

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

ASPECTS OF MAUKEAN POPULATION
MIGRATION

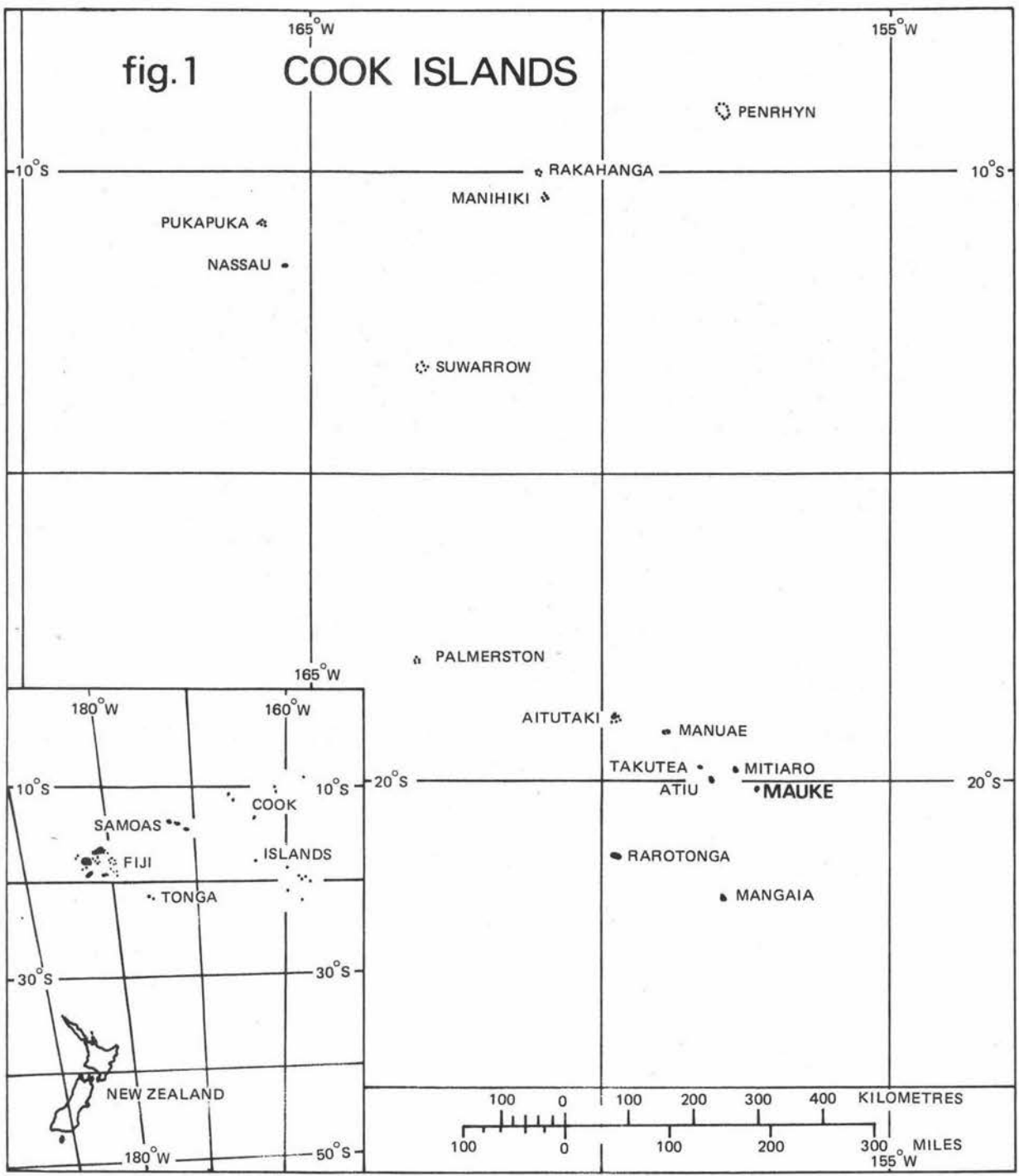
A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Geography
at Massey University

By

GRAEME DAVID JAMES GORDON

1974

fig.1 COOK ISLANDS



PREFACE

The increasing dissatisfaction and rising aspirations of many Pacific peoples has prompted an increased amount of outmigration to larger metropolitan countries where it is perceived that these desires can be fulfilled. Migration of Cook Islanders to New Zealand is no new phenomenon. In recent years, however, for a great diversity of reasons, the flow has reached alarming proportions. The repercussions of such a displacement of population are significant both for donor and recipient areas.

Although several studies have focussed attention on migrant groups in New Zealand, literature linking the whole migratory process from the island of origin is not quite so readily available. It is becoming apparent that more attention must be directed at the causal factors which induce would-be migrants to forfeit a familiar way of life for one which can be initially bewildering.

The opportunity for attempting such a study arose in 1972 largely as a result of the availability of financial assistance from the Cook Island Research Fund established at Massey University. This enabled the writer to travel to the Cook Islands for a period of six months. Four of those months were spent on the outlying island of Mauke and the remaining two in Rarotonga (see Figure I). The visit to Mauke had two objectives; firstly to complete an agricultural land use survey as part of a Massey University Geography Department project, and secondly to undertake a study on

population movement and its repercussions from the island. This latter research fell into three distinct parts, all of which revolved around extensive questionnaire surveys as the primary data collecting medium. All aspects of the Maukean life style were examined in an endeavour to isolate migration inducing variables. Minor studies of Maukean migrant groups were also conducted in both Rarotonga and in Cannons Creek in New Zealand in an attempt to establish patterns of movement and migrant characteristics.

The almost total lack of available data necessitated a heavy weighting on questionnaire results. As a consequence, this thesis is not intended to be a definitive commentary on all facets of Maukean population movement but rather a study of aspects of migration which are discernible and to some extent measurable.

The scope and nature of the study brought me into contact with many people without whose assistance and friendship this thesis would not have been possible.

Firstly at Massey University I would like to express my gratitude to Professor K.W. Thomson for making funds available for the project and to Mr.A.C.Walsh, currently at the University of the South Pacific, for his assistance in the initial stages. Special thanks go to Dr. P.H. Phillips who supervised the study through the final phases and who so willingly offered his time and thoughts. Also in the Geography Department, Mr.R.G. Heerdegen for his assistance with computations of data.

At the Department of Maori and Island Affairs in Wellington, Mr.J. Horn for assistance with transport arrangements and the provision of census data.

The Maukean people of Cannons Creek for their cooperation and overwhelming hospitality. In particular my good friend Ratia Ratia for his help as an interpreter throughout the course of the questionnaire survey.

In Rarotonga I would also express gratitude to Premier of the Cook Islands, Sir Albert Henry, and his son the Minister for Mauke, Mr. Tupui Henry for their valuable assistance and the provision of transport and accommodation.

To Rangi Moekaa, the Director of Education, Bill Hosking, Director of Agriculture, Tony Utanga and the staff of the Survey Department, and Don Hunter, formerly of the Statistics Department gratitude is also extended.

To Rob and Barb Whyte who so generously provided accommodation for the duration of my stay.

Finally in Rarotonga my interpreter Dyer Tomaka and the people from Mauke for their cooperation.

On Mauke itself I am indebted to a great many people all of whom it is not possible to personally identify. Special mention must however be made of the following. The former Resident Agent Mr. Tupuna Ngacire and his wife Ngairi for their tremendous friendship and hospitality during my entire stay on the island. Mr. Tautara Purea, former headmaster of Mauke School, Mr. Tangi Purea, Chairman of the Island Council, Dr. Rangi Fariu and Mr. Julian Dashwood, Agricultural Extension Officer.

For their invaluable assistance as interpreters Mr. Joe Samuella Jn. and Miss Vaine Teao.

Finally to all the people of Mauke who gave so willingly of their time, knowledge and unforgettable hospitality.

For maps and diagrams, Mr.R.C. Wishnowski and for the final thesis copy, Mrs.M.L. Lynch.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
LIST OF PLATES	vi
LIST OF APPENDICES	vii
GLOSSARY OF MAUKEAN TERMS	viii
Chapter One	
MIGRATION THEORY, LITERATURE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	
Introduction	1
Ramifications of Migration	6
Social and Kin Factors	8
Cook Islands Migration in Terms of Theoretical Models	11
Cook Islands Migration Literature Research Methodology	19
Chapter Two	
THE MIGRATION PROCESS	23
Patterns of Movement	24
Characteristics of Early Migrants	27
The Pattern of Migration	28
The Magnitude of Migration in the 1960's	29
The Role of Rarotonga in Migration Processes	32
Motivating Factors	32
Communications as a Factor in Migration	34
Internal Shipping	34
External Shipping	37
Air Transport	37

	<u>Page</u>
Characteristics of Migrant Communities	39
- Rarotonga	39
- Cannons Creek	41
Case Study A	44
Case Study B	45
Case Study C	49
Chapter Three THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON MAUKE	52
Maukean Population Growth	52
Age - Sex Structures	53
Economic Effects of Migration	61
Labour Shortages in Relation to Citrus Production	62
The Loss of Skills and Expertise	65
Leadership	67
The Youth	68
Social Implications	69
Land Tenure	71
Kin Contacts and Remittances	72
CONCLUSION	78
APPENDICES	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
i	Cook Island: Area and Population, 1972 ix
ii	Net Cook Island Maori Departures, 1965 - 1973 5
iii	Cook Islanders at Makatea Island, 1947 - 1956 25
iv	Relationship Between Year of Arrival and Contract Labour at Makatea Island 26
v	Relationship Between Year of Departure from Mauke and Arrival in New Zealand 30
vi	Relationship Between Year of Departure from Mauke and Duration in Rarotonga 31
vii	Remittances from Rarotonga 33
viii	Relationship Between Year of Departure from Mauke and Reasons for Migrating 35
ix	Location of Maukean Migrants in Rarotonga, 1966 39
x	Sex Ratios for Maukeans in Rarotonga and Cannons Creek 42
xi	Mauke, Total Population, 1845 - 1972 54
xii	Village Populations, 1961 - 1972 55
xiii	Population Structure, 1966, 1971, 1972 56
xiv	Mauke, Sex Ratios, 1966, 1971, 1972 58
xv	Kimiangatau Sex Ratios, 1966, 1971, 1972 59
xvi	Oiretumu Sex Ratios, 1966, 1971, 1972 60
xvii	Level of Education of Migrants in Cannons Creek 66
xviii	Previous Occupations in Mauke 66
xix	Money Order Transactions, January 1971 - August 1972 73
xx	Remittances Received on Mauke 75
xxi	Remittances from Cannons Creek 76

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Following Page</u>
1	The Cook Islands	i
2	Mauke: Locations	viii
3	Kimiangatau and Oiretumu Villages	ix
4	Net Cook Island Maori Departures, 1965, 1970 - 1973	4
5	Application of Lee's Model to Maukean Migration	11
6	Changing Patterns of Maukean Migration	33
7	Distribution of Maukean Migrants in Rarotonga, 1966	39
8	Age - Sex Structures of Migrants in Rarotonga, 1966	41
9	Age - Sex Structures of Migrants in Cannons Creek, 1974	42
10	Mauke: Population Estimates and Enumerations, 1845 - 1972	52
11	Mauke: Population Distribution, 1972	54
12	Mauke: Age - Sex Structures, 1966, 1971, 1972	58
13	Age - Sex Structures: Kimiangatau Village, 1966, 1971, 1972	59
14	Age - Sex Structures: Oiretumu Village, 1966, 1971, 1972	60
15	Effects of Migration on One Maukean Family	69

LIST OF PLATES

	<u>Following Page</u>	
1	Aerial View of Mauke	viii
2	Aerial View of Oiretumu Village	viii
3	Main Street: Kimiangatau Village	ix
4	Housing Loan Scheme Dwellings: Kimiangatau	ix
5	House styles: Oiretumu	ix
6	Traditional and Modern Housing, Oiretumu	ix
7	Migrant House, Atupa, Rarotonga	34
8	Migrant Houses, Avarua	34
9	Tauanganui Landing	36
10	Communal Labour on Harbour Development	36
11	Polynesian Centre, Cannons Creek	40
12	Migrant Housing, Cannons Creek	40
13	New Citrus Development, Mauke	62
14	Mauke Cattle Farm	62
15	Deserted Dwelling: Mauke	70
16	Dwelling of Return Migrant	70

Appendicies

A.	Mauke: Village Populations with Intercensal Increase or Decrease	81
B.	Maukean Births	82
C.	Maukean Mortality	83
D.	Maukean Migration Survey: Mauke and Rarotonga	84
E.	Maukean Youth Migration Schedule	93
F.	Maukean Migration Survey: Cannons Creek (Porirua East)	94

GLOSSARY OF MAUKEAN TERMS

'are	house
ariki	highest ranking ascribed title
kikau	the frond of the coconut palm used in the construction of traditional houses
kopu tangata	family
mapu	youths, adolescents
pandanas	Tree in which the aerial roots are used for wall of traditional houses
papa'a	European
pia	arrowroot
Tamariki ia koe	you are just a child (too young)
Umu kai	feast with food cooked in a ground oven

fig. 2 MAUKE ISLAND LOCATIONS

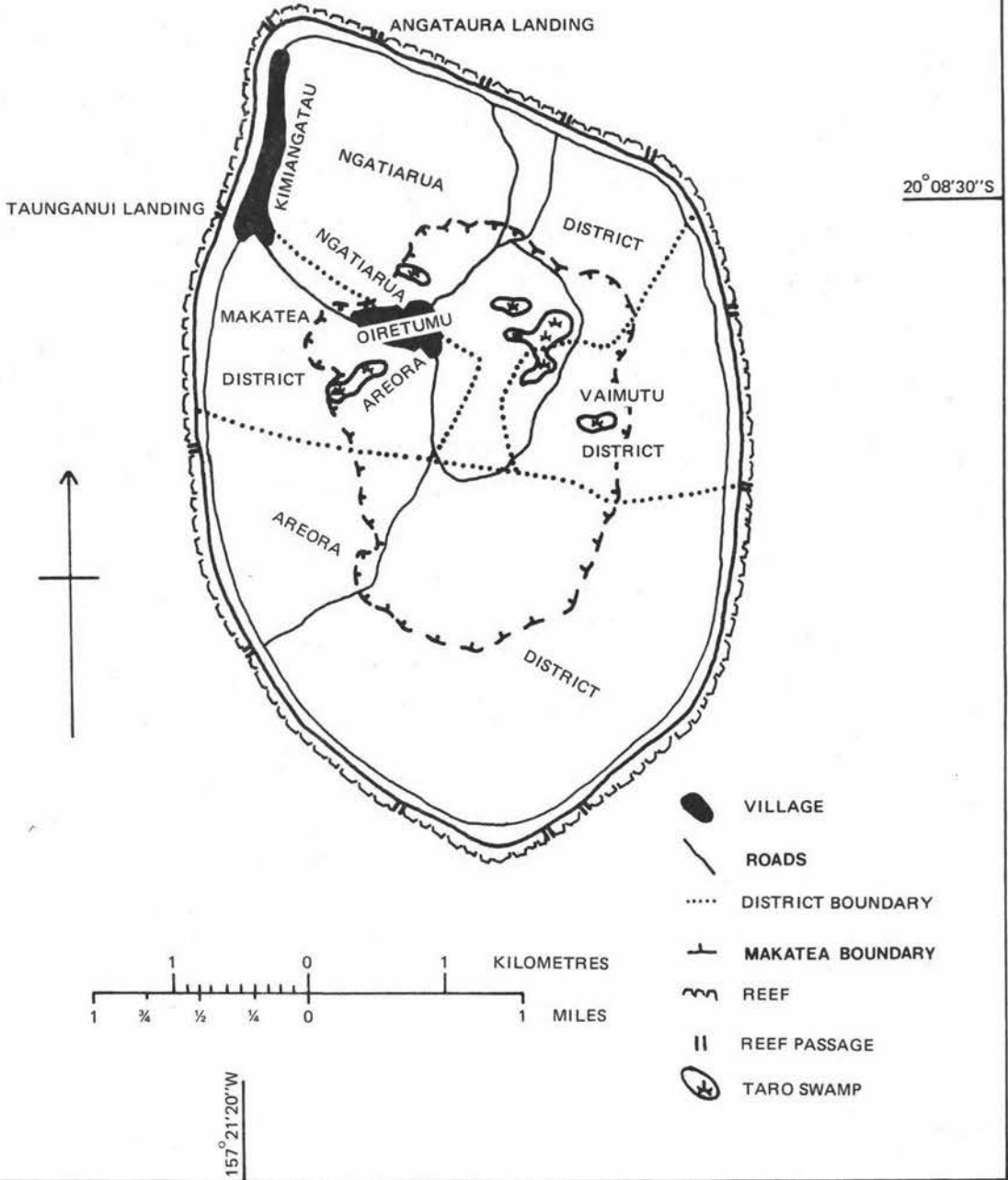


PLATE I

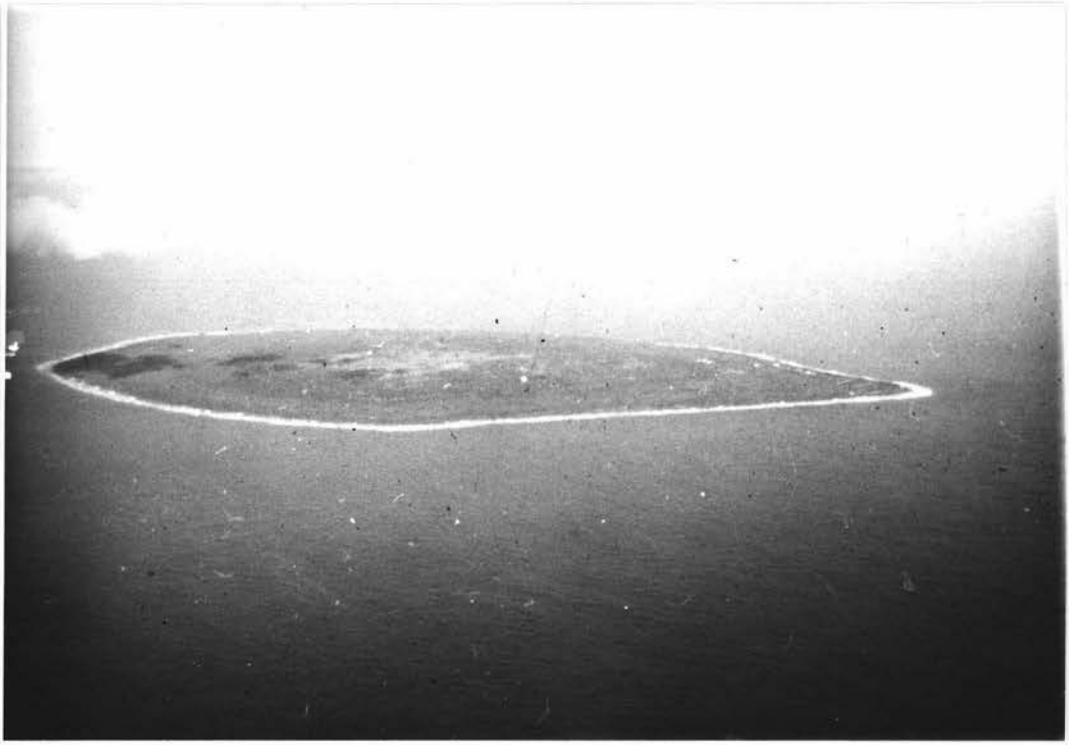
Aerial view of Mauke.

(Photo: Johnson's Studios, Rarotonga)

PLATE 2

Aerial view of Oiretumu Village showing the Cook Island Christian Church in the central foreground and scattered dwellings.

(Photo: Johnson's Studios, Rarotonga)

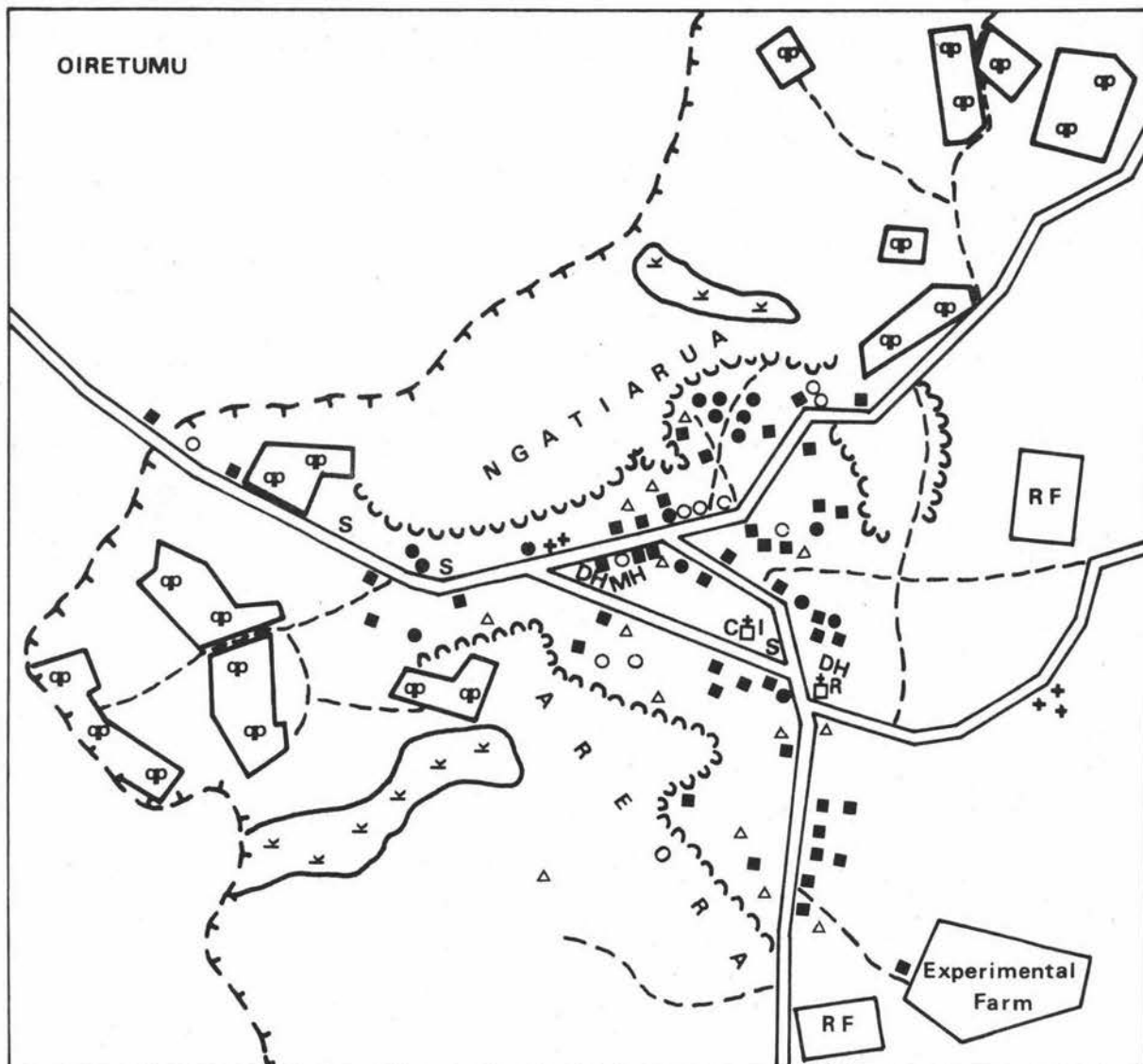


THE COOK ISLANDS: AREA AND POPULATION, 1972

<u>ISLAND</u>	<u>AREA (Acres)</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>		<u>PERCENTAGE TOTAL</u>	
		<u>1966</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1972</u>
<u>SOUTHERN GROUP</u>					
Rarotonga	16,602	9,971	11,437	51.80	53.65
Mangaia	12,828	2,002	2,074	10.40	9.72
Atiu	6,654	1,327	1,455	6.89	6.82
Mitiaro	5,500	293	331	1.52	1.55
Mauke	4,546	671	763	3.48	3.57
Aitutaki	4,461	2,579	2,855	13.39	13.39
Manuae	1,524	15	2	.07	.009
Takutea	302	-	-	-	-
	52,423	16,859	18,917	87.58	88.74
<u>NORTHERN GROUP</u>					
Penrhyn	2,432	545	612	2.83	2.87
Manihiki	1,344	584	452	3.03	2.12
Pukapuka	1,250	684	756	3.55	3.54
Rakahanga	1,000	323	339	1.67	1.59
Palmerston	500	86	72	.44	.33
Nassau	300	167	168	.86	.78
Suvarrow	100	-	1		.004
	6,926	2,389	2,400	12.41	11.25
	59,349	19,247	21,317		

Sources: Annual Report on Cook, Niue and Tokelau Islands, 1961.
Cook Island Population Census, 1966.
Cook Islands Statistical Bulletin, Feb.5th, 1973, Rarotonga.

