Conclusion: The Concept and Circumstances of Pacific Migration and Transnationalism

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Introduction

Many of the perspectives, processes and outcomes of contemporary Pacific migration and transnationalism resemble their traditional forms, including kinship, food, remittances, work, gifts, interactions, space, territoriality, home, attachments, sustained contact, relationships and inequities. Ka'ili (2005) claims that transnationalism in the Pacific can be traced back to Hawai'i and the god Maui, with Maui being widely represented in the cultural history of most of the Pacific islands. Maui's ability to sustain 'relationships with many of his relatives who were dispersed yet connected across distant physical spaces' is reminiscent of the current practices of Pacific transnationalism (Ka'ili, 2005, 2).

The diverse case studies presented in the chapters in this book suggest that Pacific transnationalism as a concept, and as a predictable series of circumstances connected to the process of migration, eludes a complete and finite explanation. While the chapters are connected in theory and focus they are distinctly individual in research and unique in direction. The complementary examples used by the authors describe their understanding and concept of Pacific migration and transnationalism from differing perspectives and contrasting approaches.

These studies make a significant contribution to theorising about the concept of Pacific transnationalism and help us not only to associate specific practices and processes with Pacific transnationalism, but also to distinguish between Pacific transnationalism and the traditional forms of transnationalism. The complexity of defining Pacific transnationalism is because it does not entirely bear out those definitions and images of transnationalism with which we have become acquainted and accustomed. Although the authors begin from traditional definitions of transnationalism they have made it clear from their chapters that this is not enough to explain Pacific transnationalism and that such an explanation requires its own specifically Pacific perspectives, research and framework.

In spite of the diversity of the chapters, it is inevitable that there is some common ground, some connecting threads which reveal the commonalities of Pacific transnationalism. As the authors clearly illustrate, almost all aspects of life are affected by Pacific transnationalism—migration, identity, work, kinship, food, gifts, even the return journey home. These seemingly ordinary human interactions that occur in the process of transnational activity are unique in their

link to the cultural traditions and customs of the Pacific and, as the chapters show, distinguish these interactions from those carried out by transnationals elsewhere. In this conclusion I focus on the concept and circumstances of transnationalism which, although inevitably connected with migration, are of particular value when exploring the relationship between migrants and their homelands in the Pacific.

The Pacific region is the most linguistically complex in the world, with significant cultural differences within and between the different island groups. There is also considerable variation in political organisation; the Pacific is home to the world's smallest monarchy, and in some of its islands only tribal chiefs can be elected to parliament. Yet many authors and Pacific communities refer to a 'Pacific way' when discussing fundamental similarities in values underpinning family relationships, respect for elders and community. There are also ways familiar to the Pacific which are less commonly talked about such as domestic violence, sexual abuse and alcoholism. How do Pacific migration and transnationalism help us to understand the Pacific and its place in the world? We cannot underestimate the effect of these processes on the Pacific, and it is important from where we gain our insights into and our understandings of them. Is it 'the Pacific' that should concern us or Pacific peoples? Islands do not migrate although island ways, like those mentioned above, do. We can gain our understanding of Pacific transnationalism both from the perspectives of the people that have become Pacific transnationals or from the countries where Pacific transnationals reside. We can also explore transnationalism from the vantage point of the Pacific Islands that have been affected by the migration, behaviours, attitudes and actions of its Pacific transnationals or from the experiences of the people of the Pacific who have remained behind but are no less influenced by these transnational movements. Like the Pacific sun, Pacific transnationalism casts its shadow over all. Its effects are not limited to those that one considers Pacific transnationals nor are its impacts unidirectional. The case studies in the chapters show that we need to examine Pacific transnationalism from all of the perspectives mentioned above: the migrants, their host nations, those who remain and, of course, the 'homeland' that is inevitably affected by all of the complex elements of transnationalism.

Definitions of Transnationalism

The terms 'transnationality' and 'transnationalism' are considered by Jackson, Crang and Dwyer (2004, 4) to be trend words in the social sciences, though they believe that the ties and interactions that embody these terms have been in existence for a long time. Al-Ali and Koser (2002, 1) question whether any new developments have occurred since researchers first began describing 'international migration as ''transnational migration'', international migrants as ''transnational migrants'', and their activities and identities as examples of

"transnationalism"'. The attention given to the subject of transnationalism is ongoing. Yet it is unclear what status is given to those individuals, groups of individuals or communities considered to be transnationals and what it means to the wider society that someone is a transnational.

