

***“Foki ki ‘Api” – Nurturing our understanding of ‘Home’  
when Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) - the case of  
Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u, Tonga***

**Sio Ki he La‘ā Talakai-‘Alatini**

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## **FAKATAPUI – DEDICATION**

To my dearest parents ‘Etina Talakai and ‘Ane Fusi Sikahale-Talakai of Leimātu‘a Vava‘u, I dedicate this thesis to you. Your migrant dreams and sacrifices for us – your children. We left our shores and our homeland in the constant belief in education, and finding a better life here in Aotearoa, New Zealand, will always be cherished in my heart, and I am forever grateful for the sacrifices that were made, your determination and encouragement. *Mālō ‘a e tauhi mo e ‘ofa kotoa pē ‘oku mo fai mai kia mautolu, ko e taha eni ‘o e ngaahi faka‘amu kuo tā ki uho pehē foki ki he ngaahi misi mo e ngaahi taumu‘a na‘a’ mo fakamohe mei ‘ulu talu mei mu‘a.*

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you have shown me, there are no words that could ever compare nor show my deepest appreciation – *Mālō e 'ofa mo e tokoni lahi.*

## ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

“I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.”

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Sio Ki he La‘ā Talakai-‘Alatini

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## ***KOLOSALIO HOKOHOKO MOTU'ALEA – GLOSSARY OF TONGAN TERMS***

<i>Anga faka-Tonga</i>	Tongan way of life or Tongan culture
<i>‘Eiki</i>	Chief
<i>‘Eiki toputapu</i>	Sacred ruler
<i>Fa‘ahinga</i>	Extended family
<i>Fahu</i>	<i>Fahu</i> is the dignified rank and is always the paternal aunty.
<i>Fakaafe</i>	Church feast
<i>Faka‘apa‘apa</i>	Respect
<i>Fakahāhā ivi</i>	Showing off economic capabilities
<i>Fakalakalaka</i>	Development
<i>Faka‘ānaua</i>	Longing
<i>Fakamohe mei ‘ulu</i>	To be reminded of work that is to be done.
<i>Fakatōkilalo</i>	To be humble
<i>Fakavahavaha ‘a</i>	Competition
<i>Fala</i>	Mat
<i>Falehanga</i>	Place where women produce traditional cultural goods ( <i>koloa</i> )
<i>Fāmili</i>	Family
<i>Fatongia</i>	Obligation
<i>Fefine ‘i fonua</i>	Woman of the land

<i>Fe‘ofa‘ofani</i>	Caring for each other
<i>Fesiosiofaki</i>	Competition
<i>Fetokoni‘aki</i>	To help or assist each other
<i>Fevahevahe‘aki</i>	To share
<i>Fiefia</i>	Happiness
<i>Fie pālangi</i>	Wanting to be European
<i>Fie poto</i>	Someone that thinks they know everything.
<i>Fono</i>	Village meeting/council
<i>Fonua</i>	Country/land
<i>Fua kavenga</i>	Committed to obligation
<i>Ha‘a</i>	Class or Tribe
<i>Ha‘a me‘avale</i>	Commoners
<i>Hau</i>	Temporal ruler
<i>Hou‘eiki</i>	Chiefly class
<i>Hounga‘ia</i>	Expression of appreciation
<i>Hua</i>	Banter, to make fun of or to joke about something
<i>Kainanga-e-fonua</i>	Eaters of the soil
<i>Kāinga</i>	People of the Tongan village or localities – extended family
<i>Kalapu</i>	Club
<i>Kananga</i>	Common saying, slang or expression

<i>Kau fakaanga</i>	Critics
<i>Kau heuheu</i>	Oppositions
<i>Kau tangata 'eiki</i>	Respectable word for older males
<i>Kau toutai</i>	Fishermen
<i>Kuo tā ki hono uho</i>	It has been beaten into the child's umbilical cord. When parents make a wish as to the future of a child at birth.
<i>Kulupu Kava Tonga</i>	<i>Kava</i> (ceremonial beverage made from kava plant) group
<i>Kelekele</i>	Soil
<i>Kolo</i>	Village
<i>Koloa</i>	Traditional cultural goods/ often referred to as cultural capital or gifts.
<i>Kosi 'ulu</i>	Cutting of hair
<i>Kumi fonua</i>	Finding land
<i>Lei</i>	Whale tooth. It is said to be one of the most precious goods in ancient Tonga. It is also taken as a symbol of being rich, brave and successful in society.
<i>Lukuluku</i>	Contributing food for church feast
<i>Mafai</i>	Power
<i>Māfana</i>	Warmth
<i>Makafetoli 'aki</i>	A sense of working together in the community; helping others while expecting nothing in return.
<i>Mālō 'aupito</i>	Thank you very much
<i>Manatu</i>	Remembrance

<i>Matāpule</i>	Chiefs spoke person
<i>Matāpule ma ‘u tofi ‘a</i>	Chief with estates
<i>Mātu ‘a</i>	Refers to a couple, a man with his female wife. It also refers to two or more men being identified and considered together for social, political, economic or cultural importance, achievement, class or obligation by higher authority both in local and regional level.
<i>Mehikitanga</i>	Father’s sister
<i>Misinale</i>	Church annual donation
<i>Misi</i>	Dream
<i>Mo ‘ui</i>	Life/livelihood
<i>Muli</i>	Overseas
<i>Ngatu</i>	Tapa cloth
<i>Ngāue fakataha</i>	To work together
<i>Nima mālohi</i>	Economically powerful/hard working
<i>Nōpele</i>	Nobility
<i>‘Ofa</i>	Love
<i>‘Ofa fonua</i>	Nationalism/love for one’s country/homeland
<i>‘Otua</i>	God
<i>‘Osiki ‘a Velenga</i>	Giving one’s all to <i>Velenga</i> . When someone is expected to give their utmost to a task. The ancient god <i>Velenga</i> was associated with navigation and voyaging.
<i>Pālangi</i>	European/foreigner

<i>Pālangi loi</i>	Pretending to be a foreigner
<i>Polopolo</i>	Offering the finest output from the land to the chiefs
<i>Tā‘anga</i>	Poetry/lyrics or composition
<i>Tala-ē-fonua</i>	Telling-of-the-land-and-its-people
<i>Tauhi vā/tauhi vaha‘a</i>	Maintaining reciprocal relationships with kin and kin like members
<i>Tangata‘i fonua</i>	Man of the land
<i>Tāpuaki</i>	Blessing
<i>Tapu</i>	Taboo/Sacred
<i>Tu‘a</i>	Commoner
<i>Tulou</i>	Excuse me
<i>Tu‘i</i>	Monarch/King
<i>Tu‘umālie</i>	Rich
<i>Toutai</i>	Fishing
<i>Tupu‘anga</i>	Place of birth
<i>Tu‘utu‘u kehe</i>	Sarcastic
<i>Vahevahe</i>	To share
<i>‘Ulumotu‘a</i>	Eldest/highest male from paternal family line

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Last but not the least *ki he ngaahi ki‘i mata‘ikoloa ‘i hoku ki‘i lotofale* (sacred treasures) my daughters Chrystelle Jade Simaima Fatafehi ‘O Lapaha ‘Alatini, Losaline ‘Ofa Ki Niua Fāinu Sikahele ‘Alatini and Takuilau Mo e Heilala ‘O (Lotofaga) Fanga Nonu ‘Unga ‘Alatini, for giving me the reason and motivation to complete this study. My life is complete with you all in it and I am truly blessed to have wonderful children supporting me through this journey. Thank

you all for the unlimited joys, laughter as well as challenges that you each bring into my life. A mother's love for her children is endless and so this piece of work is my gift to you all, my children.



*Faka'apa'apa atu,*

*Tu'a 'ofa 'Eiki atu*

## **ETHICAL APPROVAL**

In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), ethics approval was finally granted on 20<sup>th</sup> of November 2012 by AUTEC with reference number 12/278.

## **LAUANGA – ABSTRACT**

International migration for people in the Pacific has become a cultural and economic voyage in which identities are challenged and questioned. With the evolution of transport technology, the modern era has provided a more efficient form of transport. This study contributes to the theorising of relationships between Pacific migrants and ‘home’ in ways other than through remittances. Exploring the unique role of Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) and the cultural aspects associated with such travel, is a component that is often neglected or ignored in tourism literature. This study examines what *tauhi vā* (to take care of socio-spatial relationships between kin and kin like members) might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora and how VFR tourism may contribute to maintaining cultural relations between home and Tongans living overseas. It also seeks to investigate the experiences of Tongan migrants returning to Tonga to attend a cultural village event. The participants in this research attended a week long village event “*foki ki ‘api*” (returning home). Using the framework of *Kakala* and *Talanoa* as a method to capture and give privilege to the voices of the returning migrants, VFR travel as a sub sector is useful for the strengthening of cultural and family relationships. It is also useful in validating the understanding of motivational factors behind the purpose of travel which could contribute to the sustainability of tourism in Tonga. The strengthening of cultural and family relations allows people from the home to renew, build and reconnect with their families overseas; the elusive space that connects one person to another. Furthermore, the Tongan culture and way of living plays a vital role in maintaining the ties and relations as seen in *tauhi vā*.



## ***LŪSIA KI TAULANGA - PROLOGUE***

*Neongo 'ete fepaki mo e faingata 'a' kae tutui pē ke u a 'u ki he feitu 'u 'oku taumu 'a ki ai'.*

Despite the struggles and obstacles faced, I was determined to press on to reach my destination.

### ***'Ise'Isa he 'ikai ngalo 'i hoku loto' – Alas my heart will never forget***

I was born in the village of Leimātu'a, on the island of Vava'u, one of the three main islands of Tonga to 'Etina Fe'ofa'aki and 'Ane Fusi Sikahale-Talakai, the second eldest daughter of four. My father, 'Etina is from the village of Leimātu'a and my mother, 'Ane Fusi is from the village of Tefisi on her mother's side and from Leimātu'a on her father's side.

Like many Pacific migrant stories, my story begins in 1970 where a Tongan couple dreamt and hoped for prosperity for the future. My father migrated at a time when New Zealand factories were demanding unskilled labour. He came to Auckland in the early 80's, leaving my mum pregnant and their then two year old son, 'Ālele, in Vava'u. The plan was for Dad to travel to New Zealand, find work and save enough money to send back home. This money was to be used towards the construction of our family home. Although education was another reason for this migration, family politics also had a part to play. Simply put, as the eldest son in a very traditional Tongan family, Dad had a lot of responsibilities to fulfill as well as a sense of obligation and duty to his family and his village. As with other Tongan families, Dad had to provide not only for his own immediate family but also for the extended families. Dad had a lot of prospects going for him and our family in Tonga but hearing the wonderful stories about New Zealand from his uncle and cousins raised a lot of hopes and dreams.

While dad was in New Zealand, mum was left to care for two children. He was away for the first four years of my life. Dad sent money back home regularly and the construction of our family home was underway. Waiting in Tonga, mum made the decision to move back in with her parents and automatically resumed her usual role within her extended family, of caring for her parents and younger siblings while older siblings worked. Mum often talked about women, like her, saying goodbye to their husbands, on the understanding that they would either come back or send for them. Mum said that the majority of the women would never hear from their husbands again. Dad on the other hand would frequently send money as well as small parcels with cassette tapes in which he had recorded conversations as if he was actually talking to mum. When the parcels and letters became less frequent for over months on end, mum resigned herself to the likelihood that she had become one of those women – that she herself had been abandoned by her husband.

In 1983, when I was three and my brother ‘Ālele was five, mum finally gathered up the courage to move to the main island to make contact with Dad in New Zealand. Upon arrival, mum’s sister ‘Ionita and brother in law Tali Lomu welcomed us to the capital of Tonga, Nuku’alofa where we stayed for several weeks. At the time, opportunities for families to travel to Australia were promising. The road towards reconnecting with Dad was somewhat difficult and Mum had to make the most crucial decision of all, which involved our family migrating to Sydney, Australia with a stop-over in Auckland, New Zealand. Dad on the other hand, had other plans for us. The transit time in Auckland changed the course of how my journey would eventually un-fold here in New Zealand. For the very first time, I was to meet my dad whom I

only knew through photographs and hearing his voice played through recorded cassette tapes. I can vividly remember how anxious and excited we all were. As we walked towards the entrance for arrivals, mum nudged and whispered “there he is” I looked but for some reason I felt as though I didn’t know the male figure. My brother on the other hand ran towards dad giving him a huge hug leaving me clenching onto my mum for dear life. The New Zealand environment was different and everything around me was unfamiliar as if I walked into another universe. Our transit time then turned into illegal overstay in Auckland, New Zealand. At the time, I didn’t understand what it meant to be an over-stayer and why we were in constant hiding from New Zealand authorities. I can remember living in a one bedroom dwelling in Onehunga. Dad always believed that living away from other Pacific Islanders somehow protected us from New Zealand Authorities. As children we were constantly reminded by dad’s stories of his hardships in the islands, the early rising and long hours working in the plantation, strenuous chores with little time for study and socialising.

While our parents tried to understand and benefit from the economic, social and political opportunities of their new found homeland, they also tried to retain their traditional Tongan cultural values. Their attempts to adapt and live out both cultures without conflict brought added confusion to our lives as we tried to make sense of it all. Dad would always talk about returning back to his homeland to live which would then lead to stories of his childhood memories of growing up in Leimātu’a. Stories of the ‘good old days’ in the islands would always light up his now wrinkled face, as a lingering memory in his past. Even though we have now made New Zealand our home and the many memories we have all made here in New Zealand, yet at the back of his mind his heart is anchored somewhere in the shores of Vava‘u where all his evening

stories of fond childhood memories are stored and I believe to this day he too longs to return to the homeland.

Growing up Tongan and female in Auckland was extremely hard. Firstly, I struggled because of the new language. I couldn't speak a drop of English and couldn't make sense of what my peers were talking about, let alone my teachers. Education and I never really connected and these few years of my life were full of bewilderment, awe, and homesickness that normally go with a person's experience of a new culture. As I progressed into my later years of primary school, field trips and outdoor education was often talked about, and students of these particular years attended school camps. For my parents, these school activities were forbidden and no teachers could have changed their decisions and reasons why I wasn't allowed to sleep away from home nor take part in outdoor education. My everyday life was confined by strict rules such as straight home after school; restricted to only having family members as friends – but attending church camps was acceptable which I found utterly boring, in fact, to any activity connected with the church was without a doubt permissible. Often at times, I would be allowed to play with neighboring friends and go to their homes only if my brother was to accompany me, but I was not allowed to bring my friends home.

My parents spoke Tongan to us kids all the time, English was forbidden and reserved for speaking at school or outside the home. This didn't bother me at the time, but for my younger two siblings, who were born here in New Zealand, struggled. Although they understood Tongan they rarely spoke it.

High School education was challenging especially towards my final year. My parents' expectations were that we progressed into University. However, arriving at what was assumed 'better' was another challenging phase. I continued to struggle and be challenged by the school system, teachers and the culture and the thought of going to school was no longer fun and meaningful. This was a pattern throughout my school years here in New Zealand. After college I made the decision to enroll into a Travel and Tourism Diploma programme. This was not what my parents wanted for me at the time, but working for an airline was a career path I intended to work towards. With the completion of my Diploma I decided to pursue an undergraduate degree at Victoria University in Wellington. Due to personal circumstances I had to abandon my degree at the end of 2004, ultimately I had to put all my studies on hold.

At the time I felt as though I had no other option as I had fallen pregnant. This was a difficult time in our lives as my boyfriend at the time, now my husband, Frederick 'Alatini was also studying full time at Auckland University. He graduated that year and was currently doing post graduate studies. The pressures of becoming parents took a toll on both our studies so we thought it was best to suspend it altogether, get married and anticipate parenthood.

Eight years on, we now have three beautiful young daughters Simaima, Losaline and Nonu jnr. However, I still had a strong passion to finish my university studies. Returning to study after so long was demanding but I felt that I had matured and that failure was not an option. In 2011, I completed my undergraduate degree from Victoria University. To mark this

great occasion and achievement, my parents along with my little family all flew down to Wellington to attend my graduation. Being the third person in our family to obtain a degree was definitely an inspirational and emotional time for us all. With both my brothers graduating from the University of Auckland and my sister currently studying towards a business degree has definitely unravelled the great choices and sacrifices our parents made for us children to have opportunities for further and 'better education'. The road towards academic achievement has always been the desired pathway for my parents to ensure a stable future. And so, watching my brother's march down Queen Street, Auckland definitely added to the inspiration and longing to complete my degree. Walking across the stage to receive my degree was undoubtedly one of many happy moments in my life. I truly believe that our accomplishments were possible because of the partnership and foundation of two Tongan migrants who dreamt and longed for a better future for their children. One of the main vehicles for doing this is through education. Our educational achievements at university represent the returns for my parent's hard work over the years and dreams they had for us, their children.

The beauty of being raised in New Zealand as a Tongan was that we experienced some things my *Pālangi* (European) friends thought was unusual or strange. For instance, before and after school we all had to walk home together, if we came individually we would get in trouble. Throughout my primary and high school years, my older brother had to wait for me, and thus was also the case for my younger brother who too was tasked with walking me home. These were one of the rare occasions in our culture where females are seen to be protected at all times. To our parents we (girls) are known as the jewels (*koloa mahu'inga*) of the family and male family member's such as brothers and male cousins were delegated duties to protect and

accompany us – in other words we were not permitted to go anywhere without a male entourage. So, for my seventh form ball, I was only allowed to attend if my two older cousins and brother accompanied me. This was considered normal especially when we (children) had to share absolutely everything, where we learnt the qualities of sharing, patience and tolerance.

Growing up in New Zealand often raised questions and thoughts about places my parents would always talk about. The pride of locality was something that my parents often displayed when reminiscing about their young days in the Islands. Because of my young age and lack of memory of the village I once grew up in, my vivid childhood memory depended on the aide of my parent's stories of the islands. Imagining the house my parents lived in, my grandparents' house I grew up in and the local village church and where it was situated was only based on their experiences and fond memories which painted pictures of how I would have imagined it to be.

Dad would often speak of returning back home to the islands. He would always say that home is where he would retire to and where he would like his bones to be laid to rest along with his ancestors. As a child growing up in New Zealand I never paid much attention to his nostalgic feelings and love for his homeland, as opposed to my understanding through my research. All the questions and stories of the islands have always quenched my thirst to perhaps one day return home to Leimātu'a. One of the main connections I have with the homeland (Tonga) is a lingering memory of my early childhood years. At times there is some sense of loss, a feeling of not belonging, and a desire of one day returning home.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *Ko e Talateu - Introduction*

This study is based on research among Tongan migrants from the village of Leimātu‘a living overseas and returning back to their ancestral homeland. Their experiences are expressed through their own voices capturing their dreams and their reasons for international migration. The Tongan migrant voice is accessed through a wide range of experiences for example, by overseas country of settlement, age and gender. The experiences provide insight into the complex process of identity formation in a country where Pacific Identity has until recently been defined by others (Dunlop-Fairbairn, 2003). By showing the commonalities as well as the differences of their migrant experiences, their voices may capture the notion as to why Tongan migrants return home. In this research the term ‘visiting friends and family tourism’ (VFR) will be used throughout this study to highlight one of the many reasons why immigrants return back to their ancestral homeland. VFR could occupy a unique position in the case of Tonga particularly in relation to the maintenance of cultural relationships. Much of the literature on VFR travel focuses on migrants’ return visits to their ‘homeland’ and to their families, in particular. Homeland, memories and family obligations are crucial in understanding this stream of VFR travel. However, return family visits in more than one direction, is essential in the delivery of a range of care and support, as well as in the maintenance of identities and one’s sense of duty and obligation. Visiting friends travel has received even less attention, and arguably suffers from a double neglect, both within VFR travel as well as in relation to other forms of tourism. Uriely (2010) defines VFR tourism as a complex and multidimensional experience that many involve both feelings of home as well as a sense of being away (2010, p. 855). However, this is not always the case; defining ‘VFR tourism’ is problematic. VFR tourism



may be defined or seen as a motivation for travel, as a trip purpose, as a vacation activity and as a form of accommodation use (Hansel & Metzner, 2011). Similarly Asiedu (2008) defines VFR tourism as the major purpose of visiting friends and or relatives; it is one of the prime leading tourism motivators or segments in tourism, alongside those of business, recreation, convention or conference, religion, education and health.

In an era of advanced transportation, technology and communication, immigrants and their descendants can be quickly reunited with their ancestral home land. Pacific Island nations can be reached within a day of travel rather than weeks of sea travel. In this study the term immigrant is used to describe the Pacific diaspora. An immigrant is a person who leaves their home country and migrates to another country, usually for permanent residence (UNWTO, 2011). Returning back to their ancestral homeland as tourists is a major and easily accessible means through which people can re-create or retain their social and spatial ties with their ancestral homeland communities. Since post-World War II, Pacific people have migrated overseas with the intention of resettling in another country in order to improve their standard of living and quality of life. Most people in the *Pasifiki* (A term that I wish to use when addressing the Pacific and will be used throughout this thesis. *Pasifiki* is accepted and widely used by Tongan people in Tonga and abroad, it is a literal Tongan translation of the word Pacific) had a common dream which included new beginnings and opportunities for their children. Lee (2003) maintains that one of the most frequently heard explanations for migration is simply to help the family” to where they can get employment and education and by sending money in the form of remittances to the family back in Tonga. Lee’s study (2003) was conducted to examine the lives

of Tongans who have settled overseas to capture their experiences and reasons why they chose to leave Tonga.

Tonga is heavily dependent on imported goods and remittances. Morton-Lee (2002) suggests that a central focus of the literature on migration by Tongans and other Pacific Islanders has been on the transnational economic ties formed by remittances sent home by migrants. Remittances are generally amounts of cash that migrants send in various ways (e.g. by drafts, transfers, in envelopes) to their relatives in the home country (Va'a, 2001). Remittances may also include gifts in the form of clothing, food, appliances and equipment – in fact, anything which may have an economic value. Many Tongan migrants regularly send remittances to their relatives in Tonga to assist with their daily living expenses; some only send remittances for certain defined *kavenga* such as weddings, funerals, church donations; a few Tongan migrants do not send remittances at all.

Return visits to the homeland have demonstrated that immigrants are frequently returning back to their homeland to visit friends and relatives (VFR). According to a study by Laskai (2012) on one of the neighboring island countries Niue, VFR tourism not only plays an important role in the survival of the culture and language in New Zealand for Niueans (where there are more Niueans in New Zealand than on Niue, but also because of the nature and continuity of motivational factors and the purpose of travel, it could also contribute towards the sustainability of tourism in the long term. This is when VFR travellers are returning to visit their friends and relatives but choosing to use local restaurants, hotels and amenities whilst visiting (2012, p2).

The majority of immigrants and their descendants living overseas (New Zealand, Australia, and America) are considered part of the Pacific diaspora (Hall, 1990; Harris, 1996; Hau'ofa, 1994; Macpherson, 2001; Tsagarousianou, 2004; Brah, 2006; Vaka'uta, 2009). Diaspora refers to people living outside their traditional homeland; however there is an increasing ability for migrants to return to their ancestral homeland from where they or their ancestors once migrated from (Maruyama, 2009). The diaspora are those who return permanently and those who are first and second generations from the diaspora then to visit briefly. According to Gershon (2007) diaspora only exist because of the culturally specific ways through which families circulate knowledge and resources. Families and diaspora are intertwined, connected to such a degree that diasporas cannot survive across generations without families sustaining them. Statistics taken from the New Zealand 2006 census explains the position New Zealand has for most Pacific migrants their immigrant home away from their homeland, particularly in Auckland. Since the year 1991 there were 23,175 Tongans living in New Zealand, from 1996 there were approximately 31,392 and in 2001 the New Zealand census recorded 40,716 and finally in 2006 50,478 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) Tongans currently live in New Zealand. These figures portray a statistical view of Tongan born people's profile group population in New Zealand. It provides a statistical description of the ever increasing rate of Tongan peoples settling in New Zealand.

The yearning for 'home' lives in all migrants no matter how near or far they may be. It is the elusive space that they constantly long for because as individuals their identity is shaped by their connection and definition of; What is home? And; Where is home? (see Rushdie, 1991; Hansen, 2004; Tonga, 2007; Vaka'uta, 2009). Whereas those who are born in New Zealand or

Australia to Tongan born parents may identify their connection of how they remain ‘Tongan’ and if they do, how do they do it? This can be seen in the form of repeat visits to Tonga whereas in this study children born to Tongan born parents can maintain their identity of being Tongan and the Tongan way of living. One’s identity is never constant and the perception of one’s experience of home will always vary from one culture to another and one person to another, their definitions of home for Pacific migrants from the diaspora are more likely to differ to those in the first and second generation Pacific Islanders who migrated to New Zealand. One’s perception of home is significant in shaping one’s identity. The homeland has become a marker hence it is the distinction between being an insider or outsider, so that individuals do not become the outsider-within. The outsider-within is someone that is unsure of where they belong, whether they are New Zealanders but Tongan at heart or Tongans but New Zealanders at heart. This strongly reflects the present circumstances of many Tongans who have settled in New Zealand. As noted by Pitt & Macpherson, (1974); Anae, (1998) and Hau‘ofa, (2008) distant memories of yesterday to our existence of the current present, many Pacific Islanders are still yearning to belong elsewhere, which is why there is a contradiction between foreign memories of a time and space from the past to the current present. Regardless of the many Pacific Islanders who have resettled overseas and now call it ‘home’, the majority still and will remain ‘anchored’ to the place where they once originated from. Home is where the heart lies.

This is supported by Hau‘ofa :

*“Where ever I am at any given moment, there is comfort in the knowledge stored at the back of my mind that somewhere in Oceania is a piece of earth to which I belong. In the turbulence of life, it is my anchor. No one can take it away from me. I may never return to it, not even as mortal remains, but it will always be homeland”.*

**(Hau‘ofa, 2008, p.76)**

## The Migrant Dreams of people in the *Pasifiki*

*I salute the tangata whenua, whose ancestors many centuries ago left our ocean home to inhabit Aotearoa, the spacious, the ample, the land of the long white cloud. Now – once again – Pasifika traverses your land. Let our common ancestry unite us so we can be strong allies in the pursuit of our goal of reaffirming our traditional heritage and historical oneness, so we can still feel the sea in our veins and hear in our hearts the song of the ocean winds urging us forward....*

**(Taumoevalau, 2004, p.63)**

Located between two shores, the Pacific Islands and New Zealand is the Pacific Ocean; it is not a sign of remoteness and isolation. The ocean is a central image because it symbolises the journey of our parents ‘migrant dreams’. This is highlighted by Coster (1987, p.53) “A person without a dream is like an archer without a target”. It is also reinforced by Cowling (2002) that husbands and wives accepted long periods of separation from each other, or from their homes, in order to give their children what they considered was the best start in life. These sacrifices are almost universal for most Pacific parents to endure hard work and separation from their loved ones in order to provide for the family. Several reasons behind the motivation of *Pasifiki* people travelling overseas and one of the constant reasons reinforced throughout this research is that it provides better opportunities and education. Without the driving force of our parent’s dreams and aspirations we wouldn’t be where we are today. ‘Epeli Hau‘ofa (2008) highlights the fact that in order to remember something that has happened in our past, we should put it in front of us so that it is visible for us to see it. Hau‘ofa stipulates a window of opportunity that views the past as a sense of direction for our future:

*The past is ahead, in front of us, it's a conception of time that helps us retain our memories and be aware of its presence. What is behind us cannot be seen and is liable to be forgotten readily. What is ahead of us cannot be forgotten so readily or ignored, for it is in front of our minds' eyes, always reminding us of its presence. Since the past is alive in us, the dead are alive – we are our history.*

**(Hau'ofa, 2008, p.67)**

This perception conveys the views that are portrayed in many parents from the *Pasifiki*, this is their migrant dreams. As children we could take on board their experiences and dreams so that we can maintain and retain the aspirations they once established so that we do not lose sight of who we are as their children. These dreams can be merged into motivational factors of succeeding in life, such as in education, employment and so on. This is reinforced by Fairbairn-Dunlop stating that, “as children strive to fulfil their parents’ hopes, they begin to dream their own” (2003, p.15).

## Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) Tourism

What exactly is 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' (VFR) tourism? Can visiting friends and relatives really be regarded as a form of tourism? According to Asiedu (2008) the major purpose of visiting friends and relatives are one of the foremost tourism motivators or categories in tourism, alongside those of business, recreation, convention or conference, religion, education and health.