VILLAGES



REFERENCE



Bush



Coconuts

Houses



Traditional



Burnt Lime



Mission Style



Modern



Church Buildings



Roman Catholic



Seventh Day Adventist



Cook Islands Christian Church



Cemeteries



PS Primary School



Reef



Food Swamps



Roads



Makatea Boundary



Citrus



Tracks



A Administration and Post Office



AH Arikiki's House



C Cinema



CBS Cargo Boat Shed



CD Copra Drier



DH Dance Hall



EPS Electric Power Supply



H Hospital



MH Meeting House



P Police Station and Gaol



PW Public Works



R Radio Transmitter



RA Resident Agent's House



RF Rugby Field



S Store



SA Sports Area

0 10 20 30 40 50 Metres

0 10 20 30 40 50 Yards

PLATE 3

Kimiangatau Village: Situated on the northwest coast, the village extends in ribbon like fashion for approximately two kilometres. Founded in 1904 Kimiangatau in contrast to Oiretumu lacks the diversity of house types found inland. Following the 1967 hurricane extensive use has been made of the government housing loan. Additional Government benevolence and communal village labour has resulted in the two villages having a reticulated water supply and electric power at night.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 4

As an attempt to upgrade housing standards throughout the group, the Cook Island Government have initiated a loan scheme through which necessary building materials may be procured. The above dwellings in Kimiangatau Village are typical Housing Loan structures.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

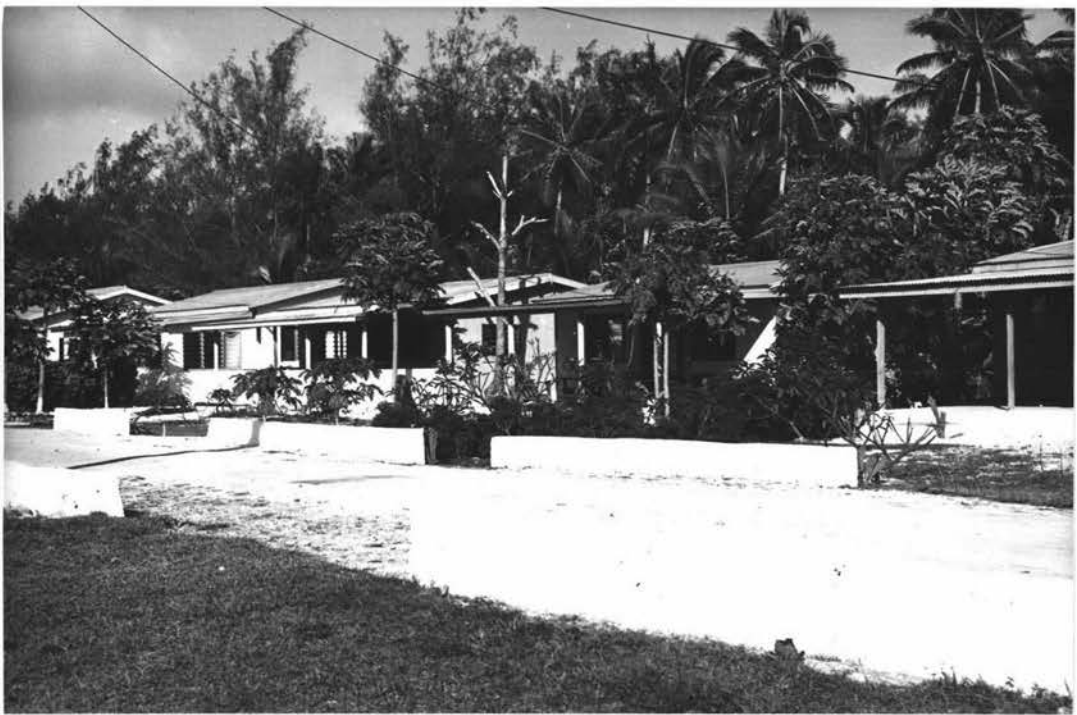
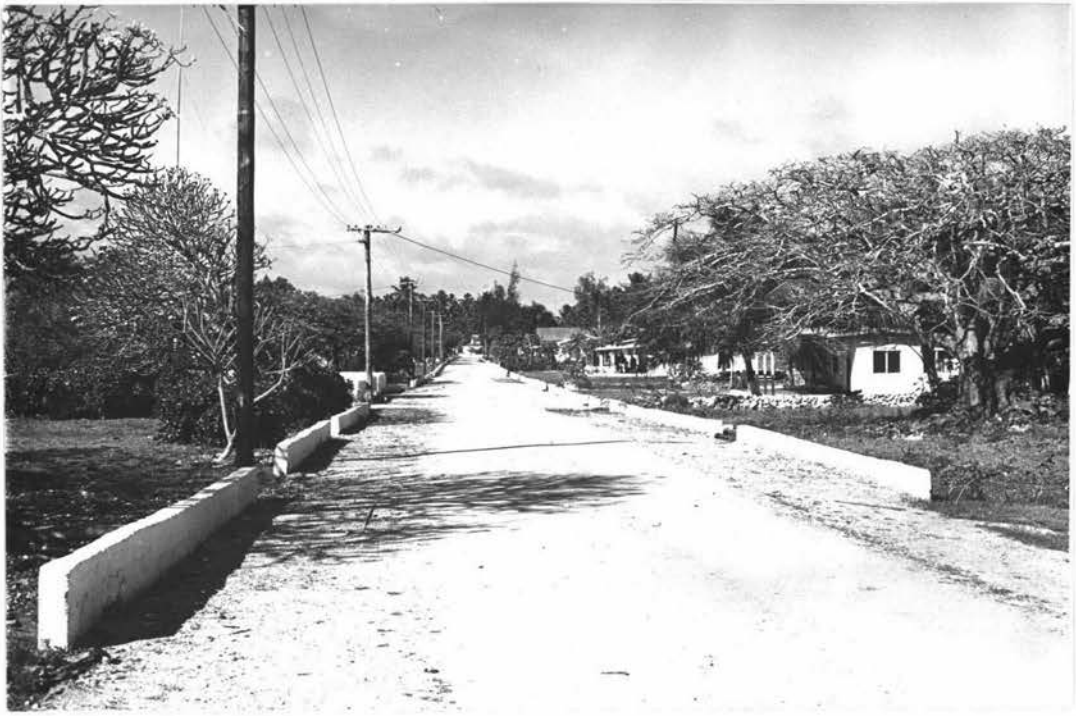


PLATE 5

Diversity of housing in Areora Village. This photo represents a cross section of Maukean house types, ranging from the traditional kikau hut on the left, two variations of Tahitian style wooden and burnt lime in the centre, through to the modern housing loan type in the background. The stakes in the foreground are the remnants of an ancient house.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 6

Traditional and modern style dwellings stand side by side. The are on the right which is still used is constructed of pandanas and hardboard walls with a kikau roof. The newer fibrolite structure replacing it is the result of a housing loan.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)



CHAPTER ONE

Migration Theory, Literature and Research Methodology

Introduction

A characteristic feature of most developing countries striving for economic takeoff, is a massive displacement of population from areas of lesser opportunity, to ones in which development is occurring at a more rapid rate. Backward and traditional life styles in rural areas are increasingly being rejected, initially by persons displaying a greater awareness of the opportunities and advantages in the urban centres. The development and improvement of communications systems not only facilitates increased population movement but is also to a large degree responsible for furnishing people in outlying areas with a greater perception of opportunities which exist in the outside world. The fortunes of those more venturesome individuals who find the magnetic pull of such areas too overpowering are closely watched by other members of the community. If conditions in the new environment prove favourable then clearly defined patterns of kin oriented migration may ensue. Such a situation is conducive to the inception of chain migration.

This general outline has great relevance to the territories of Island Polynesia where many of these processes have been operative

since the early 1950's. From what originated as a mere trickle of migrants has now developed what can almost be described as a full flood in some territories. The growing inadequacies of the atoll and smaller high-island ecosystems, both as suppliers of essential requirements and as foundations for economic and social opportunity, has been a major triggering device for outmigration. In several instances this problem has been further accentuated by population pressure on resources as a consequence of excessively high birth rates and declining death rates.

In attempting to extract factors influencing decisions to migrate by far the most difficult variable to measure is that associated with the potential migrants perception of the opportunities outside his immediate environment. The levels of aspiration and expectation are a direct reflection of the degree of acculturation. Migration is selective and individuals who have had greater contact with the outside world through the media of education, travel or feedback from relatives or friends already abroad are the more likely to respond positively to new opportunities when they arise.

Recent research in several Polynesian territories has revealed significant parallels in migratory processes. Both the Tongan and Cook Island groups have in recent years experienced an acceleration of outmigration from the smaller and more remote islands to the main administrative and commercial centres. Such movements have been well documented by several writers. Studies in Tonga by Walsh (1967) and Maude (1965) have highlighted that the growing disparities between the main island of Tongatapu, and the islands of the outer group has induced a significant increase

in internal migration. The problem has been further aggravated by the present land tenure system which entitles all taxpayers over the age of 16 years to an 8 acre block of land known as an api. With a population growth rate of nearly 4 percent per annum the number of people entitled to api has outstripped the availability of land. As Walsh (1967) notes, in some areas of outlying Ha'apai, over 25 percent of the families are without access to land and over 50 percent have none registered. With the exception of Rarotonga and one or two of the Northern atolls, the availability of agricultural land presents no great problem at present in the Cook Islands. On many of the outer islands in the Southern Group there appears to be an over abundance.

The magnetic lure of Rarotonga as an economic, social and educational centre, has engendered an irresistible urge in many outer islanders to leave their home islands in search of greater opportunities. Once the initial decision to leave has been made, there is little likelihood that the migrant will permanently return to the point of origin. This is in direct contrast to the situation Bedford (1971) encountered in his study of population movement within the New Hebrides. Rather than migration assuming a unidirectional form, it was clearly established that the pattern was more of a circulatory nature. People wishing to take advantage of the greater opportunities for wage employment, education and the excitement of semi urban life tended to return to their home islands once these aspirations were satisfied. From a sample of migration histories it was established that out of 3,518 moves by people over 15 from three villages, 45% ultimately returned to their home villages.

The Cook Islands, however, unlike Tonga and the New Hebrides, are in the unique position of being able to extend the migratory sequence one stage further. Having formerly been administered by and still retaining strong ties with New Zealand, Cook Islanders are granted the same rights and privileges of any national of that country providing initial health prerequisites are complied with. This has meant that increasingly New Zealand and not Rarotonga, has become the focus of attention for the potential migrant. The exodus of Cook Islanders to New Zealand since the 1950's has resulted in the territory having an abnormally low rate of natural increase by Polynesian standards. In the post war period, at no time has the group exceeded an annual growth rate of 2 percent. As Ward (1961) points out, such a feature may not necessarily solve the problem of potential overpopulation but rather emigration may serve to postpone the date when the position will become critical. Such an assertion may have had relevance in 1961, but current statistics increasingly testify that the probability of overpopulation occurring is remote. Unless the New Zealand Government imposes severe restrictions on Cook Islanders settling in this country, there is every reason to believe that the current trends will continue. In 1971 the figure for total excess departures from Rarotonga was 235. This figure increased more than threefold in the following year to 839, whilst the 1973 figure records 1311 (see Figure 4). This data casts a shadow of gloom over the future of the group when it is realised that such increases have been recorded at a time when transport bottlenecks in Rarotonga have supposedly been critical. With the inauguration of a twice-weekly D.C.8 jet service to New Zealand in January 1974 these bottlenecks

fig. 4 NET COOK ISLAND MAORI DEPARTURES
1965 & 1970 - '73

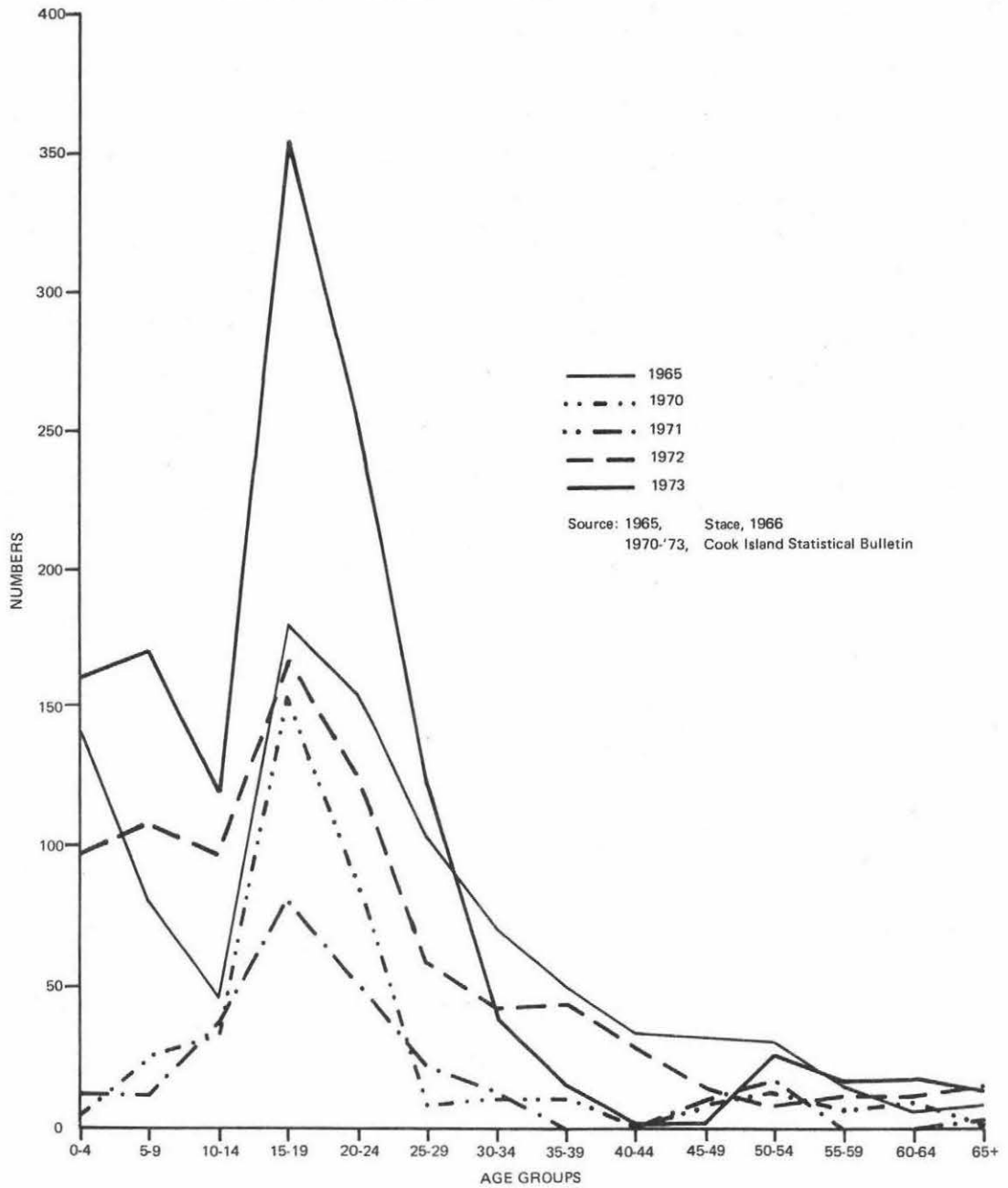


TABLE II

NET COOK ISLAND MAORI DEPARTURES 1965-73

AGE GROUP	ANNUAL TOTALS				
	1965 (a)	1970	1971	1972	1973 (b)
0 - 4	145	2	12	98	163
5 - 9	82	24	12	108	172
10 - 14	46	34	39	97	119
15 - 20	180	153	81	168	353
21 - 24	155	87	59	128	252
25 - 29	104	7	21	64	124
30 - 34	71	11	14	43	38
35 - 39	51	11	-3	45	15
40 - 44	34	-1	-6	29	1
45 - 49	33	8	10	14	1
50 - 54	32	11	17	8	26
55 - 59	17	3	-13	11	16
60 - 64	6	5	-10	11	17
65 +	7	1	2	15	14
TOTALS	963	356	235	839	1311

Notes and Sources

- (a) Stace, 1966. All other figures from C.I. Statistical Bulletins, Rarotonga.
- (b) Figures do not include departures from Aitutaki in the second quarter.
- (c) Minus sign denotes excess arrivals.

have now been removed. This now means that a potential migrant can leave for New Zealand the moment he has secured a fare. The repercussions of this factor alone will be well worthy of analysis in the months to come. A fast, efficient air service will result in further modifications to the established patterns of movement within the general migratory framework. Remittances of fare money from New Zealand, together with the advent of the jet age, will undoubtedly result in a change in emphasis in the role Rarotonga plays as a migrant staging post. No longer will migrants have to stay for long periods on the island whilst fare money is being accumulated or a plane or boat ticket secured.

The consequences of this will be twofold. Firstly, migration will now be perceived by the outer islanders in terms of long range or a one step process and secondly, migrants will be arriving in New Zealand without having had the benefit of Rarotonga as a transition post. Despite the recommendation issued by the Cook Island Government that outer island migrants should stay at least six months in Rarotonga, the writer can cite numerous instances of Maukean migrants stopping over less than one week.

There are still, however, many outer islanders who choose to move only as far as Rarotonga but even amongst this group there is every indication that New Zealand may someday be the ultimate destination.

Ramifications of Migration

Migration cannot be considered merely as a simple movement of individuals from one area to another. If the migration is of

significant proportions, characteristics of both source and destination areas change. In extreme cases the vast network of elements making up social and economic systems may be thrown into disarray. The greatest likelihood of this occurring tends to be on the donor islands where already unstable systems are subjected to more severe stress.

Demographic characteristics are markedly transformed whilst labour supplies, agriculture and dwelling conditions are but a few factors which are also affected.

Not only are the islands deprived of their most economically active and able-bodied personnel but also their best educated people and potential leaders. As a consequence, leadership in many outer island communities is being conducted by senior village members many of whom have had little contact with the outside world and who are devoid of any innovative prowess. In addition some of these leaders still cling rigidly to traditional attitudes and methods. This hinders any attempts on the part of younger members of the community to implement new ideas which would ultimately lead to modernisation and economic growth. Although difficult to substantiate, it seems certain that until such leaders are either removed or become less resilient to change and display a willingness to acknowledge the education and expertise of the young, the steady stream of Cook Island youth to New Zealand will continue. The inner frustrations experienced by many mapu are directly reflected in their general demeanor and attitude in the village communities.

A more measurable effect of migration can be seen on examining the present demographic structures for donor islands. Age -

sex pyramids for all of the outer islands indicate the selectivity of migration (see Figure 12). In all cases the structures are characterised by large dependent populations in both the upper and lower cohorts. In direct contrast, the middle order cohorts are noteworthy for the marked absence of economically active people. Within this group imbalances between sexes is also a feature.

Social and Kin Factors

One important factor which tends to be overlooked is the repercussion of migration on kinship networks. Such considerations are vital, especially on the outer islands where these relationships are of greater significance. At present there would be very few Cook Island families who did not have at least one member resident in Rarotonga or New Zealand. The consequences of this can be both beneficial and detrimental. They are beneficial in the sense that most migrants see it as their duty to remit money back to their kopu tangata, regularly. In many cases this factor is a major subsidiary to the main reason for migrating. Whilst it is commendable that such financial aid can be offered, particularly to aged parents, in some instances the system is being abused. Money is too often wasted on unnecessary consumer items rather than essentials. More importantly such a reliance is placed on this incoming revenue that many planters have deliberately reduced the extent of their own economic activities. Although difficult to quantify, it would not be unreasonable to hypothesise that a number of migrants, particularly those more established ones in New Zealand, have purposely severed relations with kin because of frequent requests for cash. Migrants spoken to in New Zealand who did express this opinion have all been

in the country for some time. This perhaps implies that over time an 'economic man' emerges and former communal ties may assume a lesser role.

The effects of outmigration are also reflected on household and family structures. Within numerous family units the departure of more active members to Rarotonga and New Zealand has reached such proportions that many agricultural plots are now worked solely by old and very young people. From an agricultural survey conducted on Mauke it was found that over a twelve month period household levels of production had fallen considerably whilst plots containing commercial crops lay derelict and untended.

The effects of outmigration cannot be measured purely in terms statistical loss. Demographic characteristics resultant from areas affected are significant but it is the social and economic manifestations which are the most far reaching. Attempts by the government to place the individual island economies on a sounder footing have been severely handicapped. The failure of so many outer-island agricultural schemes in recent years is grim testimony to the apathy that has been engendered amongst the people. With populations exhibiting a depleted labour force and a mapu group waiting to seize upon the first offer of a fare to New Zealand, there seems little likelihood that the present situation will change in the foreseeable future.

At present there is dire necessity to broaden the all too narrow range of economic activities available in the islands. For a large group of actively minded youngsters, fully aware of the

types of recreational activities available in Rarotonga and New Zealand, there is little attraction on a small remote island.

Whilst the repercussions are extremely serious for donor islands, the recipient communities are also greatly affected. Half of Rarotonga's present population consists of 'outer islanders' and their dependents. A substantial number of these migrants are forced to live in sub-standard dwellings in and around the main settlement of Avarua. Unless the migrant is closely related to a Rarotongan there is little likelihood that permanent access to land will be gained. The retention of traditional systems of land tenure results in an almost complete absence of saleable land. Under such circumstances the type of dwelling may not necessarily be a true reflection of the migrant's socio-economic status. No person would consider putting up a permanent residence if he has no guarantee to the rights of the land on which it is constructed. The actual number of migrants falling into this category cannot be estimated with any degree of certainty although it is one factor which can ill afford to be overlooked. The combination of sub standard housing and in many cases overcrowding can result in a severe health risk. This tends to place a considerable burden on existing health facilities particularly in times of epidemics. A severe hepatitis outbreak in 1972 significantly affected such areas and in some cases caused death. Other basic amenities such as water and sewerage, are also placed under extreme pressure in areas where concentrations of outer islanders are apparent.

The stresses exerted on the employment sector are not

as great as they would be were it not for the transience of many members of the work force. Gaps left by personnel moving to New Zealand are rapidly filled by new incoming migrants. The greatest concern in Rarotonga is not so much a problem of unemployment as one of adequately replacing trained and skilled migrants. In most cases such skills have been acquired at great expense to the Cook Island Government and are frequently completely rejected when new employment is taken up in New Zealand.

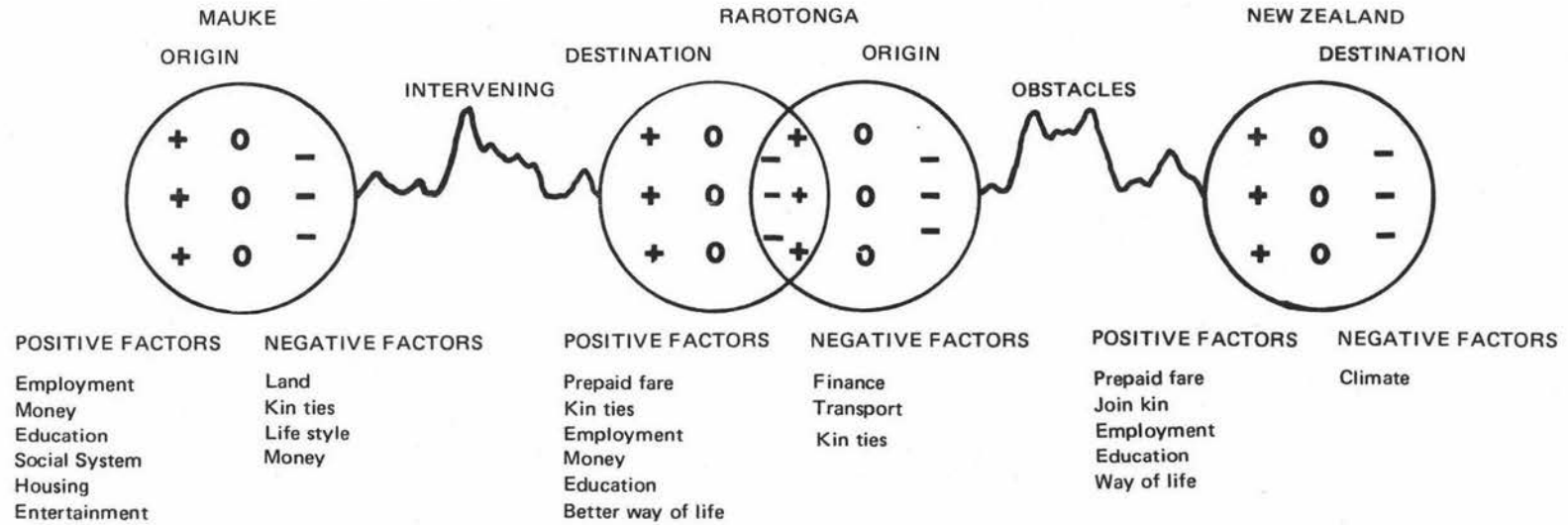
Over recent years there has been a growing incidence of more serious crimes and other social disorders in Rarotonga. The theft of foodstuffs in particular is becoming a grave problem and one which has caused many Rarotongan planters to cease growing some crops. Of all crops the taro is the most vulnerable. The inability of many outer island families to obtain even occupational land rights is unquestionably one reason for the increasing crime rate.