If transnationalism is about maintaining ties to a homeland or culture, then a distinction between a migrant and a transnational is possible on the basis of the contact that a migrant has with the homeland or culture and whether that contact is limited to other migrants in the host country. Migrants, unlike transnationals, maintain involvement in only one space (Rouse 2004, 28). To a transnational, relationships, connections, and families occur across boundaries though not necessarily involving the mobility that we might expect of a migrant. Transmigrants claim or are claimed by two or more nation-states, one of which is their state of origin (Glick Schiller 1999). This argument is supported by Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc (1995) and Al-Ali and Koser (2002), who say that transmigrants are immigrants who develop and maintain economic, social, religious, and organisational relationships that span borders. Pacific transnationals, like those transnationals described by Glick Schiller, operate in social fields that transgress geographical, political and cultural borders. Van Amersfoort and Doomernik prefer to keep the term 'transnational community' to refer to those 'that have kept their cultural identity and whose members are still guided by specific cultural norms in important areas of behaviour' (2002, 59).

Understanding Pacific Transnationalism

Pacific transnationalism is evident in a number of practices, for example, support for families through remittances, young people studying overseas, sports persons playing for other countries, soldiers in overseas forces, expatriate political support or protests against a particular government, church-building in the islands through financial support from diasporic communities, and billeting or hosting villagers. Governments in Pacific countries encourage these transnational connections as they provide opportunities for economic benefits through remittances, export of home products to those living abroad and investment in poorer villages and regions left behind. Transnational practices and linkages are significant in their contribution to sustainable development at home (Connell and Conway 2000), though remittances, in particular, can lead to uneven development in the home country. Kennedy and Roudometof (2002) point to the fact that transnational communities arise out of social injustices, poverty, global economic restructuring, economic and social uncertainty, discrimination and oppression, and provide opportunities for empowerment of underprivileged groups.

Pacific migrants create transnational spaces when they maintain a set of multi-related social relations that bind and connect them and link their countries

of origin with their countries of settlement (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). A sense of longing for and attachment to country of origin or an ancestral homeland becomes part of what it is to be a transnational. For some Pacific peoples, the 'myth of return', as defined by Walton-Roberts (2004, 80, 92) exists when transnationals balance the desire to return with the reality of their settled life. Although at times the desire or longing for home is only emotional without any involvement or interaction, perhaps due to circumstances such as the threat of danger to oneself or family, or from being exiled, it is unlikely that we can regard those who find themselves in this situation as transnationals because of the absence of reciprocity. On the other hand, can we consider as transnationals those who, though they may interact with others in the homeland, feel no attachment to the home culture or lack the desire to return?

Lee's opening chapter tells us that the patterns of movement which saw Pacific peoples move and settle from one place to another was integral to their survival, particularly given the disproportionate comparison in size between the seas and the lands. Pacific transnationalism is a way of life, first emerging with the onset of colonization and always entailing a disparity in socio-economic status between the colonized and the colonizer. Lee correctly argues that we cannot understate the value of remittances to the life of Pacific transnationals. However, we should be aware of the extent to which such an interest in and attention to the use and sustainability of remittances deflects and diminishes our recognition of other features of Pacific transnationalism. How we judge the impacts of other characteristics of Pacific transnationalism as to their influence and significance depends, of course, on whether the impact is being evaluated in relation to the migrant, the Pacific transnational, the country, the host residents or the home residents.

A strongly ethnographic approach is taken by the authors to understanding Pacific transnationalism and their chapters are graced by many relevant accounts of people's experiences of migration and transnationalism. The historical salience of oral traditions in the Pacific make this an appropriate approach to understanding Pacific transnationalism through a grounded interpretation of cultural processes.

Identity, Relationship to Homeland and Reciprocity

Identity and relationship to homeland are two factors central to defining Pacific transnationalism. The principle of reciprocity—a necessary practice within identity and relationship to homeland (see figure below)—distinguishes Pacific transnationalism from other classifications involving negotiations across boundaries such as migration and globalisation, and highlights what is expected of a Pacific transnational.