Visiting friends and relatives has become a major element of travel and tourism flows, and one that is being significantly reshaped by changes in migration and mobility patterns, transport and communication technologies, and cultural shifts. In spite of the importance of this topic, VFR tourism is a sub-sector of tourism that seems to suffer from neglect and a lack of acknowledgement from academic writers (Backer 2012).

Tourism represents the largest migratory vehicle in human history (King, 1994), however VFR is fundamentally an expression that is portrayed as the most closely related between tourism and migration/diasporas. Jackson (1990) has written extensively on VFR tourism, and has identified the lack of research that is associated with VFR literature. One of his key findings indicated that VFR is closely related to the history and development of international immigration flows that in recent years have become more stable in nature. The nature of that relationship is being reconstructed as a result of changes in border controls and migration/mobility regimes, and technological developments, including the rapid growth of low-cost airlines and new forms of

internet communication. Therefore, VFR tourism can be viewed as the cause and effect of migration. However, in particular, the traditional model of longer term migration, or perhaps of migration and return, has shifted towards more short-term, circular, and sequential migration, all of which provide different needs and opportunities for VFR travel.

VFR travel, in many ways, is an example of what Sayer (1992) terms ‘a chaotic concept’. It is longer on empirical observation than it is on theoretical understanding of what are, in fact, a highly diverse set of constitutive flows. It is enmeshed in, but rarely disentangled from, the web of relationships around Diasporas, transnationalism, inter-generational transitions, and the reaffirmation and re-creation of identities. However, ethnicity, although recognised as a powerful shaper of return visits to relatives and friends in migrants’ country of origin (Feng and Page 2000), is also significantly absent from much of the literature on VFR travel. Shorter term visits have become the desire for the ‘return home’ is essential to the lives of migrants, and their families and friends, as well as to the survival and shaping of diasporic cultures.

Visits to friends create one of the driving forces of modern tourism, and this – as is also the case with visits to family – takes on increasingly diverse spatial forms, with visits to third spaces complementing those between the homes/home areas. Such visits offer opportunity for renewing one’s trust, social bonding and social identities, while their objectives range from the common pursuit of shared pleasures, to the celebration of significant life course events, to the furthering of career and economic interests. Larsen et al. (2007, p. 259) maintains that the



examinations of obligations and social networks at-a-distance should be central to 21st century tourism analysis.

Visiting friends and relatives travel has been a vital social activity that is less likely to be influenced by the destinations image (Backer, 2011; Asiedu, 2008). Seaton and Palmer (1997) believe that VFR travel was assumed to occur ‘naturally’ therefore less attention was paid by destination marketers, academic researchers and tourism organisations. Research on VFR travel deteriorated and endured historical ignorance and underestimation which has been discussed in previous research (see King, 1996; Seaton & Palmer, 1997). There are three perceived reasons for the neglect of the VFR market and Seaton & Palmer (1997) suggest that the VFR travellers were perceived as an insignificant low economic spending group having minimal impact on the host destination; the market segment cannot be influenced by tourism planners and the segment attracts minimal attention in destination marketing. Developing on this particular idea, Backer (2009, p.23) formed an eight point ‘excuse list’ behind the reasoning as to why the multi-sector of VFR travel has been neglected:

1. Insufficient conceptual definitions
2. Insufficient data consistency
3. Complexities of measurement
4. Lack of awareness
5. Perception of minor economic impact on the host destination
6. Lack of representation in text
7. Difficulties to influence VFR travellers decision making
8. VFR is the poor cousin and not sexy enough

Backer's eight point list reflects upon the assumptions that VFR travellers tend to use less commercial accommodation and tourism facilities whereas holiday makers generate the most revenue in the host country's economy. Some related research to VFR travellers indicates that there is a significant share in using commercial accommodation (Backer, 2010; Webb & Reid, 2005). Moscardo et al. (2000) have conducted a study that affirms that VFR travellers play a significant part in raising economic influence towards commercial tourist operations when using commercial accommodation. Additionally Morrison, Hsieh and O'Leary (1995) conducted a similar study which concluded that a large number of VFR travellers in Queensland choose to stay in commercial accommodations during their visit. The VFR travellers in the Queensland study frequently made use of tourist facilities and services such as restaurants, bars and casinos as well as nightclubs. The study also points out that VFR travellers shared the same tourist attractions as leisure tourists and took part in tourist activities just like other segments of tourism.

There is also the notion and mistaken belief argued by academics that the VFR travel sector are not impacted by marketing campaigns, which has contributed towards the multi-sectoral negligence that has been discussed previously (Morrison, Varioletti, & Veramu, 2002; Seaton & Palmer, 1997). VFR travellers are often considered as general holidaymakers or vacationers, their numbers could often be unnoticeable. It is contested by Morrison and O'Leary (1995) that VFR is poorly documented, under-researched and the lack of data available causes difficulties in understanding this tourism segment. However, in the past 12 years academic research and studies published in scholarly articles have highlighted an increased interest in VFR tourism. Although VFR tourism is complex in nature, it's a tourism segment that should not be

ignored nor neglected. VFR tourism has the potential to challenge established tourism models and add real value to tourism.

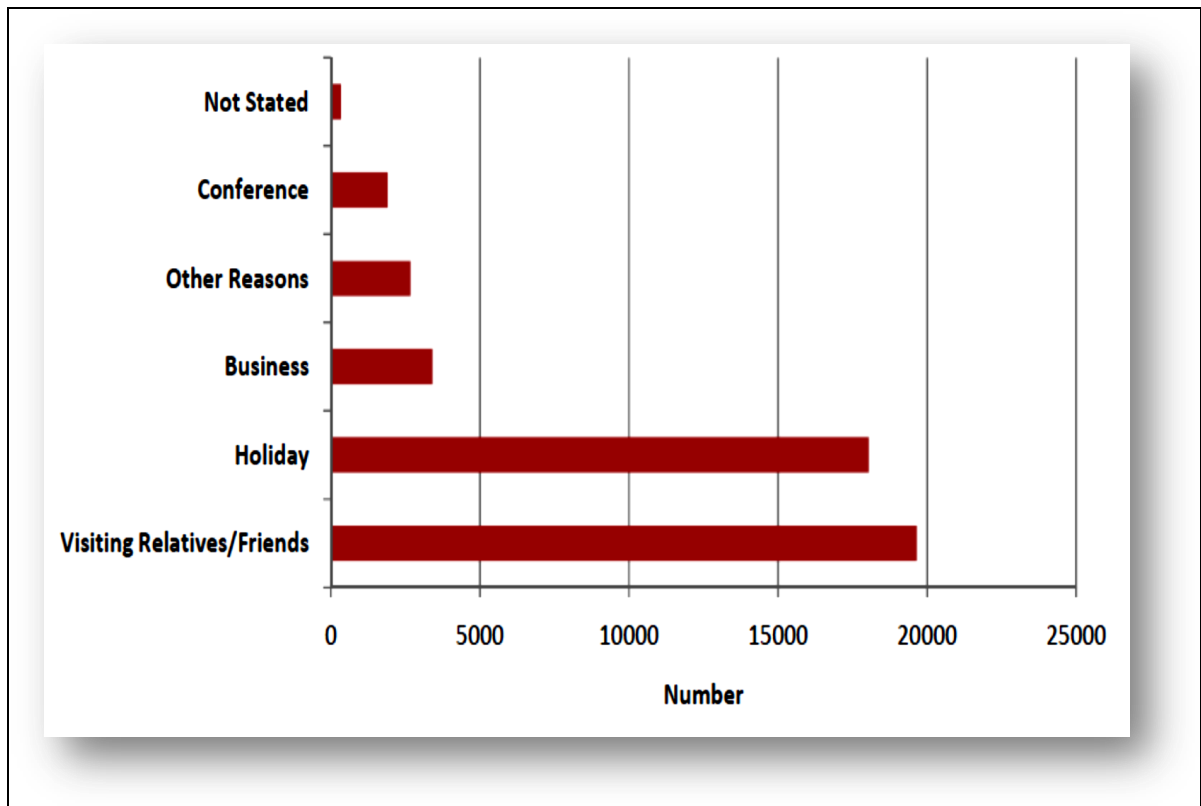
Finally, while much of the focus of VFR travel is on first generation migrants, the significance of those that are second and third generations visiting 'home' should not be underestimated. Sometimes infused by childhood memories of visits 'home' with parents, or family stories and material objects that symbolise home, these important components of VFR travel, serving to reinforce, but also to challenge, identities (King et al 2001; Coles and Timothy, 2004). Where earlier family networks may have long withered, visits to some form of 'homeland' may still take place in the form of 'roots tourism'. The availability of historical archives online, probably reinforces rather than substitutes for such tourism mobility's. Moreover, searching for roots may lead to the renewal or discovery of long lost family ties, and the creation of new VFR networks in due course. Second and third generation children in studies written by King et al (2001), Coles and Timothy (2004) state that a student tends to journey back home to their parents or grandparents homeland in search of their roots, sometimes combined with a language or culture course on their ancestors, also visit their family and friends in order to establish their return back 'home' (Drozdowski, 2011).

## VFR in Tonga

The purpose to return back to the homeland plays an important role in the actual return, and the reasons for the return are closely linked to those for departure. Cassarino (2004) suggests that while most migrants had always intended to return back to Tonga prior to migration, and did so, others changed their perception while living overseas, sometimes as a result of household events (funerals and weddings) in Tonga, which also played an influential part in the return home to visit friends and family.

The market for VFR in Tonga is an exception due to the increase in numbers of migrants returning back to the homeland. The importance of the Tongan way of living (*anga faka-Tonga*) which is central to many Tongan families living overseas plays a vital role in motivating Tongan families to visit their friends and relatives. Maintaining these socio-spatial relationships involve the return trip back home to visit friends and family, such visits offer scope for renewing trust, connecting and nurturing the bonds and social identities, while their objectives range from the common pursuit of the shared pleasures of being at home with those you care about. Despite the increase in numbers of Tongans migrating overseas, the importance of family and culture has always been a strong Tongan world view that is central to the way of Tongans and the way they live. According to the available data, the numbers of VFR travellers to Tonga is categorised as the largest purpose or reason for visiting Tonga followed by holiday makers (*Figure 1*).

**Figure 1: Visitor by Purpose of Visit to Tonga - 2011**



**Source: Tonga Department of Statistics, 2011**

As stated earlier, visiting friends and relatives constitutes a key component of travel and tourism movements, one that is being shaped by the changes in migration, transportation technologies, communication and cultural shifts. Figure one further suggests the potential market development for VFR in Tonga due to the increased numbers returning home to visit their relatives and friends. A study conducted on the village of Nukunuku in Tonga examining return migration strongly describes the reasons for the return. Halatuituia (2002, p. 179) states that almost half of all return migrants to the village of Nukunuku stressed it was for family reasons, especially the need to look after elderly parents and grandparents were the primary influence and

motivation to return back to Tonga, while land registration was of rather less importance. This illustrates the large extent to which Polynesian migration remains family-based (Connell and Conway, 2000), with migrants reasons for returning home centering on family, lifestyle and a rediscovery of their identity and culture (Barcham, Scheyvens, & Overton, 2007). Distance and time play important roles in the intention to return home.

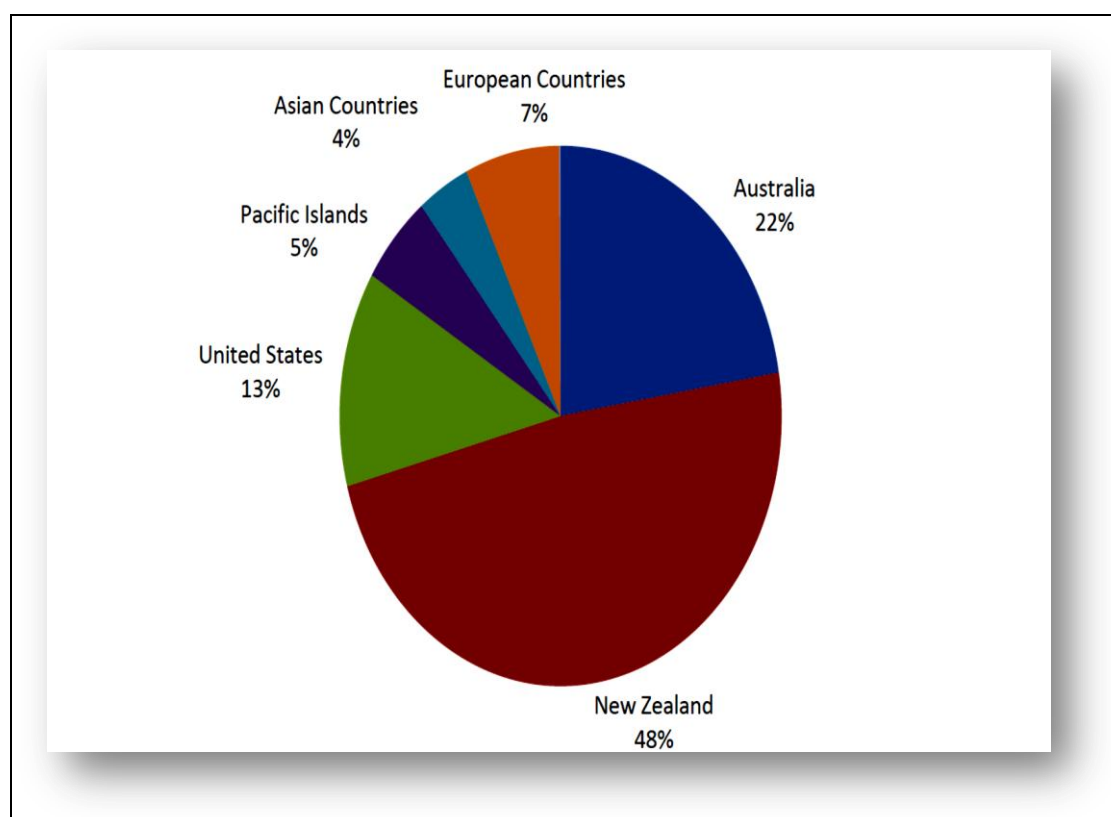
## Tourism in Tonga

Tonga's tourism industry is hoping to increase economic benefits and give a great sense of what the *Pasifiki* is all about. The tourism industry in Tonga is estimated to be worth in excess of \$150 million in value per year and provides direct and indirect employment to more than 2,000 people (Census of Tonga, 2006). It is made up primarily of individual tourism operators. There are a total of 219 registered tourism operators throughout the Kingdom of Tonga.

Tourism in the Kingdom of Tonga is currently suffering due to the global economic crises affecting not only developing island nations but also developed countries around the world (Tonga Department of Statistics, 2011). Tonga's Visitor's Bureau (TVB) is currently the island nation's government agency that over-sees the operations of the overall planning and development of the countries tourism industry (Trelor & Hall, 2005). According to the TVB the focus for tourism in Tonga (2002) was positioned with the emphasis on the island nation's marine environment, its unique vibrant culture and heritage, thus the implementation of an ecotourism destination is increasingly favorable in promoting the island.

While eco-tourism is seen as a catalyst for tourism development in Tonga since 2002, the TVB together with other sectors in the government in Tonga are working on a comprehensive approach to achieve sustainable tourism development for Tonga as a tourist destination. According to Tonga's department of statistics (2011) the highest total air visitors by country of usual residence was made up of visitors from New Zealand followed by Australia and the United States (*figure 2*).

**Figure 2: Total Air Visitors by Country of Usual Residence 2011**



**Source: Tonga Department of Statistics, 2011**

The number of Tongans living overseas returning home to visit their friends and relatives from New Zealand, Australia and the United States portray the importance of VFR. Figure two suggests that more travellers to Tonga prefer short-term, circular and sequential migration all of which provide different needs and opportunities for VFR travel. VFR travel can be seen as a form of migration and return migration back to the ancestral homeland through the creation of search spaces as well as mobility competencies (Williams and Hall, 2002).

### **Village Reunion “*foki ki ‘api*” – returning home to Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u**

For some migrants, family reunions play a key motivational role in the decision making of travel. The initial development of the village reunion was put forward by local community members to motivate people from Leimātu‘a living overseas to return and visit their homeland, to mark several celebratory occasions of their identity, unique culture as well as building and nurturing social spatial relationships with friends and relatives in the homeland.

The first village reunion took place in 2009 in Leimātu‘a. The percentage of return migration was overwhelming, such visits to familiar places strengthened the attachment that most migrants longed for whilst living in their new found homelands overseas. The second village reunion was held on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 2012 whereby field research was conducted during the week long village event. Chapter two will provide a more in depth notion of the village event taking into consideration the purpose for this event along with personal observations that were made during my first return trip back to the homeland. With this study I



hope to define what *tauhi vā* (taking care of socio-spatial relationships) might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora and upon how returning home, visiting friends and relatives via tourism can contribute to maintaining and strengthening cultural ties between home and Tongans living overseas.

**Figure 3: The village of Leimātu‘a**



**Source: Authors own picture, 2012**

The village of Leimātu‘a is also known as *Hala manga ono* (a road with six paths). This is the only known intersection in the whole of Vava‘u Island where one road is split into six different and separate directions (*figure 3*). The village appears as a township on most road maps although it does not contain the facilities usually associated with small towns in developed

countries such as hotels and general stores, but they do have local owned shops and churches. Leimātu‘a village or township is the first point of contact that visitors come to know when they arrive by air to the Vava‘u Island.

### **The significance of the study**

Little research has been conducted and written on Tongan nationals living overseas returning back to their ancestral country and the factors influencing their desire to return ‘home’. This research underpins the use of a ‘specific’ event to examine the cultural relationships between Tongan nationals overseas with their kin, and kin-like members in Tonga.

In 2012, the town of Leimātu‘a, situated in the island of Vava‘u, hosted a village reunion called *‘foki ki ‘api* – returning home’. The goal of the event was to encourage, reconnect and motivate all Tongan nationals from the village of Leimātu‘a living abroad to return home. The Hon. Minister of Tourism of Tonga, Dr Viliami Lātū, also from Leimātu‘a, gave his personal consent and approval for this research and study (personal communication, 10th of June 2012). This special event takes place every three years, and the village reunion was scheduled for the 27th of December through to the 31st of December 2012.

## The objective of the research

The objectives of this research are to:

1. Examine what *tauhi vā* might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora on how returning home and visiting friends and relatives - VFR tourism may contribute to maintaining cultural relations between home and Tongans living overseas.
2. Investigate the experiences and why Tongan migrants return to Vava'u, Tonga to attend the specific cultural village event.
3. Assess the unique role of VFR tourism using a specific village event in Vava'u Tonga.

## Research Questions

This research examines the socio spatial relationships between 'home' and Tongans living overseas using a specific village event. The formation and the character of the research questions are qualitative in nature. The key focus of this study is on what *tauhi vā* might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora and upon how returning home as VFR travellers may contribute to the strengthening of cultural relations between home and Tongans living overseas. In order to achieve the research objective(s), a number of sub-questions were generated to be examined further:

- What are the main motivations for Tongans to migrate overseas and how are these migrant dreams realised?
- What are the 'pull factors' of returning back to their homeland? And why do they return?

- Home – What and where is home? Where do I belong?
- What were their experiences on returning to the homeland?
- In what ways does visiting or returning back to their ancestral homeland influence a sense of who they are and where they belong?
- How can tourism strengthen the cultural ties between Tongan nationals living overseas and the importance of returning home?

This study aims to record the Tongan migrant's voices through their experiences that have shaped and given meaning to their return home (country of origin) visit and emphasise the role of VFR tourism. Through personal observations, I hope to construct a critical analysis of personal journeys between home and Tongans living overseas.

## Thesis structure and chapters

The structure of this thesis consists of five chapters. There are three main perspectives of the research and each is driven by its own key questions. This research is divided into the following sections:

### **Prologue**

The prologue stories my personal migrant journey as a child. It portrays a detailed account of my experiences of migration from Tonga to New Zealand. This introductory piece is relevant as it sets the scene for this particular study, in this case 'my return home'. After almost 30 years have passed, and relying on stories my parents would tell me it was finally time to

return to the homeland. This section is about the ‘migrant mind’, the values, beliefs and endurance of cultural practices. This section indicates the power of the traditional ways, the role of the family and sharing of resources.

## **Chapter One**

The first chapter provides a holistic view and sets the introduction to the research. The migrant dreams of immigrants that have now resettled in an overseas country are presented. It then provides a detailed overview about the research environment. It is based partially through my own fieldwork observations looking at basic information about Tonga whilst focusing on the VFR market and tourism industry. This chapter discusses the theory and practices involved in VFR tourism, firstly there is an overview of the Western theory of VFR tourism and why this phenomena is often neglected or ignored in the Tourism literature. Further discussions on to the cultural aspects of VFR tourism are then examined in conjunction with the research objectives and questions it has generated, the aim and the design of the study are also included.

## **Chapter Two**

Chapter two provides a national context to study site and location. A physical description of Tonga and Vava‘u, followed by a political description and historical background to migration which describes the socio-political formation of Tonga and a geographic map identifying the islands’ geographic location. The second part of this chapter discusses the oral history via the Tongan concept of *tala-ē-fonua* (telling of the land and its people). The discussion of the oral

history brings forth the indigenous interpretation of the village area. Discussion is based around the Tu‘i Tonga dynasty, focusing particularly on ‘Ulukālala’s ruling in Vava‘u used to support the context of this study. This section also describes the physical event. This presents a thorough record of the actual village event, referring to the participatory personal observations that were made. The environment in which the events took place is briefly described and examined.

### **Chapter Three**

Chapter three identifies the research methodologies used to examine and carry out research in the field. The methodology adopted in this research is qualitative in nature. The *Talanoa* method follows similar assumptions and connections of qualitative and narrative analysis, drawing thick descriptions using the voices and worldviews of the participants themselves; in this case the world views of Tongans, which provides a culturally appropriate framework for gathering data. The *Talanoa* methodology is an indigenous methodology used for cultural protocols, values, beliefs and practices. *Talanoa* allows people to engage in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation that allows rich contextual and inter-related information to surface as co-constructed stories. It is the new knowing that has been missed by most traditional research approaches. More importantly it helps my research unravel any findings that could potentially enrich our understandings of Tongan people in the Pacific.

## Chapter Four

Chapter four focuses on the literature relevant to the notion of the Pacific diaspora and home communities particularly in the Tongan context. This chapter provides an account of experiences of some of the early migrants and their emotional longing and desire for 'home'. What is home to them and where is home? The second part considers the economic effects on Tongan societies and their experiences of remittances and the types of remittances that are used. Research was carried out by reviewing academic articles, web sites, books, written documents from oral traditions that were passed down from one generation to another, photographs and pictures as well as listening to experiences and stories about cultural preservation, historical accounts of Tonga with a specific focus on Leimātu'a, VFR tourism, Tauhi vā and Tongan culture.

## Chapter Five

Chapter five presents the findings that were sourced from the *talanoa* sessions regarding what *tauhi vā*, family and social obligations might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora and the perspectives of their children (second generation perspectives) when returning back to the homeland. This chapter examines the migrant's voices through their interpretation of what *tauhi vā*, family and social obligation means to them through *talanoa* sessions. From the interpretations of the *talanoa* sessions I then critically analyse to give a critical analysis of the data, further discussions are made to uncover gaps that may arise from the study.

## **Chapter Six**

This chapter presents an overall conclusion which summaries the voyage of this study. This chapter aims to provide a summary of the findings in conjunction with answering the research questions that have emerged during the study.



## CHAPTER TWO

### **National, political and social structures of Tonga with a specific focus on the village of Leimātu'a**

This chapter sets out the national context of the study by outlining the history and social structure of Tonga, examining land and place, traditional kinship, political and social systems, ceremonies to support and the importance of family. The second part of this chapter focuses on the village of Leimātu'a and its significance to the research.

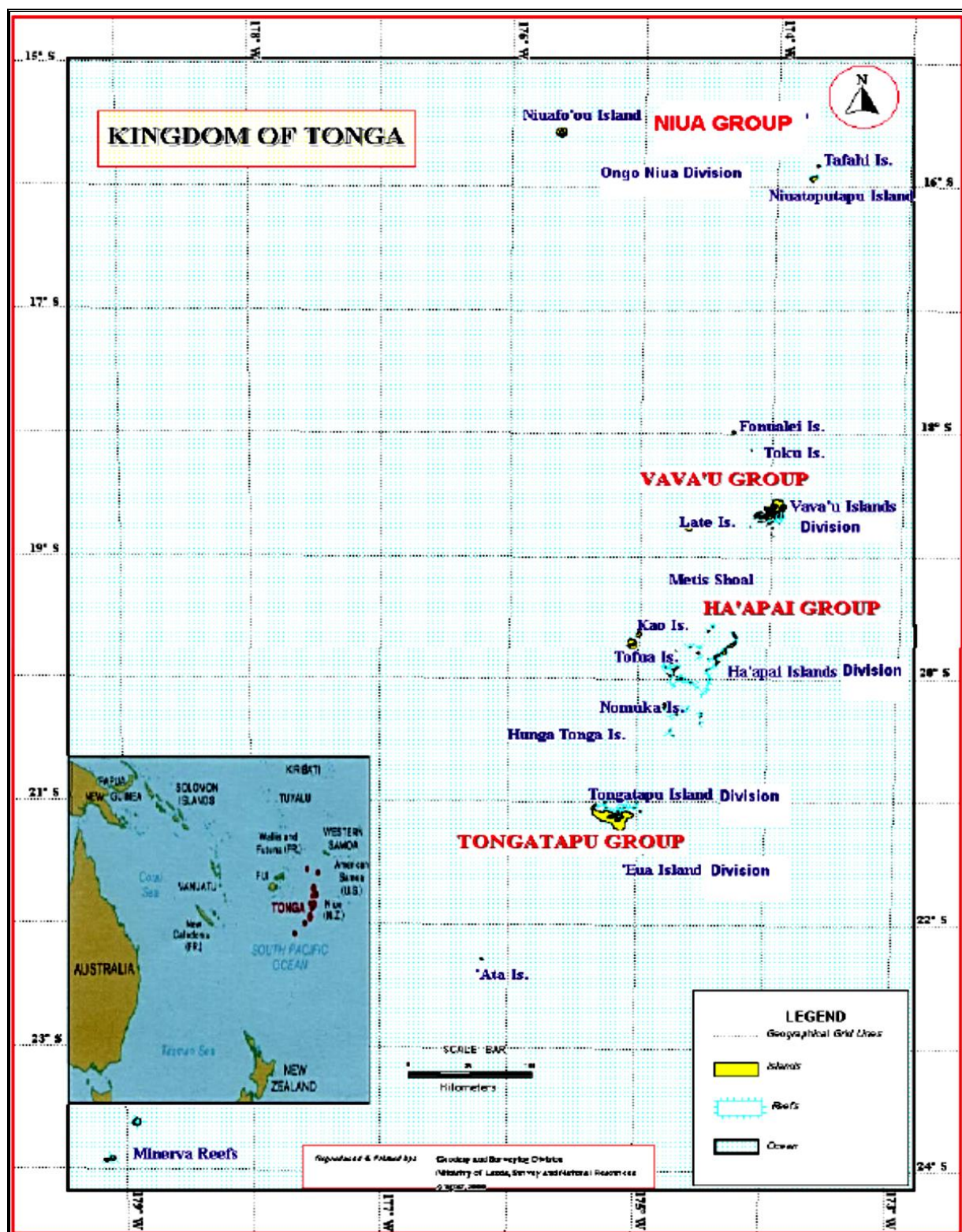
#### **Last Remaining South Pacific Monarchy**

Tonga is the last remaining Pacific Island Kingdom in the world. The archipelago of Tonga affectionately called the Friendly Islands consists of five administrative divisions of islands: Tongatapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, 'Eua, and Ongo Niua (*see figure 4*), spread over an area of 360,000 km<sup>2</sup> in the South Pacific with a total land area of 650 km<sup>2</sup> (Census of Tonga, 2006). It includes 171 islands, of which, about 40 are permanently inhabited. Nuku'alofa, the capital, is located on the island of Tongatapu and is the most populous island division with Vava'u being the second largest island group. Tonga is a constitutional monarchy, and is the only country within the South Pacific to have never been colonised by a foreign power.

The Austronesian-speaking group known as Lapita is believed to have settled the islands around 1500-1000 BC; contact from Europe didn't occur until 16<sup>th</sup> Century when the Dutch ship *Eendracht* stopped briefly to trade. Beginning in the 10th century, Tonga's kingship was handed

down through many generations, and by the 12th century the *Tu'i* Tonga Empire had a reputation across the central Pacific. In 1845, it was the ambitious young warrior Taufa'ahau who united Tonga into a kingdom, and with the help of English missionary Shirley Baker, Tonga was transformed into a constitutional monarchy. A Treaty of Friendship in May 1900 saw the islands become a British-protected state; however there was no higher representative on Tonga, than a British Consul, and Tonga never lost its indigenous governance. In 1970, the protectorate status ended, and the country joined the Commonwealth of Nations in 1970, then the United Nations in 1999. Most recently, in 2006, a series of riots broke out after the Legislative Assembly of Tonga stalled on promises pertaining to democracy in the government (Lātū, 2006).