Cook Island Migration in Terms of Theoretical Models

Much attention has been focussed on migration as a demographic process. Numerous attempts have been made to formulate models which have widespread application but whilst these have elements of universality there are always unique localised factors to account for when considering specific examples. The theoretical approach formulated by Harper Lee (1970) based on Ravenstein's Laws, has the greatest application to the Cook Island situation. According to his model the factors responsible for inducing migration can be categorised under four main titles.

fig. 5

APPLICATION OF LEE'S MODEL TO MAUKEAN MIGRATION



These are :-

- (a) factors associated with the area of origin
- (b) factors associated with the area of destination
- (c) intervening obstacles
- (d) personal factors

The first three of these can be represented schematically. Lee maintains that in every area there are factors which result in people remaining within the area, people being attracted to the area or conversely people being repelled. These push-pull factors are represented by plus and minus signs. In addition to these, Lee has inserted a third or neutral variable as a representation of those people tending to be quite indifferent. Because specific factors tend to evoke a different response from various individuals, Lee has made it quite clear that the calculus of plus and minuses at origin and destination is never exact. Similarly it is difficult to draw generalisations from the differences between origin and destination because their relative importance lies in the individual's perception and evaluation of such factors. Such evaluations are therefore determined by personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere.

Using this conceptual framework based on Ravensteins laws of migration, Lee presents a series of hypotheses relating to the volume of migration under varying conditions, the development of stream and counterstream as well as the characteristics of the migrants themselves.

Before endeavouring to apply the model to the Cook Islands it must be borne in mind that the theory was formulated in terms

of population movement within and between metropolitan countries. Some of the hypotheses therefore will have no relevance from the outset and for this reason will be ignored, for example the evolution of pronounced counterstreams. Certain unique features and peculiarities of Cook Island migration also necessitate minor modifications to the basic framework of the model. The spatial distribution of the Group makes it essential for any outer island migrant (with the possible exception of Aitutakians) to first move to Rarotonga and from there proceed to New Zealand. Rarotonga's role is thus dualistic in that for some migrants it may be the point of destination whilst for others it may provide a new point of origin for migration to New Zealand. To accommodate these irregularities the schematic model may be extended as in Figure 5. Two sets of intervening obstacles may now become apparent except in cases where a through fare to New Zealand has been provided by the relative of an outer islander.

Attention will now be focussed on the migration model as it affects one specific outer island. The island of Mauke lies 150 miles northeast of Rarotonga and, like the other outliers of the group, has for two decades been subjected to the ravages of depopulation. Widening disparities between Mauke and Rarotonga, a greater awareness of economic and social opportunities to be had and a vastly improved communications network have largely been responsible for increasing mobility in recent years. The pattern of migration which has ensued conforms with many of the hypotheses proposed by Lee.

The first of these relates to the volume of migration. The major determinant here is centred around the difficulties involved in surmounting obstacles. For Mauke unquestionably the greatest of these would be transport bottlenecks. Shipping from Rarotonga for a large part of the year is infrequent. Only during the months of citrus harvesting do the interisland boats call with any regularity. Until recently, further transport bottlenecks were apparent between Rarotonga and New Zealand. The problems of money for fares have now largely been alleviated as a result of relatives in New Zealand or Rarotonga frequently sending remittances to the home island.

Over time both of these obstacles have been eroded sufficiently so that they are no longer insurmountable. As a consequence once again the pattern complies with Lee's postulates in that migration tends to increase over time. In some instances it is possible that some form of check may emerge but with Cook Islanders having free right of entry to New Zealand, no major fluctuations in recent years can be discerned. The only possible exception to this is that from the survey conducted amongst Maukean migrants in Cannons Creek it was noticeable that few migrants arrived in the 1960-61 period - a time of slight economic recession in New Zealand. Whilst this may not be significant because of the small sample size, it may be no coincidence that Cook Island migration to New Zealand as a whole dropped substantially over that period. Lee also notes that the extent of migration is also regulated by the economic climate at the time.

One methodological problem was that of assessing the magnitude of migration from Mauke because of the difficulty in obtaining

accurate statistics. Movements between the island and Rarotonga are difficult to record as bookings on the boats are not always made and there is also no method of determining the intended length of stay in Rarotonga. Problems of accounting for stowaways on inter-island vessels have further confounded every possible system of enumeration.

In Rarotonga the problem is further complicated by the fact that on all records migrants departing for New Zealand fall under the classification of Cook Islanders. No provision is made for a statement which denotes the island of origin. This inadequacy gives rise to a number of methodological problems when a study of migration such as the present one is attempted. From the few studies which have been conducted on Cook Island population movements, it is blatantly obvious that islanders identify themselves more by their island of origin rather than by the homogeneity of a national group. This is reflected in the residential and social patterns of migrant groups both in Rarotonga and New Zealand. Research carried out by Douglas on migration from the island of Aitutaki in the early 1960's revealed that the majority of the migrants had settled in Tokoroa, a trend which has continued into the 70's. More recently a substantial number of Mangaians have also settled in this community. In a similar fashion, Maukean migrants have settled in concentrations in both the Auckland and Wellington districts. One such concentration is that of Cannons Creek in Porirua East.

One additional difficulty in determining migration flows from Mauke and other outer islands is the lack of depth in Cook Island census material. This severely restricts any comparative analyses. Although minor population counts were made from time to time, it was

not until 1966 that a full census was conducted. Changes which have occurred between that census and the 1971 count cannot be assessed in full until all results have been computed.

Despite these disadvantages, sufficient evidence was gained through three social surveys conducted in Mauke, Rarotonga and Cannons Creek to indicate that Maukean migration has in fact increased over time.

Lee has also commented that the volume and rate of migration vary considerably in accordance with the state of progress within a country or area. Economic inertia within the Cook Islands has undoubtedly contributed to an acceleration of outmigration in recent years. The uncertain and unpredictable political regime is rapidly becoming a contributory factor governing decisions to migrate. Lack of security in employment because of political convictions has in many cases hastened the decisions of skilled personnel.

A major section of Lee's theory is devoted to the concept of stream and counter stream. Migration, he states, tends to take place largely within well defined streams, and that migrants proceed along well defined routes toward highly specific destinations. This hypothesis correlates positively when considering Maukean population movement. The route travelled must be, of necessity, through Rarotonga. The development of a counterstream or a return movement to the point of origin has little applicability to Maukean migration when New Zealand is the ultimate destination, even though most migrants initially express desires to return their home island. Of the few that do return, many again leave for New Zealand after

short periods of time.

The final section of Lee's theory relates to migrant characteristics. Although the process is selective, it appears that in the case of Mauke this selectivity becomes weaker over time. Within some households migration has reached such proportions that some members who under normal circumstances would be reluctant to leave their island do so because of strong kinship ties. Positive selectivity becomes apparent on examination of age - sex structures for here it is revealed that outmigration assumes greater significance among the economically active cohorts.

Lee's simple schema for migration provides a useful framework in which to consider Maukean migration irrespective of the fact that problems of adequate data collection restrict analysis of some aspects.

Cook Island Migration Literature

In recent years, with the exception of a commentary on the 1966 Cook Island census by Curson (1972), there have been few contributions to the literature on Cook Island population movement.

The early 1960's saw an upsurge in research on overall patterns of migration and the causatory factors, although no attempts were made to examine the numerous processes at work on the outer islands. Undoubtedly the lack of reliable statistics and the difficulties of access served as a deterrent to would-be researchers.

Of the studies which have been made, Hooper's (1960) examination of migration in 1960 is significant even though most of this work was directed at the Cook Island migrant community in Auckland

from an anthropological viewpoint.

Ward's (1961) work on population movements within the Cooks more adequately deals with the processes and effects of outmigration from the smaller donor islands. The analyses a considerable amount of demographic data and endeavours to relate the implications of changes to the future economic prosperity of the group.

For data relating to past population trends the most authoritative work is McArthurs'. (1967). In her 1967 paper, all the available demographic data from the nineteenth century onwards has been brought together and analysed.

More recently Curson has added tremendously to the detailed research on Cook Island population. This most recent study (1972) analyses population change using the 1966 census as a basis. This material is a useful supplement to his earlier studies of Cook Islanders in New Zealand.

The literature which has the greatest bearing on the present study is the work on migration from Aitutaki by Douglas (1965). In this thesis consideration is firstly given to the island environment in an attempt to establish some of the casual factors inducing migration. All aspects of village and island life having any influence over decisions to migrate are examined. Finally an evaluation of the affects of migration on the island were outlined.

The second part of the study is a comprehensive coverage of the Aitutakian community in Tokoroa in New Zealand. From this some valuable information pertaining to motivating factors and the pattern of movements are considered. The importance of kin ties is

also elaborated, not only in settlement patterns but also in contacts with Aitutaki.

Research Methodology

Having observed some of the patterns and migratory processes within the Cook Island group from the available literature it was decided to examine some of the causative factors and the effects of migration on one outer island community. The island of Mauke was chosen because of a land use mapping assignment which was part of a Massey University Geography Department project.

Although the main focus of the study was to be demographic, the island community is so small that all aspects of life must be taken into consideration. This is particularly so when endeavouring to isolate factors responsible for decisions which result in people leaving not only Mauke but the Cook Islands.

The main aim of the thesis therefore is to provide some insight into the functioning of the island community and an attempt to establish some of the reasons, processes and effects of migration. Problems relating to the magnitude of migration statistically have already been outlined in a previous section. Such a difficulty necessitated the adoption of other research methods.

Because any form of background material on the island was non-existent all the material used in this thesis (with the exception of some demographic data) was compiled through questionnaire surveys. In total three of these were conducted; one for every household on Mauke; a sample survey of Maukean migrants in Rarotonga and thirdly a household survey of all Maukean families in

Cannons Creek.

The survey on Mauke was comprehensive and contained many of the elements of a full census. This was personally administered to every household head on the island though in some cases the situation necessitated the use of an interpreter. From this survey an accurate picture of the demographic structure of the island was revealed as well as a vast array of other socio-economic data. The small number of households on the island made it possible to thoroughly check all of the recorded data.

From the names and addresses of relatives collected on Mauke, a sample of migrants in Rarotonga and New Zealand was compiled. These lists were supplemented by names forwarded by Maukean community leaders in both Rarotonga and New Zealand. Churches and other organisations were also able to assist. After exhausting these sources a comprehensive list of migrants in both Rarotonga and Cannons Creek was drawn up. From the Rarotongan list a random sample was taken and the same questionnaire as used on Mauke was administered. In Cannons Creek it was possible to establish a total universe thus eliminating any need for random sampling. Here all migrants over the age of 18 were interviewed using a modified schedule.

The main objectives in interviewing migrants in Rarotonga and New Zealand were threefold. Firstly, to test the major hypothesis that the pattern of movement has changed in recent years with the advent of remitted fares from New Zealand. Secondly, that the increase in migration is a direct consequence of kin contacts in New Zealand providing both fare money and information inducing family

members and friends to leave Mauke. Thirdly, that the characteristics of migrants are now changing. Whilst the younger and better educated islanders still form the nucleus of the exodus, there is an increasing number of older and very young people leaving the island.

Several minor hypotheses are also postulated although any comment on these may, of necessity, be more of a value judgement than one supported by substantive evidence. They are as follows :-

- (1) Migration has now had such a devastating effect on the island that a sense of apathy has developed amongst the residual population. The older members of the community nonchalantly pursue subsistence existence or await handouts from kin in New Zealand. The mapu refuse to do anything except eagerly await the day then can migrate.
- (2) The increasing encroachment of politics into everyday life is adding fuel to an already blazing migratory situation. Discrimination and victimisation are new reasons for outmigration.
- (3) An increasing reliance on monetary handouts from kin in New Zealand has resulted in the severing of ties; particularly with migrants of longer standing in New Zealand.

The consequences of depopulation on the scale at present experienced by Mauke are by no means heartening. Already the failure of a succession of Cook Island government-instigated development projects on the island is indicative of present attitudes and aspirations. However, although current trends may cast a shadow of doubt over the island's future, there is every reason to believe that with

the right sort of development (rather than the present ad hoc variety) migration will slow down. Many migrants spoken to in New Zealand and Rarotonga confirmed that they would return to the island tomorrow if jobs and prices from agricultural crops could be guaranteed. Perhaps it was no coincidence that a week after the writer addressed and showed slides of Mauke to over one hundred islanders; ten Maukean people departed for their home island.

CHAPTER TWOThe Migration Process

Since the first departure of Maukean migrants for New Zealand in the 1950's, the process has gained in momentum and the characteristics have undergone considerable change. The route by which migrants must travel has remained unaltered with Rarotonga being the focal point for all movement because of its links with the outside world. The role which this island plays, both as a recipient of itinerant outer-islanders and as a transit station for travellers to New Zealand, is a vital one. It is at this midway point that the greatest changes in patterns of migration are discernible. Changing aspirations and a growing awareness of the world beyond the Cook Islands have largely been responsible for transforming Rarotonga's function from one of destination to that of a brief stopover point for migrants en route to New Zealand. There has also been a change in the type of person migrating over the last two decades. Gone is the need for the trailblazers and those migrants with a pioneering zeal for the paths to New Zealand have now been well trodden. With kin members already established in New Zealand prepared to finance fares and the greatly improved communications systems, former obstacles have been removed. As a result, all that is needed in many cases on the part of the individual, is a positive decision to migrate.

This chapter will attempt to trace and analyse some of the patterns of movement and characteristics of migrant communities and their changes through time.

The lack of any official pre-corded data on migration

necessitated an almost total dependence on material extracted from the questionnaire surveys described in Chapter One. (see also Appendices D, E and F). Although the absolute numbers interviewed in Rarotonga and Cannons Creek were small, it would be reasonable to infer that the observations have applicability to all Maukean migrants. Only in Rarotonga was it necessary to conduct a random sample. From a list which was compiled of all known Maukeans on the island a 40% sample was selected. The nature of the migrant community in Porirua East (Cannons Creek) made it possible to avoid random sampling thus enabling interviews to be conducted with all migrants over the age of 18.

Patterns of Movement

During the two decades in which Mauke has been subjected to an increasing outflow of population several distinct phases of movement have been apparent. The first significant exodus occurred between the years 1947 and 1956 when many male workers from the Southern Cook Group (Fig.1) were contracted to work on the extraction of phosphate deposits on Makatea Island in French Polynesia.

In 1948, a recorded peak of sixty Maukean labourers were reported as being absent from the island. This total progressively declined until the contract was terminated in 1956 as a result of increasing unemployment in the Society Islands. Comparative figures of workers involved from each island for the contract period are noted in Table III. Rather than return to their former subsistence way of life, many workers sought substitute employment initially in Rarotonga, and then later in New Zealand. With an increasing involvement in the money economy and the inability of Mauke to satisfy

TABLE III
COOK ISLANDERS AT MAKATEA ISLAND
1947 - 1956

	Rarotonga	Mangaia	Mauke	Mitiaro	Atiu	Total
1947	No figures cited in the report although mention made.					
1948	202	65	60	25	-	352
1949	157	81	52	25	30	345
1950	114	80	52	14	49	309
1951	91	-	40	15	40	186
1952	88	63	36	12	40	239 ¹
1953	No details supplied					
1954	No details supplied					
1955	No details supplied					
1956	Recruitment in the Cook Islands ceased at this date because of unemployment in the Society Islands.					

Notes: ¹ Ocean and Nauru Islands resumed production

Source: Appendices House Representatives A-3.

newly acquired aspirations, many found a return to the island to be intolerable.

TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YEAR OF ARRIVAL
IN N.Z. AND CONTRACT LABOUR ON MAKATEA ISLAND

Year of Arrival	PORIRUA	MIGRANTS	
	Worked at Makatea	Never	N.A.
1945 - 50	-	-	-
1950 - 55	1	-	-
1955 - 60	6	1	3
1960 - 65	5	2	8
1965 - 69	-	2	6
1970	-	1	2
1971	-	1	0
1972	-	1	1
1973	-	2	2
TOTAL	12	10	27
Percentage	27	22	50

1974 Survey

Twenty seven percent of the Maukeans interviewed in Cannons Creek were found to have worked on Makatea Island at some stage during the contract period. An examination of Table V indicates that migrants in this category were among the first Maukeans to settle in the area, all arriving prior to 1965. One respondent pointed out that this group were the first Cook Islanders to settle in both the

Wellington and Porirua East areas. Although the figures recorded in the above Table represent only one Maukean community, it can reasonably be inferred that ex-Makatea workers played a major role in spearheading the increasing flow of migrants to other communities as well.

Characteristics of the Early Migrants

A large proportion of the first arrivals were single males. Most were lacking in education and possessed only those skills acquired whilst mining. During their stay in Rarotonga the majority took on labouring jobs until enough money was saved to secure a passage to New Zealand. The relatively small number of Cook Islanders in New Zealand in the 1950's meant that only in rare cases could money be advanced for fares from migrant kin. Two migrants in Cannons Creek who remained for only a short duration in Rarotonga worked their passage across on a sailing sloop. On arrival in New Zealand migrants without already established kin or friends sought accommodation in boarding houses. All respondents indicated that few problems were encountered in acquiring an initial labouring job. Similarly, it was also acknowledged that from the time that employment was arranged, money was remitted back to family members in Mauke. Although it is difficult to gauge the magnitude of such transactions, the increasing number of arrivals at the end of the decade meant that more families in Mauke were receiving financial assistance. As wives and other relatives joined the growing migrant communities in New Zealand they were absorbed into the households of already established relatives. Employment was sometimes prearranged for the new arrivals and often, as a consequence, there evolved a pattern in which groups from the

same source area were working together. This characteristic to a lesser degree has carried through to the 1970's.

With the gradual consolidation of these first arrivals, the foundations were laid for what was later to become a chain migration.

The Pattern of Migration in the 1960's

A change in the pattern and characteristics of migration occurred in the 1960's. In the early part of the decade, migration to New Zealand was still largely selective with migrants fitting into an easily definable age group, tending to be single and to travel as individuals with specific purposes in mind. Although sufficient money could be raised in Rarotonga for a cheap passage to New Zealand or a relative might be able to afford to remit enough money for one fare, a family was seldom able to migrate as a unit. Apart from the problem of obtaining money for fares, there were additional factors which made migration to New Zealand on an individual, rather than family, basis, preferable. Paramount among these was the question of lands and who would tend them.

Even in families in which migration has taken a heavy toll, there was found to be at least one member remaining on Mauke to safeguard family titles. Many migrants did not intend to reside permanently in New Zealand but rather migrated with an express desire to earn enough capital for a particular project usually the purchase of building materials for a house.

To many the new way of life in New Zealand contained an expensive fascination with the result that the target and riches expected, were not quite so forthcoming. Several migrants who met

their targets returned to Mauke and built modern dwellings for their families. Of those in this category, it was observed from the survey on Mauke, that only three had decided to stay on the island permanently. Others found that after New Zealand, life in Mauke did not come up to expectation and so they returned leaving deserted modern dwellings as a legacy (see Plate 15).

The Magnitude of Migration in the 1960's

The greatest outflow of migrants from Mauke was recorded between 1960-1965 (see Fig.10). During the intercensal period 1961-66, the island lost 114 people, representing a 14.52% decrease (see Appendix I). The majority of the migrants were from Kimangatau Village which suffered a net loss of 80 people or a decrease of 19.85%. Of this net total 57 were males. This unprecedented twentieth century decrease in population was probably closely correlated with the island group becoming independent in 1965. Self Government made Rarotonga a lure because of the promise and hopes of greater employment opportunities. The 1966 census states that 324 Maukean people were on Rarotonga at the time of enumeration. Not all of the migrants viewed Rarotonga as their ultimate destination for the survey data from Cannons Creek indicates that during the period Maukean population in this area swelled significantly. It is noteworthy that of the 15 migrants who arrived in Cannons Creek at this time, eleven stayed in Rarotonga less than six months (see Table V and VI). Of these, 8 stayed less than two months. It can therefore be inferred that a large proportion, if not all, of the fares for these migrants were prepaid from New Zealand. On the same basis it appears that Rarotonga was increasingly assuming

TABLE V
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YEAR OF DEPARTURE FROM MAUKE AND
ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND	YEAR OF DEPARTURE FROM MAUKE								
	Pre- 1950	1950-55	1955-60	1960-65	1965-70	1971	1972	1973	TOTAL
1945 - 1950	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1950 - 1955	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1955 - 1960	1	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	10
1960 - 1965	1	-	2	12	-	-	-	-	15
1965 - 1969	-	-	3	3	2	-	-	-	8
1970	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	3
1971	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
1972	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
1973	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	4
TOTAL	2	2	13	15	6	1	1	3	43

Data based on sample

TABLE VI
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YEAR OF DEPARTURE FROM MAUKE
AND DURATION IN RAROTONGA

DURATION IN RAROTONGA	YEAR OF DEPARTURE FROM MAUKE								
	Pre 1950	1950-55	1955-60	1960-65	1965-70	1971	1972	1973	TOTAL
Less than One month	-	1	4	5	2	-	1	2	15
1-2 Months	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	4
3-6 Months	-	-	5	3	1	-	-	-	9
6 Months - One Year	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
One - Two Years	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Three - Five Years	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	5
Five - Ten Years	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Ten Years Plus	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4

"Data based on sample"

a greater importance as a transit station.

The Role of Rarotonga in Migration Processes

Although there is a paucity of data relating to Maukean population movement prior to 1966, it seems certain that Rarotonga was regarded as the ultimate destination. Some migrants may have had their eyes focussed on New Zealand but before any definite action could be taken money had to be raised for a fare. This was undoubtedly one reason why workers from Makatea Island were amongst the first migrants to New Zealand.

The lack of economic opportunities on Mauke necessitated firstly a movement to Rarotonga where cash labouring jobs were more abundant. In many cases, after a few years elapsed, sufficient money and knowledge were accumulated to fulfil new aspirations by migrating to the perceived 'El Dorado' of New Zealand. The time which passed between the date of arrival in Rarotonga and that of departure to New Zealand varied considerably in accordance with individual circumstances. Usually one or two members of a household would make the trip. Once employment was found in New Zealand, money was remitted back to other kin members either in Rarotonga or on Mauke. Kin members who are firmly established in Rarotonga and who show no immediate desires to embark on the second migratory step to New Zealand are also responsible for remitting money back to Mauke (see Table VII).

Motivating Factors

Of the vast array of reasons stated for leaving Mauke and Rarotonga, the key underlying factor in most cases lies to some

TABLE VII
REMITTANCES FROM RAROTONGA

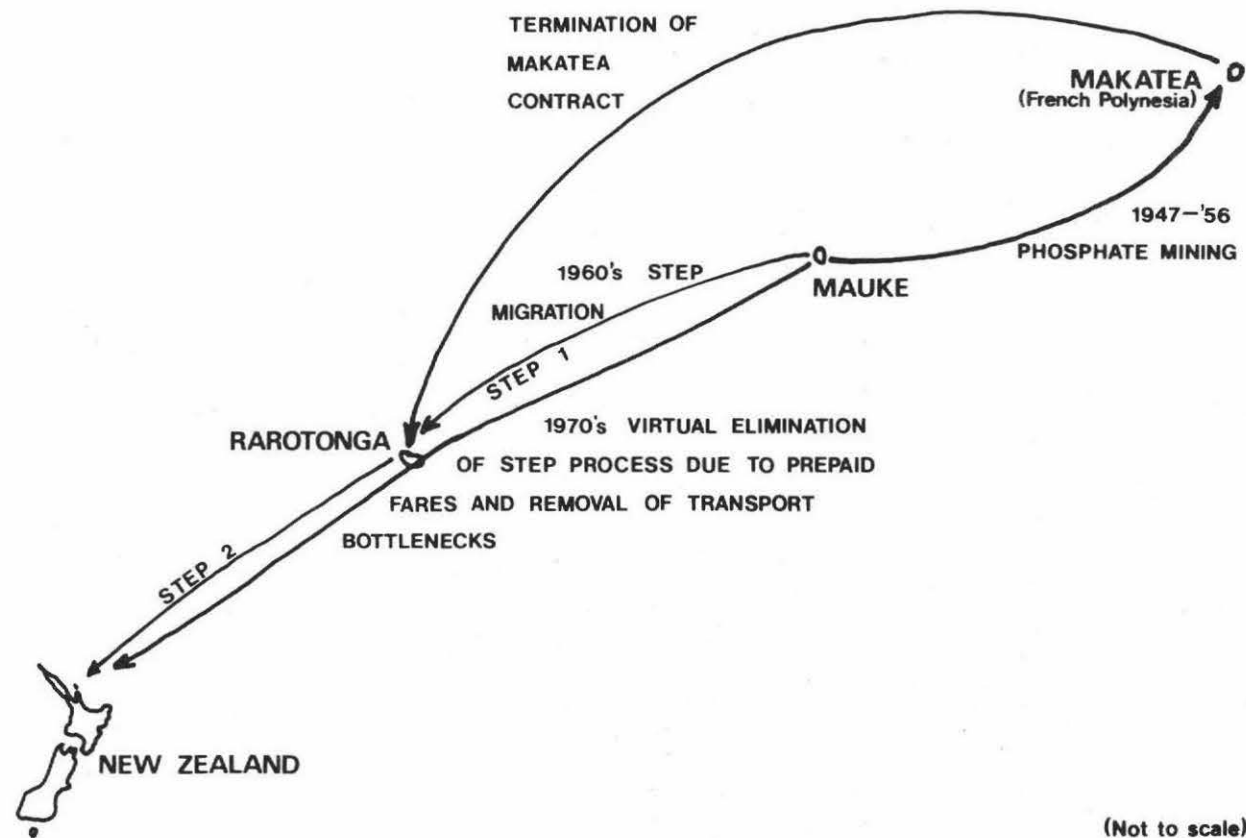
FREQUENCY	AMOUNT REMITTED		RECIPIENT		PURPOSE						
	No.	%	\$	No.	%	No.	%				
Monthly	2	5	0-10	6	16	Parent	14	37	Housing	-	-
3 Monthly	-	-	11-25	9	24	Son/ Daughter	2	4	Education	5	13
6 Monthly	4	10	26-50	3	8	Brother/ Sister	7	18	Feeding child	-	-
Annually	-	-	51-100	4	10	Uncle/ Aunt	1	2	Gen. Exps.	10	27
On Request	9	24	101-200	-	-	Girl- friend	1	2	Gift	7	18
Never	21	56	200+	4	10	Grand- parents	-	-	Cere- mony	1	2
			None	10	27	Non Applic.	11	29	Non Applic.	7	18
Total Universe									37		

"Data based on sample "

Material to be read as 4 separate factors.