Identity   ⟺   Relationship to homeland

Reciprocity
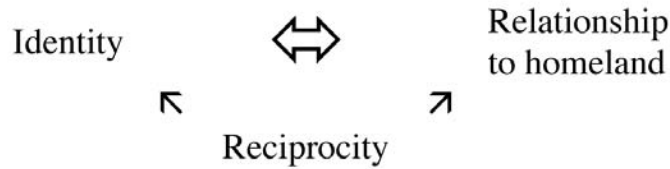
Identity

It is to be expected that expressions of identity will be different for established and new Pacific transnationals. Recent transnationals are likely to display more obviously the home culture and be more familiar with its current practices. They will also be more readily identifiable to the home community than older Pacific transnationals. Researchers Roudometof and Karpathakis (2002, 41) have found this to be the case with Greek Americans and it influences how and to what extent Greek Americans identify with the home country. The difference between generations is also significant for migrant identity 'as those who grow up in different locations than their parents may have less (or different) interests' in their homelands (Armbruster 2002, 19). Similarly, there are those 'who believe they belong to the same community as their relatives abroad, but who do not, or cannot, engage in transnational networking with them' (Al-Ali and Koser 2002, 19). Transnationalism has different meanings for different peoples at different times in their lives and one outcome is 'the development of new identities among migrants who are anchored (socially, culturally and physically) neither in their place of origin nor in their place of destination' (ibid., 1–4). Ley and Walters (2004, 104) say that migrants who arrive at a new place without really leaving their place of origin turn the 'linearity of migration' into the circularity of transnationality.

Pollock's use of food as a marker of Pacific transnational identity brings home to the reader how the processes of transnationalism simultaneously maintain cultural identities and transcend cultural boundaries. Pollock's argument that food globalises at the same time that it localises allows for transnationals to reinforce their identity while sharing those foods and gastronomic habits which identify them. But compared to the presence of Pacific foods in transnational communities, there is a much greater variety and quantity of Western food found in the Pacific Islands though there is not a similar influx of North American or Western transnationals in the Pacific to accompany the presence of these foods. This can be attributed largely to the economic disparity between the two regions. Other transnational foods such as those belonging to the Chinese (egg foo young and chop suey) and Indian (roti and curries) cultures have made their way into the gastronomic identities of some Pacific communities to the extent that these

foods are now considered local fare by both the home residents and the Pacific transnationals.

The way in which a host society accepts transnational communities has a major influence on how these communities shape their identity. For example, the exclusion of Palestinians from Lebanese society reinforces their ethnic identity in what Portes (1999) calls reactive ethnicity and is an underlying cause for the maintenance of their transnational identities. In a similar way, New Zealand's rejection of Pacific nations' transnationals during its recession in the 1980s led to a resilient Pacific community whose support came from its strong cultural networks and the presence and maintenance of a dominant Pacific identity. The chapter by Evans, Reid and Harms demonstrates that Pacific communities do not have homogeneous identities, and that there can be considerable variation both within and between migrant and homeland populations. Although they show that true Tongan-ness for Tongan transnationals depended on those factors discussed by the other authors, including kinship, work, respect and reciprocity, their respondents placed differential emphasis on these factors, influenced by a range of variables that did not fall neatly into a migrant/non-migrant dichotomy.

Relationship to Homeland

Pacific peoples, utilizing the concept of transnationalism as it covers place, landscape and space (Brah 1996) have managed to 're-territorialize' themselves in places away from home, and create opportunities for their local goods and services to appear where there are Pacific transcommunities (Jackson, Crang and Dwyer 2004, 8). The geographical and historical spaces held by these communities become 'constitutive' (ibid., 1–4) of Pacific transnationality. As the Pacific diaspora continues its global spread and transnational communities develop and grow away from their home communities, the concepts of space, attachments and distance are 'reconfigured' (Brah 1996). Gabriel Sheffer (in Dorai 2002, 88) identifies three main criteria for a diaspora: a common ethnic identity, internal organisation and a significant level of contact with the homeland. Portes (1999) believes that diasporas and transnational communities differ in the nature of their relationship with the homeland. According to Portes, the relationship that diasporic communities have with the homeland is symbolic whereas for transnational communities, the relationship is real. This may be because as transnational communities become subsumed into the diaspora, ties to the homeland weaken as the bonds to other transnational residents strengthen and a common homeland becomes for the diaspora, a symbol of its relationship with its former home. On the other hand, transnational communities within the diaspora maintain a relationship to the homeland through their transnational activities and are essentially the drivers and keepers of Pacific transnationalism.