Figure 4: Map of Tonga



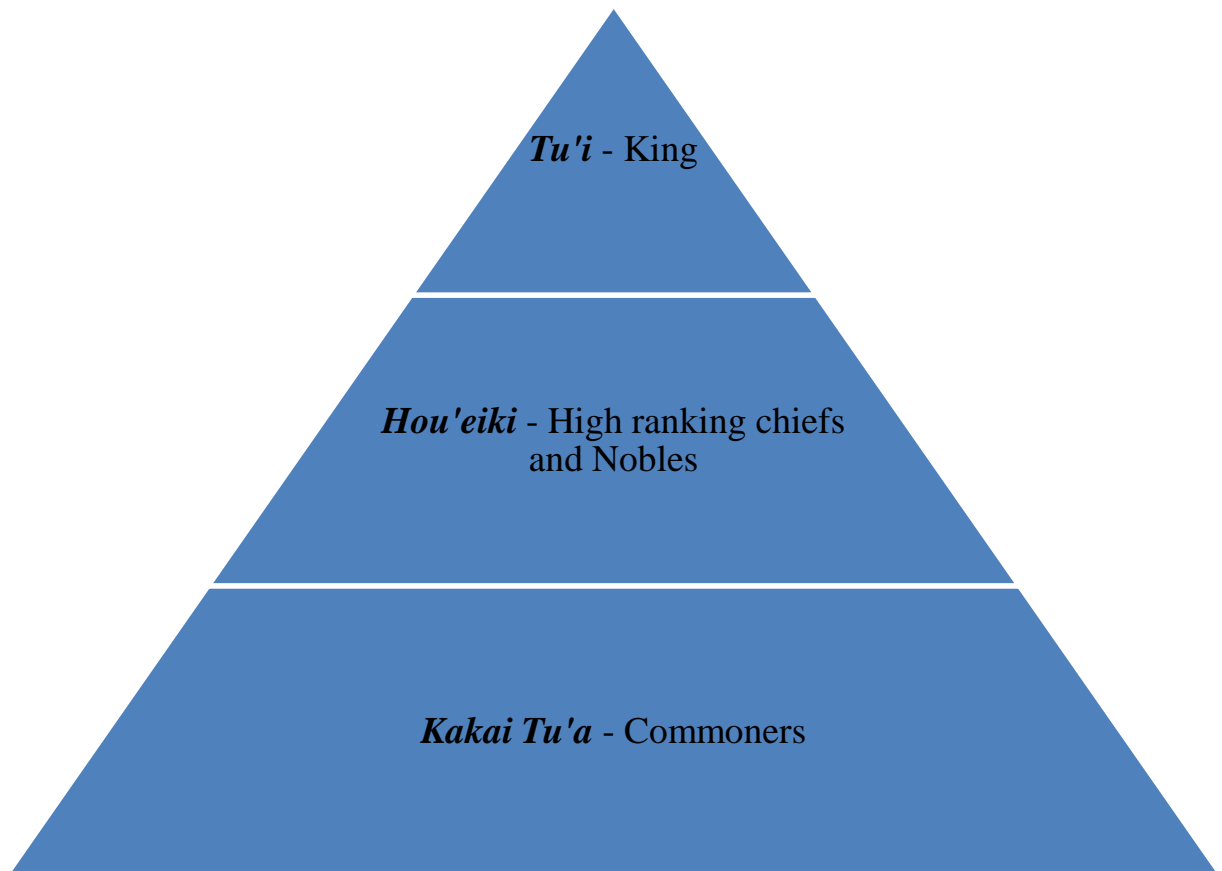
Source: Tonga Department of Statistics, 2006

## Social Structure of Tonga

The social structure of the *nofo faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of living) is hierarchical (*figure 5*) and has classified or multiple layers. The social categorised ranking system in Tonga has the *Ha'a Tu'i* (Royalty) ranking at the top tier, with the next high ranking group the *hou'eiki pe nōpele* (chiefs and nobles) and then lastly the *kakai tu'a* (commoners) ranked at the bottom of the social class in Tonga. In the Tongan hierarchical structure, genealogy plays an integral part of the social structure, because it determines one's role and their place within society. Please refer to *figure 6* for an overview of Tonga's traditional social ranking system in a comprehensive sense.

The broad rankings of *tu'a* and *hou'eiki*, everyone within the *fāmili* or *fa'ahinga* has a hierarchical relationship to one another based on birth rights and order as well as gender. The first born child/children are higher in prestige than second-born children. Females in *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture) outrank their brothers; therefore a daughter has the highest status in the family. The spiritual superiority of sisters is often extended to their children as well. Small and David, (2004) contest that these principles of prestige and gender underlie one of the most important relationships of a woman's power; the *fahu* customs of respect is still evident and practised by many Tongans. Taumoefolau (1991) expands on this concept by saying that: There is a special relationship between brother and sister which entails *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *tapu* (prohibition). The role of the brother is to protect the reputation of his sister and her honour as a female. The honor of his sister is the honour of the family as well as his own.

**Figure 5: Tongan Traditional Socio-Political Structure**



The traditional Tongan family or *nofo 'a kāinga* (extended family/kin family group) have their own social ranking system. The idea of *fahu* is that the sister of the brother (or paternal sister) has superiority over her brother. The sister is the *mehikitanga* (paternal aunty – Fathers sister) of her brother's children. This entitlement of *fahu* could only be inherited by birth. At certain events such as traditional Tongan formalities that are held during funerals, birthdays and wedding celebrations, the finest *koloa faka-Tonga* (Tongan material wealth such as fine mats

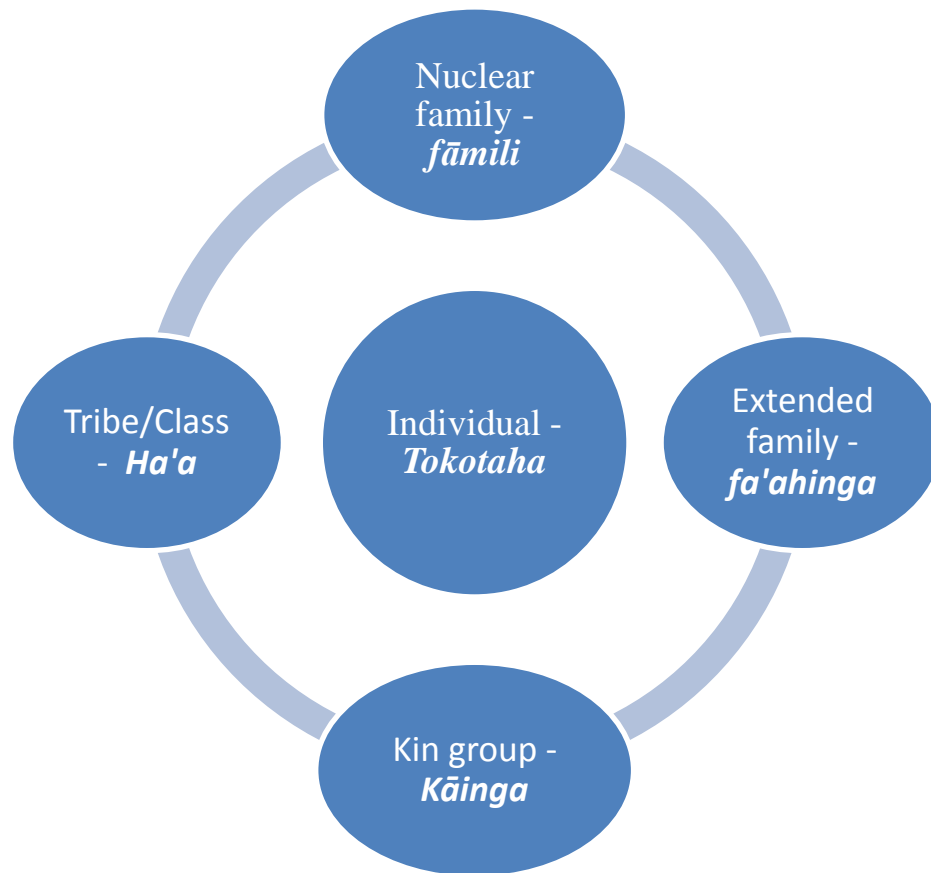
*and tapa*) are presented to the *fahu*. Though, for a funeral the *fahu* is positioned at a special place that only they can occupy which is the front of the ‘*ulu* (head) of the deceased person, which signifies one’s distinction, prestige and position of status within the immediate family. The *fahu* or *mehikitanga* hold the ceremonial rank at these events. Their role is marked by symbolic acts and forms of dress to indicate their status as being superior to her brother and his children Taumoeofolau (1991). In spite of this, a position of power during these Tongan formalities require a leader to make the decisions on Tongan protocols of *tauhi vā* and that is the ‘*ulumotu* ‘*a* which can only be taken by a male from the highest/eldest paternal line in the extended family. ‘*Ulu* is a high ranking concept that signifies positions of superiority within the *nofo* ‘*a kāinga*. The ‘*ulu* or the head is considered a sanctified part of the body in the Tongan culture because of its traditional significance *tapu* (sacred). For example, children are not permitted to touch their father’s ‘*ulu*, or eat their fathers leftovers as it is sacred for them to do so. At the same time, a father’s role holds a superior rank within the *fāмили* (nuclear family) as he is the head of the family. However, he is considered inferior within the *nofo* ‘*a kāinga* because his position is considered inferior to the *fahu*. The *fahu* is the only person who is able to touch the ‘*ulu* that includes an important cultural formality of *kosi* ‘*ulu* (hair cutting ceremony). This formal procedure of *kosi* ‘*ulu* often takes place during or after funerals where the *fahu* is given the highest privilege of cutting the brother’s children’s hair (and those who are positioned inferior to the deceased).

Another important relationship in the anga faka-Tonga is between the mother’s brother, who is known as the fa’ētangata and the role of her children. The daughters of the mother are known as ‘*ilamutu* to their fa’ētangata, he is also known as the fa’iteliha‘anga – the person with

whom “his sisters’ children can do as they please. On the occasion of the ‘ilamutu’s wedding, or funeral the role of the fa’ētangata and his children become liongi at her funeral and at both occasions be located in the kitchen or the ‘umu site. They are recognised by certain symbolic acts and forms of dress as the people who are inferior (Taumoefolau, 1991).

The hierarchical nature of the Tongan society is that the ranking system determines what and how *tauhi vā* (maintaining reciprocal relationships) is maintained through the *kāinga* (social relations). Manu‘atu (2000) asserts that Tongan people living in New Zealand continue to make social, political, economic and strong cultural relationships with their Tongan customs. The cycles of *nofo faka-Tonga* are relationships which reflect the nature of the Tongan people and how they view the world. Tongan culture and identity is predetermined by the hierarchical rank within the *nofo ‘a kāinga*. Every individual is ranked from birth, a rank which is determined in the context of *kāinga* (kinship/family), and it can either be a position of superiority or inferiority.

**Figure 6: Nofo ‘a Kāinga/ Stratifications of Kin Group**



**(Adapted from Teisina, 2011)**

Johannson-Fua (2009) defines rank and position as one of the key notions in traditional cultural leadership which underpins the nature of relationships within Tongan kin groups. Hence a person's identity is the work and responsibility that are appropriate to that person, determined by that person's rank within that person's family and relationship hierarchy.

Nevertheless Tongan families who have now migrated overseas either choose to maintain these social ranking systems and some families choose to leave it all behind in the homeland.



Although there is a social ranking system in the nuclear family as well as extended, when families or individuals decide to make the return trip back home, despite of their role or ranking in the family the reciprocal nature of *'fetokoni'aki* undermines this rank. For instance, a brother and his family return home to visit their families and stay with his sister, even though the sister is of higher ranking due to the *fahu* system she and her children will be serving as well as cooking for her brother and children. Through the lenses of a returning home migrant back to the homeland, the social ranking structure (*nofo 'a kāinga*) played a minimal role in my journey back home because of their sense of obligation to the visitors. Despite this fact, there was no direct reciprocation on my behalf for the benefit of my extended families in the homeland, the response of the direct *'fetokoni'aki* by my parents was the end result of the reciprocation I received during my stay. The hospitality of *kāinga* was overwhelming and from those very moments made me realise the importance of *'fetokoni'aki* (mutual assistance), *'faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *'mata 'ofa* (loving heart) which were three aspects that were portrayed during our stay with kin and kin like members, this is in turn reciprocated when *kāinga* travel to visit family overseas. This is maintained and identified by Evans (2001, p.57) that three Tongan core principles organise the reciprocal exchanges of gifts across all levels of Tongan society, they are: *'ofa* (love and generosity); *'faka'apa'apa* (respect); and *'fetokoni'aki* (mutual assistance) (2001, 57). For Evans, all kin and kin-like relationships are expressed in some combination of these principles. To conclude, there are fine lines between the social ranking system practiced in the nuclear and extended family group; however, through personal observations made it was not a vital concept when visiting the homeland.

## **UHO 'O VAVA'U: LEIMĀTU'A (*Halamangaono*) FOKI KI 'API 2012 VILLAGE REUNION CASE STUDY**

The island of Vava'u is made up of more than 50 scattered islands and is situated about 150 miles north of the main island of Tongatapu. The Township of Leimātu'a is within proximity to the Lupepau'u domestic Airport. The village of Leimātu'a is the first village to greet travellers and visitors to the island of Vava'u and is the last village to bid their farewell to all air travellers and visitors.

### **The Village of Leimātu'a**

Leimātu'a village is located north of the village of Feletoa (*see figure 8*), the population in Leimātu'a was 2753 in 1996 decreasing to 2434 in 2011. There has been no population growth since 1986, despite significant internal migration to Leimātu'a from outer island travel and from main island Tonga, mainly because there has been an increase of sustained out-migration. The social structure within Leimātu'a is stratified and complex, with the village (*hou'eiki*) positioned as the highest ranking chief or the King of Tonga's representative at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the church leaders, church ministers, middle class and business people and the rural peasantry or commoners (*tu'a*), a structure central to the Tongan identity (Morton, 1996, p.22). Residents of Leimātu'a regardless of their relationship with the village chief, Fotu, are regarded as his subject or *kāinga* (extended relative), a territorial term providing a sense of belonging and security within Leimātu'a. As previously discussed, even though there is a social structure which is practiced and visible in Leimātu'a, the village event was able to make exceptions with regards to migrants returning back to the homeland. Through personal observations made during my

return home visit, visitors were treated with the utmost respect (*faka 'apa 'apa*), given the honours (*fakalangilangi*) to reside in special seating arrangements during the village reunion program, and during festivities most overseas visitors were given the utmost privilege to be seated at the front table, a huge honour to be seated alongside the chief, head of the village along with his talking chiefs as well as church ministers. These returning immigrants were known as the distinguished guests of the village reunion.

The Leimātu'a population rely primarily on subsistence cropping and international remittances for their daily needs, while most families are able to use plantation land for subsistence purposes while a small number of farmers generate larger forms of income through the selling of their crops in overseas countries. Wage employment is a viable option for only a few village locals due to the small-scale infrastructure of Vava'u. While there are a number of small government department's as well as private owned businesses, some retail and tourists spots can be found in the capital Neiafu. Access to limited jobs available is intense. I managed to speak to one of the shop assistances in Neiafu and asked her briefly how she got her job. She stated with a smile, "its all about who you know, not what you know around here" (shop assistant) her statement was not at all new to me, clearly this statement suggests that things are done much differently in the islands.

The numbers of villagers who have close relatives living overseas tend to receive more support and help in the form of remittances. Leimātu'a is also subject to a very high percentage

of flow into and out of the village as relatives living in overseas countries and in other parts of Tonga return to visit their friends and relatives in the village.

The historic account of Leimātu‘a has been preserved through oral tradition which has yet to be documented; although there are aspects of Tongan history that still remain oral in nature and there are portions that may have been lost altogether, some historical accounts in this region have been written by the Tongan King’s chief representative in Leimātu‘a, therefore oral tradition has been adopted and considered in this research. There are two versions that shed light to the meanings of the Tongan name Leimātu‘a, both versions are relevant in the sense that it is imperative to know the origins of where the name had come from and its significance to the village event and my research. With the understanding it will allow me to begin the process of mending and nurturing the back bones of this research.

As a returning migrant travelling back to the land where I was born, being told of the historic stories of the origins of where the name of our village came from reaffirmed and consolidated who I am and where I am from – Leimātu‘a. The information was provided by Samiu Lātū, the King’s representative (*matāpule*) in the village of Leimātu‘a and currently holds the *matāpule* title of Fotu in Leimātu‘a. I also was able to have a few personal conversations (*talanoa sessions*) with my father ‘Etina Talakai about some of the written historical documents of our village and the significance of its name. He said, growing up in Leimātu‘a, the stories have always been a alive document, I then questioned why it was an alive document? He then continued to state that even though our pasts are behind us, it is still important to know what

happened in the past and to keep it alive (Talakai, 2013). This signifies the idea, that documenting oral tradition seeks to capture the very essence and depth of emotion one has in their heart. This idea is highlighted in one of Hau'ofa's writings which state:

*The past is ahead, in front of us, is a conception of time that helps us retain our memories and be aware of its presence. What is behind us cannot be seen and is liable to be forgotten readily. What is ahead of us cannot be forgotten so readily or ignored, for it is in front of our minds' eyes, always reminding us of its presence. Since the past is alive in us, the dead are alive – we are our history (2008, p.67).*

Hau'ofa points out the importance of knowing one's past and if we want to remember something that has happened in our past, then we should put it in front so that we can see it, his view provides guidance from our pasts to our future.

The two versions are both used in the *tala* of Leimātu'a and are also generally and consistently passed down from generation to generation via oral tradition. I have chosen to merge my father's interpretation and Fotu's written document to formulate the historical accounts that took place in Leimātu'a. This notion is supported by Bremner (2004) "it is the continual production of cultural items that reinforce memory thus enabling myths and images to be sustained through the passing of time. The myths that are created and reinforced through landscape and memory are intrinsically aligned with the idea of power and control as landscape doesn't merely signify or symbolise power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power" (2004, p.6). I have also chosen to include the Tongan version of the historic folk tale before it was

translated into English allowing the readers to make their own interpretations of the information given (*refer to appendix 1 and 2*).

### ***Tala-ē-fonua (Telling-of-the-land-and-its-people)***

#### **Historical and linguistic analysis of the original tale and meaning of Leimātu‘a**

The oral history of Leimātu‘a can be appreciated through the Tongan concept of tala-ē-fonua which literally means the ‘telling of the land and its people’, *tala-ē-fonua* is a combination of people and land. The concept can be considered a Tongan art form where such knowledge is used to understand the worldviews of Tongan people. Māhina (1992) states that:

*“This art form is a symbolic way of socially representing, in literal terms, past and present event about people their land, handed down from one generation to the next by word of mouth (tala). As an essentially social concept, tala-ē-fonua is an indigenous ecology-based mode of construction of the ordered and altered landscape movement of people, characterised by permanence and change in specific human relationships between groups”*

**(Māhina, 1992, p.vi)**

The oral history of Leimātu‘a can be found in close examination of certain myths and oral traditions related to the area. There is, of course, a literal interpretation of such myths and oral traditions, which borders on the dreamlike or unreal. In spite of this, such literal translations contain symbolic references, which are revealed only to those knowledgeable in the art of tala-ē-fonua. Explanation of these symbolic references brings to the surface a historical account of events directly associated with the village of Leimātu‘a.

It is said that it was the King (Tupou I) who named the village Leimātu'a. *Lei* means whale's tooth (*nifo'i Tofua'a*) while *mātu'a* refers to *ongo mātu'a* (two men or man and his wife). Talakai and Afusipa were the two chiefs at the time who were bestowed the responsibility to govern the village by 'Ulukālala's ruling (Vava'u King at the time). Feletoa and Leimātu'a were said to be owned by 'Ulukālala (Tu'i/King Vava'u). Politically, Tafua'ahau (King of main island Tonga) asked 'Ulukālala for a piece of land in Vava'u. As a sign of submission of his power to Tupou I, he accepted the plea and declared that he was just a caretaker of the land. Moreover, he would confine himself to *Matapā ko Fatungakoa* (his residence in Feletoa) and the rest of his land would belong to the King. With the submission of power from one to king to another, 'Ulukālala had forgotten to acknowledge the chiefs that were currently residing and governing the village Talakai and Afusipa. Tupou I appointed his own chief representative Fotu from the island of Tokū to govern the village. With the new appointment of governing chief and king's representative, the disheartened news had finally reached Talakai and Afusipa. The two chief's title to the land was taken away from them without their knowing. There was no acknowledgement of what was taken from them by the King himself and so they named one part of Leimātu'a *mata lupe kehea*. Till this very day the township is split into different local districts, each with its own local names. One of the districts is named *Mata lupe kehea*, a literal translation: seeing other dove. The significance of this name is that Talakai and Afusipa were responsible for the people and the governing of the village and without their knowledge were stripped of their responsibilities. In the Tongan culture being stripped of titles is formally frowned upon, whereas in Talakai and Afusipa's case they were not acknowledged nor consulted, and to make things more complicated the King brought in a outsider from another

island to govern the village. Talakai named this area *mata lupe kehea* because they felt they were being robbed of their title as governing chiefs of Leimātu'a.

This is how Leimātu'a came to be a part of the King's estate. When Tupou I first visited his estate in Vava'u, he was warmly welcomed by people of the village with *hā'unga* (baked food given as a welcome – (Churchward, 1959) under the guidance of two prominent *mātu'a tauhi fonua* (village elders) Talakai and Afusipa. 'Ufi (yams), *puaka toho* (big fat pig), *kape*, *kava* (kava root plant), and *lei* (treasured whale tooth) were presented during the ceremony. When the king asked about the Lei, Talakai the *matāpule* (talking chief) said that the Lei was a treasured possession. The king declared that this land would be called *Lei-Mātu'a* in appreciation of the presentation of the lei by the *mātu'a*. It was a sign of good will and commitment to the *fatongia* (obligation) by the *mātu'a* Talakai and Afusipa. From then on, 'Aisea Fotu was officially appointed by the king to own and look after the land for him with the chiefly title of FOTU. Fotu is one of the king's *matāpule* (representatives) from the *Fale Ha'akili*.

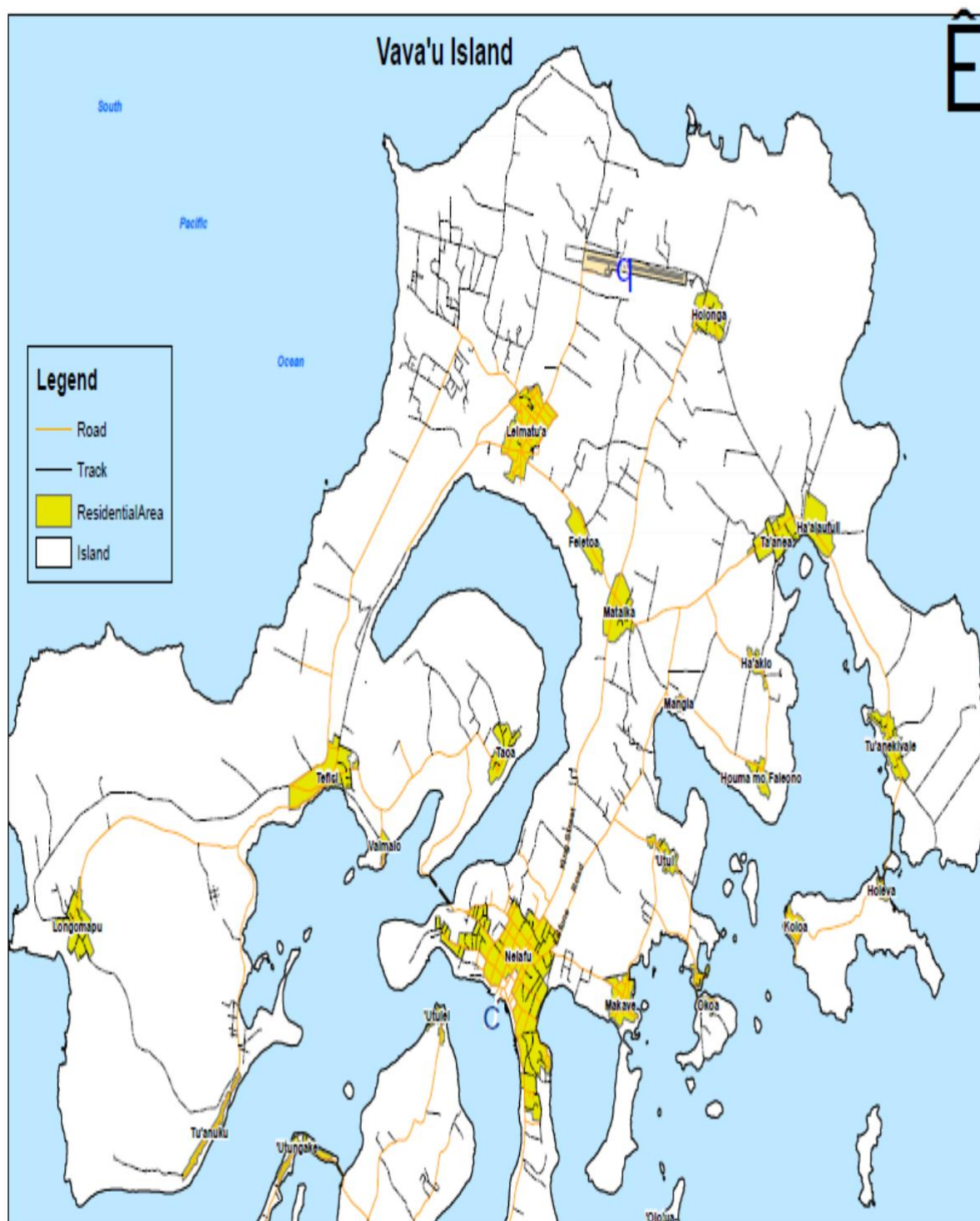


## 2. The Second Version.

Leimātu‘a was said to refer to *LEPUHĀ* as *MĀNA‘IA* (*young man of attractive appearance*) – (Churchward, 1959). Lepuhā was looked after and brought up by a couple (*ongo matu‘a*) in Leimātu‘a. Their resident was called *HILA – KI – TAPANA*. In the first version of Leimātu‘a, Lei was considered to be like gold during that time. However, the village was said to be named after the most important and well known property of the village that is Lepuhā. Lepuhā was well known around Tonga for his beauty and good looks. Therefore, the Lei of the *Mātu‘a* (elders) here simply refer to Lepuhā.

It was said that a Tongan princess Fatafehi, daughter of one Tu‘i Tonga (King of Tonga), was brought from Lapaha at Mu‘a in Tongatapu to Makave in Vava‘u by Lolo, a Casanova, who was the son of Tu‘i ‘Āfitu (King of ‘Āfitu). The Tu‘i ‘Āfitu, a high ranking chief of Makave in Vava‘u. Lolo and Fatafehi were arranged to be married, whilst travelling by boat to Makave, Fatafehi jumped overboard. Lolo had no knowledge that Fatafehi had, in fact, fallen under the spell of the famous Lepuhā, another Casanova from Leimātu‘a. Lepuhā had spoken to Fatafehi just before they departed for Makave to meet him in Leimātu‘a at the tip of tafenga toto. Fatafehi and her entourage swam towards Leimātu‘a in search for her lover Lepuhā. Lolo and his party also jumped into the sea in hot pursuit of Fatafehi. Princess Fatafehi was found in the arms of Lepuhā in Leimātu‘a, however she was forced to leave him. Lolo exchanged words with Lepuhā and said: *maumau ho‘o lelei ka ‘oku ke tu‘a* – it’s a pity that you’re handsome but you’ll never amount to my noble status, as you are a commoner and inferior to me. Leimātu‘a’s name was known to have come from those words Lolo stated: “*maumau ho‘o lelei ka ‘oku’ ke tu‘a*”. *Lelei* (handsome, good looks) – *Lei*, *maumau* (pity) – *ma*, *tu‘a* (commoner) – *tu‘a*.