There is no cross-tabulation.

fig. 6 CHANGING PATTERNS OF MAUKEAN
MIGRATION



degree in economic motives (see Table VIII). From the three surveys, it is clearly indicated that the lack of economic opportunity on Mauke leaves those with growing aspirations and desires little alternative but to leave the island.

As the patterns of movement have changed over time, so also have some of the motives for departing. Currently, because of the large numbers of kin members in Rarotonga and New Zealand, many individuals are prompted to migrate simply because of strong blood ties and a sense of loss. This is reflected particularly in the case of older dependents now making the trip. Of the migrants spoken to in this category most stated emphatically that they detested leaving their homeland but felt they had to see their children before passing on. Strong cohesion within the family unit (kopu tangata) is also reflected in the number of parents who migrated to Rarotonga throughout the 1960's to accompany children attending Tereora College. The family living in the dwelling depicted in Plate 7 is an example of this. Many migrants of this type have continued on to New Zealand after the education of their children has been completed. The children themselves are frequently first to leave as a result of lack of jobs both on Mauke and in Rarotonga.

Communications as a Factor in Migration

Internal Shipping

The scattered nature of the island group has not only hindered economic development but has also been responsible for a serious transport problem. In October 1972, there were three inter-island cargo ships which visited all the islands of the group. The service offered

PLATE 7

A Maukean migrant home at Atupa, Rarotonga. The house, (are) constructed out of hardboard and kikau was built by the household head for his family on land loaned by a friend. The whole family moved to Rarotonga in 1964 when the first of the dependents started High School. At the time of the field survey the dwelling had ten occupants. The household head intends to return to Mauke once the children's education is complete.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 8

Maukean migrant homes close to central Avarua. Several families occupy these dwellings which vary in construction between hardboard, fibrolite and iron.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)



TABLE VIII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YEAR OF DEPARTURE FROM MAUKE
AND REASONS FOR MIGRATING

REASONS FOR LEAVING MAUKE	YEAR OF DEPARTURE FROM MAUKE								
	Pre 1950	1950-55	1955-60	1960-65	1965-70	1971	1972	1973	TOTAL
Join Spouse	1	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	8
Prepaid Fare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economic	-	2	4	3	2	-	-	1	12
New Life	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Termination of Ma. Contct.	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Finance House	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	5
Join Kin	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	1	6
Trip	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Education	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	1	7
	2	2	13	15	6	1	1	3	43

Data based on sample

was unreliable and encumbered with money problems both for the boat owners and users. The seasonal nature of most island crops makes it difficult to pick up perishable items at the critical time. Although Mauke has not been as adversely affected by this as some of the other outer islands, the problem has contributed towards a growing apathy as far as commercial growing is concerned. Difficulties associated with the lack of adequate harbours also makes the maintenance of a regular shipping service difficult in bad weather. Attempts were being made to improve conditions at the main landing (Taunganui) on Mauke whilst the writer was on the island. Although the Maukean people displayed a great willingness to help in the operation, the lack of expertise and equipment was a major drawback (see Plates 9 and 10).

These factors have culminated in a situation in which it is no longer profitable for ship owners to visit some islands because of the low tonnage of cargo for the return passage. Towards the end of 1972, the shipping operators in Rarotonga had the newly acquired vessel Manutea up for sale. Such problems have, in many cases, led to a sense of frustration, particularly in growers who have suffered crop losses. Such a situation provides a contributory factor which may ultimately result in a decision to migrate.

The close proximity of Mauke to Rarotonga (150 miles) places it in the fortunate position of receiving more visits than its economic output warrants. With the exception of the citrus off season, (October - January), the island receives a boat on an average of once a month. Individuals wishing to migrate are therefore not confronted with an insurmountable problem as far as travelling to Rarotonga is concerned. No cabins are necessary for nearly all

PLATE 9

The inter-island vessel, Manuvai lies anchored opposite the main landing at Taungamui. Callin'g at the island on an average of once a month makes boat day an important one for the islands' inhabitants. The lack of an adequate natural harbour makes unloading of supplies precarious in adverse weather. If seas become too rough here unloading takes place at Angataura landing on the other side of the island.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 10

In an endeavour to improve reefing conditions at Tauanganu a Public Works Department team was sent in 1972 from Rarotonga to blast a deep channel through the coral. The absence of any heavy mechanical equipment resulted in a communal work programme being initiated by the islanders themselves to clear debris.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)



islanders destined for Rarotonga travel on deck.

External Shipping

Prior to 1960, shipping links with New Zealand were infrequent and undependable. The Union Steamship Company ran a monthly mail boat between New Zealand North America making a stopover at Rarotonga each way. On the return voyage, fruit was taken on as cargo if space permitted. Frequently either as a result of poor stowage or the inability to take on a full cargo, fruit rotted in the holds or on the Rarotonga wharf.

Few provisions were made for passengers on these early vessels thus restricting travel to New Zealand.

The New Zealand Government purchase of the Moana Roa in 1960 greatly improved the situation and enabled 40 passengers to return to New Zealand each voyage. Throughout the 1960's Moana Roa averaged approximately ten trips a year. The periodic visits of cruise ships such as the Northern Star, Mariposa and Monterey, have also facilitated easy access to New Zealand for the Islanders.

Air Transport

A new international jet airport was completed in 1973 on the island of Rarotonga. The airport it replaced was an unsealed strip built in 1944 by the New Zealand Public Works Department. Regular air services to Rarotonga commenced the following year with a fortnightly National Airways Corporation Dakota service. Tasman Empire Air Lines later opened a monthly island service which became known as the Coral Route using Solent seaplanes. In 1952, the N.A.C. services ceased and the monthly Solent flight became fortnightly

until it too closed down in 1960. No regular service was operative until 1963 when Polynesian Airways Ltd. flew regular flights from Apia in Western Samoa. Finally in 1966, this too had to cease as a result of international restrictions placed on the use of small passenger aircraft flying long distance flights. Towards the end of the 1960's Polynesian Airways Ltd. began operating a weekly flight between Nandi and Rarotonga using Hawker Sidley aircraft. At present, with the advent of the jet age, Air New Zealand maintains a twice weekly D.C.8 service direct between Auckland and Rarotonga.

Improvements in air transport from the mid 1960's have had a profound effect on migration. The earlier services were not only irregular but could only carry a small number of passengers. With the advent of services offered by Polynesian Airways Ltd., more migrants looked towards air travel as a means of transport to New Zealand. Periodically Royal New Zealand Air Force transport planes visited Rarotonga on calibration flights and on the return trip were able to transport a great number of migrants.

The new service operated by Air New Zealand will rapidly dissipate all previous transport bottlenecks out of the Cook Islands. The inevitable question is to what extent will it result in a further acceleration in the rate of migration from Rarotonga. As far as Mauke is concerned, it may have grave repercussions especially in view of the fact that the island has been promised a feeder airstrip by the government.

Characteristics of the Migrant Communities

Rarotonga

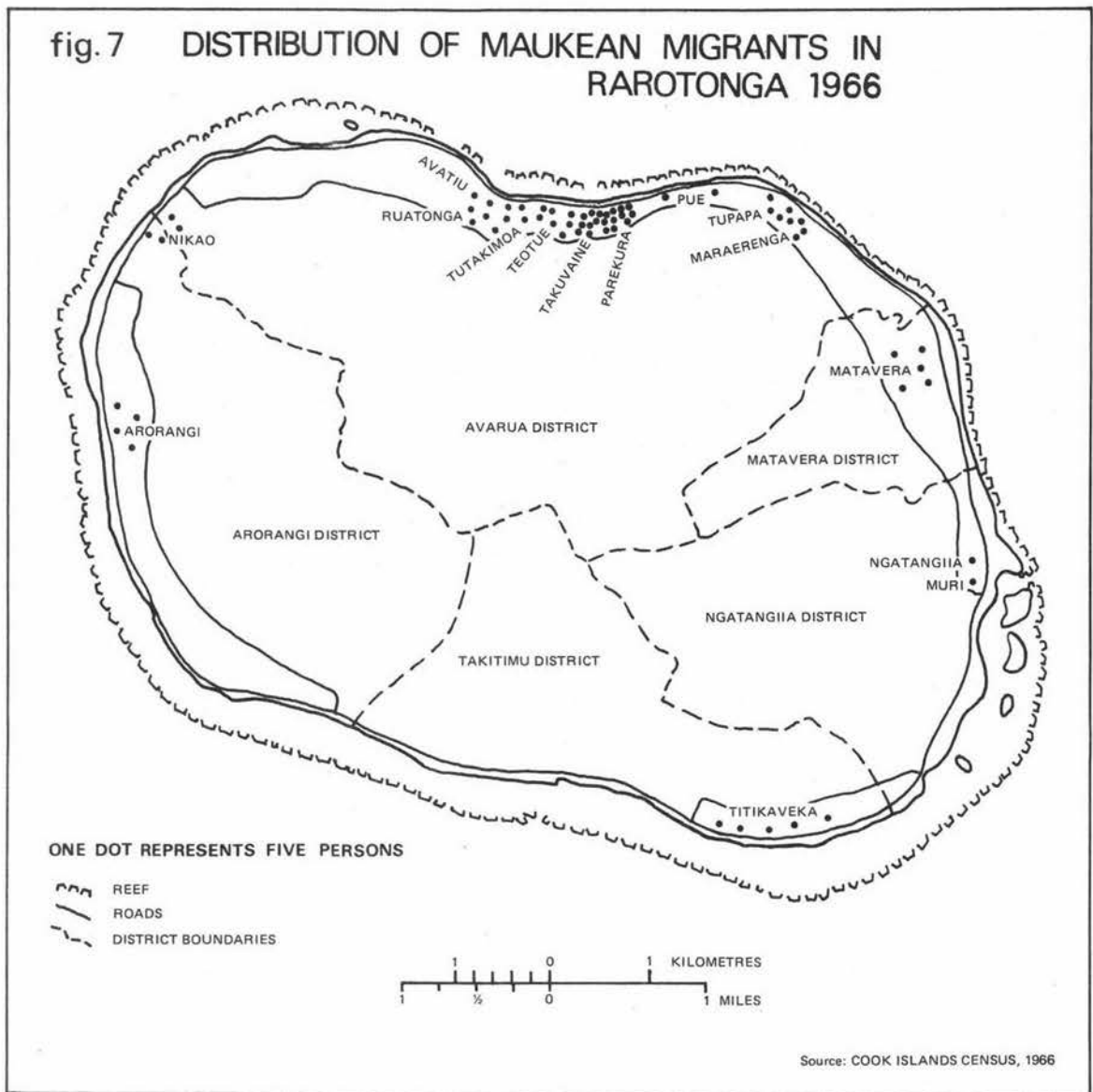
The largest concentrations of Maukean migrants in Rarotonga were found to be in the villages flanking the main centre of Avarua. Of these, the Takuvaine and Parekura areas recorded the highest densities in 1966 with a total of 92 migrants.

TABLE IX
LOCATION OF MAUKEAN MIGRANTS IN
RAROTONGA 1966

Village of Present Residence	M	F	TOT
Pue - Matavera	5	5	10
Tupapa - Maraerenga	13	24	37
Takuvaine - Parekura	55	37	92
Tutakimoa - Teotue	12	22	34
Avatiu - Ruatonga	25	24	49
Nikao	7	13	20
Arorangī	10	8	18
Titikaveka	12	11	23
Ngatangiia - Muri	7	5	12
Matavera	12	15	27
TOTAL	158	114	322

Source: Cook Island Census 1966

fig.7 DISTRIBUTION OF MAUKEAN MIGRANTS IN RAROTONGA 1966



Unfortunately similar figures from the 1971 census were unobtainable at the time of writing. However, it may be postulated that the number of Maukeans in Rarotonga would at least be constant if not slightly in excess of the above numbers. The 13.7% increase in Maukean population between 1961 and 1966 might be taken to indicate that migration declined to some degree during this period. Equally as likely, however, is an increase in fertility resulting in a higher birth rate on the island.

A large proportion of migrants interviewed in Rarotonga had been on the island in excess of five years and had jobs which were not only well paid by Cook Islands standards but also provided some degree of security. School teaching proved to be a particularly favoured occupation amongst Maukeans and constituted 30% of the sample population. Health, administration and public works were other occupational spheres in which a large number of Maukeans were found. A number of these migrants had managed, either through marriage or by some other means, to acquire access to land in Rarotonga and were thus able to build permanent dwellings. This factor alone has no doubt eliminated the necessity of travelling on to New Zealand in many instances. Nearly all of this group live outside Avarua.

It is largely the migrants living in overcrowded temporary dwellings in and around Avarua that display the greatest propensity to continue to New Zealand. In many cases they are living on sites to which only occupational rights have been granted and hence there is a reluctance to build structures of a lasting nature. Many dwellings made only of hardboard and iron can be seen, completely

PLATE 11

The Polynesian Centre in Cannons Creek. Many migrant clubs and groups frequently meet here for social and cultural gatherings.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 12

Many of the Maukean migrants in Cannons Creek now reside in State housing units like the one in the central foreground. All of the houses visited by the writer were immaculately kept inside and the decor was similar to that found on Mauke.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)



devoid of adequate sanitary facilities. This, coupled in several instances, with overcrowding, is a constant problem. The reduced number of labouring jobs available since the completion of the airport runway has severely affected the economics of many households. The alternatives available are to either to return to Mauke and work their lands or else to persuade a relative in New Zealand to remit money for a fare.

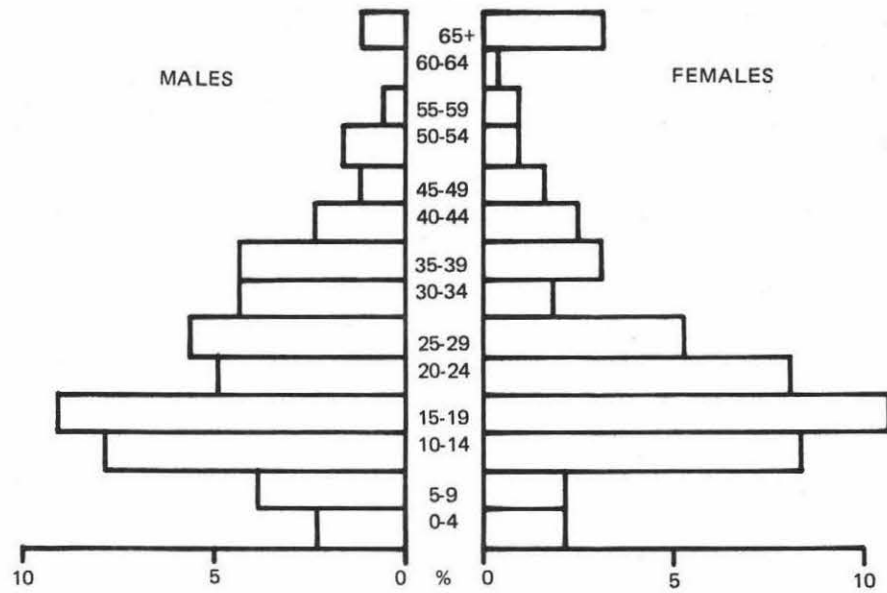
The demographic structure of the Maukean community in Rarotonga in 1966 highlights the selectivity of migration (see Fig.8). The narrow base is made up predominantly of Maukean born dependents. The cohorts representing the greatest number of migrants are the 10 - 14 and the 15 - 19 years of age respectively. The large numbers in these groups may be attributed to the student population at Tereora College and other youths on training schemes. Throughout the middle order cohorts, males tend to predominate. There is, however, a heavy weighting of females in the upper dependent cohorts.

Cannons Creek

Maukean migrants were among the first people to move into this area of Porirua East. Several of these indicated that they had initially settled in Wellington itself, but had moved out to Cannons Creek on doctors advice because of chest ailments. All of the migrant families interviewed occupy state houses or apartments located in close proximity to the central shopping areas and Polynesian Centre (see Plates 11 and 12). This centre, which was only recently constructed, is available for the use of any group in the area for a variety of activities. Consequently, it is already becoming an

fig. 8

MAUKEAN MIGRANTS IN RAROTONGA 1966



Source: 1966, OFFICIAL CENSUS

TABLE X
SEX RATIOS FOR MAUKEANS IN RAROTONGA
AND CANNONS CREEK

<u>RAROTONGA: 1966</u>			<u>CANNONS CREEK: 1974</u>	
			<u>Without Dependents</u>	<u>With dependents</u>
0 - 4	-	100	-	36.7
5 - 9	-	171.4	-	54.5
10 - 14	-	92.5	40.0	100
15 - 19	-	85.2	100	83.3
20 - 24	-	61.5	83.3	83.3
25 - 29	-	102.8	100	100
30 - 34	-	233.3	75.0	75.0
35 - 39	-	140.0	40.0	60.0
40 - 44	-	100	200	200
45 - 49	-	80.0	33.3	33.3
50 - 54	-	166.6	50	50
55 - 59	-	66.6	100	100
60 - 64	-	-	-	-
65 +	-	40.0	-	-

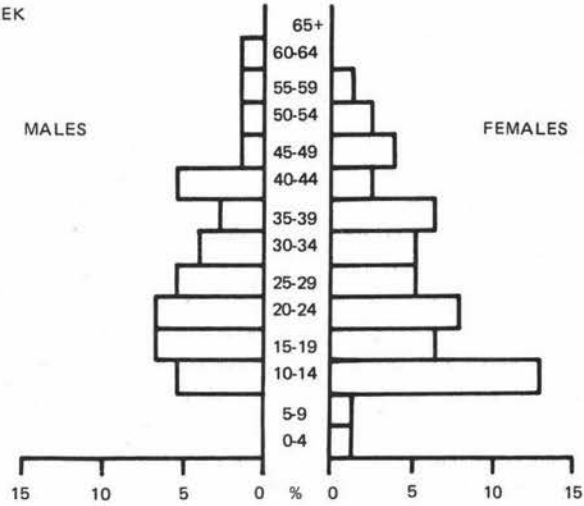
Sources:

Cook Island Population Census, 1966.

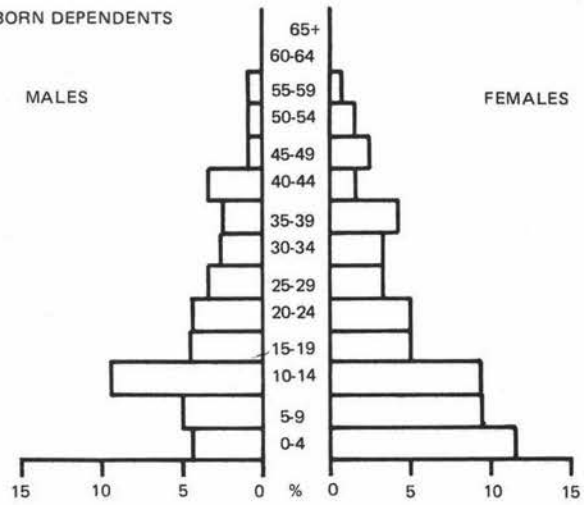
1974 Figures from survey data.

fig. 9 MAUKEAN MIGRANTS 1974

A IN CANNONS CREEK



B WITH NEW ZEALAND BORN DEPENDENTS



integral part of the community facilities. The Maukean Club and other Cook Island groups frequently use the centre for dance rehearsals, meetings and other social functions. The writer was invited to speak and show slides of Mauke to an audience in excess of one hundred people in the centre.

The population structure of the Cannons Creek community does not on first impression convey a typical migrant structure (see Fig. 9b). This is the result of a large number of New Zealand born Maukeans (particularly females) comprising a large percentage of the total at the base of the structure. In an attempt to remove this distortion a second pyramid was drawn up including only those Maukeans in each household who had migrated from the Cook Islands (see Fig. 9a). The result is a more typical migrant pyramid with an almost total absence of dependents in the 0 - 9 years of age cohorts. As would be expected, the majority of the population are in the middle cohorts although noticeable imbalances between sexes occur infrequently.

The range of employment type for Maukean migrants is extremely limited. Of all those actively employed, only two were in non-labouring jobs. The most common employers of males are the meat works, the car assembly plants in the Hutt Valley, and the railways. The women tended to be employed either in shoe or hosiery factories. One feature which does emerge from the analysis of occupations is that there is a tendency for groups of migrants to be employed in the same plant. This again reflects back to kin factors for not only is money remitted back to Mauke to bring a relative out to New Zealand, but also on arrival in many cases a job has been arranged. Cook

Islanders, in common with most Polynesians, prefer to work communally, rather than in isolation. In no case was it found that a migrant pursued the occupation he was formerly engaged in irrespective of the acquired skills.

Whilst much valuable material relating to migrating patterns of movement and characteristics has been extracted from the formal interview schedules, it is conceivable that other pertinent data may have been overlooked. For this reason three personal migration studies will be included. Through careful selection it is hoped that these will provide a typical cross-section of migrant histories and also illustrate some of the processes and factors involved.

Case Study A

Case study A is a recent male arrival in New Zealand. Aged 26, he is a fully trained Cook Island primary teacher and was practising this occupation on Mauke during the writers stay. As all of his family were resident in New Zealand he was also responsible for care of the family lands. In addition to his school teaching he was able to successfully produce a significant amount of starch (pia) from the arrowroot grown on his lands. A large proportion of this was mailed to his family in Cannons Creek. He had a genuine interest in the islands affairs and was a member of his village committee. It was in this sphere that he felt restricted for, like so many other young leaders, he was regarded as being too young to be taken seriously by older community leaders.

In October 1972 he left Mauke and after a fortnight in Rarotonga flew to New Zealand. This fare was financed partly

through his own savings whilst the balance was made up by remittances from his brother. He intends to pay this money back.

The main motives for migrating fall into two categories. Firstly he wanted to see his girlfriend (whom he hopes to marry) and his family. Secondly, he believes that Mauke has a great future as a provider of agricultural crops and he therefore hopes to acquire some expertise and machinery to take back to Mauke.

On arrival in New Zealand he immediately rejoined his family in Cannons Creek. A job was arranged for him at the freezing works by his brother-in-law. When the works closed down he was employed by the railways department as a clerk and currently, still holds this position. At present he remits \$20 per month back to Mauke to pay the caretaker for maintenance of his house and for tending his livestock. He has also offered to pay the fare of any relative who wishes to come to New Zealand.

After almost one year in New Zealand he is now beginning to have mixed feelings about returning to Mauke permanently. The way of life here in New Zealand increasingly has more appeal to him and when last spoken to he had made no definite plans to return.

Case Study B

The second case study is a 27 year old woman who comes from a family of six. In 1972 she worked as a nurse in the Mauke hospital earning roughly \$600 a year. She had seven years primary education at the Mauke School and speaks reasonably fluent English. Apart from a three month stay in Rarotonga in 1969 on account of illness, Mauke has been her home all her life. Her brothers and sisters

have been the more venturesome members of the family and in 1972 were all either in New Zealand or Rarotonga. One brother who has now been in New Zealand for nine years, broke contact with the family shortly after his arrival and only recently was contact restored after another brother returned to Mauke for a visit. The apparent reason for the break in relations was closely correlated with monetary kin obligations. There is evidence of similar occurrences in other families.

She loves her island but frequent contact with brothers in New Zealand strongly influenced her desire to migrate in search of a better job and money. They offered to pay her fare anytime she was prepared to leave. These offers were for sometime declined largely because of obligations to her mother and children. Her mind was altered shortly after her sister migrated to New Zealand in late 1972 informing her of the earning capacity she would have working in a factory. She also realised that on her present wage of \$14 per week that there was little likelihood of raising sufficient capital to complete and furnish the small bungalow which was constructed with the aid of a housing loan grant. Her intention was to provide a comfortable home for her aged mother.

With the offers of her brothers to pay the fare to New Zealand, one problem was alleviated. The remaining obstacle was that of who would look after her mother in her absence. This was finally resolved when a brother in Rarotonga decided to return to the island.

With mixed feelings and many tears she left Mauke in November 1973. The following comments about her departure were

made in a letter to the writer.