Although reciprocity, kinship, ties and relationship are significant components of transnationalism, none of these begins the process of transnationalism in the way that 'home' does. It is axiomatic that without the origin of the homeland, there can be no migration or consequent transnational communities. The relationship to homeland for the increasingly migratory Solomon Islanders, as a consequence of social catastrophe, is necessary in order to 'reinforce aspects' of their traditional culture (Gegeo 2001). Gegeo sees this relationship as an expression of place rather than a move away from home. The concept of space is central to Tongans' understanding of transnationality because people and things move and flow within and across spatial boundaries (Ka'ili 2005). The expansive spread of the Pacific Islands has led to the establishment of 'far-reaching exchange and social networks' (Ka'ili 2005, 3). Pacific communities can no longer claim to be organised locally and completely around a single village but instead exist transnationally between different countries (Dorai 2002). The building and maintenance of kin-based communities 'assures the availability of emotional, spiritual and material support' for Samoan transnationals on what Burns McGrath describes as 'long, modern-day voyages' (Burns McGrath 2002). As Pacific communities continue to live and work between their countries and those that permit multiple residence and dual citizenship, they are, in a sense, developing local transnational communities in their own countries (Dorai 2002, 89).

Transnationalism involves the construction of homelands or localities in a mobile world (Kempny 2002, 126). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999, 219) add that transnationalism is the 'occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contact over time across national borders'. As activities that significantly affect the relationship between transnational communities and communities in the countries of origin intensify across national boundaries, this intensification reflects the growing interest and influence of transnationals on the affairs of their home countries. The pro-democracy protests in 2005 by the Tongan transnational communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand can be said to have prompted the local demonstrations in Tonga in 2006 for higher wages and a more equitable standard of living.

As Pacific transnationals begin to turn their thoughts to returning home, questions turn to their status as transnationals. Even though Connell and Nosa note that the reasons for returning home are complex and diverse, one wonders whether Pacific transnationals ever return home completely or whether 'home' no longer is clear in meaning and place for them as they cast continual glances over their shoulders to the lands they have left. Does their return home cancel out their initial departure so that they are no longer transnationals or do the ties to their once adopted homeland permanently make them transnationals? For Connell's educated health workers, the dilemma is not eased by their educational status and many will re-migrate after a period of return 'home'. For Nosa's

Niueans, the incentive to return home is initiated largely by the government although the limited economic potential for them makes the return migration unattractive even when family ties remain strong.

Francis' chapter explores the diversity of international and local movement for the residents of three different Tongan villages. The reasons for these movements, which include socio-cultural factors, religion, education and the selling of produce, are influenced in a significant way by the economic and social status of its residents. Hoëm's chapter about the physical and cultural construction of home in Tokelau reminds us that transnationalism exists because of the connections that transnationals maintain with home. Her illustration of the 'modern', two-storey, concrete floor homes that cater for smaller independent families as compared to the traditional thatched homes shows how this has changed the configuration of Tokelauan life by including a sense of privacy within the walls and a competition for economic status among Tokelauans. Her disturbing account of the sexual abuse by a pastor of a twelve year old reveals the conflict that exists between the political situation of the transnationals and the influence they wish to have over what they may see as the incestuous and closed practices of the home country.

As political agreements between countries allow older island-born Pacific nationals to return home to retire after living and working overseas, retirees maintain their links to their families, children and grandchildren back in their adopted countries and to the friendships and interests that were built and developed there. Burns McGrath (2002) says this circular migration is characteristic of Pacific Islanders and has to do with their relationship and ties to the land and sea. These transnationals can be thought of as reversing their transnational status on their return home as they create collective 'homes' around themselves and have multiple identities grounded in more than one society (Wong 2002, 170–171).

