na vakadidike (Background of the Research)
2. Vei taro ena vakatarogi (Questionnaire)
3. Veivakadonui (Consent letter)

Kevaka o ni sega beka ni na via vakaitavi ena kena saumi eso na taro se me kua ni kilai na yacamuni ena gauna e tabaki kina na macala ni vakadidike oqo, e tu veikemuni na dodonu me yaco vaka kina. Ena vukudratou na tabani ni veiqaravi ena vuli toro cake ni Universiti e Waikato, e tu na veiyalayalati e taqomaka na nomuni tukutuku me kua ni tabaki se kilai. E sega talega ni vakuwai kevaka o ni vinakata me tabaki na yacamuni kei nai tukutuku o ni solia mai me baleta na ulutaga ni vakadidike oqo.

Na vei ulutaga ena umana tiko ena vakadidike oqo e sa volai toka oqori e ra:

- Vuli (Education)
- Veikatorocaketaki (Economic development)
- Cakacaka (Employment)
- Veitosoyaki ni vakaqara vanua (Migration issues)
- Noda i tovo vakavanua (Culture and identity)
- Tiko bulabula (Health)
- Lotu (Religion)

- Qito (Sports) kei na

- Tatadra ena gauna mai liu (Future aspiration)

Au gadreva tale ga meu vakaraitaka yani ni vakadidike oqo e yabaki rua (2) taucoko na kena balavu kau sa vakayacora oti ena yabaki sa oti eso na i vola tukutuku kei na vaqara i tukutuku ena veitabana ni tukutuku me vaka na:

- Tabana ni wili lewe ni vanua e Niusiladi (Statistics NZ)

- I Vola sa volai oti me baleta na ulutaga oqo (Literature Review)

- Tukutuku tabaki ena Pasifika (Pacific journals) kei na

- Tabana ni wili lewe ni vanua mai Viti (Fiji Census)

Kevaka e toso vinaka sara na vakadidike oqo e rawa ni vakayagataki nai tukutuku oqo me vakatoroicaketaki kina na noda qaravi nai taukei mai Viti e Niusiladi. E rawa tale ga ni ra vakayagataka nai tukutuku oqo na Minisitiri ni Pacifika e Niusiladi me raici ka vukei na leqa e sotavi keda tu.

Au vakabauta ni sai koya beka ga o ya nai tukutuku matai lalai au via vola tiko yani veikemuni. Vinaka sara vakalevu na gauna o ni solia mo ni wilika kina nai vola oqo kau nuitaka ni na vakamatatataka veikemuni nai naki ni vakadidike oqo.

Kevaka e so na nomuni vakatarotaro, e rawa ni o ni qiri mai vale (collect) ena noqu talevoni na (07) 856 9446 e Hamilton; se email mai ena kv3@waikato.ac.nz. Au na qai veitaratara tale yani kei kemuni ena gauna e veidoni kei kemuni meu gole yani kina.

Vinaka sara vakalevu, ni qai moce toka mada.

O Kali Vunidilo

Ena Univesiti e Waikato.

Na noqu i tikotiko e vale na:

23 Carlson Crescent

Hillcrest

HAMILTON 2001

Naba ni Talevoni: 07 856 9446