" There are lots of passengers travelling to Rarotonga by this boat. I'm one of them and I want to spend only one week in Rarotonga before I come to New Zealand, but this depends on the bookings my brother has made. If he is going to pay my fare very quickly I will come early. I'm so lonely because I'm the only passenger from Mauke going to New Zealand. I'm not sure whether I'll be coming by boat or plane. I'm so lonely and sad for leaving my family behind, also my friends, brothers, sister-in-law, the children and everybody on Mauke because I don't know when I'll be back. The boat will be here tomorrow. Tonight there are lots of friends at our place talking and joking for this is my last night on Mauke. I know that I will really miss Mauke and everyone. I'm so sad that I'm crying as I write this".

In Rarotonga she stayed with her uncle for two weeks before flying to New Zealand. On arrival in Auckland she was met by her brothers one of whom she stayed with in Ponsonby. After a week her brother found her a job in a laundry.

For her initial impressions I shall once again quote directly:

" I really miss my Mum and family as well as my friends and everybody on Mauke. Sometimes I do not want to eat and tears fall when I'm alone in my room.

I started work last Tuesday at a laundry in Grey Lynn. I was very sad to see that I am the only Cook Islander

working in the place because I have no one around to talk to. There are lots of Fijians, Samoans, Indians and some twenty papa'as. I walk to the place at 6.45 a.m. and start work at eight. Its really very far to walk and I miss my push bike in Mauke. I wont forget the island. I really miss Mauke because Im not used to the ways here and its very difficult for me and also the food I eat these days. Sometimes I have a tummy ache. I was very glad to meet some Maukean people here in Auckland. There are lots and nearly every Sunday our telephone always rings and when I answer it, I know its some friends asking me to their place for an umukai. Up until this Sunday I have been to six - lots of food, drinks and fruit but I'm too lazy to eat what they put on for me.

I have now been at work a week and have received my first pay of \$30. Im the only one who gets that amount, all of the other girls and women get \$40 - \$60. Anyway one of my Maukean friends has invited me to go and work with her at the bacon factory but Im still thinking what will be best for me. Tomorrow Im sending \$10 to my Mum in Mauke, giving \$15 to my brother, because I'm trying to pay him back his \$200 for my fare to New Zealand. I think that if I do that every week, my account will be clean in four months time. I will then try to save my money in a savings bank book so I will have enough to get back home in 1975".

The proposed three year stay did not however eventuate for the beginning of winter brought on an illness causing her to give up work

for a month and a half. On doctors advice she ultimately returned to Mauke. All of the savings were used for the return fare. After a four and a half month stay in New Zealand, she arrived back on her home island and was fortunate enough to regain her old job. In recent letters she has commented on the absence of many people from the island and the large numbers of young and old who are now travelling to New Zealand. It is noteworthy that since her return she has been instrumental in forming a youth club on the island.

Note:

The comments cited from letters remain largely unaltered except in cases of poor English.

Case Study C

The following comments are largely those made in a personal interview with a Maukean planter who recently returned to the island after spending six years in New Zealand. Even though case study approaches may be frowned upon as being undesirable geographic research tools, some of the factors mentioned contribute greatly towards supporting various hypotheses put forward regarding the whole process of migration. Some of the following points may be concluded to be of great value in that they provide definite proof that there are forces operating which ultimately influence, or have influenced Maukean people in migrating, some of which have, up until recently, been largely a matter of conjecture.

Tangata is a 38 year old Maukean born planter from a family of six children, four of whom are at present residing in New Zealand. Prior to 1964 he and his family were eking out a meagre existence with little likelihood of greatly improving their economic lot.

Through fairly regular contact with his brothers in New Zealand he learnt of opportunities for earning money and of the more desirable way of life to be found there. Tangata's great desire was to build a modern house for his family and after constant persuasion in correspondence from his brothers he decided to leave Mauke in order to accumulate the necessary finance. His brother informed him that his fare would be paid, accommodation provided and employment arranged. Because he could not afford to take his family, the wife and children remained in his household supported by monthly remittances of up to \$30. Although reluctant to leave his family, the desire to earn the money necessary to improve his accommodation in Mauke was too overpowering and so he departed by air for New Zealand in 1964. The brother who had paid his fare, and with whom he resided with in Porirua showed little desire to be repaid for providing the fare money, although remuneration was made by other means; (for example when his brother was hospitalised for five months, Tangata paid all the expenses, much against his brothers will).

New Zealand proved to be vastly different from his expectations. He expected the country to be similar to Rarotonga and not the vast urban agglomeration with which he was confronted. He found his limited knowledge of English a severe handicap and the climate something which was at first intolerable. After an initial period of disorientation, he began to settle into the new way of life which surrounded him, and the new job which his brother had arranged for him, driving buses for the Wellington City Corporation.

After a period of six years, the necessary capital for the commencement of his house had been accumulated and so he decided

to return to Mauke and his family. Never during his whole stay in New Zealand did he ever consider remaining there for good. To him the links with his family and his home island were too great a lure.

Today, after two years away from New Zealand, he has a modern five roomed uncompleted Bungalow. Questioned as to whether he would like to return to New Zealand with his family he replied that he once had this thought, but that there is a strong urge within him forcing him to stay. The way of life in New Zealand was undoubtedly better than any other place he had visited and as a consequence of this, transition back to his native way of life was somewhat difficult. Even after two years he admits that he has still not fully adjusted and that he misses many of the luxuries to which he had grown accustomed.

The people of Mauke he also finds have changed greatly during his six year absence in that communal relationships have weakened and that the people are becoming more of 'economic men'. Proof of this is seen in the fact that the house in which he saved for, was constructed solely on his own as the family labour which would have helped him less than a decade ago, was now replaced by a unit which demanded monetary remuneration which he could not afford.

Note: I suspect that this may also be tied up with the fact that many of his relatives are now resident in New Zealand.
See also his family genealogy (Fig. 15).

CHAPTER THREE

The Impact of Migration on Mauke

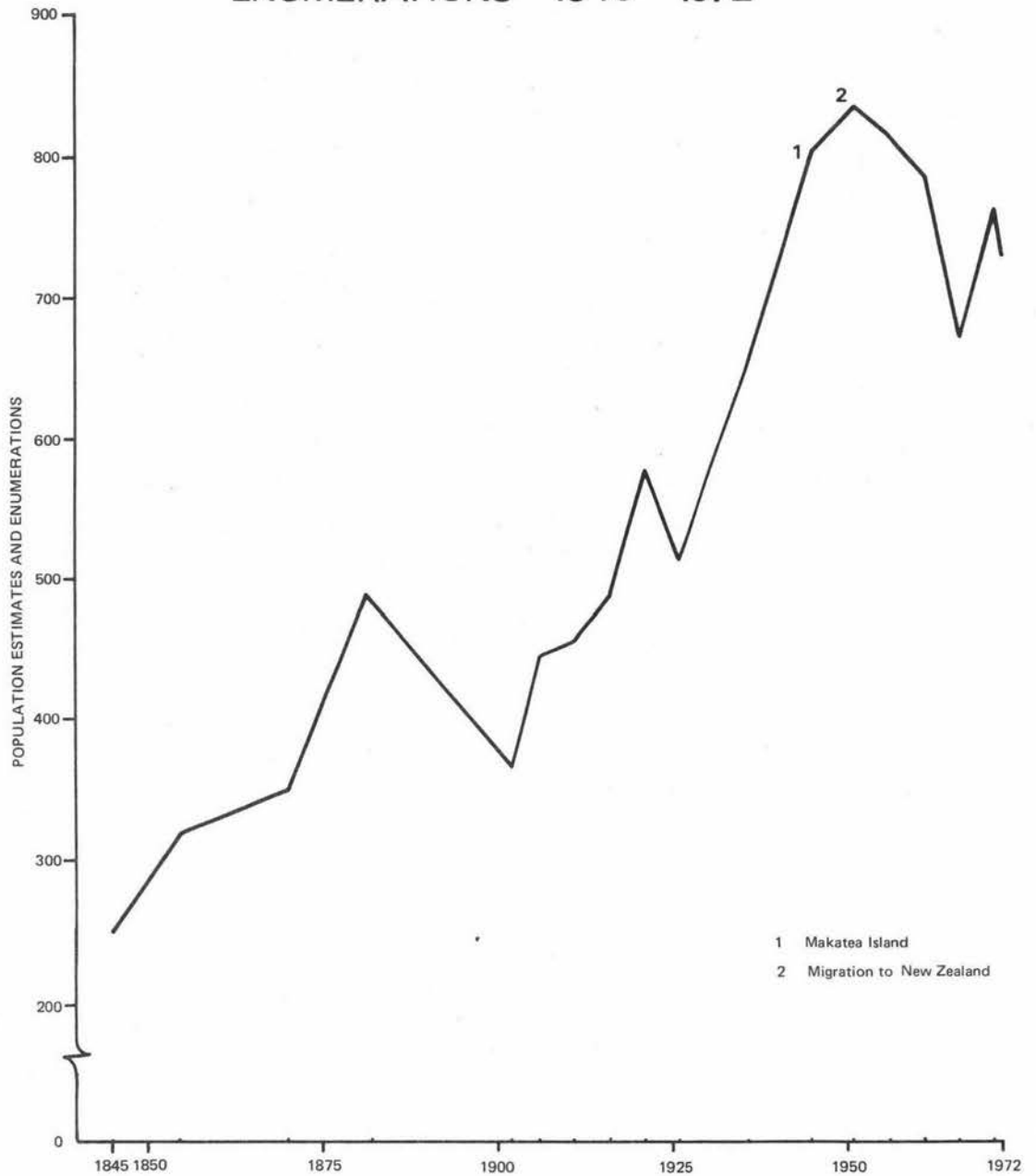
Since the time of first population enumeration in 1820 the island's growth has been subjected to several fluctuations as a consequence of temporary or permanent movement of people (see Figure 10). Although significant, none of these reached the magnitude of population displacement exhibited over the last two decades. Since the early 1950's there has been an acceleration of Maukean people opting to leave their home island in favour of the 'greener pastures' of Rarotonga and New Zealand. This trend has now reached such alarming proportions that the whole economic and social structure of the island is in jeopardy. The far reaching effects of migration have permeated all aspects of Maukean life. Some of these effects can be both observed visually and recorded with some degree of accuracy. Others however, though equally significant, are not quite so obvious and as a consequence provide greater difficulty in attempting to assess their impact.

Maukean Population Growth

First consideration must be given to the present demographic structure and characteristics of the islands' population. Estimates and enumerations recorded this century reveal a sharp

fig.10

MAUKEAN POPULATION ESTIMATES & ENUMERATIONS 1845-1972



rise in numbers between the years 1925 - 1947 (See Table XI). Between 1926 and 1936 an increase of 27.5 per cent was recorded whilst the percentage change between 1936 and 1945 registered an increase of 23.3 percent. Such increases subsequently declined to a mere 3.9 percent between 1945 and 1951. This represents growth at average annual rates of 2.4 percent, 2.3 percent and 0.7 percent over the three periods. The population total in 1951 was 836. This figure declined to 815 in 1956, 785 in 1961 before finally plummeting to 671 in 1966. The last drop represents a decline of 14.5 percent.

The turning point came after 1947 when an increasing number of younger men were being recruited for phosphate mining on Makatea Island.

Between 1966 and 1971, despite the increase in outmigration, the island's population reached a total of 763 persons; representing a 13.7 percent rise. A census conducted by the writer six months later revealed a drop of 4.4 percent to 729 persons. The fluctuations of population totals do not necessarily point to a lessening or an increase in migration but rather may be accounted for by other demographic factors such as increased levels of fertility. For this reason changes in total population are in themselves inadequate when considering the demographic repercussions of migration. Only when the population structures are examined, can any reliable inferences be made.

Age - Sex Structures

From the three sets of age - sex pyramids compiled for the years of 1966, 1971 and 1972 several striking features are apparent

TABLE XIMAUKE: TOTAL POPULATION, 1845 - 1972

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>	<u>INTERCENSAL</u> <u>PERCENTAGE CHANGE</u>
1820	300	
1845	250	-
1854	320	+28.0
1871	350	+ 9.3
1881	487	+39.1
1902	370	-31.6
1906	446	+20.5
1911	457	+ 2.4
1916	490	+ 7.2
1921	578	+17.9
1926	511	-13.1
1936	652	+27.5
1945	804	+23.3
1951	836	+ 3.9
1956	815	- 6.5
1961	785	- 3.6
1966	671	-14.5
1971	763	+13.7
1972 ^②	729	- 4.4

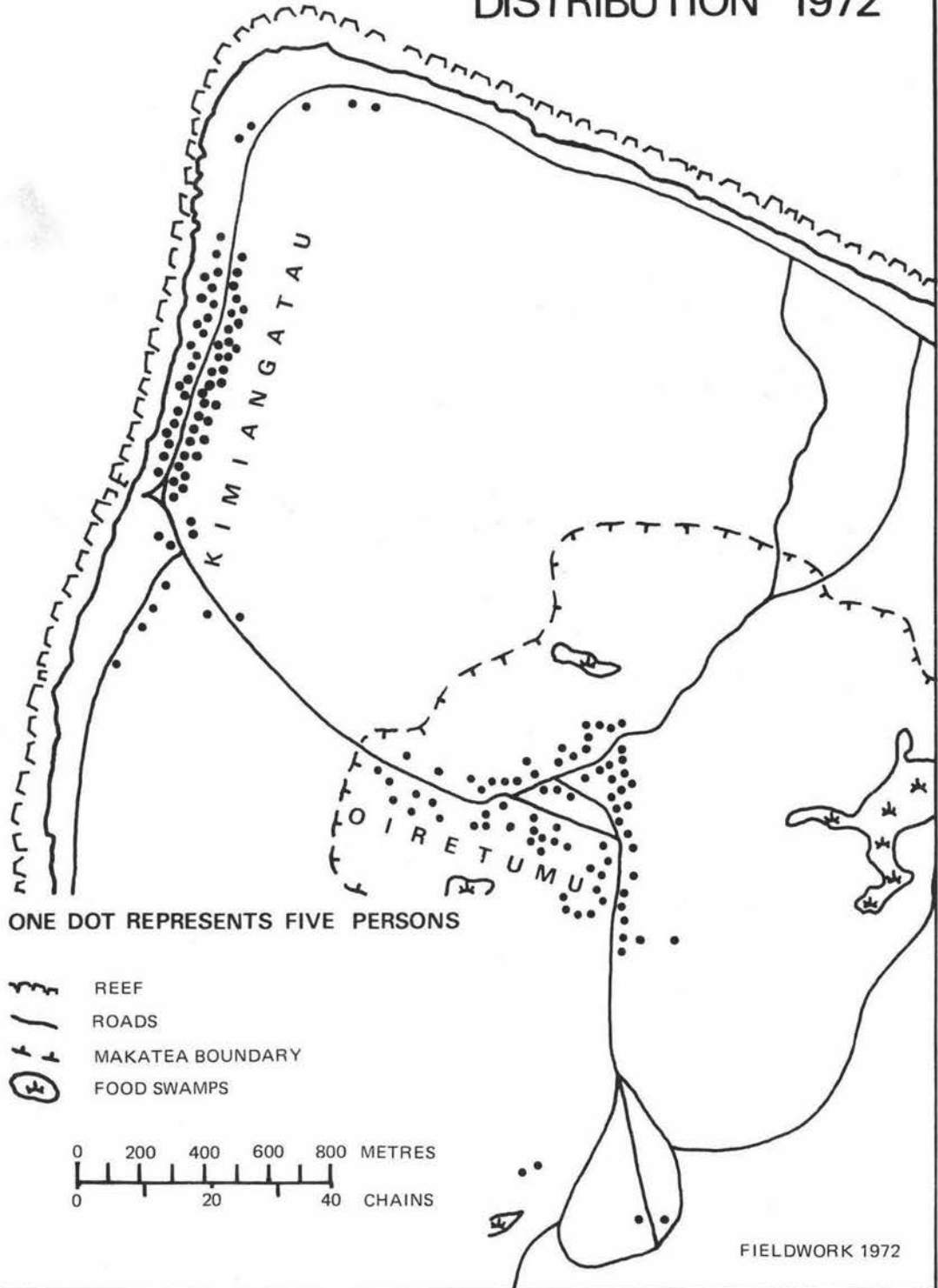
Notes:

② This figure is calculated for only the first three quarters of the year.

Sources:

McArthur, Island Populations of the Pacific.
Cook Islands Population Census, 1966.
British Naval Intelligence Handbook, Vol.II
New Zealand Yearbooks.
Personal Census 1972.

fig. 11 MAUKE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION 1972



VILLAGE POPULATIONS

1961

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% TOTAL POPULATION</u>
Kimiangatau	213	190	403	51.33
Oiretumu	201	181	382	48.66
	<u>414</u>	<u>371</u>	<u>785</u>	
		<u>1966</u>		
Kimiangatau	156	167	323	48.13
Oiretumu	177	171	348	51.86
	<u>333</u>	<u>338</u>	<u>671</u>	
		<u>1971</u>		
Kimiangatau	171	197	368	48.23
Oiretumu	197	198	395	51.76
	<u>368</u>	<u>395</u>	<u>763</u>	
		<u>1972¹</u>		
Kimiangatau	155	185	340	46.63
Oiretumu	195	194	389	53.31
	<u>350</u>	<u>379</u>	<u>729</u>	

Notes: 1 These figures have been calculated for the first three quarters of the year only.

Source: Cook Island Census, 1966.
1972 Fieldwork.

TABLE XIIIPOPULATION STRUCTURE 1966 - 1972

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>1966</u>		<u>1971</u>		<u>1972</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 - 4	154	22.9	154	20.1	137	18.7
5 - 9	138	20.4	155	20.2	158	21.6
10 - 14	83	12.3	119	15.5	109	14.9
15 - 19	47	6.9	52	6.7	60	8.1
20 - 24	31	4.5	44	5.7	40	5.4
25 - 29	32	4.6	33	4.2	29	3.8
30 - 34	22	3.2	32	4.1	29	3.8
35 - 39	23	3.3	20	2.6	26	3.4
40 - 44	30	4.4	20	2.6	20	2.7
45 - 49	25	3.6	29	3.7	25	3.3
50 - 54	31	4.5	30	3.8	30	4.0
55 - 59	15	1.9	28	3.6	21	2.8
60 - 64	21	3	13	1.6	10	1.3
65 +	<u>19</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>4.7</u>
Total	<u>671</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>763</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>729</u>	<u>100</u>

Sources:

Cook Islands Population Census, 1966.
 Cook Islands Statistical Bulletin,
 Field Survey.

(see Figures 12,13,14). The first of these is the tremendously broad base of each indicating a large percentage of the population under the age of 15 years. At the other end of the spectrum there is a significantly high percentage of older people in the 65+ cohorts. Cumulatively, both of these groups constitute an abnormally high degree of dependency, for the island and provide a ratio which has been increasing in recent years. The dependency ratio for 1966 was 58.7 percent; a figure which increased to 60.5 percent in 1971 and in September 1972 was calculated as being 60.2 percent. Such high levels result in an increasing burden being imposed on the residual population in the economically active age cohorts.

The combination of high fertility rates, (the general fertility rate in 1971 was 336.5) decreasing mortality (the crude death rate declined from 27.7 in 1921 to 5.5 in 1972) and an accelerating movement of population out of the middle order cohorts results in this group being the most adversely affected. From the pyramids it is apparent that not only is there a deficiency of overall numbers but, in addition, in some age groups imbalances occur between the sexes (See Tables XIV, XV and XVI).

In both the census years of 1966 and 1971 imbalances particularly in the 15 - 24 year old cohorts were evident. Similarly six months after the official census in 1971 the ratio of boys to girls in the 15 - 19 age group was 66.6 per 100. Undoubtedly this disparity would be strongly influenced by male students away at Terecra College in Rarotonga. In the middle order cohorts the total numbers in each group further diminish and in several instances imbalances again become apparent.

TABLE XIVSEX RATIOS

<u>MAUKE:</u>	<u>Total</u>		
	(1) <u>1966</u>	(2) <u>1971</u>	(3) <u>1972</u>
0 - 4	83.3	87.8	77.9
5 - 9	112.3	112.3	105.1
10 -14	97.6	83.0	91.2
15 -19	176.4	67.7	66.6
20 -24	106.6	91.3	81.8
25 -29	77.7	135.7	123.0
30 -34	69.2	60.0	93.3
35 -39	91.6	100	62.9
40 -44	130.7	66.6	122.2
45 -49	38.8	141.6	92.3
50 -54	198.3	57.8	76.4
55 -59	150.0	180.0	133.3
60 -64	110.0	85.7	233.3
65 +	171.4	100	133.3

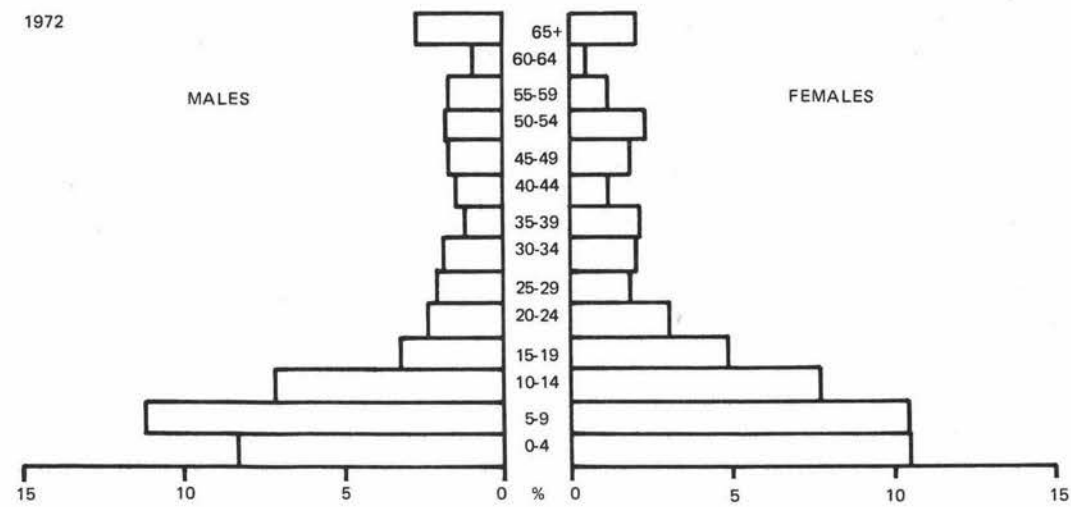
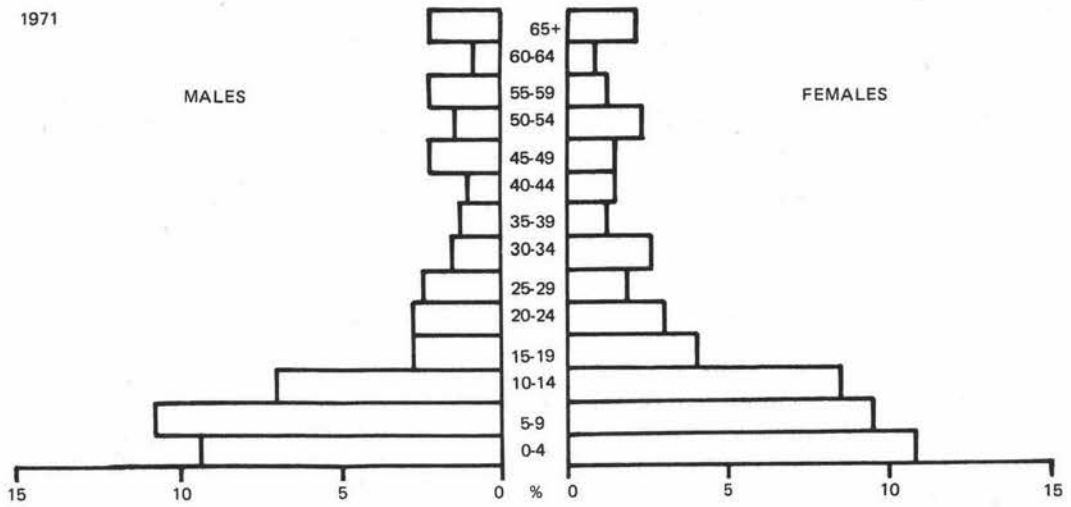
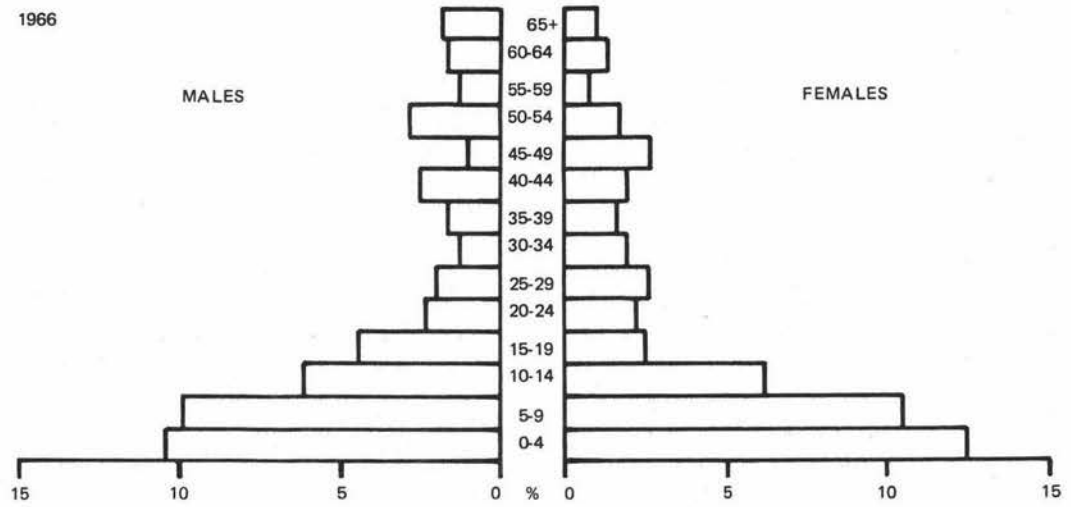
Sources:

Cook Islands Population Census, 1966.