**Figure 7: Map of Vava'u Island – highlighting village locations**



(Tonga's Land and Survey, 2013)

### *Foki ki 'Api (Return Home) Village reunion*

When I first heard about the village reunion I decided to accompany those travelling to Tonga to attend the village reunion and explore the questions that were raised for this study. The first day of the village reunion began with a march through the village (*see figure 8*). The march comprised local villagers, friends, family and relatives visiting from the outer islands and those that flew in from overseas countries. Those that took part in the march have dressed according to the colours of either their home town or colours that have significant connections to where they are currently living. The village march consisted of people from overseas countries, outer-islands such as the main island and locals who all have some connection to Leimātu'a. Visitors from overseas countries such as Australia held their flags while marching through the village. The anticipation of walking through the village intensified as more people gathered together and as the march progressed more and more people joined in. The laughter, excitement and songs that were sung were full of ownership. Each group took turns in leading songs whilst making their way through to the village hall.

Once the traditional formalities of welcoming everyone to the village reunion were completed, the actual event was then formally opened and the programme for the day commenced. It was eleven in the morning and the first agenda on the programme looked at the historical accounts of Leimātu'a. The chair person opened up with an invitation to the elders of the village to share their knowledge of what they were told with regards to the historical accounts of Leimātu'a. Distinguished guests and speakers were noted in the programme and notified to deliver either a speech or presentation with regards to Leimātu'a. At approximately one in the

afternoon, lunch was prepared as a traditional Tongan feast comprising of long tables filled with Tongan delicacies' accompanied by performances and more formal speeches. During the event, I was able to make personal observations as well as conduct *talanoa* sessions with participants. The programme for the village reunion is seen as a guideline and so there were adjustments made if needed. For an example, the programme for the festivities took longer than it was anticipated and so the following evening programmes were cancelled as everyone became too tired to attend.

**Figure 8: First day – Village March 2012**



Source: [Photograph] Authors own picture, 2012

People from the village of Leimātu'a are often referred to as *Leimātu'a tā pauni ono* (Leimātu'a strikers of six-pound tins). Leimātu'a is famous for an event involving the six pound

corned beef tin that had occurred many years before. After a shortage of corned beef, some was finally delivered to the village. A local man, in great enthusiasm, promptly took one of the six-pound cans and beat it with a stick until corned beef covered the road, while he loudly castigated it for having been away for so long. Since then, the term *pāuni ono* (six pound) has been used metaphorically to refer to Leimātu‘a (Poltorak, 2007, p.20).

*(Tongan Translation)*

*‘Oku ngāue ‘aki pē ‘a e lea’ ni ki he kakai ‘o e kolo ko Leimātu‘a ‘i Vava‘u. Na ‘e ma ‘u ‘a e lea’ ni mei he taimi na ‘e hongē ai ‘a e kapapulu pauni ono’ ‘i Vava‘u, pea ‘i he taimi na ‘e toe ‘asi mai ai’ na ‘e toki hanga atu e kakai ‘o e kolo ko Leimātu‘a’ ‘o tā ko e fuoloa ‘ene puli’.*

This is not an act of insanity but in fact another act of what is known as a “powerful Tongan emotion as warmth (*māfana*)”, (Ka‘ili, 2008, p.2). A six-pound tin of corned beef is considered valuable (*koloa*)—six pounds is the largest size possible—and is also emblematic of the extreme generosity and happiness for the people of Leimātu‘a (Poltorak, 2007). In most Tongan celebrations and ceremonies, people from the village of Leimātu‘a take pride in decorating six pound corn beef tins in and around the tables of food. This is a popular practice which is prominent in overseas countries where migrants from Leimātu‘a take pride in displaying at celebratory ceremonies or Tongan cultural functions such as traditional feasts. The people of Leimātu‘a may also beat the tin cans which is part of their customary traditions of the village.

The Leimātu‘a humour in comparison to any other village humour in Vava‘u display enthusiasm, portraying shamelessness and displaying overconfidence in the way they act. People from other villages and islands find Leimātu‘a humour inappropriate or odd when interacting with them. These are some of the emotive aspects that one cannot really grasp nor fully understand the ‘*hua*’ (banter) with the association of homeland *kananga* (common saying, slang or expression) and *tu‘utu‘u kehe* (sarcastic). *Hua* is to tease or make fun of someone or something sarcastically and indirectly – this is a form of art in itself where you learn not to take things personally. Most occasions visitors or returning migrants who have travelled back home have no idea what locals are referring to in their conversations. With a couple of days spent in the village visiting friends and relatives, returning immigrants and their families tend to pick up and acquire the Leimātu‘a humour really fast. This is highlighted in a study conducted in Vava‘u by Poltorak (2007) emphasising the Vava‘uan link between language and emotionality. Poltorak (2007) describes the differences in language used by Vava‘u people in comparison to people from the mainland of Tonga. Although countless Leimātu‘a villagers live overseas, there is no mistaking that you could pick out a person from Leimātu‘a by the way they act. Metaphorically speaking "You can take the girl out of Leimātu‘a, but you cannot take the Leimātu‘a out of the girl".

## Leimātu'a Hospitality – Feasts, Speeches and Cultural performances

The festivities would not have been the same without a traditional Vava'uan feast. It's almost imperative that at any Tongan celebration or function there will always be a feast involved. According to Havea (2011) feasting is more than an occasion to eat. It is also about maintaining and building relationships. Local people weave and renew relationships at every feast they attend. Feasting is about hospitality and more importantly about the privilege to host ones friends and relatives. In the eyes of many visitors, some of the feasts prepared in the homeland is excessive in comparison to the nature of the economy and country. Most of the time the feasts do not correctly represent the poor economic situation of the local people (Havea, 2011). This is not always the case, through my own personal experience and personal observations local villagers pride themselves in hosting such occasions and that preparations of feasts is not subjective to an individual but in fact demonstrates the communal and collective culture in the village communities. Some of the reasons behind the excessive preparation of feasts even though the local villagers are in poor economic situations all comes down to 'emotive feelings (discussed earlier) of *māfana*, *'ofa*, *faka'apa'apa* and *fetokoni'aki*' (Ka'ili, 2005).

Preparations of Tongan feasts is about reciprocity (*fetokoni'aki*), for a host at one feast will return the same kindness (reciprocate) when a relative or friend hosts at another time. In light of reciprocity, there is no process nor routine to reciprocate, it's a matter of one's sense of obligation and nurturing need to *tauhi fonua* and *tauhi* the *vā* maintaining socio spatial relationships. This is reinforced by Ka'ili (2008) the purpose of the *tauhi fonua* is to maintain peace (*melino*) and beauty through the performance of *fatongia* (social duties) to the land and its



people (*fonua*). Reciprocity is also about the obligation to be present for friends and relatives, even if one has nothing to offer towards the feast.

On the other hand, speeches in association to festivities and hospitality, plays an important role in linking and connecting the land with the *anga faka-Tonga*. In relation to the village reunion speeches that took place were reserved especially for the local village chief and those in the upper social hierarchical ranking. However, with the returning immigrants present at the village reunion, the honours were bestowed on some of the visitors from overseas. The speeches delivered were inspired by many fond memories and accounts of the homeland. It managed to capture the many different reasons of returning home and what it meant for those individuals. To be able to hear their experiences and share them amongst all who attended denotes one's love for the *fonua* in connection with the *anga faka-Tonga*. These speeches were important as they managed to story their reasons for migrating overseas and why they have returned. With second generation Tongans living overseas present during these speeches, it somewhat inspired and captured their attention as the stories were filled with sadness, gratitude and happiness to be back at last in the homeland.

Cultural feasts and celebrations usually involve cultural Tongan performances which are performed either by the hosts or both hosts and guests collaborating to reciprocate each other's kindness. With the influence of tourism it has imposed the 'expectation that performances are for the primary purpose of entertainment' (Havea, 2011). This notion is evident today due to floorshow groups who entertain tourists with a smorgasbord of dances. Havea (2011) states that,



Tonga and similar tourist spots throughout the Pacific, cultural performances have thus become commodities, 'items', that are adapted, negotiated and sold according to their entertainment values. This notion seeks to promote and raise awareness of indigenous cultures by performing cultural dances to visitors and foreigners. Nevertheless Tongan cultural dance is performed to showcase allegiance to commemorate life crises such as the passing of individuals or common ceremonies and celebrations such as weddings, birthdays and church events (Kaeppler, 1993). Dance projected oral literature into visual form and was an artistic medium used to formally recognize and represent national or local events, to praise people or places of origin as well as to entertain (ibid).

The village reunion consisted of different forms of dance which enhanced the week-long celebration of returning back to the homeland. It is known through songs and dance that Tongan people *talanoa* their struggles and joys, their emotions, the past and present and their desires and longing of their memories of the homeland. Rather than music accompanying dance, as seen in the usual western concept, in Tonga dance accompanies poetry and how the movements interpret the poetry is an important aspect of the aesthetic experience (Kaeppler, 1993). The semantic interpretations to Tongan dance aesthetics are *mālie* and *māfana*, this is described by Kaeppler (1993) that, *mālie* denotes beautiful, although dance can be beautiful as well and in order to experience *māfana*, there must be familiarity with the standards of the culture in order to find a correspondence between what is perceived and what one has experienced in the past (1993, p. 31). However Ka'ili (2008) incorporates the concepts of tauhi vā as a Tongan performing art tool that symmetrically marks time (*tā*) in space (*vā*) to create beauty (*mālie*), and that beauty evokes powerful Tongan emotions such as warmth (*māfana*).

Tongan songs are poetically composed to interpret the lives of people, their genealogies with place names, flowers (such as *heilala*) and birds (such as *tavake*), metaphorically making reference to the occasion and those honored by it (Kaepler, 1993). *Heliaki* is usually translated as ‘not going straight’ or it may say one thing but mean another. According to Kaepler (1993) *Heliaki* can be considered a Tongan aesthetic principle that is realised through metaphor and allusion (1993, p.6).

The lyrics in the song titled ‘naughty dove’ is a literal translation of Lupepau‘u, which is the name of the Vava‘u airport. The lyrics and song reflect a *tau‘olunga* - traditional Tongan dance that is performed by young women of Leimātu‘a. Being the eldest daughter of the eldest son, one of my many duties and social obligations to serve my family was to perform the *tau‘olunga*. This particular *tau‘olunga* dance is a representation of identity and background and is particularly relevant to Leimātu‘a. The lyrics are poetic and display nostalgic emotions harking back to the homeland of Leimātu‘a. Understanding the lyrics and what it meant to me as a performer and dancer accentuates the body movements in turn luring and captivating audiences. This is known as ‘*mālie*’. There was always the feeling of inward *māfana* (centered warmth) when performing this dance, it is an emotion that denotes the love of culture and the acknowledgment of the migrant dreams of those who left the shores of Vava‘u in search of bigger and better opportunities.

(Tongan)

**Hingoa ‘oe fo‘i hiva: Lupepau‘u**

*‘Ise ‘Isa He ‘ikai ngalo ‘i hoku loto  
‘A Lupepau ‘u mo e taulanga e fakauo*

*Tateki si ‘a sola mo ha vūlangi pea tau ō*

*Ko e tavakesiu ‘o e Halamangaono*

*Ka hilakitapana pea to‘oa ai si ‘oku loto  
He ‘oka angiangi pea nanivi hono lou ‘ō ‘ō*

*Ta ‘ahine langatoli mai mu‘a ke ta ō  
Ta ō pe ‘o sio ‘i he Ī ‘o mata ‘aho  
Ta toli ‘i he fā, mo ta sei ai hono hingano*

*Ta mulu he maile ‘o e fala ‘a tēvolo  
‘Oku angi mokomoko pea fakalata ki hoku sino  
Siu ala ‘i moana ‘oku tu ‘u ko e fakafe ‘ao*

(English Translation)

**Title of song: Naughty Dove**

Oh how my heart longs to never forget  
The memory of lupepau‘u and the port of  
festivities.

Come all newcomers and strangers from  
near and far

The *tavake siu* bird soars over  
Halamangaono (Leimātu‘a)

As I glimpse to *tapana* my heart yearns  
The cool breeze sends rhythmic shivers like  
*lou ‘ō ‘ō*

Girl let us go together to gather  
Let us see the *Ī ‘o mata ‘aho*  
Let us pick the *fā*, as we wear the *sei* of the  
*hingano*

Let us unravel the *maile* at the *fala o tēvolo*  
The cool breeze of nostalgia entices my skin  
The boat traversing the ocean will act as my  
escort.

As mentioned earlier dance in Tonga is a prominent form of creative display, the most spectacular visually and to Tongans, it is the most sophisticated of the performing arts because of its demanding combination of poetry, song and body movement (Moyle, 1987). Responding to the multi-faceted nature of performance whether it is seen to serve to display the female beauty

or the social identity of participants, or to act as the vehicle for the expression of group opinion, dance is a stimulating and dynamic part of the Tongan culture (*anga faka Tonga*).

The two verses of this particular song was composed to describe one's love for the homeland (*'ofa fonua*), "oh how my heart longs to never forget", with reference to local scenic attractions '*lau mātanga*' (pride of locality) Lupepau'u (Vava'u Airport) as well as reference to local fragrant plants and flowers (*kakala*) "Let us pick the *fā* (fragrant plant) as we wear the *sei* (placement of flower around the ear) of the *hingano* (fragrant flower)" contributes to the nostalgic emotions and one's identity which is deeply rooted in Leimātu'a and is portrayed in the lyrics. These lyrics are rich in meaning with metaphoric references to familiar places and plants and which describes the painful awareness and expression of longing for something lost, the absence of which continues to produce significant emotional desires. To some extent this is true whether you're an island-born or a New Zealand-born Pacific Islander living overseas, there is always that notion and feeling of belonging to one's culture and what these cultural aspects mean to us, as people of the *Pasifiki*.

Leimātu'a is considered to be a *kolo māfana* (village of warmth). This 'warmth' in this sense describes people in terms of their *fiefia* (happiness) and *nima homo/foaki* (giving hands or generosity). Whenever there is a *kātoanga* (important occasion or festival), they give whatever they have (in monetary means) or *koloa faka-Tonga* (Tongan cultural goods) during gatherings and functions (Latu.V, 2006). The gifting of *koloa-faka Tonga* has been known as a form of renewal of sociospatial relations (*Tauhi vā*) of those living in the local village and those that have

recently returned back to the homeland. Local women have gathered together during the village event, each with individual contributions to gift the cultural treasured goods to the overseas visitors that attended the village reunion event.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *Fakatotolo - Research Methodology*

*Pacific research needs to be disseminated, published, talked about, for ourselves and also to help others read about us, and understand us, given our various perspectives on knowledge, epistemologies, worldviews, and ontologies. Publishing is where the ultimate power lies, for what good is research if it is not published. The entrance to academia is where a lot of 'silence' takes place. Our Pacific strategies of removing the silence will therefore include strategies to publish*

**Nabobo-Baba (2004, p.19)**

### Introduction

This research is informed and supported by two methodologies with each having significant contributions in their respective rights. Whether it is research gathering (*Talanoa*), the writing process or the results; the use of *kakala* (Thaman, 2003) is an essential element of my research. The *Talanoa* method is a culturally appropriate research approach available (Vaiolleti, 2006; Prescott, 2008; Tu'itahi, 2005) with similar concepts for Samoa, Fiji and other Pacific island nations (Otsuka, 2006). As mentioned in Chapter one, there is a paucity of research written on Tongan nationals from the village of Leimātu'a living overseas returning home. It is important then to adopt an appropriate methodology for this research. In order to better understand the nature of VFR tourism in Tonga with relations to the maintenance or strengthening of cultural ties between home and Tongan's living overseas. The *Talanoa* process was conducted with a variety of participants in order to provide an evidence based understanding of the connections between specific cultural events at a village level and the diaspora/transnationalism of Tongan migrants returning to their homeland. This chapter

identifies and explains the research approach, the methodology, and associated procedures employed during the course of this research. It will also reflect upon the collection of data, how the data was analysed and reported, ethical considerations, and limitations.

## Design

Pacific communities have in the past been disillusioned with research, particularly in regards to misrepresentation. So much so, that Smith (1999) states “... research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful” (1999, p.1). In response to the ongoing issues of Pacific research misrepresentation, Pacific scholars have argued the need for research processes to be grounded in Pacific epistemologies so that research findings best reflect Pacific cultures and people (Hau‘ofa (1994), Smith (1999), Helu-Thaman (2003), Nabobo-Baba, (2004). In this case the Tongan culture and Tongan people. They also argue for Pacific research capacity and capability building so that more Pacific research is done by Pacific people rather than outsiders (this is an ongoing debate among scholars who research in the Pacific). However, defining exactly what constitutes Pacific epistemologies is difficult largely because of the diversity of cultures that constitutes the ‘Pacific’. In this respect many Pacific approaches tend to be ethnic specific, for example the *Kaupapa* Māori approach. The *Kaupapa* Māori approach is one of the more robust Pacific approaches to research. This is mainly because the approach emerged from and is legitimised from within the Maori community.

Despite the continuing debates in delineating a pan-Pacific approach to research, Pacific scholars agree that any Pacific approach needs to incorporate Pacific cultural values, recognise and privilege Pacific worldviews, voices and interpretations and that the research must benefit all involved in the research process. By renegotiating the process of research the production of knowledge and how we come to understand the world we live in is more reflective of peoples lived experiences.

Indigenous and Pacific research is often underpinned by more participatory, emancipatory and empowering approaches to privilege the voices of indigenous communities. Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo's (2001) paper on "How We Know": Kwara'ae Rural Villages Doing Indigenous Epistemology, provides a great example of Pacific indigenous research in action. The paper begins by describing and discussing indigenous epistemologies more broadly and from a Pacific perspective. The second half of the paper focuses on the Kwara'ae Genealogy Project where rural villagers from Solomon Islands aim to create an indigenous written account of Kwara'ae culture and genealogy. This project documents the process of conducting indigenous epistemologies by indigenous researchers and the challenges they faced in gathering and analysing their data.

The methodology adopted in this research is qualitative in nature. The *Talanoa* method follows similar assumptions and connections of qualitative and narrative analysis, drawing thick descriptions using the voices and worldviews of the participants themselves. In this case the



world views of Tongans, which provides a culturally appropriate framework for gathering data. Qualitative research involves a continuous process of reflection on the research.

Reflexivity is the process of examining both oneself as researcher, and the research relationship. The reflexive 'I' is a key component of this study and is central to the understanding of learning experience. The reflexive 'I' allows the researcher to develop reflective writing within qualitative research as a method, drawing on the writer's critical thinking and analytical abilities, enable creativity and ongoing analysis. In this case it allows the researcher to identify his or hers assumptions and preconceptions as well as being aware of situational dynamics in which the researcher and participants are jointly involved in knowledge production. This component allows further insight and re-inforces the researchers feelings and experiences are valid in the study.

Pacific researchers have always debated the credibility of *talanoa* as a research methodology. Almost all will agree that *talanoa* is a useful research method but not all are convinced that *talanoa* is a methodology. In the earlier days, *talanoa* was seen to be a method, a way of 'doing' interviews. But it is now recognised also as a philosophical approach – a state of 'mind' about how things should be done and why (because this is the Pacific world view) and so it can be used as either – or both, this is discussed further in this chapter.

## Theoretical Framework

This research focuses on what *tauhi vā* might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora and upon how returning home to visit friends and relatives, tourism may contribute to

the strengthening of cultural ties between home and Tongans living overseas. As a method of data collection, the ontological roots are linked to the constructivist paradigms and to a lesser extent to post-positivism (Prescott, 2008). Along with qualitative research, grounded theory, and ethnography, *Talanoa* belongs to the phenomenological research family. According to Vaioleti (2006), *Talanoa* removes the distance between researcher and participant, and provides research participants with a human face they can relate to. This is an ideal method of research because relationships are the foundation on which most Pacific activities are built (Morrison, Vaioleti, & Veramu, 2002). In comparison to *Talanoa* methodology, narrative research is similar and is possibly a subset of narrative inquiry (Schoone, 2010). However, *Talanoa* is accommodating and adaptable, as it offers opportunities for the researcher to explore, argue, simplify and re-align (Vaioleti, 2006).

When researching Tongan people, it was vital to select a research approach that would capture the diversity of Tongan perspectives and experiences. Therefore the methodologies used in this research were carefully chosen on the basis of their appropriateness within the Tongan culture and protocols. As a Tongan researcher researching Tongan migrants returning back to their country of birth (*fonua*), it was essential to select a research method that was culturally appropriate. Considering my background as a Tongan migrant living in Aotearoa New Zealand, this new journey as a researcher influenced my decisions in choosing the *Talanoa* method to utilise as a research tool.

## *Talanoa and Kakala Methodology*

People of the *Pasifiki* have established research methodologies that make reference to a particular metaphor or term that is familiar to them (Fa'afoi, Parkhill, & Fletcher, 2006). The methods of data collection chosen for this study are a *Pasifiki* research methodology *Talanoa*. *Talanoa* is “a personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and aspirations” (Vaiotei, 2006, p.21). *Talanoa* allows more *mo'oni* (pure and strong, genuine, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than information derived from other research methods (Vaiotei, 2006). The focus of *Talanoa* is to reach a state of understanding between those involved. This understanding is reached through the respectful and mutual sharing of views, experiences and beliefs through the process of *Talanoa*. Halapua (2003) maintains that:

*“our talanoa process of dialogic-exchange interactions with each other can and ought to be orientated towards building understanding and respect of the competing claims of rights and obligations which we value and share in our lives.”*

**(Halapua, 2003, p. 132)**

*Talanoa* is one of the indigenous methodologies employed by Tongan, Samoan and Fijian people; indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values, beliefs and practices as an integral part of the methodology (Smith, 1999). *Tala* means to, tell, clarify, explain, and converse about or command. The word *noa* means, ordinary or common routine, nothing in particular, purely imaginary (Vaiotei 2003). *Tala-noa* derives from the Tongan language and the concept of *Talanoa* in the context of Tongan people is about face to face conversation, discussions or conversing and storytelling in a free and informal manner. In

addition the history of *Talanoa* in the Tongan context is based on discussions, a talk, and exchange of ideas and experiences, or thinking whether it is informal or formal conversations. These discussions and conversations often lead to deeper understanding of a particular topic or issue within our everyday living.

The *Talanoa* method also relates to the ethnography approach and the ethno methodology approach. Ethnography looks at describing culture and the ethno methodology approach refers to the method that people use to create and understand their life experiences and their worldviews. The understanding that is reached as a result of *Talanoa* is a constructed reality. The nature of “truths” to a particular issue or idea is an ongoing process of *Talanoa*, discussing, questioning, and reviewing the truth is a product of *Talanoa*. ‘*Talanoa*’ in the Tongan context is a collective approach, everyone is inclusive in *Talanoa*. In terms of research, the researcher and the participants are regarded as being equal. Both parties can contribute to the discussion and they both will benefit from the understanding gained from the experience (Prescott, 2008).

In support of *Talanoa*, the *Kakala* concept is considered as being appropriate in bringing together the data. Helu-Thaman (1999) constructed and developed the *kakala* concept based on Tongan principles and values that explain the traditional method of fragrant royal garland making. Using the metaphor of *tui kakala* suggests that a cultural synthesis of the information, stories, emotions and theorising made available by *Talanoa* will produce relevant knowledge and possibilities for addressing Pacific issues (Vaiioleti, 2006).

A fundamental premise of *Talanoa* as a research method is that it is trustworthy and holds meaningful engagement within the research process (Vaiotei, 2003). Tongans have used *Talanoa* as a form of communication and dialogue for many centuries, and have now integrated this process into a method for research (Prescott 2007). It is used by indigenous writers such as Manu'atu (2000), Halapua (2005), Vaiotei (2006), Otsuko (2006), Tu'itahi (2008), Prescott (2008) who have all found that the *Talanoa* method provides a useful tool for researching Tongan or Pacific people (*Kakai Tonga pe ko e Kakai 'o e Pasifiki*).

The Tongan concept of *kakala* embodies elements of both western and Tongan ideas of knowledge (*'ilo*) and education (Helu-Thaman, 1999, p.11). The *kakala* concept is relevant to my research as it represents the body of knowledge, experiences and values of both western and Tongan notions which are brought together to demonstrate the respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and love (*'ofa*) of those that have helped and supported me through my research voyage.

In Tongan traditions, especially in music, dance and poetry, *kakala* takes on an added significance – as a symbol of *faka'apa'apa* (respect) as well as *'ofa* (love or compassion) and *faka'ofa'ofa* (creating beauty/beautiful). This research involves *tolu* (gathering), *tui* (making) and *luva* (giving) of knowledge, information, skills and values which is motivated by *faka'apa'apa* and *'ofa*. As indigenous researchers we owe it to ourselves and our communities to give back and share this cultural knowledge with those who come to help us but who may not yet know us (Helu-Thaman, 1999, p.12).

## Collection and Analysis – *Kakala* Model

The method of collecting data is interpreted through the *lālānga* (weaving) of information. Reinforced with Thaman's *kakala* model (1999), this is comprised of Tongan values and principles that depict the traditional process and practice of fragrant garland making. There are three main processes: firstly *tolī kakala* is used to search, select and pick the most appropriate flowers or information, secondly *ka u tui kakala* is the process where the information is organised and interpreted to make the best design for the garland, then finally *luva e kakala* is the gift to inform others (Thaman, 1999), or in other words it is the final product or the completion of the research which is then disseminated to the community and those that have participated during the course of the study.

*Kakala* is Tongan for fragrant flowers and leaves interwoven and merged together in a special technique according to the need of the occasion they are created for (Thaman, 1999). This concept is used to illustrate the method and processes of gathering new and existing knowledge, arranging information as well as the distribution of information and new knowledge attained through the study. The term *tolī kakala* is used to describe how the primary data (information) was collected and processes that were carried out which required the search for the right and appropriate information (selecting and picking the most appropriate flowers). In this case *tolī* equates to the various stages of the research and how issues and problems were identified and addressed. Through researching Tongan issues, the selection of the information made available by *Talanoa* determines the type of community that the research is to benefit and the knowledge or solution required.

*Ka u Tui* is the process of making and putting together of the *kakala*. It involves sorting, grouping and organising the information appropriately in accordance to the design of the researcher and interpreted to make a unique design for the garland. This process is where the stories, emotions, experiences and feelings from the deep *Talanoa* are captured. It is then arranged and interwoven further, in other words this stage is where the integration, combination and weaving of knowledge is made available by the *Talanoa* process. In this case, during the village event I had made personal observations and reflections of what was happening during the event. I was also able to conduct talanoa sessions with participants during and after the event about their personal and general experiences of their return visit back home. To support these accounts I was able to take pictures that illustrated and portrayed the context of what actually happened during the village event. (Refer to pictures below).

**Figure 9: First day – Tongan nationals from Australia**



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection (2012)



As discussed earlier, Figure 9 is a picture of the Tongan Australian's that were able to attend the village reunion – wearing their Australian national colours for the village march. Figures 10 and 11 are pictures of local villagers as well as overseas visitors gathering up together in anticipation for the village march to commence. Figures 12 and 13 are pictures taken during the celebration festivities, the long tables featuring Tongan food and the displays of six pound corned beef tins along with the infamous pounding of the tins.