Reciprocity

According to Vertovec (2004), transnationalism is the interactions that link people and institutions across nation-states. It is about having a place where one was born and another place to which one has ties. In whatever way it takes place, identity and relationship to homeland must be reciprocated between the transnational community and the place and persons with whom these connections are made. If reciprocity is not part of the process, then transnationalism cannot be said to exist.

Tongans see reciprocal transnational exchanges as nurturing the 'socio-spatial ties with kin and kin-like members' or *tauhi vā* (Ka'ili 2005, 5). Small (1997) refers to the transnational family where members live in different countries but maintain close links with each other, and where reciprocity is important to

maintaining these links. According to Hau'ofa (1994 cited in Ka'ili 2005, 4), these reciprocal exchanges involve relatives abroad sending back money and resources such as appliances and clothes, while the home-based kin send local goods such as mats, tapa, and taro, and maintain the home for the returning traveller. Reciprocity also occurs in links with other diasporic communities, even through the internet as we search for and receive responses about information and news of people, place and the homeland to which we belonged. For some Pacific transnationals, reciprocity is in the giving up of their land in exchange for the opportunity to be educated abroad, thereby increasing their ability to send back money and resources, while others give up the opportunity to travel overseas in exchange for taking care of the land and maintaining the culture for themselves and those who may return one day (Gegeo 2001).

Francis highlights the inequity and imbalance between the activities that 'home' residents must undertake to maintain the cultural traditions and the reciprocal and compensatory gifts accorded these residents by their transnationals for doing so. Addo and Lilomaiava-Doktor discuss gifts as an important ritual of Pacific transnational life because of the process and values system that accompany it. For Addo, the question is whether cash can be a modern day substitute for traditional gifts among Tongan transnationals. She is concerned about how Tongan families will continue to provide for each other as expectations of money in exchange for traditional gifts become the norm. This can be answered in part by Lilomaiava-Doktor's analysis of home (*i'inei*) and reach (*fafo*) for Samoan transnationals as they leave behind what were once familiar practices of home to reach out for those practices in their new places—practices that seem more pragmatic, appropriate and acceptable. These changes are not limited to money and remittances but include education, relationships, and even chiefly titles. As Pacific transnationals persist with changed practices that have the potential to change the traditional practices at home, we may be looking at a reversal of home and reach so that the *fafo* becomes *i'inei* and vice versa.

In cities across Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia and the USA, interactions take place not only between the city's Pacific transnationals and the home country, but also between earlier and newer transnationals. Reciprocal exchanges occur as the more established group shares information and provides networks that assist the recent arrivals to resettle, while the new transnationals share their more recent knowledge of the customs and practices of the home country with the earlier arrivals. The Macphersons and Alexeyeff argue that kinship, the co-dependence between home and migrant, is key to being a Pacific transnational, and if kinship changes, so does a Pacific transnational. Alexeyeff says that the expectation within traditional home practices such as the *tere pati* (travelling party) which have now crossed transnational boundaries is for the exchange of economic sustenance for the upkeep of agenda, obligations and emotions of Cook Islands' social relationships. As Pacific diaspora populations grow as large as or

larger than the home populations, the issue of power—a seldom discussed feature of Pacific transnationalism—arises as we observe the significant difference in human capital between transnational and home residents which has the capacity to influence and alter traditional practices and relationships as well as increase pressure on the transnational communities to provide for those at home. The contemporary practices of *saofa'i* (title conferring ceremony) in Pacific diaspora communities appear to be a kind of truce in this power dynamic which subtly dictates that these communities will attend to the affairs of their Pacific transnationals while home residents attend to theirs. This does not mean that the reciprocal contacts between the home residents and the transnationals become obsolete but rather that there are changes to the way that this reciprocity occurs. It takes place in the agreements between the resident and the transnational *matai* (chief) of the different communities and an acknowledgement of each other's status and roles while maintaining and reinforcing the migrant-home kinship ties, ties that the Macphersons explain have been key to the establishment and maintenance of transnational Samoa.