Cook Islands Statistical Bulletin Rarotonga, 1973.

1972 figures from survey data.

fig.12 MAUKE AGE - SEX STRUCTURE



Source: 1966 & 1971, OFFICIAL CENSUS 1972, FIELD SURVEY

TABLE XV

SEX RATIOSKIMIANGATAU VILLAGE

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
0 - 4	77.5	75.5	74.4
5 - 9	100	96.9	106.0
10 -14	57.2	87.5	95.6
15 -19	200	71.4	36.0
20 -24	100	84.6	83.3
25 -29	77.7	166.6	100
30 -34	80	45.4	100
35 -39	83.3	100	50.0
40 -44	150	50.0	166.6
45 -49	22.2	142.8	116.6
50 -54	100	66.6	44.4
55 -59	166.6	100	100
60 -64	166.6	80.0	100
65 +	500	112.5	166.6

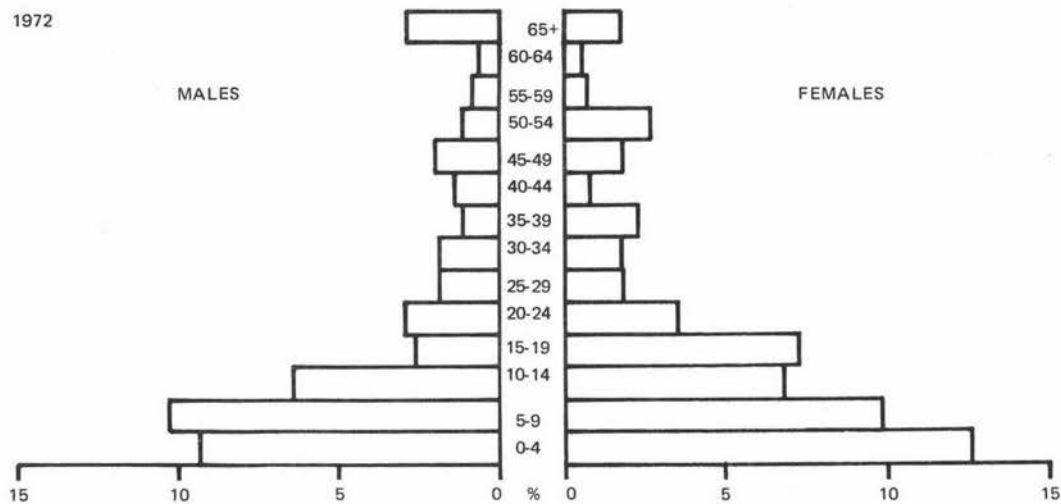
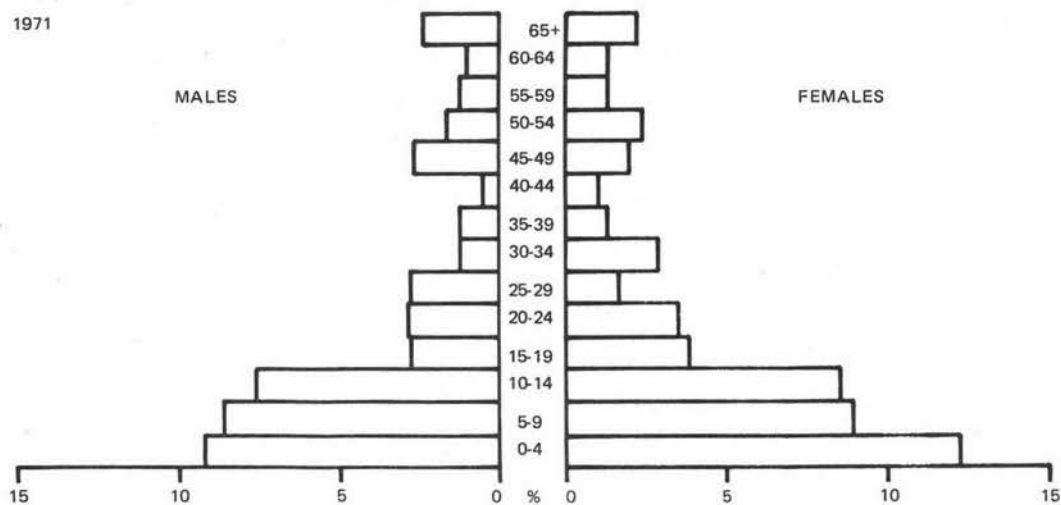
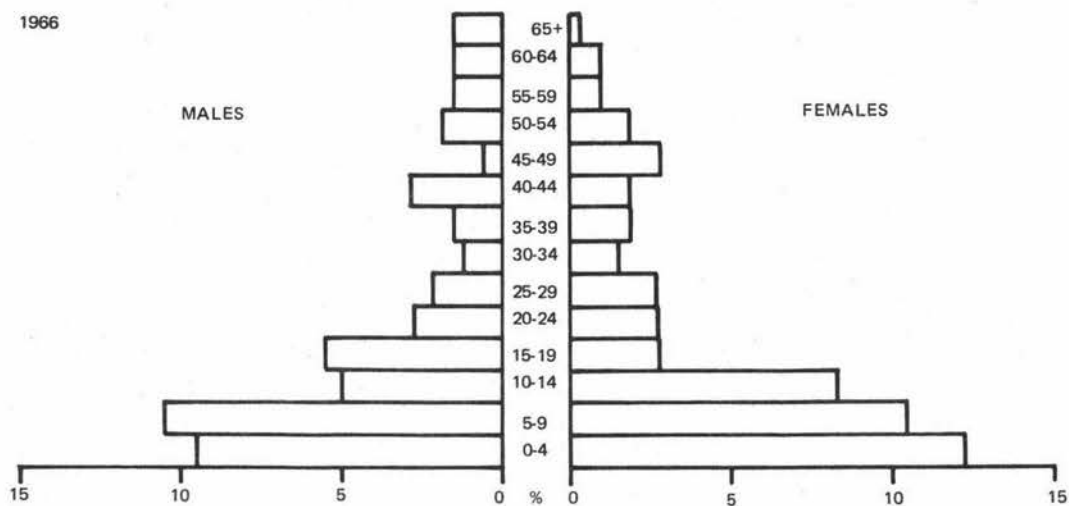
Sources:

Cook Islands Population Census 1966

Cook Islands Statistical Bulletin Rarotonga 1973

1972 figures from survey data

fig.13 KIMIANGATAU AGE - SEX STRUCTURE



Source: 1966 & 1971, OFFICIAL CENSUS 1972, FIELD SURVEY

TABLE XVI
SEX RATIOS
OIRETUMU VILLAGE

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
0 - 4	88.6	102.7	82.3
5 - 9	89.1	125.0	104.5
10-14	166.6	78.7	88.2
15-19	150.0	64.7	136.3
20-24	116.6	100	80.0
25-29	77.7	112.5	142.8
30-34	62.5	77.7	88.8
35-39	100	100	75.0
40-44	114.2	75.0	100
45-49	55.5	140.0	71.4
50-54	216.6	50.0	112.5
55-59	133.3	260.0	150.0
60-64	85.7	100	500
65 +	116.6	88.8	111.1

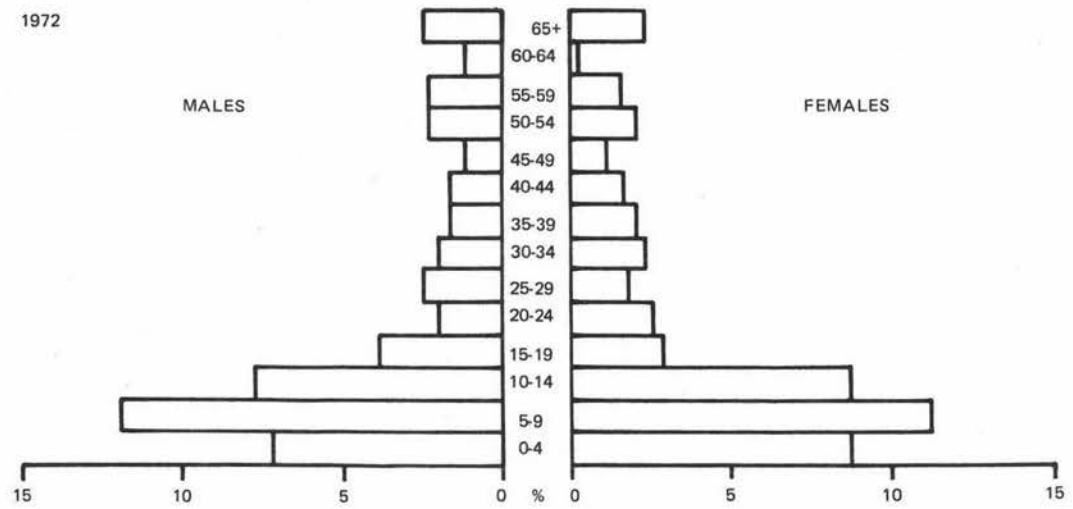
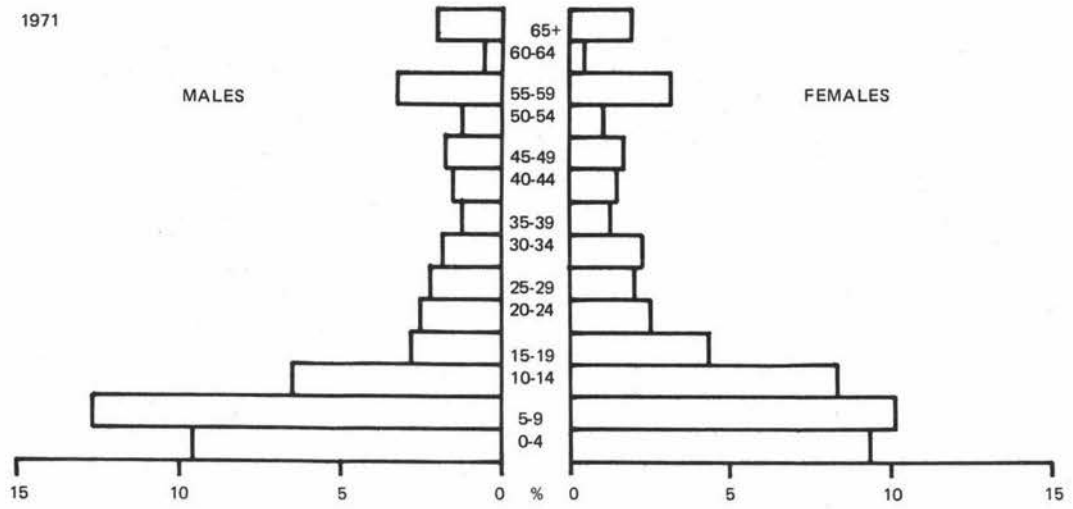
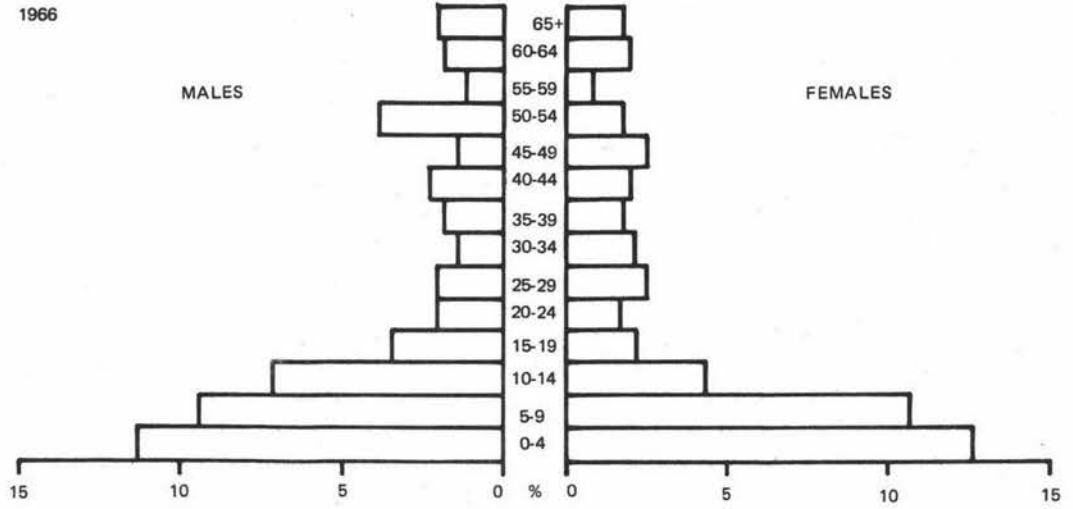
Sources:

Cook Islands Population Census 1966

Cook Islands Statistical Bulletin Rarotonga 1973

1972 figures from survey data

fig.14 OIRETUMU AGE - SEX STRUCTURE



Source: 1966 & 1971, OFFICIAL CENSUS 1972, FIELD SURVEY

The same pattern is also reflected when pyramids for individual village structures are compiled. In both Kimiangatau and Oiretumu villages equally severe losses are recorded in the lower cohorts of the economically active groups with the 15 - 30 age group again suffering more extremely. Because of the smaller numbers involved, imbalances in sex composition are highlighted in the village structures. Whilst disparities are obvious in most cohorts between 15 and 64, a distinct predominance of females in several is the most noticeable feature. This may well be a reflection of the selectivity of migration and a continuation of already established patterns of movement.

Economic Effects of Migration

The growing dependence on an ever decreasing male work force has had serious effects on the fragile island economy. The mainstay of this economy ostensibly is agriculture with citrus production assuming the dominant role. However the lack of any sound and stable development plans has meant that the necessary incentives to increase production above subsistence levels have not been forthcoming. Even where a genuine desire to increase inputs does exist there are other obstacles which negate any efforts. Many of these obstacles are in themselves catalysts which engender the frustration for which emigration is too frequently the outlet. Amongst these are unstable prices, infrequent shipping, lack of fertilisers, sprays and machinery, petty thieving and pig devastation in the plots. At present all of these obstacles are further confounded by an acute shortage of labour directly attributable to the emigration of able bodied workers to Rarotonga and New Zealand. This may in itself now

provide adequate grounds for leaving the island.

Labour Shortages in Relation to Citrus Production

The Cook Island Government has realised the potential of Mauke as a citrus producing island and has in recent years invested a considerable amount of capital into developing this activity. In 1969, with the consent of the titleholders concerned, two large blocks of unused land were taken over for a nominal rent and converted into new citrus groves. (See Plate 13). The intention is that the government will run the scheme until the trees are of bearing age and the initial investment has been recouped. At this point it is intended to return the land to the owning parties.

Much skepticism surrounds the venture; primarily because the blocks will be more efficient units in their present unsegmented state, and secondly, many of the titleholders are already absent from the island.

If the state of plots started under the Citrus Replanting Scheme in 1948 is any gauge; to return this land in small individual units to growers would be a grave mistake. The mismanagement and inefficient running of the 118 Citrus Replanting Scheme plots cannot be totally blamed on the planters concerned as there are a whole host of contributory factors. Many people in Rarotonga have been quick to condemn the Maukeans as being lazy and adopting a "couldn't care a less attitude". Such condemnation is both hasty and in many cases not totally justified. There are several reasons for such an assertion. It was found that 45 of the plots were held by absentee landlords. Of this figure, 28 of the owners were in

PLATE 13

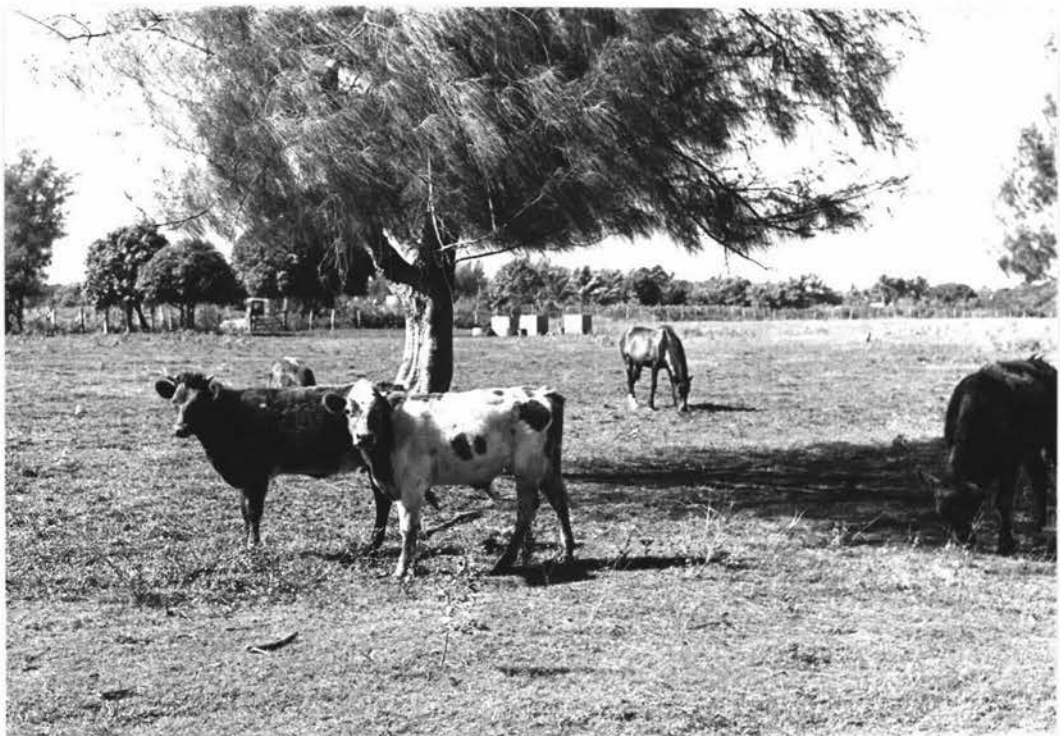
One of the two new citrus blocks at present part of a new government scheme to reestablish orange production on the island. The land is rented by the government, the intention being that when the trees are of bearing age and inputs are recouped, the plots will again be returned to the titleholders.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 14

The central portion of the island, formerly fernland has been the location for many government initiated agricultural schemes. The latest of these ventures is a cattle farm but like its predecessors the experiment is confronted with many problems.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)



New Zealand and 17 in Rarotonga. Overall this represents a 42 percent absenteeism rate. Under the present land tenure system, no caretaker is going to invest in improvements when he has no guaranteed tenure and risks the possibility of repossession at any time. According to the Resident Agent on the island, only one grower in 1972 had applied to the Land Court for occupational rights. A further 16 plots were being run unaided by persons over the age of 60. Only four of these plots are included in the 42 percent owned by absentee landlords. Already much of the work being done on the citrus plots is carried out by the Fruit Control branch of the Agriculture Department. This includes spraying, weeding, pruning and fertilising, all of which are charged against the plot. Despite this attention plot yields are low. Out of the sixty six households which indicated involvement in citrus production only twenty one produced in excess of five thousand pounds. As a consequence, total production for the island is well below potential.¹ Up until September 1972 there were only ten shipments of citrus to the Greggs Raro Factory in Rarotonga. The cargoes varied between 2500 and 77,350 pounds. The total weight of fruit sent over the ten voyages was 552,165 lbs. By the time deductions were made for freight, manure levies and Citrus Replanting Scheme plot debts, the net profits for individual growers seldom represented large returns.

From the household survey it was found that only 42 percent of the households earned in excess of \$50 per annum. Because the yields are so small, plot debts have reached gigantic proportions with little or no likelihood of ever being settled. In October

1972 the Agriculture Department in Rarotonga estimated a figure of \$112,000 for the island.

The problem of labour for commercial agriculture is further accentuated by the large percentage of the work force being employed by government out of a total number of 120, there were 80 government employees including 10 women. Of the remaining 40, the majority were either mapu or older persons on the fringe of the dependent age category. Several of the men in this group were unable to play any economic role in the community because of some form of disability e.g. several former phosphate miners have lost their vision. The provision of jobs by government has thus relieved the necessity to earn money through agriculture. Because it is becoming increasingly less fashionable to be a planter, only a few growers exhibited any desire to add to their wages by putting a concerted effort into agriculture. The paltry supplementary incomes gained by the few oranges sent to Rarotonga does not reflect any significant work inputs other than knocking the fruit off the trees and bagging it. This task is usually performed by the whole family.

The apparent apathy on the part of the growers and the overall general state of inertia in agriculture is the product of a vast array of factors, many of which are beyond the scope of the present study. The effects of the constant siphoning off of so many of the economically active population has adversely affected Maukean agriculture.

The Loss of Skills and Expertise

Although the loss of a substantial portion of the economically active population is significant in itself it is only when assessment is made of the skills and expertise of such people that the full extent of the impact can be seen. The selective characteristic of migrants are borne out when the variables relating to the level of education and previous occupation for the Cannons Creek sample are analysed (see Table XVII). Although the majority of responses indicated a low level of education and skills the remainder represent a substantial loss to the island. In terms of education, over twenty percent of the sample had attended Tereora College, whilst almost seven percent had qualified as teachers in Rarotonga. Similarly, as Table XVII shows, in addition to trained teachers there are also former Agriculture Dept. employees. The loss of personnel from both of these sectors assumes greater importance when it is realised that it is these people who have the most to offer in a nation striving to develop.

Not only is Mauke, and the group as a whole, deprived of the potential contributions of such migrants but also the question of wastage must be accounted for. The acquisition of higher education and other specialised skills necessitates the provision of essential facilities by the government. Such investment by the Cook Island government proves fruitless when migration to New Zealand reduced any likelihood of a return.

Since the writer left the Cook Islands a large number of skilled personnel have left Mauke. In 1973, two teachers arrived

TABLE XVIILEVEL OF EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS IN CANNONS CREEK

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Primary (yrs)		.
0 - 4	6	13.6
4 - 8	23	52.3
Junior High School	1	2.3
Terecra College	9	20.5
School Certificate	0	0
University Entrance	0	0
Diploma teaching	3	6.8
Higher	1	2.3

TABLE XVIIIPREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS IN MAUKE

Occupational Category	Frequency	Percentage
Administration	1	2.3
Teacher	3	6.8
Fruit Control	1	2.3
Agricultural Extension	4	9.1
Health	0	0-
Public Works	0	0-
Planter	10	22.7
Never Worked	24	54.5

Data based on sample

in Porirua East followed by one more in early 1974. One doctor and two nurses from the island hospital also arrived in Auckland in 1973 although one nurse subsequently returned to Mauke after four months. (refer to case Study B). The dentist, a post office clerk and the former Resident Agent have all moved to Rarotonga. The siphoning off of such expertise is a matter of grave concern, not only for Mauke but also the groups as a whole.

Leadership

A close association exists between education, acquired skills and the potential role of leadership and ability to induce change and innovation. The absence of so many people in this category has resulted in decision making powers being placed in the hands of those who are least equipped for the task. Whilst traditional leaders cling tenaciously to the remaining vestiges of former powers, most of them are incapable of offering positive direction in changing times.

At present the main decision making body on the island is the Island Council comprising five elected members from whom a chairman is selected. In addition there are four ex officio members who include the three former chiefs (ariki) and the Government Resident Agent. None of this group have voting rights. Island Council elections take place in the October following a general election. In 1972, all of the Maukean Island Councillors with the exception of one were over the age of fifty five. The lack of younger members is not solely attributable to selective migration. In accordance with Polynesian tradition there is still a belief that wisdom increases with age.

As a consequence many of the views of younger members of the villages are frequently not heeded despite their qualifications. Of the younger potential leaders spoken to, many related instances at Village Committee meetings when, on rising to express a viewpoint, they had been hastily told to sit down by elders. Several of the respondents indicated that the phrase tamariki ia koe (translated you are just a child) was frequently used, inferring that they possessed no right to speak. The retention of such attitudes serves only to compound the problems of effective leadership by increasing the frustration which ultimately may lead to migration.

The Youth

The mapu on youth situation is one in which grave concern was expressed by older members of the community. This group consists of all the young people between the ages of 15 - 24. It is in these cohorts that migration is having the most serious effects. The lack of any regular paid employment and an unwillingness on the part of males to labour in the swamps and plots has resulted in the existence of an indolent group interested only in bush beer and having a good time. One community leader described them as "lazy, lacking any knowledge and having little in the way of aspirations"— In many cases they are pampered by their parents". On the other hand he was quite prepared to admit that the complete absence of any form of responsibility entertainment and power was a major factor in their apparent apathy. Because so much criticism was levelled at this group a short questionnaire was drawn up and after, the extraction of a random sample, it was administered to forty mapu of both sexes. The results of the survey revealed

a marked uniformity of attitude.