**Figure 10: First day – Leimātu'a Village March**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection (2012)**



**Figure 11: First day – Proud to be back home**



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012

**Figure 12: Display of six pound corned beef tins – front table**



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012



**Figure 13: Pounding of the six pound can**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

**Figure 14: Speeches from returning migrants from overseas countries**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**



Figure 15: *Tau‘olunga* representing her *kāinga*



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012

Figure 16: Display of Tongan *Tau‘olunga* – *Tau‘olunga mālie* evoking *māfana*



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012



**Figure 17: Local Leimātu‘a women displaying their gifts of *koloa faka-Tonga***



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012

**Figure 18: Reciprocation of gifting of *koloa faka-Tonga* to the local villagers**



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012

The final process for the *kakala* is *luva e kakala*, it is the giving away of the *kakala* to the wearer (dissemination process). *Luva* is of the essence in the context of Polynesian values (*kavei koula*) of ‘*ofa* (love), *faka‘apa‘apa* (respect) and *fetokoni‘aki* (reciprocity and responsibility for each other) (Lee, 2007). In relation to research, *luva* is the stage where the research is given for the benefit of the community, a gift to give back to those you love. The *kakala* is now complete (the new knowledge and findings) for the researcher and their institution, it is expected for the new knowledge attained to be passed on so others can benefit from it (Vaiioleti, 2006). Integrating a Pacific methodology and a Tongan concept was to give this research an Oceanian perspective. The late Hau‘ofa indicates that it is better to rely on Oceanian research rather than a non-Oceanian view. It may be easier said than done, but we need to do this for the sake of future Pacific generations:

*If we go beyond adding our viewpoints to history as usual, we have to devise other methods, using our own categories as much as possible for producing our histories, our cultures. We could learn from the works of ethnographic historians and historical anthropologists, as well as from mainline historians, but we Oceanians must find ways of reconstructing our pasts that are our own. Non-Oceanians may construct and interpret our pasts or our present, but those are their constructions and interpretations, not ours. Theirs may be excellent and very intrusive, but we must rely much more on ours.*

**(Hau‘ofa, 2008, p.64)**

There is a great need for Pacific knowledge to be published and documented. Hence the reason why I have chosen to explore this topic, so that one day future Pacific generations could use this topic and research about it more in-depth. The purpose of this thesis is to deepen our

understandings of both Tongans and Pacific Islanders. Hau‘ofa highlights the need to contribute to the human reality of Tongans or Pacific Islanders stating that:

*“human reality is a human creation: And that if we fail to create our own, someone else will do it for us”*

**(Hau‘ofa, 1993, pp. 128-129)**

This quote inspired me to dig deeper into the unfamiliar realms of Pacific migrant experiences when returning back to their homeland, to unravel any findings that could enrich the ‘human reality’ of our Pacific and Tongan people. Due to the lack of sources that specifically focused on Tongan dreams, migration and home; I managed to integrate my findings from the *Talanoa* sessions with participants and with numerous sources from both global and Pacific literature into this research. I strongly felt this was the right thing to do in order to ‘create my own’; otherwise ‘someone else will do it for’ me.

## **Selection of Participants**

The aim of this research is to examine the role VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism has in Tonga by using the specific event ‘*Foki ki ‘Api*’ (Returning Home) in the village of Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u as a case study to research aspects of Tongan dreams, cultural identity, VFR tourism, migration and home from Tongan perspectives and experiences. With this notion and understanding the participation criteria for this particular study was defined to ensure cohesion with the selection of participants needed. Participants were purposely chosen, therefore *Talanoa* sessions were conducted during and after the week long village event. Altogether, there were 26 participants who agreed to take part in this research, this included parents that were

travelling with children, couples and young adults. The participant's ages ranged from 18 years to 70 years old, there were 14 females and 14 males. All participants travelled either by air or sea to Vava'u to visit friends and family as well as attend the Leimātu'a village reunion. Participants came from the main island Tongatapu, New Zealand, Australia, America and Hawaii.

## Transcription of Data

The transcript from the *Talanoa* sessions conducted was prepared in the English language. Each transcript was typed, played and read several times before determining what themes would be chosen and extracted for this research. The common themes emerged from the *Talanoa* data and then divided into categories; because the majority of *Talanoa* sessions were carried out in English, translation was not needed. Therefore, the data was divided into general themes and only then were the quotes used in this research. The themes which came out of the *Talanoa* sessions were then used to organise the knowledge and ideas raised by the participants in this research. Relevant quotes are used when needed to illustrate the contributions made during the *Talanoa* sessions.

## Data Analysis

In maintaining the authenticity of the *Talanoa* process that took place with the participants; the information was taken and then transcribed in the languages that the participants used which was mostly English. Analysing the data involved a lot of reading which took place several times which generated a lot of reflections. Main themes and ideas were acknowledged

and then extracted from the data. Expressive views and perspectives of participants were then grouped into relevant themes and issues.

## Possible Limitations

Researching Tongan people and as a Tongan researcher, it is vital to understand the concept of *Talanoa* within the context of Tongan people. As a Tongan woman, leading various *Talanoa* sessions with Tongan participants required a lot of background knowledge and understanding of the Tongan cultural protocols. For instance it was imperative and vital to know my position within the *Talanoa*. Understanding my position within *Talanoa* led to the correct use of Tongan protocols. This meant that cultural values and beliefs were being acknowledged with the use of appropriate Tongan language and behaviour. The participants in this research had to be approached in a way that is acceptable in the Tongan culture such as, *faka'apa'apa* (respect) to those that have status in the local village. Further, because the majority of the participants were much older than myself, *faka'apa'apa* played a very important role. *Faka'apa'apa* leads to the aspects of *tauhi vā*. The aspects of *tauhi vā* (maintaining social spatial ties) is practiced during *Talanoa* sessions at all times to maintain reciprocation and mutual exchange with participants.

All *Talanoa* processes were recorded with the permission of the participants however some of the participants found the tape recorder uncomfortable at first. Before recording the *talanoa*, participants would be informed of this, to reassure them that their opinions would be kept confidential.



Time for the *Talanoa* sessions took longer than most interview sessions within a western research paradigm, which can be considered a drawback. However within the Tongan context, time is not everything because time can somewhat wait for Tongan people. For instance, often when there is a scheduled function planned for a particular time during the day, in most instances the function never starts on time. It only starts when literally everyone arrives: even if that is two hours later, that is when the function starts. The relational worldview of the Tongan people means that there is no use starting a function when all the people that matter the most are not there. When it comes to research, having more time to *Talanoa* with the participants carries certain Tongan values that signify *fetokoni'aki* (showing respect) and *fakamātoato* (taking the research seriously) which can be counted as a positive contribution for the researcher.

Some of the participants that took part in the study were either friends of the family, a relative or is related to me through someone they know. Given the setting of my research and as a Tongan researcher, I often would ask myself how would researchers who are relatives of participants ensure ethical and rigorous research behaviour? In this case, Pacific researchers are better placed to gain 'insider' perspectives, they are still not completely insiders because of the mere fact that they are the researcher; they are in a position of power.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Fakamatala pe Fakaanga 'o e ngaahi tohi - Review of Literature*

*Pō fakafīta'a'uli*: One who endures to the end, despite the hardship involved. This Tongan proverb signifies the motivational drive that many Tongan migrants had whilst migrating overseas to their new found homeland.

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review and exhaust all relevant literature that may be relevant or useful to this study. The density of this study opened up a vast sea of academic literature as well as non-academic materials written on visiting friends and relatives (VFR) tourism in conjunction with Pacific migration, family, and sense of obligation. This section examines the ideas of migrant dreams that are of many Tongan parents and their reasons for migrating overseas, how these migrant dreams are realised. In addition, it serves to portray the reasons for migration which in turn reveals the responses to the ever increasingly diverse situations and displacements of people from the *Pasifiki* in their resettled homes. Furthermore this section acknowledges the important references to how *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) is central to maintaining socio-spatial relationships with *fāmili* (family) and *kāinga* (extended family) in the homeland.

## Migration

*Migration of Tongans to the United States, Australia, and New Zealand would never have happened without the huge profits that colonial powers extracted from their colonies and the income differentials this created around the world. The promise of Western opulence penetrated Tonga, as it did almost (every) nonindustrial country; through magazines and movies, music tapes and action videos, and world news and commercial products. At the same time, the means to migrate were made more easily available through the expansion of international air routes. These global factors together with land shortages and limited earning opportunities in Tonga spurred large-scale migration to industrial nations.*

**(Small, 1997, p.44).**

The majority of migrants that have migrated overseas have faced challenges as well as opportunities. Most migrants in modern times have some idea of what to expect in their new home, but a small proportion of Polynesian voyagers who were New Zealand's first settlers found a land completely different from anything they could have imagined. It offered them wonderful opportunities; yet it posed serious challenges (Davidson, 2012).

Mallon (2012), highlights the reasons for migration: People from the *Pasifiki* came to New Zealand for numerous reasons. Many wanted to make a living and like European seafarers, and their own ancestors who explored the ocean before them, majority simply had a desire to explore or seek adventure (2012, p.81). The people from the *Pasifiki* offered more than physical strength and a can do attitude. Many of them established themselves as intermediaries on a shoreline that was host to many cultural encounters. These early navigators could be described as explorers who were either left behind when no longer required by ship captains, or who deserted to find

themselves living on strange shores, where it took all their skills to create new roles for themselves on New Zealand's coastal frontiers (ibid, p.81).

According to Macpherson & Macpherson (2009) migration has increased and widened the global reach of families and villages and, in the process, has changed each of them in ultimate ways: both families and villages would be very different had this flow of people not occurred (2009, p.59). During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Morton Lee (2003) describes migration as a way to access the opportunities overseas and that individuals/family members would move in search of a better future. However, the desire to improve the life chances of the immediate family operates in tension with the sense of social obligation to kin remaining in Tonga. In most cases, many Tongan migrants lessen this tension by assisting and supporting as many family members as possible to migrate themselves so that they can seek their own opportunities (see Ka'ili, 2005; Morton Lee, 2003).

The importance of education in fostering movements occur mostly during school holidays, Christmas and New Year periods (Francis, 2009). This is evident as more families and young parents send their children and in most cases usually the eldest child is given the opportunity to travel overseas for the purposes of education. According to Francis (2009) *The view from 'home' – transnational movements from three Tongan villages* adds that religious journeys enabled exchange visits between church groups in Tonga and overseas, travel by church choirs or to attend meetings of church organisations such as the annual conference for the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. The exchange visits between church groups is still evident till this

day. Multitudes of church choirs travel either to overseas countries or back to the homeland (Tonga) to take part in the annual conference. This is supported by Francis (2009) stating that “For the people of Lotofoa, religion was the primary reason for departure from the village for 33 percent of those not present at the time of the second census in the village, one year after the first census. Most of these absentees were attending the *Konifelēnisi* (religious conference) celebrations overseas, in New Zealand” (2009, p.208).

Mahina-Tuai (2012) discusses how such incentives motivated many migrants to travel to New Zealand which included formal and informal schemes relating to education and work. Seeking opportunities overseas through migration were seen as one of many push factors which influenced Tongan people’s perception of migrating overseas. Migration was viewed by many Tongans as an opportunity to seek a better life and secure a future for their families (Morton, 2003; Cowling, 2002). The idea of family encompasses the complex sets of rights and sense of social obligations of Tongan kinship as well as the deep emotional connections between kin. Ideally, Tongan people would migrate overseas with the mindset of seeking a better life. One of the main reasons that contribute to someone succeeding overseas is that they are never alone in their journeys. There’s always support from family who are collectively and consistently carrying out *fatongia* (responsibilities) and *tauhi vā* (maintaining sociospatial relations) so that their child or family member can succeed - their successes are also the families’ successes (Ka‘ili, 2008).

For many Tongan migrants, the main destinations have been New Zealand and Australia. The diversification of the New Zealand economy during the 1950s through to the 1960s required unskilled and semi-skilled workers, even after the rural-urban Maori drift of the period (Fusitu'a & Eve, 1998). Migrants from the *Pasifiki* were drawn to a country they had envisioned as a 'land of milk and honey, full of opportunities (Mahina-Tuai, 2012). This move coincided with the aspirations of most Tongans to educate their children, which could not be met in Tonga due to the population boom of school-age children. Better education was seen as a pulling factor for immigrating overseas since there was a selective nature of admission to secondary schools and tertiary institutions via overseas scholarships (Morton Lee, 2003; Cowling W, 1990).

Each individual and family makes the decision to leave Tonga on the basis of their own particular circumstances, and it is often difficult to pinpoint just who made the final decision and how it was reached. Morton Lee (2003) found that often in these cases people perceived them as somehow unusual or different as not fitting in the Tongan way, so they saw migration as the best option for them. For instance, these people felt unhappy living in Tonga or that they were loners who did not get on with their peers or that they had an unusual upbringing (see Morton Lee, 2003, p. 17). The most primary pull factor to migrate overseas is urged by family members already living overseas, who give positive reports and feedback of work opportunities, quality of the education system which further enhanced the image most Tongans already had of the opportunities to be found outside Tonga (Cowling, 2002). As professed by Mahina-Tuai (2012) this was not always the case, however, this idealised perception of migrating overseas was also fraught with its own set of problems and hardships. Furthermore, New Zealand was quick to

welcome migrants when they needed cheap labour(Fusitu'a & Eve, 1998), but was quick to send them back home once the need was met or when problems surfaced (Mahina-Tuai, 2012).

Cluny and La'avasa Macpherson's (2009) article titled *The Warm Winds of Change: Globalization in Contemporary Samoa* looks at how globalisation is contributing to the weakening of institutions of 'family and village' life – the strongholds of *fa'a Samoa* governance. These influences of change focus on the family and the way in which the times families spend together has become shorter and less frequent – rather than being traditional and conservative 'the people in the village are constantly thinking and talking about change'. Migration and the increasing dependence on diasporic nodes is the most obvious influencing factor. However, much less acknowledged factors such as the introduction of refrigerators where goods can be stored for the immediate family rather than shared among extended families, electricity now allows houses to be built along the main roads rather than gathered around the village green and piped water allowing local families to access clean drinking water inside their homes which in time replaces the daily gatherings at the village fresh water pools (Macpherson, 2009). As the volume of migration increases, its impact on the organisation of the village and its families has intensified and is likely to continue to intensify (Macpherson, 2009. p.3).

Movement is such a customary topic of daily conversation that one is always ambiguously conscious of the global reach of the village. People who see smoke from an earth oven in the air in the middle of the week routinely assume that a family must be preparing an 'umu (the preparation of island delicacies in an earth oven) to cook delicacies for departing

relatives or arriving relatives. People wearing new clothes, or carrying new tools, are often asked whether a relative from abroad has been visiting. These conversations usually focus on individuals, and on the circumstances of their arrivals and departures, so it is easy to lose sight of the larger picture, which is that people have been coming going from the village for several hundred years at least (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009). Only occasionally do larger formal events, which bring people from around the world together, lead one to consider the significance of the steadily expanding global footprints of villages and families (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009. p. 59).

Visiting friends and relatives or attending life events such as funerals, birthdays, weddings are one of many socio-cultural factors that motivate and encourage such movements among villagers (Francis, 2009). In the case of most Tongan's travelling overseas to attend a wedding, funeral or birthday is their way of nurturing their sense of obligation and *tauhi vā* which is central in the family social structure and Tongan culture.

Another issue to contend with is the introduction of western concepts and ways of living as well as conflicting gender roles to the local communities. That is, hosting an increased number of people returning back home (original home or ancestral land) from overseas countries (developed countries) may alter the balance of ranks in the community, power and authority as well as gender related issues in their home lands. Scholars argue that some of the people returning home struggle and find it very hard to readjust themselves back into their country of



origin (Horst 2007; Tsuda 2003), whereas others find it very easy to adjust to the ways of living of those in the local communities.

Although the return migration has become a common practice among Tongan nationals living overseas, it may not be for everyone. According to Maruyama (2009) most immigrants and their descendants have chosen to stay in the country of settlement for various reasons. For them, a temporary return in the form of VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism may be an option. In fact, visiting one's home country as a tourist has recently become more popular as economic and transport conditions improve (Cole & Timothy, 2004; Hall & Duval, 2004).

Similar to the return movement, the increased volume of visitors who return to their homeland (*foki ki 'api*) have various impacts on the local society. Scholars have explored ways in which the visits influenced the growth of the local economy (Lew & Wong, 2002; Oxfeld, 2004), ways of presenting history and heritage particularly for culture or roots tourists (Bruner, 1996; Maddern, 2004), and the relation between those who have left and those who stayed (Louie, 2004; Sheffer, 1986). Studies suggest that when tourists visit their ancestral land, they observe and experience, at least partially, the life that they would have lived if they or their parents or grandparents had not migrated (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Maruyama, 2009).

Although different terms have been used to describe the practice of visiting the ancestral homeland among immigrants and descendants, including diaspora tourism (Cole & Timothy,

2004) and homeland trips (Kibria, 2002), in this study, I use the term “returning home (*foki ki ‘api*) tourism”. As cited by Asiedu (2008, p.35), “visiting friends and relatives involves travelling with the major purpose of visiting friends or relatives and is one of the foremost tourism motivators or categories in tourism, alongside those of business, recreation, convention or conference, religion, education and health”. However, in saying this, there is a lack of a clear and accepted definition of VFR – should VFR be regarded as a motive for a trip, a vacation activity, or a form of accommodation use? (Shani & Uriely, 2012). Furthermore, literature suggested by Hansel & Metzner (2011) describes VFR tourism as a synonym for ethnic tourism. However the two terms may not be exactly the same. While ethnic or culture tourism can be seen as people visiting destinations in order to discover their own ethnic groups, the former may or may not involve VFR tourism, but the latter may usually not be considered as VFR. In this context VFR and returning home tourism can be seen as an “umbrella term to accommodate all these variants whose motivations are based on exploring the trip maker’s past” (Asiedu, 2008, p.35).

In addition, the opportunities for overseas migration for Tongan people are boundless. The mass mobility of Tongans has raised significant questions as to why people migrate; it is assumed because of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors; or whether they migrate as a demographic response to social and economic problems. Lātū (2003) described Tongan migration as a traditional transition to adulthood, however, what was envisioned as the land of milk and honey for migrants that arrived, to what was seen at the time became a brutal reality check after arriving in New Zealand (Māhina-Tuai, 2012). This may explain the disorientation and loneliness for many displaced islanders which faced unexpected challenges caused by their new ‘home’. But

for many people from the *Pasifiki* migration offered a lot of opportunity and adventure; their successes and more or less their struggles will funnel through to their children and grandchildren's generations as they will reap the harvest of their perseverance and migrant dreams.

### Home: What and Where is Home?

*The homeland is not waiting back there for new ethnics to rediscover it. There is a past to be learnt about, but the past is now seen, and has been grasped as a history.....it is grasped through memory.....it is grasped through reconstruction. It is not just a fact that has been waiting to ground our identity.*

**(Hall, 1997, p. 38)**

“Home” and “Homeland” can become one of the most powerful and unifying symbols for diasporic people and their communities (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Sheffer (1986) defines diasporic people as those who conceptually associate themselves with their ancestral land or homeland. This may occur in a memory of the homeland as a way to gain a sense of solidarity with people who still live there and to feel a sense of empowerment to succeed in a country of settlement. However, the concept of homeland as a durable and localised place collapses in the ever increasingly globalised world. Besides continuous mobility of goods, information, capital and people, boundaries between “here” and “there” become elusive with the association between place and people, the homeland and diaspora, cannot be taken for granted. Tourism, including returning home tourism is one facet that contributes to these changes.

Returning back to one's homeland as a visitor has recently become a popular type of visit (Basu, 2001; Cole & Timothy, 2004). Returning home tourism can be broadly defined as a kind of tourism in which immigrants and their descendents return back home for the purpose of visiting family and relatives, the maintenance of culture, language and strengthening family relationships, without the intention of permanent settlement (Kibria, 2002). Similar and closely related is roots tourism, the desire to belong in one's ancestral land tend to lead people to develop a sense of longing of imagination with reality. In fact, scholars have explained that roots tourism and VFR tourism are identical in many ways and share the same expression of longing for a home to which they yearn to belong. Sometimes the yearning for home is not so much for the place; instead it is for the reliving of childhood memories. It is not the feeling of returning back to Tonga, the place where I grew up. Instead it is the yearning to return and grow up again. The heart ache felt of longing to belong has the potential to distort our thinking, and play mind tricks. "Even if one is able to return to the literal where he or she grew up, one can never truly return to its original home of childhood, since it exists mostly as a place in the imagination" (Rubenstein, 2001, p.4). Homesickness is a universal phenomenon and many *Pasifiki* consequently face this issue from day to day. In addition, the longing to belong and homesickness could have pessimistic influences as Starobinski quotes:

*What a person wishes to recover is not so much the actual place where he passed his childhood but his youth itself. He is not straining towards something which he can repossess, but toward an age which is forever beyond his reach.*

**(Rubenstein, 2001, p.4)**

Lemihio's (2003) article titled *He Fatele ke Hiva Te Afafine Tokelau: A Song for a Tokelauan Daughter to Dance* explores the notion of her identity as a Tokelauan woman born

and raised in New Zealand, Aotearoa. Her decision to return back to the homeland was based on two factors, firstly to gain confidence and competence in introducing the Tokelauan language as part of the school programme where she had taught but felt she did not have a ‘strong knowledge-base of the Tokelauan language and culture. Secondly she saw the opportunity to teach her own people. The timing was perfect because her grandfather after nearly 10 years of living in New Zealand recently moved back to the homeland, which gave her more reason to return. Her first encounters of Tokelau described her first steps and the feelings she felt – “When my feet first touched the ground of Fakaofu, I was overcome by this feeling of utter bewilderment. I felt as if I was dreaming. I couldn’t believe I had reached Tokelau” (Lemihio, 2003, p. 162-163). Lemihio continues to describe her return to her parents homeland full of emotional moments due to the images that were storied to her by her parents. As a New Zealand born Tokelauan she displayed an emotional attachment to the land through the distant memories of her parents. This is reflected when Lemihio (2003) describes her mothers family home:

*I wanted desperately to see my Mum’s house because she had spoken a lot about growing up in her family home. She had described it as if it were a mansion. ... my first reaction was ... Is this it – is that all? This may sound mean, but it was the size of a small shed. I saw my mum’s memories of her house were much romanticised. ...The house was semi traditional and semi-Palagi: there were four poles in the middle, surrounded by walls with open windows. I touched the walls and hugged the poles because I knew that it was my Papa Ateli who built this house, and I knew my mother’s hands must have touched those walls” (2003, p 163).*

The previous quote may suggest the inclination and experiences of many people of the *Pasifiki* and how they may be able to relate to these experiences that have captured the voice of a New

Zealand born Tokelauan returning back to her ancestral homeland. Lemihio (2003) strongly believes that Tokelauans in New Zealand have maintained a strong sense of community and strong kinship ties which is a great starting base for the future of her people. She concludes by adding:

*“The shaping of who I am, growing up as a Pacific Island person in New Zealand, has been a journey towards me accepting who I am and acknowledging that the values I believe in have been formed by my life experiences and by the people who have played a major influence in my life”* (2003, p. 170).

Since the post-World War II era, Pacific parents have always maintained a common dream of migrating overseas in search for a better today. Whether they are island-born or not, there is a strong assumption that New Zealand is now regarded ‘home’ for people in the *Pasifiki* – (see appendix 4 and 5 for a statistical snapshot of Island born migrants in New Zealand). The term ‘diaspora’ can vary in meaning, depending on the context. Safran (1991) discusses a variety of collective experiences and divides the definition into six categories and defines them as “expatriate minority communities” Anae (1998, p.57) states:

1. *They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from an original ‘centre’ to at least two ‘peripheral’ places;*
2. *They maintain a collective “memory, vision, or myth about their original ‘homeland’”;*
3. *They “believe they are not-and perhaps cannot be, fully accepted by their host society and country therefore feel alienated”;*
4. *They “regard the ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as a place of eventual return when conditions are appropriate”;*
5. *That are collective commitment to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland; and*

6. *Whose consciousness and solidarity as a group are “importantly defined” by this continuing relationship with the homeland.*

Safran’s (1991) definitions reflect upon the Pacific diaspora and these “expatriate minority communities” are reflected in this thesis. The definitions above relates to the Tongans who have migrated to New Zealand. Additionally, the term diaspora could also be seen as, “when an ethnic group or nation suffers some kind of traumatic event which leads to the dispersal of its members, who, nonetheless continue to aspire to return to the homeland” (Anae, 1998, p.56). The definitions discussed above may correspond or interrelate with other notions examined in this study.

The concept of diaspora in relation to ‘home’ has many multiple meanings. Lindberg and Stevenson (2010) suggest that home could refer to any of the following: residence; family group; birthplace; native habitat; place of origin of something or a safe place. This is one of many reasons why the sense of longing for ‘home’ dwells deep within; hence it is the elusive space that we constantly long for. An individual’s identity is influenced and shaped by their definition of home (Anae, 1998).

There is a significant change in the extent to which Tongan migrants continue to call and consider Tonga as “home” or have maintained the same expectations and aspirations when they first left their shores of the Pacific, and hope to return when the time is right (Morton Lee, 2003). Home may signify a place where deep emotional and sentimental attachment lie and is often

difficult to express and convey. Morton Lee (2003) states that the island of Tonga in a distant memory of many migrants is portrayed as a “beautiful, peaceful homeland rich in tradition with a unique history” (2003, p.82). The quote suggests that many Tongans who have migrated overseas have somewhat preserved in the back of their minds and in their hearts a deep emotional attachment to the notion of the islands as a ‘homeland’ and it is the elusive spirit that lives on in one’s heart.

### Home away from Home

*I have another place, so very far away  
In dreams I'm always walking by the sea  
No shoes upon my feet  
Strong sun upon my back  
I wake up and you're there right next to me  
I left my childhood home  
I came here on my own  
The winter rains they chilled me through and through  
And all the different ways, the very air was strange  
I would have turned around if not for you  
I will always be between two shores  
This place is now my home  
Our children here have grown  
I would have turned around  
If not for you*

**(Bull, Bull, & Kelly, 1996)**

This poem makes a timely consideration at the settlement experiences of Tongans overseas and yet long for ‘Home’. What and where is Home? The title home away from home symbolises the situation of many Tongans living outside of their homelands, but inside a foreign land. It



refers to the idea that their homeland exists only in an imaginary space channelled through the sense of displacement (Rushdie, 1991).

Home has many meanings, Lindberg and Stevenson (2010) state that home could refer to any of the following: residence; family group; birthplace; native habitat; place of origin of something or a safe place (2010). However in comparison to 'homeland', for the Pacific diaspora, it is often seen as the place where their parents or grandparents grew up or originated from (Clifford, 2006). This is one of the reasons why the longing and the desire for home lives in all of us; hence it is the intangible space that we constantly long for. An individual's identity is influenced and shaped by their definition of home.

### ***Anga faka-Tonga: Tongan Culture***

*Anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of living) is central to defining Tongan identity with the values and behaviours that make up the Tongan culture (Morton, 1996). *Anga faka-Tonga* is commonly lived by Tongans in their everyday life and defines their identity and makes up the Tongan culture. Tongan people have lived and practiced those beliefs and values most of their lives which entails the power of cultural traditions and how important it is in the Tongan culture.

Queen Salote's (1964) opening speech at the Tonga Cultural and Heritage Society emphasised four values in the *anga faka-Tonga* that support the reciprocal relationship between the nobility and the people of the land. The foundation or grounding for the pillars is '*ofa* – love and care, kindness and the four pillars consist of *faka'apa'apa* – acknowledging and returning

respect, *anga fakatōkilalo* – humility, open to learning, *Tauhi vā/vaha‘a* – maintaining relationships and lastly *mamahi‘i me‘a* – loyalty and passion in appreciation to one’s self and everyone one else.

The Tongan worldview is portrayed by ‘rank consciousnesses. Individuals may hold different positions of rank depending on the situations such as a person who is fa‘ē (mother) may also be a tuofefine (sister) and a mehikitanga (fahu or paternal fathers sister). A person who is fahu (superior) to one family may also be liongi (inferior) to another. Everyone will exercise some control over others and at the same time be subject to some else’s control (Taumoefolau, 1991).

Family and village frame and define people’s social worlds, and their lives and identities (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009). This is accurate in the sense that family is the foundation of Tongan society and the village is an important source of individual social identity. *Anga faka-Tonga* comprises of many concepts and practises which will connect and overlap throughout this study. Furthermore, Tongan kinship determines our fatongia (nurturing obligation) to our friends and relatives, ha‘a and land. By upholding the value of kinship we fulfil our nurturing obligation to our relatives, our land and responsibilities to family and people.

## Spatial Mobility and *Tauhi Vā/Vaha'a*: nurturing reciprocal relationships

The concept of *tauhi vā* plays a significant role in the Tongan culture and the identity of Tongan people. The word *tauhi vā* refers to the art of creating and maintaining beautiful sociospatial relations (*vā*) through the mutual performance of social duties (*fatongia*) (Ka'ili, 2008). An in-depth understanding of *vā* refers to the space between two or more parties and their inter - personal (Tu'itahi, 2005). *Tauhi vā* literally refers to maintaining and looking after reciprocal relationships connecting spaces between people genealogically or among groups who are related to one another in various ways (Thaman, 2003; Ka'ili, 2005; Vaioleti, 2011). Queen Sālote Tupou III lists *tauhi vā* as one of the Four Golden Strands of Tongan virtues (Moala 1994, p.23). These four virtues are comprised of respect, humility, loyalty, and *tauhi vaha'a* (Moala 1994, p.23). Moala (1994) assumes that *tauhi vaha'a* may have originated from the Tongan traditions of maintaining good relations between ancient Tongans and their gods (1994, p.23). Other Academics like, Finau, Shumway (1991) associate the classic Tongan virtues as a loving nature, a respectful disposition, being passionate in a good cause, being humble, and *tauhi vaha'a* (1991, p.15-16). *Tauhi vā (tauhi vaha'a)* plays a significant role in the Tongan culture which is highlighted in the Tongan values.