Permanence and Transition

Pacific transnationalism can be temporal and fixed or shifting and continuous. At any moment, the circumstances of transnationalism can exist for any group of individuals or community of people. They occur when boundaries are crossed, and connections and links are made back to the country of origin or by their community. The patterns of transnational activities then become part of the community and of the lives of those with whom these contacts are made. It is not uncommon or difficult to identify certain communities as transnational communities or to regard certain practices as transnational. Yet it can be difficult to say when a particular activity that involved contact between two places of different national origins is *not* an example of transnationalism or to identify when the process of transnationalism stops. Kennedy and Roudometof (2002, 57) believe that transnationalism is sustained so long as new immigrants continue to join these communities, and people remain transnationals for the time that these links are sustained. Al-Ali and Koser (2002, 14) note the 'permanence and resiliency of transnationalism' and believe 'that individuals can become transnational, and also stop being transnational'. Transnational communities that become inactive in terms of transnational practices may once again decide to revive and resume these practices. Although the formation of transnational communities has accelerated in recent years, so too has the unmaking of these communities as they regroup or move back to their country of origin or integrate into their host countries (Al-Ali and Koser 2002, 7). However, it is the continuous wave of transnationals, as each new individual, groups of individuals or communities make similar crossings over similar national boundaries and maintain similar contacts, which give transnationalism its permanence.

As second, third and subsequent generations of Pacific nations' migrants are born, transnational practices tend to diminish. Although van Amersfoort and Doomernik (2002, 56) believe that, over time, the boundaries and social positions become 'more diffuse', they admit that not all groups develop in this way. They also believe that it is difficult to say at what point the process of 'immigrant absorption' draws to a close but agree that the initial processes lose their impetus and strength after about three generations.

It is possible for communities to lose their transnational identity, though it cannot be certain at what point this loss occurs. It could be when communities or individuals no longer make connections with the homeland or wish to do so. These connections do not always need to be to people but also to the ideas, cultures and customs of home. Cultures, like people, migrate and lead to 'communities of "taste", shared beliefs or economic interests' (Kennedy and Roudometof 2002, 13). However, if a Pacific transnational identity can cease through a lack of identification with the homeland, then it can also resume as new arrivals or even older members seek to re-establish links and ties. A transnational identity is usually viewed as arising out of a community. Gegeo (2001) claims that identity is a quality that is 'built in from birth' but to which 'one can add other identities', suggesting that the adoption of other identities is an individual process even though it is influenced by external or communal factors. This allows an individual, at least, to regard herself as a transnational even though she may not be seen in that way by the community in which she lives.

Kennedy and Roudometof (2002, 14) argue that differentiating between older disaporic transnational communities, and second and third generation global communities, is dangerous and misleading because of the close connections and dependencies between the localised second and third generations and the initial globalised transnationals. Communications technology and mass transport have allowed transnationals to maintain links with their homeland and have made it easier for second, third and fourth generations to sustain these links even when it appears that they have moved towards assimilation in the host country. This would not necessarily bring an end to Pacific transnationalism but does indicate that the reasons for Pacific transnationalism vary according to the circumstances of each group that migrates outside the Pacific Islands and changes in nature over the time of each successive generation. Transnational communities will vary in the extent to which they carry out or portray the ideal of transnationalism, depending on their desires, needs and expectations of both themselves and the communities from which they come. Transnational communities are heterogeneous with respect to their home communities and among their members, and some transnationals may 'share a lifestyle and personal aspirations' (Kennedy and Roudometof 2002, 15) closer to that of the dominant host community than to members of their own migrant group. Allegiance to

their migrant community and home country may shift over time, depending on factors such as new friendships being made, and as the prospect of returning home grows dimmer.

Countries constantly redesign their immigration laws in order to regulate and monitor the nature and flow of migrants. Most countries require migrants to meet certain criteria related to skills, country of application, reason for application and family members if they wish to migrate. Asylum seekers must also meet specific requirements and quota restrictions upon application for refugee status. Upon arrival in a host country, a range of community and government services and organisations are made available to both migrants and refugees to assist their successful integration and resettlement into the society. In contrast, there are no government policies, state organisations or community services for those persons defined as transnationals. In fact, there appears to be no obvious constitutional benefit to an individual or community to be classified as a transnational. This may be because, as Wong (2002, 175) points out, they are regarded as *de facto* citizens of more than one nation-state rather than *de jure* ones.