Ninety percent of the respondents expressed a desire to leave Mauke; primarily for two reasons

- (a) to obtain a regular paid job
- (b) because of the lack of any form of entertainment or recreational activities on the island

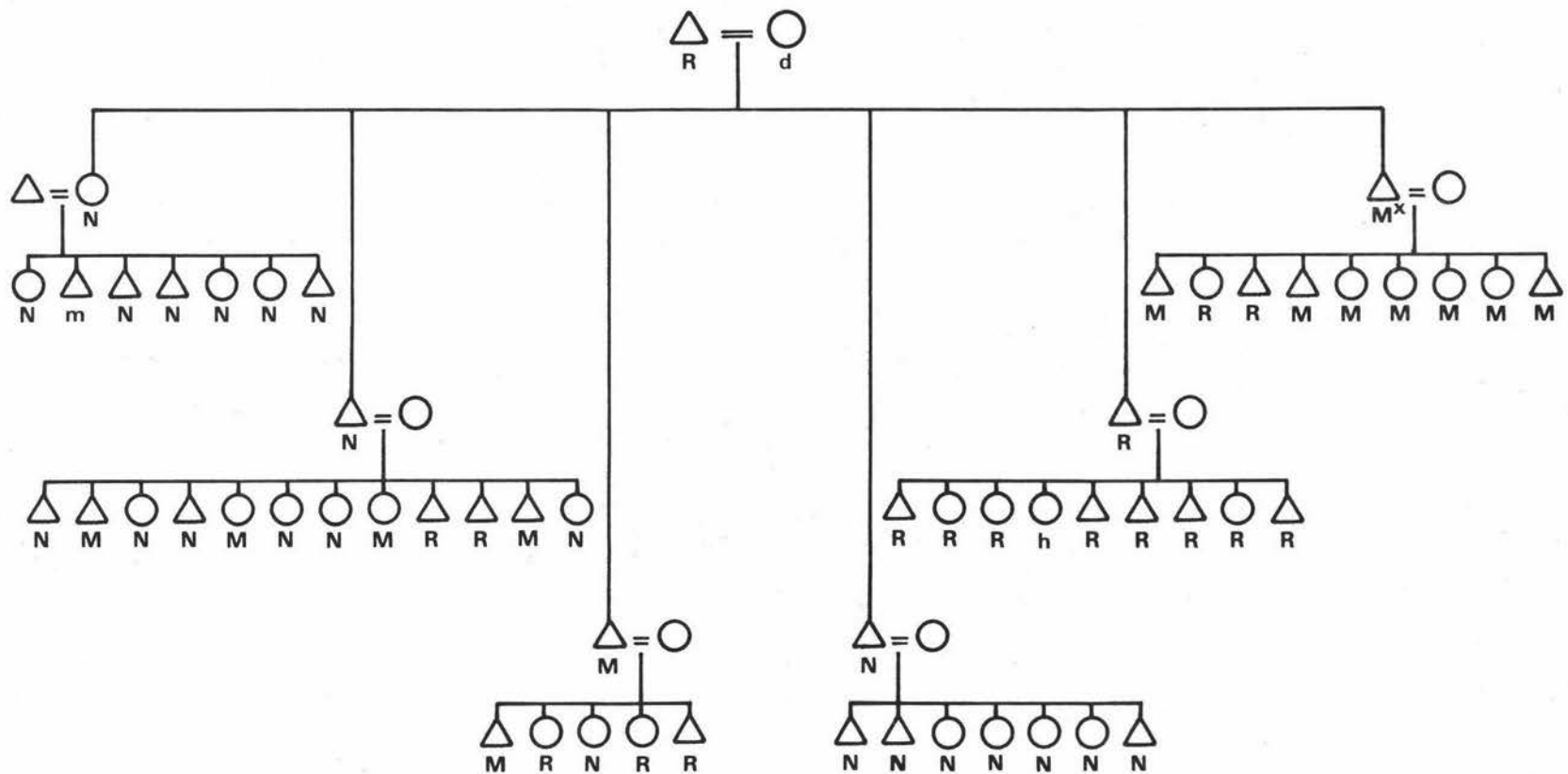
All of the sample group had close kin ties with New Zealand and, with the exception of four, had all been offered fares to this country. Most of the offers have so far been declined largely because parents and guardians feel that they are too young. In other instances they are reluctant to leave aged parents and relatives. The lack of opportunity to show any initiative and the criticism and mockery levelled at them by other community members if they attempted to display any, was found to be at the root of their frustration. From the survey it became quite apparent that if jobs, entertainment and some form of responsibilities were available to them, then the mapus would be quite happy to forget all current desires of leaving the island.

Social Implications

Very few households on the island have remained unaffected by the outflow of population in recent years. From a total of 124 households on Mauke, only 12 percent had no immediate family member living in Rarotonga and only 17 percent had no kin in New Zealand. The number of family members absent varied considerably between households. Whilst some recorded only one or two, other households have more kin members in Rarotonga and New Zealand than in Mauke itself. One of the most extreme examples of this can be seen in

fig.15

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON ONE MAUKEAN FAMILY



△ MALES
○ FEMALES

N NOW RESIDENT IN
NEW ZEALAND
R NOW RESIDENT IN
RAROTONGA

M NOW RESIDENT IN
MAUKE
h NOW RESIDENT IN
HAWAII

m NOW RESIDENT IN
MANGAIA
x SPENT SIX YEARS IN
NEW ZEALAND

d DECEASED

Fig. 15. Where migration has reached such proportions the consequences become quite noticeable, - especially in relation to the household economy. Many family lands lie deserted and unutilised simply because there is no one to work them. As in the case of citrus production numerous households are devoid of energetic adult members. Several households contained no male head or the latter had migrated to New Zealand alone in order to earn enough money to build the family a more comfortable dwelling on Mauke. The introduction of a Government Housing Loan Scheme has largely alleviated the necessity to travel to New Zealand in order to purchase building materials. Although this has perhaps stemmed the flow of would be migrants to a certain degree, it is of note that many of the houses financed by labourers in New Zealand now lie deserted.

It was a common experience amongst migrants that the period required to save sufficient funds to finance a house was longer than anticipated; often up to several years. On returning to the island the houses were built but after a short time, because of dissatisfaction with the old way of life, several migrants returned to New Zealand. Money was remitted to Mauke until the whole family took up residence. On Mauke the legacies of these decisions remain. In 1972 in the coastal village of Kimiangatau, six dwellings were deserted. The same number were found in Arecra Village and in Ngatiarua, a further four were recorded. What is of significance is that whilst these modern residences lie vacated, a large number of other island inhabitants remain in traditional and substandard dwellings. Although a number of these deserted houses have been financed from migrants who have worked in New Zealand and then

PLATE 15

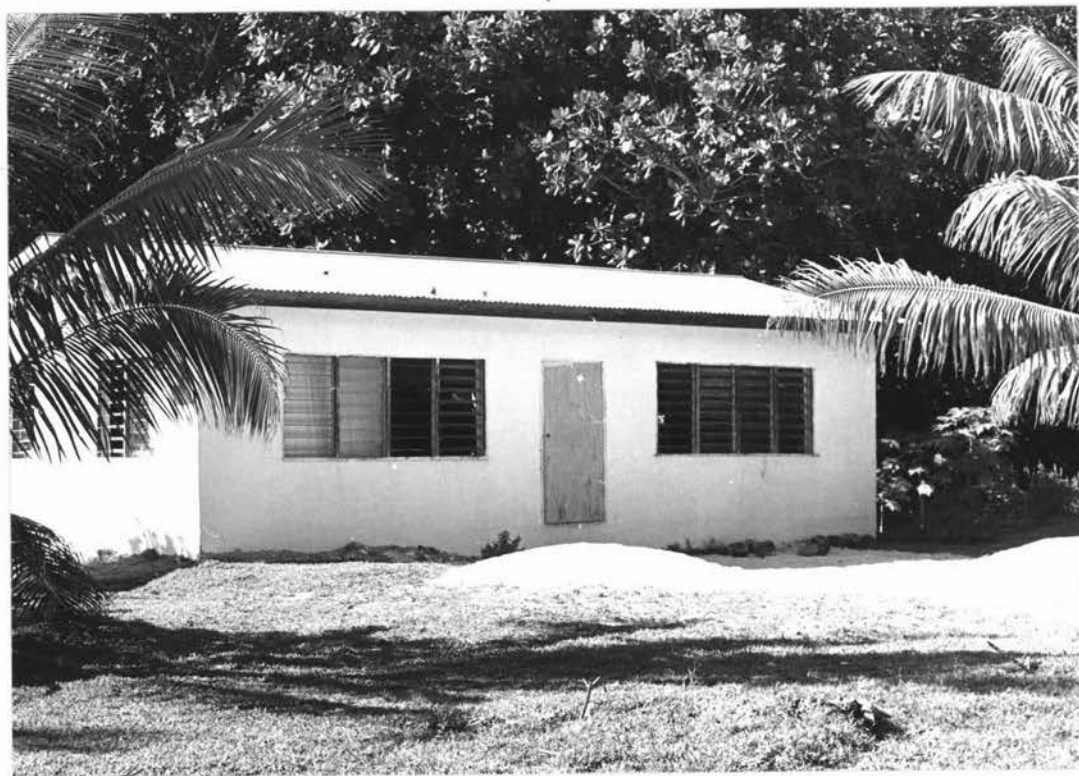
A deserted dwelling on Mauke. The owner of this house went to New Zealand to earn money for building materials. On returning to the island and constructing the dwelling he found life unsuitable and so returned to New Zealand with his family.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)

PLATE 16

A house constructed by a returned migrant. After leaving his family for six years the household head acquired the necessary capital to build this structure.

(Photo: G.D.J. Gordon)



returned, a much larger proportion of migrants abandon all schemes of building and opt to remain in New Zealand for good. From the household survey on Mauke, there were only three heads who had been to New Zealand and returned to settle on the island again.

Land Tenure

The problems involved in reoccupation of deserted dwellings on lands by other members of the community are closely associated with traditional land tenure practices which permit absentee landlords to retain full rights to their lands. Much apprehension is apparent over leasing lands or transferring titles for fear of losing rights altogether. The problem is further aggravated by the system of lineal inheritance which results in multiple ownership of land. One plot of land examined was found to have a total of 30 titleholders. Of these 17 were in Mauke, 4 in Rarotonga, 7 in New Zealand and one each in Aitutaki and Rahuanga. Any changes in the nature of tenure must meet with the approval of all parties.

Unless a courageous government can introduce some form of land reform, possibly a system whereby migrants automatically forfeit rights to land after an absence of a specified time, certain problems could arise over any future extensions to agriculture. Short of a full agricultural survey, it is difficult to accurately assess the extent of land lying fallow because of absenteeism. One of the few economically minded planters on the island commented that he was utilising all of his lands and that difficulty was being experienced in gaining even temporary access to another plot.

Kin Contacts and Remittances

The previous sections have outlined the more undesirable effects of migration on the island. There remains only one aspect which has not been considered. Many people on Mauke regard having family members or close relatives in New Zealand as desirable and in some cases prestigious because of the resultant flow of money to the island. By Cook Island standards New Zealand is regarded as a land of riches and kin members who have migrated there feel duty-bound to support their families financially. The extent of this financial support can be substantiated. Figures compiled for a 20 month period from January 1971 to August 1972 reveal the magnitude of remittance transactions (see Table XIX). The total sum for 1971 was \$15,911, a proportion of which was remitted from Rarotonga and several other islands in the group. The figure recorded from the first eight months of 1972 totalled \$5,844. The 1971 figure was greatly bolstered by two large scale transactions for the purpose of financing houses.

The issuing Post Office in New Zealand of the money order telegrams gives some indication of the distribution of migrants. Four main concentrations were discernible; one in both Wellington and Auckland central and the other two at Porirua East and Central respectively. There was also some indication of isolated groups in smaller centres such as Hastings and Bluff.

Additional information on the nature and significance of remittances was extracted from the survey results and the following observations were noted. Of the migrants interviewed in Cannons Creek 68 percent acknowledged that they sent money to

TABLE XIXMONEY ORDER TRANSACTIONS: JAN. 1971 - AUG. 1972RECEIVED ON MAUKE

	N.Z.	RAROTONGA and other COOKS	TOTAL
<u>1971</u>	\$	\$	\$
January	150	872	1022
February	556	230	786
March	539	334	873
April	305	1420	1725
May	257	299	556
June	1185	230	1415
July	702	655	1357
August	858	515	1373
September	681	472	1153
October	833	334	1167
November	298	907	1205
December	1823	1456	<u>3279</u>
		1971 <u>TOTAL</u>	15,911
<u>1972</u>			
January	392	283	675
February	705	159	864
March	455	185	640
April	235	138	273
May	565	137	705
June	680	101	781
July	532	701	1234
August	546	126	<u>672</u>
		<u>TOTAL</u> for 8 Months.	5844

Sources: Administration Records MAUKE

Mauke (see Tables XX and XXI). The frequency, and amounts involved in transactions varied considerably. Whilst a few migrants indicated that money was sent home on a regular basis, the large majority conform to a more irregular pattern and tend to remit only at times when they either have spare cash or a specific request is made. It was apparent that 34 percent of those interviewed had been frequently asked for money by relatives at home and that all of these were met. Although no conclusive supporting evidence was found, there is no reason to believe that in some instances, contacts between migrants and kin in Mauke, have been deliberately severed because of these requests.

Several migrants with whom the writer became better acquainted agreed that this was especially so amongst those who had been in New Zealand for a longer period of time.

It is pertinent at this stage to briefly comment on some of the ramifications of these money transactions. Undoubtedly they have a desirable effect in that they provide valuable supplementary revenue for families whose present earning potential is limited.

When the money is invested wisely in spheres in which better living, health and educational standards result, then the inflow of capital is beyond criticism. Unfortunately, this was not found to be the case. Much of the money is squandered on unnecessary consumers foodstuffs and alcoholic beverages. There appears to be a perceived element of social status in possessing the buying power to indulge in canned luxuries with the net result that traditional dependence on customary fishing and planting are relegated to lesser positions.

TABLE XX
REMITTANCES RECEIVED ON MAUKE

FREQUENCY	AMOUNT REMITTED		RECIPIENT		PURPOSE						
	No.	%	Dollars	No.	No.	%	No.	%			
Monthly	7	6	0-10	6	5	Parent	4	4	Hous- ing	5	5
3 Monthly	9	7	11-25	10	8	Son/ Daughter	30	24	Educ- ation	1	.8
6 Monthly	9	7	26-50	12	9	Brother/ Sister	10	8	Feeding Child	4	3
Annually	23	18	51-100	12	9	Uncle/ Aunt	2	1	Gen. Exps.	29	23
On Request	1	8	101-200	6	4	Girl- friend	3	2	Gift	11	9
Never	74	59	200+	4	3	Grand- parents	1	.8	Cere- mony	2	1
			None	74	58	Non Applic.	74	58	Non. Appc.	71	57
Total Universe										124	

"Data based on sample"

Material to be read as 4 separate factors.

There is no cross-tabulation.

TABLE XXI

REMITTANCES FROM CANNONS CREEK TO MAUKE

FREQUENCY	No. %		AMOUNT REMITTED		No. %		RECIPIENT		No. %		PURPOSE	
	No.	%			No.	%			No.	%	No.	%
On Request	2	4	\$ 0 - 10	1	2	Parent	10	24	Hous- ing	2	4	
Fort- nightly	2	4	\$11 - 25	15	34	Son/ Daughter	2	4	Educ- ation	2	4	
Monthly	4	9	\$26 - 50	13	29	Brother/ Sister	4	9	Gen. Exp.	18	40	
Three Monthly	7	15	\$51 - 100	-	-	Uncle/ Aunt	5	11	Gift	6	13	
Six Monthly	6	12	\$101 - 200	1	2	Girl- friend	1	2	Cere- mony	1	2	
Ann- ually	9	20	\$200 +	1	2	Grand- parents	4	9	Pay C.T.	2	4	
Never	14	30	None			Cousin	3	6	Main- tens	2	4	
						Inlaws	1	2	N.A	11	25	
						N.A.	13	29				

C.T. = Caretaker

N.A. = Non Applicable

"Data based on sample"

Material to be read as 4 separate factors.

There is no cross-tabulation.

From the apparent low levels of commercial crop production and the absence of any permanent employment of many household heads it can be inferred that there is an increasing reliance on money order telegrams.

Remittances may in themselves give rise to a growing realisation of the economic opportunities which exist in New Zealand. These may act as a catalyst giving rise to dissatisfaction ultimately leading to positive decisions to migrate.

Note: ¹ Yields on plots in Rarotonga are in the order of two to three times those on Mauke.

CONCLUSION

Too frequently the role of internal and in some cases external migration is a factor which is often overlooked by the governments of developing countries. It has long been accepted that the movement of peoples from areas of lesser opportunities to ones in which growth is occurring at a more rapid rate, is a characteristic trait of such nations. The current movement of population in the Cook Islands has now reached such proportions that the government can ill afford to let the process continue unchecked. Already too many of the nation's most highly educated and skilled personnel have departed for New Zealand.

Rather than concentrating on grandiose economic development schemes, for which viability has not definitely been established, there is a dire need to introduce a development programme designed at maximising employment opportunities within the group. It is imperative that special attention be focussed on the outer islands where the problem of population outflow is most crucial. At present Rarotonga itself is beset by problems resulting from the increasing influx of outer islanders.

The present study has been designed primarily to give an overview of the whole migration process and its effects on the outer island of Mauke. Even without the substantive evidence which would have been forthcoming if accurate official demographic

data were available, sufficient evidence was procurable to outline some of the broader aspects of migration.

The analysis centred on three main hypotheses and several minor ones, all outlined in the final section of chapter one. In review a brief mention will be made of some of the more salient points emanating from these. It was found that over the twenty seven year span in which Maukeans have been leaving their island that notable changes have occurred not only in the patterns of movement but also in the types of people migrating. The factor which has exerted the most profound effect on both of these aspects has been the role of kin relationships. Earlier migrants, who tended to be more youthful and possessed of a more adventurous spirit, established themselves in New Zealand then began to remit money back to Mauke to pay the fares of relatives. With the increasing number of Maukeans in New Zealand the need for migrants to work in Rarotonga was then eliminated. This coupled with improvements in communications has resulted in Rarotonga assuming an important role as a transit station. As this chain migration has gathered in momentum, the characteristics of migrants have changed with more older and younger migrants joining their families in New Zealand. The repercussions of a population displacement of such magnitude has been a devastating effect on the island's economy and on the attempts by the government to initiate new development schemes. The apparent apathy of many of the older growers is complemented by a mapu group eagerly awaiting the day they too can migrate.

From the interviews conducted, there was a clear indication that most migrants did not really desire to leave their island but

were forced to do so primarily as a result of the lack of employment opportunities. Such opportunities are possible on Mauke for the island has enormous potential as a grower of certain agricultural crops. What is needed is a thorough research programme and for the government or some other group with the necessary expertise to take a positive lead in initially displaying to the people that successful agricultural development is possible. If such **schemes** are established then unquestionably many potential migrants may well reverse their decision to leave.

APPENDIX A

MAUKE: VILLAGE POPULATIONS WITH INTERCENSALINCREASE OF DECREASE

TOTAL POPULATION												
	1961			1966			1971			1972		
	Males	Fe- males	Tot	Males	Fe- males	Tot	Males	Fe- males	Tot	Males	Fe- males	Tot
KIMIANGATAU	213	190	403	156	167	323	171	197	368	155	185	340
OIRETUMU	201	181	382	177	171	348	197	198	395	195	194	389
TOTAL	414	371	785	333	338	671	368	395	763	350	379	729

	INCREASE/DECREASE 1961 - 66					
	NUMBERS			PERCENTAGE		
	Males	Females	Tot	Males	Females	Tot
KIMIANGATAU	-57	-23	-80	-26.76	-12.11	-19.87
OIRETUMU	-24	-10	-34	-11.94	-5.53	-8.90
TOTAL	-81	-33	-114	-19.57	-8.89	-14.52

	NUMBERS			PERCENTAGE			NUMBERS			PERCENTAGE		
	Males	Fe- males	Tot	Males	Fe- males	Tot	Males	Fe- males	Tot	Males	Fe- males	Tot
KIM	+15	+30	+45	+9.6	+17.9	+13.9	-16	-12	-28	-9.3	-6.0	-7.6
OIR	+20	+27	+47	+11.2	+15.7	+13.5	-2	-4	-6	-1.0	-2.0	-1.5
TOT	+35	+57	+92	+10.5	+16.8	+13.7	-18	-16	-34	-4.8	-4.0	-4.4

Sources:

Cook Island Population Census 1966.

Cook Islands Statistical Bulletin Rarotonga 1973.

1972 data from field survey.

APPENDIX BMAUKEAN BIRTHSBIRTHS 1917 - 1972

	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1917	12	15	27	1945	14	19	33
1918	13	12	25	1946	16	15	31
1919	5	14	19	1947	18	17	35
1920	12	15	27	1948	24	15	39
1921	11	5	16	1949	19	15	34
1922	13	10	23	1950	24	11	35
1923	12	6	18	1951	16	16	32
1924	11	14	25	1952	21	16	37
1925	12	5	17	1953	18	22	40
1926	10	6	16	1954	20	15	35
1927	20	6	26	1955	16	14	30
1928	10	12	22	1956	18	22	40
1929	13	4	17	1957	18	9	27
1930	13	8	21	1958	22	17	39
1931	12	10	22	1959	20	13	33
1932	13	9	22	1960	15	19	34
1933	11	13	24	1961	14	17	31
1934	17	9	26	1962	18	15	33
1935	12	5	17	1963	13	16	29
1936	7	21	28	1964	17	15	32
1937	19	15	34	1965	17	10	27
1938	14	19	33	1966	13	11	24
1939	18	16	34	1967	15	13	28
1940	16	15	31	1968	17	13	30
1941	20	22	42	1969	13	20	33
1942	21	24	45	1970	16	16	32
1943	16	25	41	1971	16	19	35
1944	21	13	34	1972	9	8	17

Source: Register of Births,
Administration Office, Mauke.