However, to maintain such harmonious relationships there are certain behavioural expectations involved and the persons involved in the relationships must know their *fatongia* roles and act accordingly (Ka'ili, 2005). In Tonga, *fatongia* is a social duty that relates and connects Tongans to one another. At a societal level, each person has a *fatongia*, and reciprocity

governs the *fatongia* relationship. This can be seen when members of each social class perform their *fatongia* to one another and to members of other classes (Helu 1975; Lātūkefu 1980).

The learning about *tauhi vā* continues in the everyday living of the ‘*api* (household), then the ‘*api ako* (schools), *fale lotu* (church) and other contexts in the community. Cultural values of ‘*ulungaanga* (behaviour) places significant emphasis on *tauhi vā*. ‘*Ulungaanga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of behaving) is one of the foremost important components in the learning of traditional and cultural development of Tongan people. ‘*Ulungaanga faka-Tonga* defines our collective Tongan culture. Therefore *tauhi vā* is about the ultimate relationships amongst the Tongan people, it maintains its focus on the collective group. For instance, in the family group the ‘*ulungaanga* of parents to their children is reflected from the *akonaki* (teachings of good ‘*ulungaanga* and counsel). The children then reciprocate this ‘*ulungaanga* by *tauhi* the *vā* (social responsibility and obligation) to their parents.

*Faka‘apa‘apa*, (*respect*), *fevahevahe‘aki* (*sharing*), *ngāue fakataha* (*working together*), *fetokoni‘aki* (*helping one another*), and ‘*ofa* (*love and compassion*). These are the basic starting points of learning about the concept of *tauhi vā*; it is a continuation of one’s sense of obligation to serve their family, church and community.

## Remittances

Remittances are money and goods sent by Tongan migrants abroad to their relatives back home. Although new Tongan migrants were in search of a better lifestyle, one obligation, which remained imperative amongst these Tongan migrants, was to send remittances for family back home. Remittances has been seen as a lifeline for the Tongan economy, however it is the ‘people’ that has given the Tongan people a larger degree of economic freedom. The benefits, however, are not as great as they might be, since Tongan people are subject to various forms of heavy taxation. Lātū (2006) states that revenues collected from these taxes are being used towards paying the salaried class, instead of using the revenues for improving public services such as health services and facilities, roads and education. Soon after the 1980’s, because of prevailing neo-liberal ideology, the government has been attempting to shift the responsibility for these public services to the community at large, so that the population is increasingly asked to pay for themselves (Māhina, 2004). Overseas remittances now have become even more important for families in Tonga due to government enforcing heavy taxes.

The most generous remitters are people who were born in Tonga and have maintained close ties with their families and kin like members in the homeland (Lātū, 2006). Significantly, Lātū (2006) conducted field research based on international migration of Tongan people and the result of remittances sent back to the homeland, identified the sustainability of remittances is a big issue given that there is a growing diaspora sending remittances back home to a declining non-migrant population. Tonga’s future nation depends on a continued flow of immigrants who will send remittances back into Tonga (Morton Lee, 2003). This practise is known as *fai fatongia* ‘performing duty’ to kin or kin like members. *Fua kavenga* is often referred to remittances which

literally means ‘bearing burden’ (Besnier, 2011). However Ka‘ili (2008) argues as previously discussed *fatongia* is the relationship that connects one member to another and is reflected upon the *fua kavenga* which is a nurturing sense of obligation that is part of the *anga faka-Tonga*, to help one another (*fetokoni‘aki*) which then denotes one’s love (*‘ofa*) for their family or kin like members. Lee (2003, p.30) best describes remitting and the repercussions when one doesn’t :

*The regularity and amount of remitting to family are taken as a measure of one’s love. Loving one’s family is a highly regarded value or kavei koula among Tongans. Anyone who does not appear to love their family by remitting regularly is frowned upon and classed as ta’e ‘ofa (unloving), mo’ui ngalo (easily forgotten), and fakavalevale (wasteful). One is no longer obligated (ta’e‘ofa) to remit to family, consequently one has forgotten (mo’ui ngalo) how one got to where one is, as a result abandoned (li‘aki) and dishonoured (faka ngali vale ‘i) one’s family.*

Other forms of remittances include hospitality which is shown to visitors from home, hand carried cash remittances that remain outside the banking system (non-financial), undervalued imports sent by family members and funds held overseas (Ahlberg, 1991, p. 26). The reality is that the value of these remittances is large, but is difficult to quantify. Maron and Connell (2008) explain how Tongan residents, who have family (*fāmili*) residing overseas tend to receive remittances on a regular one to two monthly basis. Basic family needs have been met and luxury items are progressively obtained throughout the village, including vehicles, white ware goods and building materials.

Poirine (2004) raises questions from an economic standpoint: Do the remittances received per recipient increase in proportion to the number of immigrants? Or, does an immigrant remit less and less as their numbers increase in relation to the number of recipients? And in any case,

do immigrants take into account the number of remitters and the number of recipients when deciding the amount to remit? These questions assume that the reasons for remittances are individual, and of a selfish nature. If remittances were a form of repayment for an informal loan or informal services of some sorts, or the result of informal agreements, there would be no reason why the remittances per immigrant would depend on the number of immigrants per recipient. Therefore, it seems that Poirine's (2004) assumptions about the remittances and the relationship between Tongan migrants overseas and their relatives back home are simplistic. He fails to recognize that there are both individualistic and collective modes of remittances. By collective modes Lātū (2006, p.98) refers to groups such as the Tongan Kava club (*Kalapu Kava Tonga*), village trustees (*Kulupu Faka-Kolo*), development groups (*Kulupu Fakalakalaka*), church groups, and ex-student associations, amongst many others, who are known to remit thousands of dollars to the home country (Lātū, 2006). These groups are known to hold the most powerful source of remittances in recent years.

Remittances remain stagnated in the Tongan economy, there is still no sign that the value of private remittances is stabilising. Remittances, which provide significant support to domestic demand in Tonga, have been on a declining trend since the global financial crisis struck over three years ago. The value of remittances in the year to September 2011 stood at T\$139.5m (US\$80m), representing a fall of 11.9% year on year and comparing unfavourably with the figure of T\$158.3m in September 2010. It will take a significant improvement in employment prospects in the United States of America from which around one-half of remittances to Tonga are sent--to reverse this trend. This fact also questions the validity of current predictions that remittances will decline due to the changing attitudes of members of the younger generation of migrants (Lātū,

2006). To all intents and purposes, changes are taking place in the younger generation's attitudes towards remittances, but the nature of remittances in recent years has been transformed to collective groups rather than individual in nature. Nonetheless – as illustrated in the *table (1)* below, even though the various associations and groups are becoming the means for sending money back to Tonga, the purposes for which the money is used at the other end is often individual rather than communal.



**Table 1: Average annual Total Income per household, by main source and Island division 2009 (T\$)**

<i>Main source of Income</i>	<i>Tongatapu</i>	<i>Vava'u</i>	<i>Ha'apai</i>	<i>'Eua</i>	<i>Niuas</i>
<b>Cash Income</b>	<b>18,054</b>	<b>14,872</b>	<b>12,448</b>	<b>11,776</b>	<b>13,160</b>
Wages and salaries	9,305	5,376	2,991	3,529	6,705
Remittances from overseas	4,959	2,656	1,637	2,607	2,849
Sales of own produce	2,694	5,939	7,335	5,400	3,636
Property Income	338	206	36	262	238
Other cash sources	2,467	1,556	3,578	1,265	1,942
<b>Non-Cash Income</b>	<b>2,934</b>	<b>3,631</b>	<b>3,329</b>	<b>3,755</b>	<b>6,608</b>
Consumption of own produce	1,659	3,018	2,691	2,818	5,428
Imputed rent	3,856	3,448	2,129	2,984	1,683
Other non-cash sources					
<b>Total Income (Cash and Non-cash)</b>	<b>20,988</b>	<b>18,503</b>	<b>15,778</b>	<b>15,531</b>	<b>19,768</b>

**Source: Statistics Department, Government of Tonga (2009)**

The latest survey by Tonga's Department of Statistics in 2009 of the average annual total income per household in the main island divisions in Tonga (*Table 1*) showed that remittances were the second largest major source of income next to wages and salaries in all the islands. Besides, the limited sources of employment in these outer islands result in the high reliance on remittances from relatives abroad. With the exception of the two Niua groups (two outer islands

to the very north of the Vava‘u group called Niua Fo‘ou and Niua Toputapu – see map – *figure 8*) Vava‘u and Tongatapu, in which economic development is concentrated, remittances in Ha‘apai and ‘Eua are very nearly equal to those of the highest source of income, namely wages and salaries.

Poirine (2003) believes that remittances are simply repayment for informal loans, services or an agreement of some sort seems problematic. In a Tongan context, remittances are viewed in terms of obligation whereby remitters send cash or goods as a nurturing social obligation to their relatives or friends in their homeland. It is a form of reciprocity and is based on the notions of *fetokoni‘aki* (co-operation), *tauhi vā/vaha‘a* (maintaining mutual relations) and *fatongia* (obligation). Giving something in return takes place in most cases, but it does not necessarily mean that it is a form of repayment. It is rather seen as an expression of *hounga‘ia* (appreciation). In the Tonga culture, when you gift something you do not expect anything in return which reflects the Tongan values of *fetonkoni‘aki* (helping others in need), *ngāue fakataha* (working together) and *fakatōkilalo* (being humble), *tauhi vā* (maintaining sociospatial ties) which denotes one’s *‘ofa* (love) which then reflects ones *‘ulungaanga faka-Tonga* (the Tongan way of behaving).

**Table 2:** Total Annual Income per capita by main source, and by Island division 2009 (T\$)

<i>Main source of Income</i>	<i>Tongatapu</i>	<i>Vava‘u</i>	<i>Ha‘apai</i>	<i>‘Eua</i>	<i>Niuas</i>
<b>Cash Income</b>	<b>3,036</b>	<b>2,817</b>	<b>2,268</b>	<b>2,070</b>	<b>2,841</b>
Wages and salaries	1,617	1,027	557	628	1,493
Remittances from overseas	834	503	298	458	615
Sales of own produce	453	1,125	1,337	949	785
Property Income	57	39	7	46	51
Other cash sources	415	295	652	222	419
<b>Non-Cash Income</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>688</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>1,427</b>
Consumption of own produce	279	572	490	495	1,172
Imputed rent	649	653	388	525	363
Other non-cash sources	292	329	237	279	315
<b>Total Income (Cash and Non-cash)</b>	<b>3,530</b>	<b>3,505</b>	<b>2,875</b>	<b>2,730</b>	<b>4,268</b>

Source: Statistics Department, Government of Tonga (2009)

This remains the case through personal communication from the following informant living in Leimātu‘a. Through personal communication with ‘Alilia Kisinā of Leimātu‘a, may represent the view of remittance receivers in Tonga. ‘Alilia describes the support she received occasionally from her children Sakisoni Kisinā in New Zealand and Sitīveni Kisinā from

Australia. Her children occasionally remit money or send goods to assist with daily living expenses and most importantly her annual donation for the church (*misinale*) which she upholds important in one's life (Kisina, 2012). Her children have continued to remit for more than ten years. According to 'Alilia Kisinā her children have not asked her for anything in return. It is more like a nurturing obligation for her children by birth to know that it is their responsibility to help their relatives back in their homeland. 'Alilia Kisinā (2012) went on to say that she would send back Tongan *koloa* such as fine mats and tapa to her son's wives as a token of appreciation.

The reverse flows of goods continually remind migrants of their economic and social obligations to their kin and kin like family in their homeland. Ahlburg (1991) claims there is evidence that goods sent from Tonga are part of a mutually understood labour 'investment contract' between relatives. These cultural treasured material goods are used increasingly because of their cultural significance to maintain personal relationships within the migrant population. Retaining new relations include sponsorships and requests for support, is usually accompanied with gifts. These relationships are between the migrants and those currently living in the homeland.

Kalafi Moala, the editor of the Tongan News Paper the 'Tongan Times' (Taimi 'o Tonga) describes remittances by Tongans abroad as Leimātu'a 'o e Nofo Muli (Leimātu'a's Abroad). He was referring to the way in which expatriate Tongans care for Tongans in the homeland. While they struggle to meet the living expenses in the host countries, they are still able to send remittances to the home country (see Taimi 'o Tonga online, August 2005).

Status is complicated by socio-political issues within the village. Those with close ties to the chief, through diverse personal relationships, often claim an advantage over others (Lātū, 2006). Often at times it's 'who you know, not what you know'. The main venue for community fund-raising and collective committee meetings is the *Kalapu Kava* Tonga (kava clubs), which coordinates many of the new initiatives or developments. Many of its Kava Club counterparts located overseas maintains their relationships through the constant gifting of Kava in exchange for financial support which is sent to the homeland. In most cases when family members travel overseas they take with them either cultural treasured goods such as fine mats or tapa, or traditional subsistence agriculture which they could either give away to all their kin and kin-like members. In return the *kāinga* then reciprocate by organising a fundraiser. Remittances signify the ties and sociospatial relationships that Tongan people have with the homeland.

### **Tongan Treasure, Cultural material goods – *Koloa faka-Tonga***

*Koloa faka-Tonga* plays a central role in the exchange-based division of labour between island-based Tongans and their overseas relatives. In ideal circumstances, the latter provide remittances in cash or kind, which the former makes exchanges in important objects that are unobtainable overseas, which are *koloa*. Overseas Tongans still need the latter for rituals, perhaps in even larger quantities than in the islands to demonstrate their allegiance to *anga faka-Tonga*, "the Tongan way," sometimes even when they have thoroughly assimilated into the host societies. For diasporic Tongans, remittances to island-based relatives ensure their ongoing access to valuables and therefore their ability to demonstrate their competence in practicing processes of cultural protocols and allegiance to tradition. These concerns are mainly operative among Tongans who live in overseas locations among large numbers of their compatriots. In

diasporic locations like Japan, where Tongans are few and dispersed and where they lead a profoundly urbanised existence, no exchange of traditional valuables takes place (Besnier, 2011).

*Ngatu* (figure 19) is the Tongan term given to a piece of finished material made from the smooth inner bark of a mulberry tree. The term is applied after the process-making has come to a completion. The *ngatu* is also known or recognised by its general Pacific (*Pasifiki*) name of tapa.

The process of making the *ngatu* is almost the work of women only; however men play an important role in the preliminary preparation of bark as well as planting (Palu, 2003). The special tools that are used to make the *ngatu* are all locally resourced and made by local women in their villages. The creative workings done on the *ngatu* is purely original and represents traditional art of Tongan women.

**Figure 19: Tongan Ngatu (Tongan Tapa)**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

The *ngatu* holds great importance and special significance in the Tongan society. It not only represents and symbolises one's wealth but reflects "women's hands, their *ivi* (strength), pride and skills" (Palu, 2003, p. 63).

The *fala* on the other hand is also a task that is carried out by women either individually or collectively in groups (MacIntyre, 2008). The art of *lālānga* (weaving) in the context of Tongan people is a duty performed once again by females only. When weaving a *fala* there are many things that are considered in order to bring everything together: the pandanus, the strands, the designs. When the strands are interlaced together it forms a mat seen in *figure 20*. During my visit back to the homeland Vava'u, I found that in Leimātu'a *lālānga* is mostly carried out in groups. These groups are called *kau tou lālānga* which means - a group of women weaving together. *Lālānga* is seen as a communal and collective task by the women in Vava'u. The importance of *ngāue fakataha* (working collectively) is the core value to the work of the *kau tou lālānga* (weavers). These women work together and weave together in order to produce various *fala* (mats) which will be used for traditional occasions. These mats become the most treasured possessions in many Tongan households.

Tongan women highly regard the *ngatu* as well as *fala* (woven mats) as one of the most important valuables to keep. Palu (2003) articulates the importance of *ngatu* and *fala* and its role in the Tongan culture: The *ngatu* and *fala* receives the highest place of honour in ceremonies and rites of birth, baptism, marriage, worship, death, installation of chiefs, and coronation of kings' (2003, p.63). The *ngatu* also has the distinction of being the first indigenous Tongan material ever made, historically and traditionally (ibid). More common place uses of *ngatu* are used as

curtains, towels, and blankets; today more Tongan women make the *ngatu* and *fala* to either serve its main purpose, the family, community and church or to sell which has become a main source of income for most Tongan families.

**Figure 20: Tongan *Fala Fihu* (Highest ranking Tongan Mat)**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

In all Tongan traditional occasions, church functions and family gatherings, contributions of money are welcome, but to make a presentation without *ngatu* or *fala* may bring shame to the family, especially for the women. Tongan women are very prideful in knowing that they have *ngatu* at home and that they are able to present and give *ngatu* when it's needed. Even though its time consuming to make, but sacrifices are made in order to have what the family needs. As mentioned previously, *ngatu* mirrors a woman's standard of wealth or social status.



To be able to take back *koloa faka-Tonga* overseas is common to a lot of Tongan's living overseas. It serves the same purpose in alternative forms of monetary to *fua* (carry out) family *kavenga* (obligation to serve family, church and community). *Figure 21* displays the *koloa faka-Tonga* that has been rolled and wrapped ready to be shipped overseas.

**Figure 21: Tongan Treasured Material Goods**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

Another alternative for Tongan women to obtain large cultural material goods is to take part in a *kātoanga 'o e koloa faka-Tonga* (The celebration of treasured Tongan cultural material goods exchange). The process involves either a group of women mainly comprising of 2-3 women showcasing their *koloa faka-Tonga* for Tongan women living overseas to purchase. This process is reciprocated by the overseas women, this exchange of goods can be in the form of furniture which may include, bedroom suites, dining room suites, whiteware and if the local

women prefer monetary means then overseas women provide the equivalent amount that is used to pay for such *koloa faka-Tonga*. In a personal conversation with my mother ‘Ane Fusi Sikahale-Talakai (Sikahale-Talakai, 2012) about the reciprocal exchange of *koloa faka-Tonga* monetary means is seen most beneficial for most local women. The women are able to purchase household furniture with the exchange of the *koloa faka-Tonga* and vice versa. This process is beneficial not only for local Tongan women but as discussed previously overseas Tongan women hold the *koloa faka-Tonga* valuable. The picture below illustrates different ways *koloa faka-Tonga* is gifted.

**Figure 22: The multifaceted and uses of *Koloa faka-Tonga***



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

## Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) Tourism

A clear understanding of the definition of tourism is important as it distinguishes not only what we study but also how we analyse and govern it. The definition of tourism is broad and problematic. A definition from the World Tourism Organisation state that “tourists are people who travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for more than twenty-four (24) hours and not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (2010, p.5-6). Hall (2005) gives a classic example of just how important it is to understand the countless sources of tourism data and information: .... “How can government set policy for tourism unless they have a clear understanding of what it is?” (2005, p. 15). The definition used is appropriate in conjunction with the research of this thesis. Tourism is used by organisations seeking to measure a specific population which include three principal features which normally have to be defined:

1. Purpose of travel: The type of traveller, be it business travel, holiday makers, visiting friends and relatives or for other reasons such as education and health.
2. The dimension of time involved in the tourism visit, requiring a minimum or maximum period spent away from the home area and time spent at the destination.
3. Those situations where tourists may or may not be identified as tourists who may include the following: travel for military service, migration or travel by refugees.

Hall’s (2005) definitions of tourism tend to share a range of common elements, some of these elements mirror the Pacific diaspora and the notion of their return visit back to the homeland, and these are reflected in this thesis. On the other hand, to be more specific with regards to this

study the term tourism in relation to visiting friends and relatives (VFR) may have multiple meanings. As defined previously, VFR tourism may be defined or seen as a motivation for travel, as a trip purpose, as a vacation activity and as a form of accommodation use (Hansel & Metzner, 2011).

The form of VFR tourism is depicted as being the most closely related to migration flows (Seaton & Palmer, 1997; Shani & Uriely, 2010) because the stronger the tradition of immigration of the country, the larger the VFR market is in the destination (Muri & Sagesser, 2003). It is believed that immigrants have always remained loyal and emotionally attached to their country of birth which causes them to frequently visit their ancestral homeland (King & Gamage, 1994). Additionally, this will also motivate relatives to visit them in their new homeland also. The study of VFR tourism has attracted the attention of scholars who are concerned with the influence of transnationalism on migrants and their sense of identity and belonging. Through VFR tourism, migrants can return home to visit their friends and relatives. Furthermore, while visiting one's ancestral homeland, VFR tourists become immersed in others (referring to people with the same ethnicity) who share the same ethnic background. Maruyama (2009) notes that the experience of ethnic sameness can be 'pleasing' to VFR tourists, who tend to be surrounded by ethnic "others" in their everyday life. VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism is a form of travel that can provide its participants with feelings of "home" while being away appears to be correct when "home" is evaluated in terms of familiarity. Such experiences and familiarity allows migrants to re-live daily experiences of "othering" and "being othered", which in turn strengthens the identity rooted deep within their ancestral homeland (Lew & Wong, 2005). Furthermore a few academics believe that living in an attractive tourism destination, often generates frequent

visitations of friends and family (VFR) members who tour the area for short or long periods of time (Pearce & Moscardo, 2006; Seaton & Palmer, 1997). The phenomenon of VFR appears to have an important influence on the local resident's lifestyle or way of life, wellbeing and happiness, in both positive and negative ways, especially due to the intense and intimate nature of these visits (Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2007).

Moscardo, Pearce, Morrison, Green, & O'Leary (2000) developed a typology that was used in conjunction with motivational factors to better understand the phenomenon of VFR Tourism. They believe that visiting friends and relatives often is not a single reason for travel, but rather involves a combination of motivations, as a result, it often leads to the participation in a variety of activities and tourist attractions in the destination. The results they concluded with, showed that there were characteristic differences between the following:

- Travel motivations and VFR activity
- Domestic and International travel
- Short distance and Long distant travel
- Accommodation choice (accommodated by friends or relatives or non-accommodated by friends and relatives) and aim of visit.

As a result of the different marketing segments, Moscardo et al. (2000) indicated that there is a multifaceted distinction between people visiting friends (VF) who may differ in profile from people visiting relatives (VR) and visiting friends and relatives (VFVR) – those visiting both. A first attempt to disaggregate the categories was in Northern Ireland which produced the

following differences (*see appendix 6*). Backer (2009) adapted this study by conducting numerous research and analyses to identify the differences between the characteristics and use of industries between non-VFR and VFR travelers. Jackson (1990) maintains that VFR travellers in comparison to international travellers seem to travel shorter distances, a result of the geographical proximity to the country of destination. However VFR travel is also recognised as ‘seasonal compensation’ (Asiedu, 2008). The reason for this is that VFR travel is more evenly distributed throughout the year. The aim or purpose of a VFR trip is usually affordable in comparison with other forms of travel purposes due to the fact that accommodation and transport is considered (Thrane & Farstad, 2011). Furthermore, VFR travellers are believed to have a higher consumption rate of local produced goods and access local services in comparison to mainstream tourism (Asiedu, 2008). This is also highlighted by Cave, Ryan and Panakera (2003) the vital role that tourist attractions play in social functions, where VFR travel has given more attention to community involvement and the increase participation in local activities and events held by local communities (Morrison, Woods, Pearce, Moscardo, & Sung, 2000). For that reason VFR travel is not only direct and localised but there is less investment expected to cater for the market hence there is less emphasis on infrastructure (Morrison et al, 2000; Jackson, 1990).

VFR travel is believed to have retained, renewed or rebuilt new social and cultural ties between extended families and community groups (Scheyvens, 2007). This is highlighted through a study conducted by Cave, Ryan & Panakera (2007) emphasising the importance of protecting and preserving their intellectual and cultural heritage through cultural tourism. In addition, Cave et al. (2007) maintain the pivotal notion of preserving cultural heritage is central to the understanding of human relationships. Moreover it is also stated that heritage preservation

is one of the main motivation clusters in the cultural tourism industry along with job creation, education, community wealth creation and development of cultural capital (Cave, Rayan, & Panakera, 2007). Although, it is important for indigenous communities to preserve their cultural heritage through cultural tourism. There is a scarcity of studies which implies that there has been no research conducted with regards to the importance of VFR travel in cultural preservation, and its impact on retaining, renewing and the building of relationships with family members in the Pacific.

Different from earlier migrants, who had limited access to their homeland after migration, research has indicated an increase in the number of migrants returning home either permanently or temporarily travel, due to changes in economy, technology and politics (Maruyama, 2009). According to Phillips (2004) there are social, economic, political and cultural consequences when there is an increase in the number of migrants returning home, it can either have a negative or positive impact on existing resources. This is evident when migrants engage in an extreme consumption of consumer goods (Gmelch, 1980), however economic gain from overseas migrants (tourists, travelers) are always welcomed where these areas may benefit from the distribution of economic profits.

Transnationalism represents various forms of cross-border connections, which include international flow of information, media and people that have occurred under the globalised economy and political forms (Faist, 2000). Transnationalism acts as a vehicle for Pacific migrants by which they can maintain and recreate their social spatial ties to their kin in their

homelands. This is described by Itzegsohn and Saucedo (2002) who categorise a number of transnational activities such as taking part in home town associations, return visits to their homelands, sending remittances and taking part in charity events that retains and strengthens one's links to their homeland (country of origin). With regards to motivation and its contribution to transnationalism, Itzegsohn and Saucedo (2002) distinguish three different theories that relate to motivation and transnationalism which are: linear, resource dependence and reactive. Firstly, the linear theory looks at transnationalism as the continuance of the connections between migrants and their families, friends, and place of origin in which they have left behind. Secondly, the theory of resource-dependent transnationalism focuses on the resources that immigrants need to participate in the transnational activities. For example: some migrants may hope to maintain their social and reciprocal transnational ties, however, the lack of financial resources may limit their participation in transnational activities. Lastly, the reactive theory describes transnationalism as a reaction to negative experiences within the country of settlement. Negative experiences faced may include racial discrimination, language barriers and job security to name a few. This theory is often used to explain transnationalism among migrants but also among the first and second generation immigrants. An example of negative experiences occurred when Pacific people migrated to New Zealand in search of a better future, often faced a predominantly racist and abusive New Zealand society. Anae (2012), described this as "random checks and dawn raids, conducted mainly in Auckland, when police taskforces targeted individuals who looked like Pacific Islanders or potential over stayers, regardless of their status as citizens" (2012, p.222). Furthermore, Anae (2012) adds:

*Police and immigration authorities victimised Pacific islanders whom they suspected of abusing the terms of their visas, evolved after record levels of immigration from the Islands (largely to fuel post-war demand for unskilled labour) coincided with the*



*collapse of the global commodity boom and the onset of recession in the New Zealand economy*

**(Anae, 2012, p.221).**

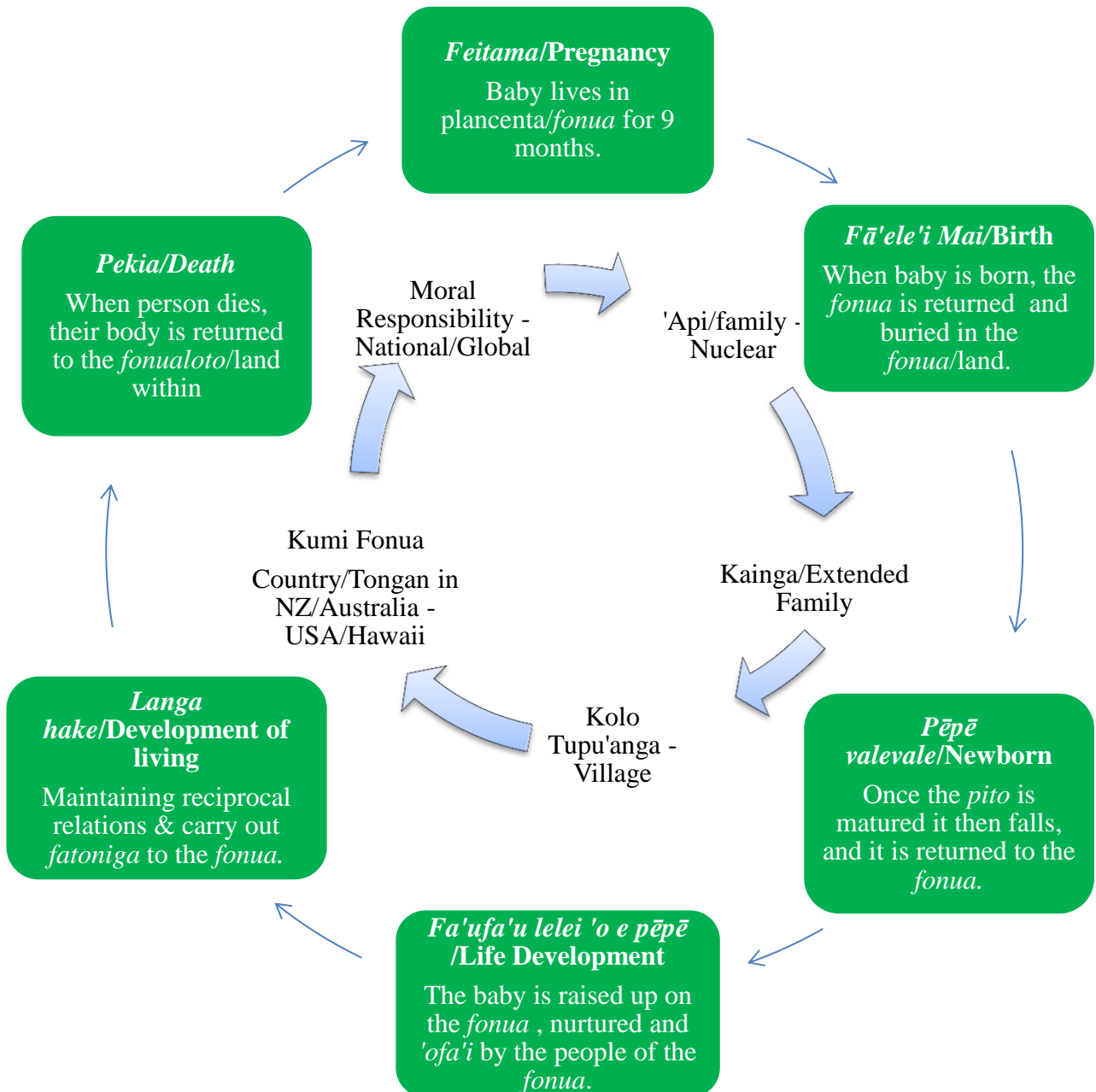
Again, many Pacific people turned to personal social networks to find practical ways around the negative experiences they encountered, particularly in employment and accommodation markets. Only later did New Zealand-born and educated Pacific people begin to form pan-Pacific organisations who acted as a political body to formulate a new political agenda to address the negative experiences and prejudice publicly, one of these groups were known as the Polynesian Panthers (Māhina-Tuai, 2012). The individualisation of migrant's responses and of their solutions of these negative experiences probably delayed the emergence of a united Pacific community and of Pacific social movements in New Zealand at that time (Macpherson, 2012).