Work, legal or undocumented, has made transnationals out of people—from the seafarers of Kiribati, as described by Borovnik, who intertwine their travel with the prospect of procuring remittances for their kin at home, to the Fijian fruit pickers in Griffith, Australia whose circumstances have been brought to attention by Schubert. In Schubert's account, like that of Lee's, one recognizes that moving, travelling on, seeking circumstances more favourable than the ones left behind, are central to Pacific peoples' existence. It highlights a people nomadic by necessity as often their transnational pattern involves not only one movement, but several, as Nosa illustrates in his chapter about Niueans who moved first to Aotearoa/New Zealand and then on to Australia.

In Pacific communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia, an important matter in transnationality is who forges and maintains the links with the home islands. Key members of both communities—pastors, politicians, sports stars, journalists and chiefly elders—have crucial roles to play in upholding the processes of transnationalism. They are needed to communicate with the home community about the affairs of its transnational host community, to inform the latter about events in the home country, and to make the host country aware of its transnational community. Transnational institutions work to help their nationals survive and improve their opportunities in the host country (Amersfoort and Doomernik 2002, 56). Churches, according to Lee (2003), are significant to 'the organization of social spaces' in Tongan transnational communities and to maintaining kinship connections and relationships. Church communities for Pacific transnationals, though not an exact replication of a village, provide the space and place where Samoan customs are enacted and their values reinforced

(Burns McGrath, 2002). Transnational links are forged not only through cultural identities but also through sports, leisure and lifestyle, and Kennedy and Roudometof (2002, 1) agree that accounts of transnational relationships should be extended to include other social trends that shape peoples' lives such as associations, clubs, and informal networks.

Dilemmas

Is it possible to be a transnational without having ever left home? The literature on 'home' reveals the tension between the physical place of home and the symbolic space, and home is seen not only as a territorial attachment but also as an adherence to 'transportable cultural ideas and values' (Al-Ali and Koser 2002, 7). In the Pacific nations, countless numbers of residents are involved in preparing members of their family to make the voyage to join other diasporic communities in other countries, while the same residents remain at home and send local products to home-sick transnationals, collect returning travellers from airports, maintain the family and the village at home, and share news and information. Those that remain are exposed to, engaged in, and are as much a part of the transnational experience as those who leave; they are in fact essential to its existence although they may never have left home. The knowledge and exchanges in which they are involved change how they see themselves and the rest of their world and differ significantly from those individuals that do not have similar relationships.

As new relationships develop and new circumstances arise within Pacific communities, both in and beyond Pacific nations themselves, the concept of Pacific transnationalism is challenged in its attempts to describe and reflect these phenomena. West Papuans, for example, can be regarded as 'enforced' transnationals as they fight to reclaim their land, their sovereignty and the retention of their culture from Indonesia. For some Pacific nations' peoples, the notion of being 'landless' transnationals is a reality and transnationalism becomes critical to their survival as they witness the disappearance and destruction of their islands. For example, the Fangataufa and Mururoa atolls have become radioactive and uninhabitable due to France's nuclear testing; in the Solomon Islands, tsunamis have destroyed villages forcing the government to consider resettling the locals; and in Tuvalu, climate change is causing erosion, spoiling crops and affecting the islands' fresh water. In these instances, identity and relationship to homeland may exist only in memories, and oral and recorded histories, and reciprocal exchanges between communities, as they relocate to different countries, will be necessary to sustaining these memories and histories.

Understanding Pacific transnationalism with accuracy and relevance is not nearly as important as first understanding ongoing change within the Pacific due to factors such as political instability, struggling economies, climate change and social upheaval. This book is a collaboration between those authors whose

research has taken them into the Pacific and the Pacific diaspora and those for whom the Pacific is their *gafa* (genealogy) and *fanua* (land) and this allows for intersections to be made in theorising about Pacific transnationalism. For those familiar with what they observe and theorise as Pacific transnationalism, there is an acceptance that these observances are likely to change in concept and circumstance for the next observer, researcher, or writer of Pacific transnationalism.

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