APPENDIX CMAUKEAN MORTALITY1917 - 1972

	<u>INFANT</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>INFANT</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1917	9	17	26	1945	4	5	9
1918	3	8	11	1946	9	21	30
1919	2	6	8	1947	2	6	8
1920	1	14	15	1948	3	6	9
1921	6	10	16	1949	2	13	15
1922	2	10	12	1950	6	15	21
1923	5	13	18	1951	4	10	14
1924	7	4	11	1952	4	6	10
1925	2	10	12	1953	3	5	8
1926	1	11	12	1954	6	4	10
1927	4	8	12	1955	6	11	17
1928	5	10	15	1956	1	13	14
1929	-	15	15	1957	5	14	19
1930	5	13	18	1958	1	3	4
1931	-	10	10	1959	3	5	8
1932	-	6	6	1960	3	8	11
1933	5	7	12	1961	1	2	3
1934	1	8	9	1962	1	4	5
1935	4	5	9	1963	3	3	6
1936	3	7	10	1964	2	1	3
1937	5	3	8	1965	3	6	9
1938	2	12	14	1966	1	4	5
1939	3	5	8	1967	2	4	6
1940	3	3	6	1968	1	4	5
1941	3	9	12	1969	3	2	5
1942	7	11	18	1970	1	2	3
1943	3	14	17	1971	3	6	9
1944	3	4	7	1972	1	3	4

Source: Death Register Mauke

APPENDIX D

MAUKEAN MIGRATION SURVEYMAUKE AND RAROTONGA

HOUSEHOLD	DATE OF INTERVIEW	
HOUSEHOLD LOCATION	HH NO	VILLAGE
GENERAL COMMENTS	C1-3	C4

AGE	SEX	HOUSE TYPE	COOKING
C - 5	C - 6	C - 7	C - 8
15-24	1 Male	1 Kikau	1 Traditional Oven
25-29	2 Female	2 Pandanas and Iron	2 Kerosene Stove
30-34	3	3 Line and Iron	3 Umu and Kerosene
35-39	4	4 Makeshift Shack	4 Electricity
40-44	5	5 Wood and Iron	5 Other
45-49	6	6 Fibrolite and Iron	
50-54	7	7 Concrete and Iron	
55-64	8	8 Wooden	
65 +	9	9 Hardboard	

AGE OF HOUSE	NO. OF ROOMS*	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSE	OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE
C - 9	C - 10	C - 11	C - 12	C - 13
0 - 4 yrs	1 One	1 Less than 3	1 Household Head	1 Household Head
5 - 10	2 Two	2 3 - 5	2 Kin	2 Parents
11 - 20	3 Three	3 6 - 8	3 Contractor	3 Son/Daugh.
21 - 49	4 Four	4 9 - 10	4 Govt.	4 Brother
50 - 75	5 Five	5 11 - 13	5 Church	5 Cousin
76 -100	6 Six	6 14 - Plus	6 Other	6 Family
100 +	7 Seven		7 B.K.	7 Church
D.K.	8 Eight		8	8 Govt.
	9 Eight plus		9	9 Other

* Excluding kitchen and washrooms

TENURE of HOUSE C - 14		E D U C A T I O N							
		PRIMARY C - 15		LOCATION C - 16		POST PRIMARY C - 17		LOCATION C - 18	
Leased	1	One year	1	Mauke	1	One year	1	Rarotonga	1
Loaned	2	Two	2	Raro- ronga	2	Two	2	New Zealand	2
Freehold	3	Three	3	Atiu	3	Three	3	Atiu	3
Housing Loan	4	Four	4	Other Cooks	4	Four	4	Fiji	4
Other	5	Five	5	N.Z.	5	Five	5	Raro/ Fiji/NZ	5
Govt.	6	Six	6	Tahiti	6	Six	6	Tahiti	6
Freehold After HL	7	Seven	7	Combin- ation	7	Seven	7	Atiu/ Raro	7
N.Z. Savings	8	Eight	8	NA	8	Eight	8	NA	8
D.K.	9	9 Plus	9	Else- where	9	9 Plus	9	Other	9

T E R E O R A COLLEGE STUDENTS									
DURA- TION C-19		ACCO- MODATION C-20		FUTURE INTENTIONS C-21		OCCU- PATION C-22		INCOME C-23	
One yr.	1	Parents	1	Return Mauke	1	Planter	1	\$0-99	1
Two	2	Brother/ Sister	2	Remain Raro	2	Domestic	2	\$100-199	2
Three	3	Uncle/ Aunt	3	Go to N.Z.	3	Admin.	3	\$200-399	3
Four	4	Grand- parents	4	Go else- where	4	Health	4	\$400-599	4
Five	5	Feeding Parents	5	Un-dec- ided	5	Teacher	5	\$600-799	5
Six	6	Other Relatives	6	D.K.	6	Public Works	6	\$800-999	6
N.A.	7	Boarding	7	N.A.	7	Agric.	7	\$1000- \$1199	7
	8	Other	8			Factory/ Store	8	\$1200- 1499	8
	9	N.A.	9			Other	9	\$1500 +	9

COMPOSITION H.H. INCOME C-24	HOURS WORKED PER DAY C-25	LAND ENTIT- LEMENT C-26	PLOT USER C-27	CULTIVATED AREA C-28
Regular Wages	1 - 5	1 plot	H.H. Head	In last 12 Months
Cash lab- ouring	6	2	Wife/ Mother	In- creased
Cash Cropping	7	3	Father	De- creased
Wages & Cropping	8	4	Bro- ther	No change
Handi- craft	9	5	Son	N.A.
Dual Income	9+	6	Un- tended	
Allow- ances	N.A.	7	Family	
Other		8	N.A.	
N.A.		9	Care- taker	

REASON FOR INCREASE C-20	REASON FOR DECREASE C-30	REASON NO CHANGE C-31	WEEKLY FOOD EXPENDITURE C-32
Earn Cash	Lack labour	Lack capital	Under \$1
Increased family	Employed elsewhere	Subsis- tence P1	\$1-3
New Citrus	Ill Health	Lack labour	\$4-6
Increased labour	Lack Money	Pigs or Thieving	\$7-10
Vill Comm Rec	Family in N.Z.	Part time pl	\$11-14
Increased Returns	Lack of interest	Wage labouring	\$15-20
N.A.	N.A.	Lack of Land	\$20
		Family Dispute	N.A.
		N.A.	

ANNUAL AGRIC EXPENDITURE C-33		CASH * CROP PROD. C-34		CITRUS * PROD (Bags) C-35		CITRUS * RETURNS C-36		OTHER * CROPS C-37	
\$ 0	1	Citrus	1	0	1	\$ 0	1	\$ 0	1
\$ 0 - 4	2	Maniote	2	0 - 20	2	\$ 0-15	2	\$ 0-10	2
\$ 9 -10	3	Combination	3	21- 30	3	\$16-20	3	\$11-15	3
\$11 -15	4	Taro	4	31- 40	4	\$21-30	4	\$16-20	4
\$16 -20	5	Watermelon	5	41- 50	5	\$31-50	5	\$21-30	5
\$21 -25	6	Vegetables	6	51- 60	6	\$51-70	6	\$31-50	6
\$26-50	7	Copra	7	61- 70	7	\$71-100	7	\$51-75	7
\$50 +	8	None	8	71-100	8	\$100-200	8	\$76-100	8
N.A.	9	N.A.	9	100 +	9	\$200 +	9	\$100 +	9

PIGS PER H.H. C-38		RELIGION C-39		OVERSEAS TRAVEL C-40		REASON FOR TRAVEL C-41	
0 - 5	1	C.I.C.C.	1	Never left Mauke	1	Employment	1
6 -10	2	R.C.	2	Makatea	2	Education/ Training	2
11 -15	3	L.D.C.	3	Tahiti	3	Finance Home	3
16 -20	4	S.D.A.	4	Rarotonga	4	Contract Labour	4
21 -25	5	Other	5	New Zealand	5	Visit Relatives	5
26 -50	6			Fiji	6	Trip	6
50 +	7			Australia	7	Business	7
NA	8			Combination NZ/F	8	Medical	8
	9			Makatea/ R/NZ	9	NA	9

* All refer to the previous twelve months

DURATION OF STAY C-42	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH KIN R/M C-43	CONTACT KIN IN NZ C-44	KIN MOST FREQ CONTACTED C-45	FREQ MONEY RCD C-46
1 - 3 months	1 Each boat	1 Each boat/ plane	1 Parents	1 Monthly
3 - 6 months	2 Every three months	2 3 monthly	2 Son	2 Three Monthly
6 months - 1 year	3 Six months	3 6 monthly	3 Daughter	3 Six Monthly
1 - 2yrs	4 Once yearly	4 Yearly	4 Son - Daughter	4 Yearly
2 - 4 "	5 In-frequently	5 In-frequently	5 Brother/ Sister	5 On Request
5-10 "	6 Never	6 No relatives	6 Cousin	6 Never
10 yrs +	7 No kin	7 Never	7 Uncle Aunt	7
N.A.	8 N.A.	8 N.A.	8 Grand-parents	8
	9	9	9 Other	9

AMOUNT REMITTED C-47	RELATIVE SENT TO / FROM C-48	PURPOSE MONEY SENT C-49	CHURCH DON-ATION WKLY C-50	CHURCH DON. YEARLY C-51
\$ 0-10	1 Parent	1 Housing materials	1 5 cents	1 50 cents- \$1
\$11-25	2 Son	2 Education	2 10 cents	2 \$2
\$26-50	3 Daughter	3 Food	3 10-20 cents	3 \$3
\$51-100	4 Son and Daughter	4 General	4 20-50 cents	4 \$4
\$101-200	5 Brother/ Sister	5 Gift	5 50-\$1	5 \$5
\$200	6 Uncle/ Aunt	6 NA	6 \$1 +	6 \$6
None	7 Girlfriend	7 Ceremony	7 N.A.	7 \$7
	8 Grand-parents	8 Feeding child	8	8 \$7 +
	9 NA	9 Other	9	9 NA

REASON FOR WANTING TO LEAVE MAUKE C-52		DESIRE TO GO TO NZ C-53		PROPOSED DURATION RAROTONGA C-54		DURATION IN RARO C-55	
No desire to leave	1	Definitely	1	1-3 mths.	1	N.A.	1
Lack Jobs	2	Possibly	2	3-6 mths.	2	1-3 months	2
Lack Money	3	Not interested	3	6mths. - 1 year	3	3-6 "	3
Lack Recreation	4			1 year +	4	6 months - 1 year	4
Join Kin	5			D.K.	5	1 - 2 years	5
Education	6			Flight connection	6	2 - 3 years	6
Responsibility to aged	7			Indefinitely	7	3 - 4 years	7
Housing Material	8				8	4 - 5 years	8
Other	9				9	5 years +	9

INITIAL ACCOM. RARO C-56		INITIAL ACCOM. N.Z. C-57		EMPLOYMENT RARO C-58		EMPLOYMENT N.Z. C-59	
Live Independently	1	Live Independently	1	Wld not/not wkg	1	Will not work	1
Parents/Offspring	2	Parents/Offspring	2	Independently	2	Indept. arrgd.	2
Brother/Sister	3	Brother/Sister	3	Brother/Sister	3	Brother/Sister	3
Uncle/Aunt	4	Uncle/Aunt	4	Brother/Sister	4	Brother/Sister	4
Cousin	5	Cousin	5	Uncle/Aunt	5	Uncle/Aunt	5
Grandparents	6	Grandparents	6	Cousin	6	Cousin	6
Maukean friends	7	Maukean friends	7	D.K.	7	D.K.	7
Other	8	Other	8	Maukean friend	8	Maukean friend	8
N.A.	9	N.A.	9	N.A.	9	N.A.	9

ACCOMPLICES RARO C-60		ACCOMPLICES N.Z. C-61		FINANCE FOR FARE N.Z. C-62		PROVISION FOR DEPENDENTS C-63	
Wife	1	Wife/ Husband	1	Own Savings N.Z.	1	Stay with wife	1
Parent	2	Parent	2	Relative	2	Stay with family	2
Son/ Daughter	3	Son	3	Work in Raro	3	Wld go to	3
Nuclear family	4	Daughter	4	N.A.	4	N.A.	4
Brother	5	Brother/ Sister	5	Govt.	5		
Sister	6	Grand- child	6	D.K.	6		
Friend	7	Friend	7				
No one	8	No one	8				
N.A.	9	N.A.	9				

VIEWS ON MIGRATION							
REASONS PEOPLE LEAVING MAUKE C-64		REASONS PEOPLE REMAINING C-65		POSS. GOVT. MEASURES C-66		DESIRE TO RETURN TO MAUKE C-67	
Education	1	Earning Sufficient	1	Create Jobs	1	Yes	1
Employment	2	Look after Kin	2	More Aid	2	N.D.	2
Increase Earnings	3	Lack of Money	3	Subsidise Agric.	3	N.A.	3
Enter- tainment	4	Reluctant leave lds	4	Devel Projects	4	For Trip only	4
Join Kin	5	Too old	5	No Response	5		
Job/ Enter- tainment	6	Carefree life	6	Legis- late	6		
Earn for House	7	Have jobs	7	DC	7		
Lack of Land	8	Housing Loan	8	Est High School	8		
Other	9	Other	9		9		

PERCEPTION OF NEW ZEALAND							
EXPECTED OCCUP NZ C-68		WAGE EXPECTATION PER WK C-69		HOURLY WORK EXPECTATION C-70		MATERIAL PROPERTIES C-71	
Labourer	1	\$10 - 20	1	5 hours	1	House	1
Freezing Worker	2	21 - 30	2	6 "	2	Furniture	2
Laundry	3	31 - 40	3	7 "	3	Motor Vehicle	3
Gas Works	4	41 - 50	4	8 "	4	T.V./Radio	4
Professional	5	51 - 60	5	9 "	5	Truck	5
Carpenter	6	61 - 70	6	10 "	6	Tractors	6
Mechanic	7	71 - 80	7	11 "	7	Refrigerator	7
Other	8	81 +	8	12 "	8	Clothing	8
N.A.	9	D.K.	9	D.K.	9	D.K.	9

AWARENESS OF WELFARE ASSISTANCE							
FAMILIES C-72		UNEMPLOYED C-73		SICKNESS C-74		HOUSING C-75	
Yes	1	Yes	1	Yes	1	Yes	1
No	2	No	2	No	2	No	2
DK	3	DK	3	DK	3	DK	3
N.A.	4	N.A.	4	N.A.	4	N.A.	4

ELIGIBILITY FOR VOTING C-76		PERCEIVED PROBLEMS IN N.Z. C-77		SOURCE OF ASSISTANCE C-78	
Yes	1	Traffic	1	Kin	1
No	2	Finding way	2	Maukeans	2
DK	3	Employment	3	Other Cook Is's	3
N.A.	4	New life style	4	Church	4
		Climate	5	Police	5
		Language	6	Other	6
		Motor accidents	7	N.A.	7
		Accomodation	8		8
		None	9		9

GENERAL HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION	
1	Relation to Household Head
2	Sex
3	Age
4	Marital Status
5	Religion
6	Birthplace
7	Occupation
8	Level of Education
9	Present Residence
10	Been Overseas
11	Number of Times
12	Where to
13	When
14	How long
15	Why
16	Reason for Return

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS OVERSEAS	
1	Relation to Household Head
2	Sex
3	Age
4	Marital Status
5	Religion
6	Birthplace
7	Present Address
8	Maukean Occupation
9	Present Occupation
10	Level of Education
11	Year left Mauke
12	Number times Returned
13	Duration in Raro
14	Occupation in Raro
15	Reason for leaving Mauke
16	

APPENDIX E

MAUKEAN YOUTH MIGRATION SCHEDULE

September 1972

No...
Village ...

Name..... Age.... Sex..... Occupation

Level of Education Been Overseas Possessions Income Work :

yrs per day

Primary Where Motor cycle..\$.p.a.

Secondary..... When..... Bicycle.....

Duration..... Cance..... Land: No Plots

Radio.....

Cass./Rec

Why do you think young people are leaving the island?.....

.....

Would/Have you ever considered leaving Mauke?

Why.....

Where would you go

What is at present preventing you from leaving?.....

.....

Have you any relatives in Rarotonga?.....Who.....

" " " " " N.Z.Who.....

How often do they write to you: Rarotongan.....

New Zealand.....

Do they send you money or gifts? Specify

What do the N.Z. relatives tell you of (a) entertainment

(b) jobs

(c) accomodation

What other things do they tell you of in their letters?.....

.....

Have they ever asked you to come to N.Z.

Did they offer to pay your fare?

Have they offered to find you a job?.....

If you leave, how long will you stay in Rarotonga?.....

With whom would you stay?

Would you work in Rarotonga?

What is needed on Mauke to make people stay on the island?.....

.....

Do you think that young people have enough say in the affairs of the community?.....

Why are the young people (a) not interested in working on the land and growing cash crops

(b) reluctant to organise any entertainment for themselves

(c) spending a great proportion of their time drinking

What effects do you think migration is having on the island?.....

.....

Can anything be done to stop so many people leaving the island?....

.....

If you went to N.Z. what type of job would you expect to get?.....

.....

What wage would you expect a week?.....

How many hours a day would you expect to work?.....

What things would you most want to buy in N.Z.

What problems would you expect to face on arrival

.....

APPENDIX F

MAUKEAN MIGRATION SURVEY

PORIRUA EAST

HOUSEHOLD _____	DATE OF INTERVIEW	
HOUSEHOLD LOCATION _____	C-1-23	C-4
GENERAL COMMENTS _____	HH NO	RESPONDENT No

S U B J E C T

AGE C-5		SEX C-6		MARITAL STATUS C-7		RELIGION C-8	
15-19	1	Male	1	Married with Spouse in NZ	1	C.I.C.C.	1
20-24	2	Female	2	Married with Spouse in Mauke	2	Roman Catholic	2
25-29	3			Married with Spouse in other Cooks	3	Presbyterian	3
30-34	4			Single	4	Seventh Day Ad.	4
35-39	5			Widow	5	Latter Day Saints	5
40-49	6			Divorced	6	Other	6
50-59	7			Other	7		
60-64	8						
65 +	9						

RELATION TO HHH C-9		BIRTH- PLACE C-10		VILLAGE OF ORIGIN C-11		TENURE OF DWELLING C-12		NO. OF ROOMS C-13	
Head	1	Mauke	1	Kimiangatau	1	Private	1	1	1
Wife	2	Rarotonga	2	Ngatiarua	2	Rented	2	2	2
Son	3	Atiu	3	Areora	3	Flat	3	3	3
Daugh.	4	Aitutaki	4	Oiretumu	4	State	4	4	4
		Mangaia	5			Pool	5	5	5
		Other Cooks	6			Boarding House	6	6	6
		Tahiti	7			Other	7	7	7
		NZ	8					8	8
		Else- where	9					Over 9	9

NO. OCCUPANT C-14		LEVEL OF EDUCATION C-15		PLACE OF HIGH- EST EDUCATION C-16		OCCUPATION C-17	
Under 3	1	0-4yrs Primary	1	Mauke	1		1
4	2	4-8yrs Primary	2	Atiu	2		2
5	3	1-2yrs Junior High	3	Aitutaki	3		3
6	4	1-2yrs High School	4	Tereora	4		4
7	5	School Cert	5	Rarotonga T.C.	5		5
8	6	U.E.	6	NZ P.P.	6		6
9	7	Dip. Teaching	7	NZ Higher	7		7
10	8	Univer- sity	8	Other	8		8
10+	9	Other	9		9		9

INCOME C18		PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS							
		MAUKE C19		RAROTONGA C-20		NZ C-21		MAKATEA C-22	
\$1.0 -1.2	1	Admin.	1	Admin.	1	Phosphate	1		
\$1.2 -1.5	2	Teacher	2	Teacher	-		2		2
\$1.5 -1.75	3	Fruit Control	3	Agric. Dept.			3		3
\$1.75-2.0	4	Agric. Ex.	4	Health	-		4		4
\$2.0 -2.5	5	Health	5	Labourer	-		5		
\$2.5 -3.0	6	Planter	6				6		
\$3.0 -3.5	7	Public Wks	7				7		
\$3.5 -5.0	8	Storekeeper	8				8		
\$4.0 +	9	Other	9	Other			9		

M I G R A T O R Y P A T T E R N S									
YEAR LEFT MAUKE C-23		DURATION RAROTONGA C-24		ARRIVAL NZ C-25		REASON LEFT MAUKE C-26		TRANS-PORT C-27	
Not Appli- cable	1	Less than month	1	1945-50	1	Join spouse	1	Air NZ	1
Pre 1950	2	1-2 mths.	2	1950-55	2	Prepd. fare	2	Maui Pomare	2
1950-55	3	3-6 mths.	3	1955-60	3	No job	3	Moana Roa	3
1955-60	4	6-12mths.	4	1960-65	4	No leisure	4	Mara- posa	4
1960-65	5	1-2 yrs.	5	1965-69	5	Family dispute	5	Monte- ray	5
1965-70	6	3-5 yrs.	6	1970	6	Money for house	6	Nth Star	6
1971	7	5-10 yrs.	7	1971	7	Join kin	7	NZ Air Force	7
1972	8	10 yrs. +	8	1972	8		8	Other	8
1973	9		9	1973	9	Other	9		9

SOURCE OF FARE C-28			SPECIFIC RELATIVE(IF PREPAID)C-29		
Own savings	1	6	Parent	1	6
Prepaid by NZ kin	2	7	Son/ Daughter	2	7
Combination	3	8	Bro./ Sist.	3	8
Other	4	9	Uncle/Aunt	4	9
	5		Cousin	5	

ACCOMPLICES		INITIAL ACCOMODATION NZ		DURATION	
RAROTONGA C-30	NZ C-31	TOWN C-32	REL. C-33	C-34	
	1		1	1	1
	2		2	2	2
	3		3	3	3
	4		4	4	4
	5		5	5	5
	6		6	6	6
	7		7	7	7
	8		8	8	8

PREVIOUS RESIDENCES NZ				INITIAL EMPLOYMENT In NZ			
AUCKLAND C-35		OUTSIDE AKLD C-36		WGTN C-37		JOB C38	ARRANGED BY C-39
	1		1		1		1
	2		2		2		2
	3		3		3		3
	4		4		4		4
	5		5		5		5
	6		6		6		6
	7		7		7		7
	8		8		8		8
	9		9		9		9

CONTACT WITH KIN IN MAUKE						
FREQUENCY C-40		WHICH KIN C-41		OFFER OF FARE TO NZ C-42		TO WHICH RELATIVE C-43
	1		1	Yes	1	1
	2		2	No	2	2
	3		3		3	3
	4		4		4	4
	5		5		5	5
	6		6		6	6
	7		7		7	7
	8		8		8	8
	9		9		9	9

MONEY TO KIN C-44		TO WHOM C-45		FREQUENCY C-46		REASON C-47
Yes	1		1		1	1
No	2		2		2	2
			3		3	3
			4		4	4
			5		5	5
			6		6	6
			7		7	7

BIBLIOGRAPHYUnpublished Works

- Allen, B.J., 1969 The Development of Commercial Agriculture on Mangaia: Social and Economic Change in a Polynesian Community. M.A. Thesis, Massey University.
- Bedford, R.D., 1971 Mobility in Transition. An analysis of Population Movement in the New Hebrides. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Cook, J.G., 1969 An Assessment of the Effects of a Tourist Industry on the Cook Islands. M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury.
- Cowan, G., 1968 Urbanisation in Rarotonga. Diploma of Town Planning Thesis, University of Auckland.
- Douglas, E.M.K. 1965 A Migration Study of Cook Islanders. M.Sc. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Hambuechen, W., 1971 An Agricultural Survey of Mauke Island. Department of Agriculture, Rarotonga.
- Hooper, A.B., 1958 Social Relations Among Cook Islanders in New Zealand. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.
- Hugh, E.I., 1970 Report on a Visit to the Cook Islands. South Pacific Commission. Copy in Dept. of Agriculture, Rarotonga.
- Maude, A., 1965 Population, Land and Livelihood in Tonga. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Murray, D., 1959 Survey of Mauke. Copy held in Resident Agents Office, Mauke.
- Sadaraka, S.M., 1961 Factors Affecting the Development of Commercial Agriculture in the Cook Islands. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, at Wellington.
- Stace, V.D., 1966 Economic and Financial Stocktaking and Development Planning Survey for the Government of the Cook Islands. Legislative Assembly, Rarotonga.

Published Works

100

- Bassett, I.G. (ed.) 1969 Pacific Peasantry
- Beaglehole, E., 1957 Social Change in the South Pacific
- Crocombe, R.G., 1964 Land Tenure in the Cook Islands
- , (ed.) 1971 Land Tenure in the Pacific
- , 1973 The New South Pacific
- Crocombe, R.G. & M. 1968 The Works of Ta'unga
- Curson, P.H., 1970 The Cook Islanders. In Thomson, K.W. and Trlin, A.D. (eds.), Immigrants in New Zealand.
- Lee, E.S., 1970 A Theory of Migration. In Demko, J., Rose, H.M. and Schnell, G.A. (eds.), Population Geography: A Reader.
- Lockwood, B.A., 1971 Samoan Village Economy
- McArthur, M., 1967 Island Populations of the Pacific
- Moser, C.A. and Kalton, G., 1971 Survey Methods in Social Investigation
- Oliver, D.L., 1961 The Pacific Islands.
- Piddington, R., 1963 An Introduction to Social Antropology. Vol. I.
- Sahlins, M.D., 1967 Social Stratification in Polynesia.
- Wilson, M.G.A., 1968 Population Geography.

Articles

- Belshaw, H., 1960 Some Pacific Island Problems, Pacif. View., 1 : 125-142.
- Crocombe, R.G., 1967 From Ascendency to Dependency: The Politics of Atiu. N.Z. Jl. Pacific Hist., 2: 97-111.
- Curson, P.H. 1968a Avarua: Cook Islands. South Pacific Bulletin, 11: 41-45.
- , 1968b Some Demographic Aspects of Cook Islanders in Auckland, Proceedings of the Fifth N.Z. Geog. Conference: 67-74.
- , 1972 Population Change in the Cook Islands The 1966 Population Census. N.Z. Geogr. 28: 51-65

Fairburn, I.J.,	1961	Samoan Migration to N.Z. <u>J. Polyner. Soc.</u> 70	3. 101
-----,	1971	Pacific Island Economist. <u>J. Polyner Soc.</u> 80: 74-111	
Gill, W.,	1911	A Word about the Growth (History) of Mauke Island: <u>J. Polyner Soc</u> ; 20: 134-5.	
Grange, L.I. and Fox, J.P.	1953	Soils of the Lower Cook Group. D.S.I.R. <u>Soil Bureau Bulletin</u> 8.	
Hall, A.M.,	1962	Agricultural Development on Mauke, <u>South Pacific Bulletin</u> , 12.	
Hooper, A.B.,	1961	The Migration of Cook Islanders to New Zealand. <u>J. Polyner Soc</u> : 70: 11-18.	
Large, J.T.,	1913	Some Notes on Atiu Island. <u>J. Polyner. Soc.</u> 22: 67-77.	
McArthur, N.	1961	Population and Social Change: The Prospect for Polynesia. <u>J. Polyner Soc.</u> , 70: 393-400.	
Percival, W.H.,	1968	Economic Development Plan for Mauke Island. <u>Cook Island Review</u> , 9: 22-25	
Walsh, A.C.	1967	Politics, Culture and Resource Utilisation in Tonga. N.Z. Geogr. Soc. Proc. No.5: 119-124	
Walsh, A.C. and Trlin, A.D.,	1973	Niuean Migration: Niuean Socio- Economic Background, Characteristics of Migrants and Settlement in Auckland. <u>J. Polyner Soc.</u> 82: 47-85	
Ward, R.G.,	1961	A Note on Population Movement in the Cook Islands. <u>J. Polyner Soc.</u> 70: 1-10.	

Government Publication and Records

1966 Cook Islands Population Census.

Cook Islands Statistical Bulletins.

Cook Islands Department of Agriculture Records.

Mauke Administration Records.