Transnational ties with one's ancestral homeland have generated debates among scholars who consider the influence of such maintained ties on the traditional 'assimilation model' (Nyiri, 2002; Grick-Schiller and Fouron, 2001; Ong, 1999). The assimilation model explains that migrants gradually adopt the culture, language, values and ways of living of the country of settlement while ceasing the connection to their ancestral homeland. However, other scholars maintain that transnationalism and assimilation are not contradictory but rather complementary. Which is, having and maintaining ties with the ancestral homeland does not weaken the allegiance to host societies; it simply provides an additional option of identity and behaviour (Maruyama, 2009).

Nevertheless, our parents and grandparents had the heart and self-belief that someday, their children would find a better life in New Zealand and will one day call it ‘home’. Despite all the hardship and negative experience our parents and grandparents suffered, they didn’t give up on their dreams for us – their children – of finding a better future.

With regards to this study the village is located in the centre (*uho*) of the island of Vava‘u. In a Tongan context *uho* is the connection that ties one to the land, there is also the association of *uho* meaning umbilical cord that ties or connects a baby to its mother. This idea can be linked to the concept of *fonua* which refers to the land, peoples, the seas and the skies, and the interdependent relationships that bind them together (Māhina, 1992; Taufe‘ulungaki, 2004; Ka‘ili, 2005; Tu‘itahi, 2005; Manu‘atu, 2005). This concept can also be found in other Pacific countries such as Samoa, Fiji, Vanuatu, Cook Islands and Maori (NZ). Hau‘ofa (1993) and Tu‘itahi (2009) expand on the concept of *fonua*, suggesting that it is an on-going relationship, which is as broad as it is inclusive of culture, traditions, history, values, beliefs, and cultural practices.

Manu‘atu (2005) and Ka‘ili (2005) explain the importance of *fonua* within the natural life cycle of people which begins from birth, throughout life until they reach death. There are certain aspects of the Tongan culture that shows the relational concept of *fonua*. The construct of Tongan thinking is inherent in the *fonua* life cycle which is detailed in *figure 23*.

Figure 23: *Fonua* Life cycle

(Adapted from Ka'ili, 2005; Teisina, 2011)

## Concept of *Fonua*

The concept of *fonua* (figure 28) has several underpinnings that reflect a holistic worldview that connects people physically, emotionally and spiritually to the entire universe. It also shows a connection of time where future relates to present, past and even in the world of the spiritual unknown. As Māhina (cited in Tu‘itahi, 2005) notes:

*As a ‘model’ fonua espouses a philosophy of the life that systematically combines both society and ecology, in on-going relations of process, cycle and exchange to one another, with sustained aims of creating harmony and beauty between people and their environment.*

An example is the concept of *kumi fonua* (finding land) which is the process of finding new land to call home and is related to Tongans migrating to another country. Once settled in the new land the concept of *langa ‘a e fonua* (building/development of land) is then integrated in the process which involves the holistic maintenance of culture and identity starting from the micro level of the overseas Tongan household (*‘api*) to the macro level of the *fonua* as a nation. Building a good relational foundation for Tongan families living overseas and in Tonga ensures that they are able to identify with their culture and customs, their connections to their ancestral land and their contributions towards maintaining reciprocal relationships of *tauhi vā* within Tongan society. This *langa fonua* contributes to the well-being of the *fonua* as a whole. Other examples are *‘ofa fonua* which denotes the love of country and people on the *fonua*; *tauhi fonua* relates to nurturance, autonomy and sustainability of relationships with the people and the entire ecology to ensure their well-being.

*“Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous, Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us. We are the sea, we are the ocean”*

**(Hau‘ofa, 2008, p.39).**

Hau‘ofa (2008) interprets the importance of the Pacific Ocean in connection to the identity and experiences of many people of the *Pasifiki*. He indicates that the metaphor of the ocean is something that the people of the *Pasifiki* share and have in common with each other. No matter how far the distance between each island and how often we draw boundaries between one Pacific Island to the other, the ocean baffles us with its’ ever-changing and moving openness. He uses the term “ocean peoples” because for thousands of years our ancestors have viewed their world as “a sea of islands” rather than “islands in the sea” (p.32). Although New Zealand is the physical home to many people in the *Pasifiki*, nothing can take away the fact that people from the *Pasifiki* originated from the Pacific Ocean – namely, ‘our sea of islands.’ Nevertheless there is always a constant feeling of longing (*faka ‘ānaua*) to return back to ones homeland which is a common emotional feeling experienced by many Tongans and people from the *Pasifiki* living overseas and abroad, which is portrayed in this research.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Findings and Discussions

#### ***Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga – Roll out the mat and let the relatives talk and discuss***

*“So you see when I bought this house, I knew that in the future there would be times when you would long to return to a place you belong to. There will be times when we as your parents will be gone from this life and in those times you will seek a place where you once were safe and had peace”.*

**(Aiono, 2002, p.90)**

Aiono (2002) writes the above words that her father said to her when she first announced that she was moving out of home. Her writings in the book *Pacific Psalms* examine the importance of ‘one’s family and that ‘home’ is nothing without family. The statement made by Aiono’s father indicates that ‘home’ is a place where she will one day long to return, a place where she will be accepted for who she is, a place where she belongs to. It also indicates that home is where one’s childhood memories were created. The ‘home’ also is a place when “we as your parents will be gone from this life” during those times you will seek a place where you once were safe and had peace.

Thaman’s (1999) poem composed in 1999, (see page 143) highlighted the perspective of longing to return to one’s home. The significance of this poem is that our yearning for home could also relate to the yearning for people or things. This may overlap with the idea of ‘family and relative’ connections and the factors that influence or contribute to the strengthening and

maintaining of these connections. Thus, the longing can be experienced in more than one way. Albert Wendt's (2004) book *'Sons for the return home'*, provides a view that is most likely related to first generation Pacific Islanders that have migrated overseas. It closely examines the yearning and longing to return back to the homeland, whereas his grandchildren's view differs in that they now call Aotearoa their home. The notion of home is rich in meaning and can be perceived in numerous ways which has been discussed previously. Home is a relative concept. For many, the physical places called home may change over the duration of one's lifetime. Lew and Wong (2005) add that the reasons for changing one's home are diverse, though geographers have traditionally viewed them as 'push' factors and 'pull' factors. Changing homes and moving from one home to another, old and new places often compete for 'homeness' and as each new place becomes more of a home, each old home comes to hold a sense of the 'past homeness' (Lew & Wong, p.1). For some, these past homes can hold a greater sense of belonging and feelings of being at 'home' rather than their current physical home. However, with regards to past homes, there are also many other homes that shape individuals and group identities, often consisting of places that have never been physically lived in for any significant period or even visited. However, it has been perceived that the origin of such connections to other homes in distant locations are closely linked to cultural ethnicity and ancestry.

Participants in this study shared their views of what they thought 'home' was and the significance it had to the village reunion.

*I was born here in Leimātu'a therefore I call it home. Now, I am currently living in Australia which I call home also.... But there is a difference ... Australia is able to offer me a good life, education and that's where I met my wife. But Tonga is my home,*

*that's where I was born and raised. Returning home to see everyone is always good. Good for me and for my children. Ahh It's also useful for my children to know their family in Tonga. **Participant 8***

*My father is still at Vava'u and I want to take my kids to see my HOME more interestingly, you asked about home and I sometimes feel homesick in my own house here with my family[laughs] ..**Participant 1***

This notion elucidated my understanding between the yearnings of returning to my homeland in comparison with the ideas of returning to my childhood. Vaka'uta supports this idea and states that our "memory of home is a memory of the past lived by the body but the body has moved on" (2009, p.23). With this being said, it then raises the response to the questions; does one really want to return home? And if one does return home, does it then fulfill that living memory or the notion of returning home? or could this only accommodate ones yearning temporarily?

**Participant 8** then went on to say: *The village reunion was a good excuse for me and my family to return home and see my parents. It's not every day I get to see them...My kids are quite young now but these will be memories for them, returning home gives them the assurance of who they are. I'm glad I can return home with my family and see my parents as well as attend our village reunion.*

As discussed in previous chapters, much of the literature on VFR travel focusses on the return visit placing the family as the primary motivator for return travel. Participant 8 discusses



the main reason for his return home was to visit his family and parents as well as the reaffirmation of identities. He also raises an interesting point looking at the relationships around inter-generational transitions (his children) and the reaffirmation or re-creation of identities which is subsequently neglected from much of the written literature on VFR travel.

### The Search to belong: Insider / Outsider

*.... Born in a land that was for dreams and ambitions*  
*By no choice*  
*Born in a land that had no ties to my tupuna*  
*By no choice*  
*Born, raised and educated in a land that is my home*  
*By no choice*  
*.... Everywhere I turn, everywhere I look, and everywhere I run*  
*I am told, I am not of this land*  
*Which land do you say I belong to?*

**(Lemihio, 2003, p. 159-160)**

The poem by Lemihio (2003) describes the experiences that many second generation Pacific Islander's born overseas, may feel during their journey in life. It suggests the notion of longing (*faka'ānaua*) and the longing to belong hence it's the distinction between being an insider or outsider. An individual's identity is purely shaped by their association or connection of home and how they define home. This is supported by Butler (2003) that people travel to look for something different from their everyday life, more precisely; they search for something that

is missing from their life. This poem confirms Lemihio's (2003) experiences and also reflects the present circumstances of many Tongans born overseas returning to the homeland in search of where they belong.

Lemihio (2003) conveys her return trip back to her ancestral homeland Tokelau, where she stayed for a year. During her stay in the village, her social position constantly shifted between an "outsider" and an "insider". She writes: "Living in Tokelau that one year made me much stronger as a person. I realised that if I was to have a voice at work or in my family, I must balance my own values and beliefs with the lifestyle of Tokelau. For example, I was used to speaking my views within my extended family in New Zealand. In Tokelau, I was to do as I was told. No questions asked, no debate" (2003, p.165). She then continues to add "one incident brought this home to me very clearly. In New Zealand I sometimes used to go for a few drinks after work on Friday nights with my teaching colleagues. I had thought (rather naively I expect) that this would also be the norm in Tokelau" .... "So on Friday night I headed off to Fale (village) for after-work drinks with two of my school colleagues. I was having a great time until a child brought me a message that Uncle said I had to go home to my granddad! .... I was 25 years old and felt like my uncle was treating me as if I was still 16". When I arrived home my two uncles were waiting for me. They told me I was embarrassing the family because now the village people would be talking about how I drank alcohol" (2003, p.165). ... Luckily for Petronila her grandfather understood her reasons for going out for drinks and thought that if her grandfather had not lived in New Zealand, he would have shared the same views as her uncles on that night.

In comparison to Lemihio's (2003) story and experiences, a participant expressed similar emotions and experiences she had faced. This young girl felt comfortable and even a sense of "belonging" to Tonga in some occasions, such as visiting her grandparents' grave sites. She also stated that she felt comfortable with being surrounded by people of the same ethnicity because, in Australia, she was always regarded "the tallest one" while in Tonga she is considered to have a "normal height". At the same time, however, her experience was strongly associated with the feeling of foreignness. She identified many differences between Tongan and Australian societies, including language and behaviour, social obligations (*fatongia*) and available facilities and services. The reaction by locals, especially by her *kāinga*, also contributed to her feeling of being an outsider in her country of ethnicity. She recalled that she was the 'hot' topic to talk about and often at times family members would mock her for not being able to speak Tongan fluently:

*Immediate and extended families would always say "make sure she doesn't wander off on her own – its ok she's from overseas, that explains why she can't speak Tongan" ..... They kept saying that I am more pālangi (European) than Tongan, which made me feel like I was an outsider. My relatives would point out things like don't go outside you might get dark skin from the sun, or make sure you wear shoes all the time in case you hurt your feet and that I spoke limited Tongan with a slight Australian accent. This was a minor setback .... I didn't pay much attention to it at first but as I continued to communicate in Tongan I found myself feeling more inclusive rather than an outsider. (Participant 13)*

Being able to overcome the outsider within is a common hurdle that most second generation Tongan's experience. However, by being treated as an outsider in their own ethnic homeland, people in this position may not feel they belong anywhere:

*I am shifting in between but never really in both of them ..... I feel like an outsider both ways. If I take the Australian culture when I'm in Australia I feel like an outsider! And when I finally get to experience the Tongan culture I still feel like an outsider. It's funny because people can point out and tease you about being Australian for some reason and you are not Tongan for another ...either way, it's confusing – sometimes I feel like I don't fit in and then sometimes I do. (Participant 13)*

This research relates to how some Pacific individuals may often struggle to find somewhere to belong and fit into. The main obstacle in this is the fear of being accepted by others. Ultimately, this influences how someone may define where their 'home' is. The experience of being treated as an Australian by her relatives in Tonga provided a motivating factor for her to learn more about the Tongan culture during her visit. The strong reason for this motive is that she wants to feel like she belongs to Tonga to compensate for a sense of exclusion that she felt in Australia. As a matter of fact, during the *talanoa* session, she told me that she was taking Tongan language classes to excel in her reading and writing skills, which she quietly mentioned:

*The next time I decide to come back, I can say, "see, I can speak and write in Tongan and show my kāinga/family how much I have improved ..... It was really a motivation for me (to start learning more about my Tongan culture and values) that I felt like an outsider in Tonga. Taking Tongan classes gave me hope in the sense that I wanted to be Tongan so badly ... It's now been two weeks since I've been here, and to be honest, I have learnt so much ... I have learnt to be grateful for the things I have and am grateful for the hospitality of my kāinga. [laughs] ... It's been quite a trip.... (Participant 13)*

As far as culture is concerned, strengthening socio spatial relationships with kin and family members is an important cultural value to maintain. For people from the *Pasifiki* in New Zealand

cultural maintenance may vary from one culture to another. In the Tongan culture it is seen as vital to maintain the cultural values of your descendants, the culture that has woven the fine mats of our history and moulded the tapa tapestry of our values (Taumoefolau, 2004). As noted in the previous *talanoa* sessions, one of many push factors to travel back home to the homeland was for the sole purpose of maintaining the cultural relationships. There is a strong belief that many of us take our culture for granted, thinking that if we lose it we can easily replace it with another culture. Melenaita Taumoefolau (2004) strongly believes that “this is a grave mistake” (p.64). Asserting that – ‘Our language is like a container – inside this is the set of values and beliefs that makes us what we are as a people. Our behaviour, cultural customs, traditions, our ways of thinking, our *fa’a-Samoa* (Samoa culture), our *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture) are all packed into this container called language’. The statement made by Taumoefolau (2004) clearly highlights the importance of maintaining culture because if we were to lose the container then the contents inside will be lost which are the distinctive ways that define us to ourselves and to the world (ibid).

### ***Tā Silini ki Tonga ki he Fāмили – Sending Money to Family, Tauhi vā – A Tongan’s perspective***

Regardless of the struggles of moving into a new country and adapting to a new environment, Tongan migrants never forget their sense of obligation (*fatongia*) and responsibility to family back in the homeland. These responses from the participants are strong reflections of people who are deeply rooted in their cultural ways of living and family values, drawing from their *loto* (hearts) they explain why they choose to remit:

*I would send money to my parents to pay for their living expenses as well as contribute towards their annual donations to the church (misinale). Whenever I do have extra money, I send something to my parents – its part and parcel of who I am and my love for my parents living back home. **Participant 10***

*Growing up in Australia, I would often see my parents prepare a box filled with products and goods consisting of clothing, toiletries, and canned food products as well as household goods such as pots and pans, plates and cups to be sent to family back home in Tonga. ..I guess I can say they need it more than we do. **Participant 08***

*Majority of the time, money is sent for Weddings and Funerals. Family that have migrated and settled here overseas are now responsible to lukuluku (contribute) and put together their money for the particular purpose requested, for instance a funeral. This monetary assistance is then sent in the form of remittance and used by family in Tonga to reciprocate their 'ofa (love) for the deceased person and family, either by offering the monetary remittance as a gift or purchasing food which will tokoni (help) or go towards catering during and after the funeral. **Participant 02***

The above statements made by several participants indicated the different reasons why they had chosen to remit back to the homeland. It was clear that they had strong Tongan cultural beliefs and values which influenced their perspectives and practises of remitting back to family in the homeland. On the other hand, several participants suggested that payments of remittances sent back to the homeland, have helped their families immensely back in Tonga. In this case, it has given their families and kin members in the homeland opportunities to rebuild their homes, send their children to school, take part in church donations and most importantly to *tauhi vā* (maintain reciprocal relationships between kin and kin like members). These participants reflected accordingly: -

*I was the eldest in my family and I felt it was my duty to travel overseas and find a new life, not just for me but for the rest of my family back home. My parents were supportive with my decision....my wife on the other hand didn't want me to leave, but she knew that I was going to send for her! We were newlyweds and without her support, I wouldn't leave. But we had a plan....it was not easy, struggled and experienced many hungry nights. What kept me going were my parent's faces and my love for my wife. **Participant 15***

*My wife and I left Tonga leaving our daughter behind. She was looked after by my mother in-law and wife's younger siblings. She was eight years old when she finally came to live with us overseas. We wouldn't have achieved what we have now without the support of my wife's family. **Participant 5***

*I was awarded a scholarship to study at the University of the South Pacific; my parents were always my main life support. They not only funded my University tuition fees but supported me through prayers for my studies as well as for my safety. **Participant 18***

It was important that the participants acknowledged how their contribution was able to help and support their families in the islands which in turn, may contribute to the strengthening and maintaining socio spatial relationships with the home and Tongans living overseas.

Throughout the trip back to the homeland and during the village reunion families were united and were able to celebrate the village reunion together was one of the most important observations made. For an example, during performances, overseas visitors would contribute money towards certain performances by the placing of money on the performer. This practise denotes *tauhi vā* between visitor's from overseas and village locals who are performing. Another

example is when relatives in the homeland would prepare cooked or raw food to gift to their friends and relatives from overseas upon arrival to the village as an official welcome as well as to *tauhi* the *vā* between families – during these intimate family gatherings, the process of nurturing social spatial ties between kin and kin like members, connecting and rebuilding memories are practised. Often at times, gifting would include cultural material goods as discussed previously, these goods in kind are one of the most valuable gifts that one can give as well as to accept. Talking to participants about *tauhi vā* and what it meant to them upon returning back to the homeland to visit their friends and relatives via tourism and how these factors contribute to the strengthening and maintaining of socio spatial relations between home and Tongan’s overseas. An example of an important Tongan value is *fāmili* (family):

*Living overseas has taught me an invaluable lesson .... And that is the importance of family! Without my relatives living overseas to offer support for my wife and I, I wouldn't be in the position where I am now and it's all thanks to them. It's really funny, our families back home are not closely related but here overseas we tend to do a lot of family things together and I guess this is part of tauhi vā that we appreciate and cherish, it brings families closer. We are all here attending the village reunion and with that said it's brought all our families especially those that are regarded as extended family members closer. Participant 15*

Tevita Ka‘ili reports that *tauhi vā* or *vaha‘a* is evident in everyday practices which is seen in sharing of foods, “sharing of resources and offering one’s home” not only to immediate family and relatives but also with “friends, family friends, school friends, church members” and people that you have come to know in your life (Ka‘ili, 2005 p.92). In all these activities *tauhi vā* is a central value of Tongan social existence. This is supported by Poltorak (2007) whose research on



Vava'u people is reinforced by the following statement: "I am taken by its conceptual power and the degree to which it indicates the importance of the experience of relatedness" (2007, p. 13). The statement reinforces the ideas that contribute to the manifestation of "sustaining harmonious social relations with kin and kin like members" as stated by Ka'ili (2005, p. 92).

The role of remittances and sending money to family back to the homeland has always played a vital role in maintaining as well as strengthening relationships between the home and Tongans living overseas. As discussed in previous chapters, remittances play a vital role in helping and supporting friends and relatives living in the homeland (Tonga). However, when speaking to one participant with regards to what were his thoughts to the general sense of living standard between New Zealand and Tonga, he managed to raise a very interesting point as he draws from his own experience of living overseas.

*[laughs].... very interesting question... I suppose my thoughts on that derives from how I perceive life in general... I think the standards of living here is based on a number of factors including: work (money you earn), the area you live in, people around you and so on... and to be precise it depends on the economy and how it affects people... but for me... there is not much different about living here or in Tonga..*  
*.....I must say that the standards here is very poor .....*

*I have come to the realisation that money and the economy of the country determine almost everything we do and how we ought to live our lives here isn't it...Participant 1*

The statement participant 1 put forward indicated that much of the literature that is written about people in the islands and how they depend on support from friends and relatives overseas may only apply to some people, not all. Participant 1 was born and raised in Tonga, therefore he

is able to give a comparison between the two with regards to the living standards. His perspectives and thoughts are influenced in ways he sees life based in and around factors such as the type of work one has and the money they earn. He also mentioned that if he was to return back home to live, the standard of living overseas in New Zealand would not differ from the living standards in Tonga. To conclude, he mentioned that the reason for this was because in the homeland, you the land owner own's land whereas here in New Zealand, you buy your own home to live in, making payments to go towards a life time mortgage as well as paying land rates that indicate that even though you have paid off your mortgage, you are still expected to pay land rates. This alludes to the idea even though we buy homes overseas to live in, it's not really ours to own as we are still expected by the government to pay for it in the form of land rates whereas in the homeland you are not expected to pay any type of land rate. In this case, more people in the homeland may have more money to save and spend in comparison to those living overseas paying land rates and mortgage.

The village reunion gave me the opportunity to speak with one of the village elders who also returned from overseas to visit their relatives. His view on *tauhi vā* with respect to the village reunion, was that *tauhi vā* not only constitutes the act of giving or gifting something, it also encompasses the act of sharing memories through the process of speaking (speech). As discussed previously with regards to speeches and the importance of its nature, in such events like the village reunion speaking can become a replacement for gifting or giving of material goods (Poltorak, 2007). This notion is supported by a Tongan proverb "*Kai pē lea*", a literal translation is food is one's speech, Edgar Tu'inukuafe (1992) author of '*A Simplified Dictionary of Modern Tongan*' adds that: "Good speech makes people contented and at peace with each

other. This saying was used of a man who did not get a portion of the food distribution from a chief, but the chief spoke to him and that was enough to satisfy him” cited by (Poltorak, 2007, p.13).

On the other hand, some participants raised some strong feelings towards the setting up of the reunion and the purpose around it. I was fortunate enough to get a few perspectives.

*I guess, the idea is good but I was not clearly informed of it's purpose... and who in particular would benefit from it... why is it all of a sudden become so important to have a reunion??? **Participant 11***

*[Sighs] I do feel for the people who are living in Leimātu'a... I would prefer that we can collect a sum of money from different countries overseas and send it to Leimātu'a for the development of the village ... than every Christmas people can just go and visit their families and the village can acknowledge their help in a less expensive way. **Participant 1***

Firstly these perspectives were important as it raised a perception of how Tongan's overseas felt with regards to the village reunion and how well the village reunion committee were able to communicate effectively with Tongan's living overseas. When conducting *talanoa* sessions, participants indicated that they only heard about the reunion, through friends, family and social media. In this case, the village reunion was advertised through word of mouth and through face book. The purpose of the village reunion was general and so for future

recommendations the committee could look at establishing yearly developmental goals that may need assistance from Tongan's living overseas.

Secondly, the idea of holding the village reunion in the homeland had the purpose of encouraging Tongan's living overseas to return back to the homeland, however participant 1 raises an interesting fact and one that is less expensive for those living overseas. Instead of paying for air tickets and then having to make monetary contributions at the village reunion, Tongan's living overseas can make donations towards the overall development of the village. However this idea ignores the fact that the connections are more than just sending money and donations, it involves other than, sending boxes of clothes and household products. It's about maintaining reconnecting, returning to visiting friends and relatives physically and emotionally it's the strengthening of ties between home and Tongan's living overseas is what is important. Furthermore, the idea of family and its importance to *tauhi vā* is supported by a Tongan concept which states: *Ko e masiva 'oku ongo taha, 'a e hala ha kāinga* a literal translation is: To have no kin is to be in extreme poverty. The conditions and life circumstances Tongan people live in could be perceived by the outside world poor but to most Tongan people, your life is worth living and is fulfilled with and by immediate and extended family.

## Migrating overseas

While Tongans living in Sydney stressed that they had moved because they needed work, or were landless, or had felt oppressed by the operation of the social system in Tonga, including the sharp class differentiation between nobles and commoners, their relatives in Tonga spoke of the migration of family members as motivated by the desire to "help the family, "improve the standard of living of the family," contribute to family pride," "upgrade the status of the family," to gain more respect for the family," "to enable the family to increase its giving to church and village projects," to demonstrate the love of the children for their parents," or "to assist the development of the Kingdom." (Cowling W. , 2002)

Migration can be seen as a process in which large numbers of individuals or families embark on new journeys and creating a history for themselves. This all begins with the initial act of leaving one's family, parents, community, society and culture to adopt and experience a new life, culture and opportunities (Morton Lee, 2003). The initial act of leaving one's parents, family, neighborhood, memories, society and culture, and adopting a new life and work-style is a crucial one. Only a small proportion of people who enter a migration process, or who have participated in major migration movements in the past, have had a clear perception of what they were going to encounter, or the extent to which their lives were going to change (Cowling, 2002).

The process of migration often bears the duty of one's sense of obligation to serve the family. This is often reflected when the immigrant is financially able to resettle in an overseas country and send for family members. This process is then reciprocated by sending for another family member that will share the same opportunities. This course of action was emotionally reflected through an analogy that was spoken by a relative of mine whom dedicated his migration and voyage overseas to my dad, his speech spoke volumes of what *tauhi vā* meant to him with reference to migration:

*Tuli Mafua – (Leading Bird)*

*Lau Manu – (Flock of Birds)*

*The Tuli Mafua is referred to my older cousin who was the first person in our family to migrate to New Zealand. The Laumanu is a representation of those that were then given the opportunity to migrate soon after. When watching these birds fly, there is always a 'tuli mafua' (leading bird) and laumanu (flock of birds) flying underneath. The tuli mafua always fly's solo just above the flock of birds. The main role of this 'tuli mafua' is to scan around the vast seas for fish, and it needs to find a lot because the flock of birds (manulua) are all dependent on that tuli mafua to provide for them. Tongan Fishermen would lookout for the laumanu in order to find good locations for fishing. We were very fortunate enough to migrate to New Zealand, only because my cousin was able to financially provide that support. He is the tuli mafua of our family and once he got work and resettled in New Zealand, he was then able to send for the rest of the family (the laumanu).*

These practises are still evident today as migrants travel overseas, they are then able to find a job in the host country and then they would be able to provide for their families at home as well as sending for family to share their success overseas.

## The Return 'Visit' (VFR) or 'Migration' Home – *foki ki 'api*

*When you leave me  
The world lies  
Cold and still  
Like a body in a morgue*

*When I call your name  
Islands rush towards me  
One after the other  
Like soldiers on parade*

*When I try to see you  
The night hurts my eyes  
And can no longer feel  
The vastness of the sky*

*When you leave me  
The world  
Lies cold  
And still*

**(Thaman, 1999, p.53)**

Thaman (1999) provides a glimpse of someone longing to return home. As the previous chapter has shown, although there are more Pacific peoples in New Zealand than in the Pacific Islands, many of their hearts remain anchored to their homeland, especially those born in the islands – the place where they grew up. But in the case of Pacific people born in the diaspora where home is, is more problematic and they are caught between the notion of home as either the place where they were born or the place where their parents and grandparents originated. As

stated earlier, an objective of this thesis focusses on the idea of how tourism can strengthen the economic and cultural ties between Tongan nationals from living overseas and the importance of returning home. It explores the question; in what ways does visiting or returning back to their ancestral land influence a sense of who they are and where they belong? ' There is a continuous inconsistency between the faded memory of a space and time from the past, in contrast to the present. From the foreign memories of yesterday to our existence of the present, many are forever longing to belong elsewhere in the future. Rushdie (1991) indicates that you can take a boy out of India but you can't take India out of a boy. His book *Imaginary Homelands* plays a significant role in this research because it highlights that the past is a foreign country. Rushdie's (1991) perspective is based on Indian writers like himself who write about India, but live outside of India. He concentrates on how home exists only in a memory, and he describes how one of the few ways they maintain their connection with India, is through a geographical place remaining only in their memory. Which in this case, the use of his imagination can be referred to as a tool for reconstructing his self-identity?

*It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we do look back, we must also do so in the knowledge which gives rise to profound uncertainties that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, India's of the mind.*

**(Rushdie, 1991, p.10)**

This notion alludes to the current situation of many Tongans living in Australia, New Zealand, America, and other places outside of Tonga. The quote above points out that



indistinctly remaining in their mind is the emotional feeling of longing for home. No matter where they are outside of their homeland, they are constantly haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back. One of the main connections I have with my homeland (Tonga) is a fragmented yet happy childhood memories. Occasionally there is the sense of loss, the feeling of not belonging, and a longing of one day returning home.

*We often talk about how I grew up and using that to motivate my children through their own journey in life....and they often ask me to take them to Tonga...and I think it is important for them to go and see the country where I come from and particularly, they are also called Tongans.....but they haven't been to Tonga....and for me...it is a good feeling to take them one day to meet all the other relatives and people can see and say that I have been successful with my life as well. **Participant 1***

Family is in fact one of the primary motivating factors for Tongans living overseas to return home. Even though family members are scattered overseas and not forgetting those living back in Tonga, special occasions such as first and twenty first birthdays, weddings, graduations and funerals allow family members to reunite and get together. Morton Lee (2003) writes, such occasions are an opportunity for dispersed sibling groups to reunite, for young people to meet relatives from elsewhere in the diaspora, and for other extended family members to renew their ties.

Migrating into a new environment can be overwhelming, however knowing and longing for your homeland tends to help get over the newness of the whole process. Several participants

expressed emotional perspectives of what and where home is for them. Their perspectives follow below: -

*tricky....I suppose I can call Oamaru home in a sense that it is where I live now with my family (wife and kids)...but in a Tongan context and how I truly feel...my home is in Vava'u where I grew up...when we left Vava'u to Tongatapu for school...we stayed there for a number of years...and even bought a piece of land and built there...but we still consider Vava'u our home. **Participant 1***

*Home is where the heart is....My heart is in Leimātu'a. **Participant 10***

*Leimātu'a...Vava'u will forever be...my piece of paradise. One day I will return home. **Participant 17***

*Home is where I was born and raised, so Hawaii is 'Home' for me. **Participant 11***

For most Tongan's these may be some of the contributing factors that influence their return home. One of the participants expressed emotional feelings as to why she returned home:

*Whenever I return back to Vava'u, you tend to appreciate what you have back in your country of settlement, but to return home and find it just the way you left it is like turning back the hands of time and walking through a time machine which takes you back to childhood memories. These memories are priceless. **Participant 2***

Migration is both a journey and voyage, a cultural and economic process in which identities are contested and challenged, new livelihoods established and old ones transformed. Multiple migratory patterns are common; 'leaving and returning may not be decisions taken only once but

occur repeatedly over the life course of a mover' (Faist, 1997, p.206). Migration is rarely a one-way process, hence better conceived as mobility, with its implication of constant change and some degree of uncertainty (Chapman, 1991). Most literature on Pacific migration has focused on processes and impacts of migration, the growing numbers of islanders overseas (see Lee, 2003), and the remittances that migrants contribute to their 'home society' (see Connell and Brown, 1995), while return migration has been remarkably overlooked, despite half a century of international migration and return in most Polynesian island states.

Rubenstein (2001) provides a salient response to the questions above. The author talks about the aching sensations of *nostalgia* and homesickness. It portrays how some people are constantly longing to return back to a particular space. He emphasises how the memory of yesterday can potentially outweigh and influence the unknown land of tomorrow. "Homesickness and nostalgia may be responses to the universal inevitability of separation and loss – the unavoidable human journey from rapture to rupture" (Rubenstein, 2001, p.5). This quote vividly encapsulates the situation of Tongans living in New Zealand. Although we may have a new home here in Aotearoa, there is a sense of loss because of the separation from our homeland (see Vatoko & Leomala, 1985; Rubenstein, 2001). With that said, Rubenstein's work emphasizes that nostalgia can often overlap with the feeling of displacement, separation and loss.

There is no single definition that defines what nostalgia is. There is only a chain of clarifications because like the terms diaspora and home, the word is rich in meanings. The author states that, "nostalgia is painful awareness, the expression of grief for something lost, the absence of which continues to produce significant emotional distress" (Rubenstein, 2001, p.5). To some degree this

is true whether you are an island-born or a New Zealand-born Pacific Islander living in New Zealand.

Through personal observations made during the village event, a large majority of overseas visitors made generous monetary contributions towards village performances as well as towards the development of the village. There is a high tendency that these returning visitors feel *‘ofa* which denotes love to some one or something, *māfana* which is the act of inward warmth that is felt when you get excited or feelings of emotional joy towards someone or something, *faka‘apa‘apa* which is respect and last but not least *toka‘i* which is the process of acknowledgement. All these Tongan values may suggest the reasons for their generosity. In this case, this is their way of giving back to their home village and local community. However on the other hand, individuals that have received any type of formal education or training qualification wore their full academic attire during the village march and festivities. Observing the families of the graduates as well as families in general, situations like these tend to fetch and develop a lot of unnecessary gossip in the village. I thought it was a great example to showcase the achievements of the graduates however it also showcased the negative associations such as jealousy and being envious of those that were somewhat successful. These associations then stemmed into competition. In this case who wore the shiniest outfit on the day, who donated how much on this day and who’s table had the most overseas visitors seated. These types of competitions were displayed for all to see and if you wore something that wasn’t shiny or not fit to wear by someone from an overseas country you are definitely asking people to talk about you.

For most families in Leimātu‘a, that have resettled in an overseas country like New Zealand, Australia and the United States returning back to your home village to visit your friends and relatives as well as attending the village reunion motivated those that were successful in life as such, married to a successful wife who is either a teacher or lawyer, have children, they owned their own house and husband works for the New Zealand government are one of many classic examples. Some examples of success in overseas countries were as simple as gaining residency or citizenship. The observations made then generated some questions like: are all returnee’s successful? What are the real indicators of motivation? Can these connections between home and the Tongan diaspora be maintained through family networks? These were some of the questions that were raised and I was fortunate to talk to two of the graduates to see what their thoughts were.

*Wearing our academic attire not only celebrates what we have achieved, but also feels like I can inspire the younger generation to follow suit* **Participant 4**

*I believe that setting a good example for our people to strive for education is important. Secondly it is important to celebrate these achievements because at the end of the day, it’s not only your achievement it’s your family’s achievement as well.*  
**Participant 2**

Some of the participants talked about how their families were involved in their educational journeys. One of the main reasons that contribute to someone succeeding in education is that they are never alone in their journeys. There are other people behind the success who are collectively consistently carrying out *fatongia* (duties and responsibilities) and *tauhi vā* so one

can concentrate on achieving their studies. The following responses from participants are as follows:

*I had a child nearing the end of my studies and in order for me to complete the course successfully I was able to depend on the support of my family members. **Participant 2***

*I don't have to be successful to return home... you don't have to have a degree to be accepted by your family, or for your family to be proud of you. As Tongans, our achievements and successes is not based on materialistic things but based on the ways we give and carry out fatongia (duties) to families and friends as well as helping those that are less fortunate than you are, is what matters. **Participant 10***

Figure 24: Leimātu‘a Graduates



Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012

The strong connection of returning back to the *fonua* (land) of birth for the Tongan parents brings hope to the process of building success in the new *fonua* that they have migrated to. The new *fonua* bring the realisation that there is a need to recreate our sense of identity overseas. These responses from the participants are strong reflections of people who are strongly rooted in their own cultural values drawing from their *loto* (heart) where Tonga, the *fonua* is always present:

*I was determined to persevere with my studies and to become successful, fully knowing that my parents back in Tonga didn't have much at the time, but they gave everything they had to support my education overseas. Vava'u is truly where I identify myself with; it's the actual place of my birth and fond childhood memories. I am always encouraging my children who are New Zealand born to be proud of being Tongan because it's in their "blood".* **Participant 3**

*I felt like I was going back home in a way because I see that my blood in my body came from Leimātu 'a. I felt that connection, when I set foot on Vava 'u. **Participant 16***

The longing to return home can be more than just the yearning for a time and place; it could also be for a particular person. Woolf & Lessing (2001) believe that the longing to return home is, “the expression of yearning from an earlier time or place or a significant person in one’s past history, the memory and significance of which or whom contributes to the sense of the self in the present moment” (2001, p.13). Additionally, Wendt (2004) describes this longing to return home that summarises the situation for many older Pacific generations in New Zealand through his own writings:

*Why is it we’ve stayed this far  
We think we’ve found a firm fit to this land  
To our children and mokopuna it is home  
That’s good enough...*

**(Wendt, 2004, p.2)**

Sometimes the yearning for home is not so much for the place; instead it is the reliving of our childhood memories. It is not the feeling of returning back to Tonga, the place where I grew up. Instead it is the yearning to return and grow up again. The heart aching feeling of longing to belong has the potential to distort our thinking, and play tricks on our minds. “Even if one is able to return to the literal edifice where she/he grew up, one can never truly return to their original home of childhood, since it exists mostly as a place in the imagination” (Rubenstein, 2001: p.4).



Furthermore nostalgia and homesickness could have pessimistic influences as Starobinski quotes:

*What a person wishes to recover is not so much the actual place where he passed his childhood but his youth itself. He is not straining towards something which he can repossess, but toward an age which is forever beyond his reach.*

**(Rubenstein, 2001, p.4)**

The participants identified some cultural aspects that were directly related to their everyday life with their Tongan parents and grandparents as reference points based on which they developed a sense of affiliation with Leimātu‘a locals. These aspects include food, language, cultural protocols, and traditional practices. The visit to Leimātu‘a, then, made them realise that the practices were part of the lived daily life experiences. Participant 5, who lived in a Pacific orientated region (Auckland) recalled that growing up watching Tongan beauty pageant videos that a few of her family members were watching were also enjoyed back in Leimātu‘a also. Watching the palm trees in the background and all the festivities is truly captivating.

*I grew up in the Tongan culture and so it doesn't really feel like I am doing anything wrong or different from everybody else in Vava'u when I go over to visit, and eating dishes like lū sipi (taro leaves and lamb) and puaka (roasted pork) is normal.....The traditions I am used to at home and the usual video's that are watched by my parents and everybody back in Leimātu'a actually enjoy also. Videos provide a glimpse of what life was back in the islands and reliving ones childhood memories. **Participant 5***

Pitt and Macpherson indicate that for many Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand, the desire of returning home was not a plan for the future. Instead, it had more to do with nostalgia for the past (1974, p.16). The next example adds further by alluding to the situation of those in Vietnam:

*The memory of home is a memory of the past lived by the body but the body has moved on, been relocated, reinscribed, and the habitus that once lived in Vietnam is lived now only through the mediation of these subsequent layers of material hybridity*

(Vaka'uta, 2009, p.23)

### **Mending and nurturing the bonds by visiting familiar places**

Maintaining and nurturing family connections have been known to be part of one's culture, Macpherson et al (2003) reinforces this notion by highlighting the reasons behind the maintenance of family ties and connections; is one's sense of obligation. Families and individuals who travel to visit friends and relatives (VFR) are obliged to help and support their families in the islands; these of course are dependent on the situation. VFR travellers would travel for different reasons, such as family reunions, birthdays, weddings; celebrations regarding academic achievement as well as sad occasions which include the passing of loved ones (funerals).

As the village reunion progressed, VFR travellers were given the opportunity to donate large sums of money towards future developments of the village. These moments were often displayed during the festivities and feasting sessions. Each day during these times, VFR

travellers would team up with all those that have travelled to the reunion to entertain and raise money for that sole purpose (*see figure 31*). These performances were either groups or individual performances as discussed earlier in this research. During these snapshot moments, it affirmed my notion of how Tongan people were able to nurture, maintain and build new relationships with their kin. I was able to later on discuss with one participant how she felt about the whole process of giving to the village for the future developments.

*I strongly believe, without a doubt that it was the Lord's calling, who has given me the strength to carry out my duties and obligations for the people of my village ... despite my age I am able to bring my children along with my grandchildren to experience my culture. This is what makes me proud to be Tongan, to help my family and friends in the village. **Participant 7***

**Figure 25: Tongatapu performance – Leimātu‘a people living in the main island of Tonga**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

*It has always been my wish and belief that my children be raised up with the Tongan language and culture! Living in New Zealand has allowed me to give my children everything but taking them home with me to where I grew up, gives me the chance to teach them things they could not learn in New Zealand. Some of these simple things is to be grateful and thankful for the things they have. Being here I am able to show my children the house I grew up in, the food we ate and the hardships I faced. And to be able to donate and help with funding a project for the village is something I want my children to see and experience .... I don't know about the other visitors but for me, it's not an obligation – it's what I have been taught and part of who I am as a Tongan.*

***Participant 11***

The majority of the time, individuals would freely volunteer during speeches openly feeling *māfana* (inward warmth in one's heart) to donate money towards a project around the village. This aspect in the village reunion was interesting as it offered the VFR travellers the option to give back to the local village communities. At times, I felt that most individuals that volunteered to fund these projects were sincere and genuine and so questions began to formulate raising the concerns of whether these individuals were able to take on these responsibilities especially if the project was large – for an example one project was to fund and build a gate around the village rugby field and another was to purchase one thousand chairs for the church hall. I was able to discuss with one of the participants how they felt when they volunteered to purchase chairs for the village hall.

*To be honest, with the reunion coming to a close I have been feeling māfana towards our village ... the people ... the land ... I feel it's my time to be a man and make my parents proud! **Participant 2***

Such feelings and love for their homeland allows people to go above and beyond to help and give back to the local village. However, in saying this; the idea of local villager's taking turns in preparing traditional Tongan feasts during the village reunion raised concerns with some participants.

*I feel for the locals and their families because these village feasts come in large quantities and for them to prepare these feasts for the benefit of those that have travelled from overseas is too much to ask. Maybe ... I've lived in Hawaii too long and have forgotten that it's an honour to be hospitable ha ha. **Participant 5***

*I didn't attend the last village reunion in 2009, but my parents rang me asking to send them money so that they are able to fulfil their sense of duty and obligation by preparing a feast. It is a concern for those families that don't have direct immediate families overseas where they can ask for help. What the village committee doesn't understand is that, they need to consider the financial backgrounds of these families and maybe look at other ways they could help them by either using money that was raised from previous reunions and give out to families in aid of their preparations of their feasts. But I guess if you look around you and watch the locals prepare the feasts, their sense of obligation fatongia - (duty and responsibility) as well as tauhi vā is done willingly and is not expected because they want to. There is an old Tongan saying: 'ko e Tonga mo'unga ki he lotu' that the mountain of Tonga is situated in the heart of a Tongan which cannot be demolished or destroyed by anyone (or anything). Tongan people are considered rich in terms of what lies in their heart and not by the materialistic things they possess. Therefore the heart ought to be like a mountain in the sense that you put your heart and everything into what you do! And that is what we do as Tongans; give it your all ha ha. **Participant 3***

This view is also consistent with the desire to maintain the ties and build new relationships with their friends and families which supports this idea of the mountain situated in the heart of a Tongan.

### The New Found 'Money/Rich'

The term 'new found money' or 'new found rich' (*kau tu 'umālie*) is being used as a general term to encapsulate the newly found wealth and educated groups that have emerged in Tonga. The common basis of their socio-political power is increasingly based on capital, credentials, expertise, and sometimes position in the state system (Lātū, 2006). The way in which the 'new money' is being classified differs from place to place and it is determined by the nature of the socio-political and economic landscape.

*My upbringing was very 'faka'ofa' (poor) we were one of many families that still lived in a traditional Tongan house (fale Tonga). We only had one room which was divided into two sections by large tapa screens. We couldn't afford electricity lighting; we always had to use kerosene lanterns. When I got a work permit visa to New Zealand, I knew then I was able to make a difference for my family. I worked long and hard in factories and saved up money. I was able to send money home to build our first European style family home. Now my brothers and sisters contribute and we have rebuilt our family home since 2002, it is now one of the most modern homes in Leimātu'a. Returning home now is comfortable, knowing that there will be running water and warm showers. **Participant 11***

As seen in more advanced and developed economies, the new found money/rich people have emerged from industrial and capitalist relationships between the bourgeoisie and the

professional middle classes, between the owners of capital and the possessors of managerial and technical skills (Robison and Goodman, 1996). In the case of Tonga, grouping the new found money/rich is straightforward because of their relatively small numbers. This study argues that the surfacing of the new found rich is a bonus or follow-on from one migrating overseas. At the time of the New Zealand 2006 census, 64 percent (16,041) of adult Tongans in New Zealand had a formal educational qualification, which was lower than for the total Pacific and New Zealand adult populations (65 percent and 75 percent, respectively). A higher proportion of Tongan women (67 percent) than men (60 percent) have a formal qualification. Furthermore, a higher proportion of New Zealand-born Tongans have a formal qualification (71 percent) than overseas-born Tongans (60 percent). These statistics highlight the overseas experience and education as a direct result of migration. Groups as such are consisted of those who are socially, economically and politically influential in social affairs (Lātū, 2006). The most common development has been the emergence of private entrepreneurs such as new capitalist farmers and private sector traders to small scale industrial capitalists, often entering into partnership with foreign investors (ibid).

In the result of migration this new social class can be grouped as global consumers whose lifestyles are more western influenced rather than Tongan (*anga faka-Tonga*). This is reflected in their lifestyles, the clothes they wear, the jobs they hold in the country of settlement, the food they eat, the schools their children attend, the people they associate with and the types of vehicles they own or drive around in. Language plays a vital role which distinguishes the new money type of people.

*Every time I return to Tonga, I feel like everyone is watching me..... Maybe it's because of the clothes I wear, the way I speak English people in the islands are always staring and immediately they think I have lots and lots of money. **Participant 10***

English is an international language used to communicate with people from around the world. Most Tongans merge both the Tongan and English language together and is practised in everyday conversations. This very notion highlights the impact of migration and travel flows. The majority of the new money community are either educated overseas or their children, often at times follow through what their parents have accomplished. For example, in Tonga children of those in the new found money community would often send their children to private English-speaking schools in Tonga.

I came across one of the local Tongan children during the reunion and had an interesting discussion with regards to her parents sending her to the main island of Tonga to live with her Aunt so that she was able to attend a private English-speaking school in Tonga. She spoke clear English and said if she had it any other way; she would rather discontinue with her studies in Tonga and return back to Vava'u. This may suggest the different perspectives of intergenerations with regards to receiving quality education.



## Concept of 'home' from second generation Tongans

The home serves as the training ground in Tongan values, beliefs and practices. The home is a Tongan community on a small scale, where the young learn respect for those in authority and hierarchical and religious structures are both promoted and enforced.

This section explores the ways in which second generation Tongan New Zealanders and Australians who were born and raised in New Zealand and Australia shape, reshape, define and redefine the concept of home by returning to Vava'u, Tonga as a visitor. This section particularly focusses on the experiences of those who did not feel a sense of belonging to Leimātu'a, Vava'u and instead felt like they belonged to New Zealand and Australia. The *talanoa* accounts with six participants indicated that returning visitors often "imagined" the connection to Vava'u, Leimātu'a through interactions with their immigrant parents and relatives, and such imaginations became the central motivation for them to return home and visit Vava'u and their village Leimātu'a. Nevertheless, the imagined ties to Leimātu'a were in many ways challenged through the actual encounter with the homeland. Consequently, returning home visitors acknowledged Vava'u, Leimātu'a as their "ancestral homeland", while distinguishing it from their "homeland". In its place, New Zealand and Australia became signified as their homeland because that is where they were born and raised. The following comments reinforced that very notion of second generation New Zealand and Australian born Tongans define the concept of "home":

*Tonga is more of a spiritual home to me, but home for my parents only. Otara in New Zealand is my 'home'. I was born and raised in New Zealand. **Participant 9***

*Vava'u is more of a cultural home.....hmmm Australia will always be home because that is where the majority of my family live, plus I have not known any other place or country to call home but Australia. **Participant 14***

*It's a challenge sometimes because my parents want us to be proud of where we are from (Tonga) yet they don't know us New Zealand born's would rather just ignore everything altogether. But there are times at school where I become a staunch believer that my homeland is Tonga but most of the time New Zealand is my home **Participant 17***

*I'm veiveiua (half and half) Hawaii is my homeland because I was born there! And Leimātu'a is the homeland which I identify myself as a Hawiian Leimātu'a Tongan! **Participant 14***

*Vava'u is home to my parents, but I don't see it being home for me but instead a vacation and holiday home. It's difficult because what I associate with and call home will always differ to my parents' generation....that is why my thinking will constantly clash with my parents ways of thinking. I guess it works in my favour sometimes...and sometimes it doesn't, and end up being called fie Pālangi (want to be European). **Participant 6***

The following participant stated that Auckland, New Zealand is her “homeland” because that is where she grew up and, therefore, has intensive lived experiences:

*Home is definitely Auckland because that is the place I associate myself with. I've been brought up there and all my friends and relatives live in Auckland. I went to Primary, Intermediate, and College there. I am more familiar with my surroundings in New Zealand. **Participant 7***

Among twelve participants who visited the main island of Tonga, five participants in this study visited Nuku‘alofa in the beginning or the end of their visit. Only one of them had relatives in Nuku‘alofa, and others did not have a direct connection to Nuku‘alofa. Their motivation and style of the visit resembled a conventional tourist visit rather than a returning home visit. Remaining participants stayed at hotels and enjoyed strolling through towns and shopping for souvenirs without visiting any friends or relatives. Nonetheless, participant 6 said that they felt more comfortable, and even a sense of being back at “home”, in Nuku‘alofa:

*I liked Nuku‘alofa, because it reminds me a bit of Auckland, it felt like more modernized, like everyone there was a tourist. Everyone there spoke enough English to get by. In Nuku‘alofa I could just travel by myself and walk around by myself and do what I wanted and speak English to people there, whereas in Leimātu‘a, no one really spoke English; it was frowned upon if you spoke English. Everyone spoke Tongan. **Participant 6***

Participant 7 recalled that, while she felt excluded in Vava‘u as a foreigner, she did not feel so in Nuku‘alofa:

*When I was in Nuku‘alofa, which is the capital of Tonga, I didn’t feel out of place at all. Nuku‘alofa’s hotels remind me a lot of Hawaii. There were a lot of similarities to me. I guess local people treated me differently as if I was one of the locals rather than a foreigner, whereas when I was in Leimātu‘a and parts of Vava‘u people treated me as an outsider rather than an insider!!! **Participant 7***

The *talanoa* process identified a couple of reasons why they felt more at “home” in Nuku‘alofa than in Vava‘u. One was service, food and amenities in Nuku‘alofa were somewhat similar to those back home. The other common reason was the language. As stated by participant

six, they could use English in Nuku‘alofa to communicate with the locals, instead of being criticized for not speaking Tongan. For those who needed to rely on their parents or relatives for translating, because of a language barrier in Vava‘u, Nuku‘alofa was the place where they could be independent and explore on their own.

The participants acknowledge the return visit was significant and different from mere conventional travel. The overall consensus described by the six participants was that the trip was as “fulfilling”, they relearnt the culture, met relatives for the first time and maintained a social spatial relationship with family and friends. They also acknowledged Vava‘u as their “cultural homeland” from where their family (grandparents and parents) originated from. Interestingly, one participant looked at home as a ‘burden’ and emotionally reflected in comparison to a hermit crab.

*What I have in comparison to a hermit crab is that, I carry home with me all the time. You can somewhat say I know enough to be a New Zealand born Tongan. In my studies in New Zealand and whatever I am doing, I not only have a duty to serve my family but the church and the Tongan communities. Home can be seen as a ‘burden’ because of all the expectations that are expected of you just because you’re Tongan.....***Participant 9**

Simultaneously the participants maintained that the cultural homeland is different from their own homeland as highlighted previously. Their “homeland”, according to them is New Zealand and Australia, because that is where they were born and raised. In actual fact, they confessed that nearing the end of their visit to Leimātu‘a, they wanted to “go back” home

overseas. In this sense, visiting Leimātu‘a was not a “homecoming”, while going back to New Zealand and Australia was. Alternatively, one participant stated that he certainly felt affinity to Leimātu‘a based on kinship. Visiting Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u made him realise that his homeland is without a doubt homeland to him, and it is where his loyalty lies:

*I feel that Leimātu‘a will always be my homeland. Visiting Tonga, Leimātu‘a consummated that longing. Even though Australia is where I was born and raised, Leimātu‘a still feels like my home because I find myself more comfortable here. If you would ask me where your homeland is, I’d say Leimātu‘a, Tonga. If Leimātu‘a, Tonga got into war, then without a doubt and no question about it I would fight for Leimātu‘a and not Tonga or Australia for that matter. **Participant 10***

The *talanoa* sessions indicated that the Tongan’s overseas in this study were constantly exposed to the Tongan culture in their everyday life with their immigrant parents, and such exposure triggered the desire to return back to their homeland. The imagined ties to Tonga then appeared to be one of many motivational aspects. For instance, all participants recalled that there was always some point in their life they had experienced or taken part in Tongan ceremonies and celebrations as well as church functions. Observing the practices allowed them, at least, to envision the relationships to their external homeland and foster the curiosity to their cultural background. One participant stated, “Seeing the culture from here (New Zealand), like from eyes over there but not actually being over there. It makes you feel like you want to go over there and join them.” The participants became interested in visiting Tonga through their immigrant parents’ and grandparents’ stories about their childhood.

*My initial reason (to visit Tonga) is my grandmother ... she would always talk about Tonga, how she grew up. So I always thought, you live overseas most of your life and what's so great about Tonga? You know! **Participant 3***

The other common motivation was visiting friends and relatives. All participants in this study visited their relatives during their visit back to the homeland. All the adults that took part in this study stated that seeing their relatives was their primary reason to visit Tonga, while others visited extended and distant relatives when they were touring around the island.

*My grandmother was over there, and I have a lot of relatives that I had never met nor seen in my life before .... So, I decided to go to Tonga and attend our village event. **Participant 15***

In many accounts of tourism, researchers have argued that modern tourists/visitors are inclined to travel and escape from the alienation in their everyday life (Cohen, 2004). The accounts of diaspora and their return visit in particular also emphasise that people in the diaspora are motivated to visit and return to their homeland and various difficulties involved in assimilation into the country of settlement (Lew and Wong 2005; Stephenson 2002). Some of the participants of this study were those who were born and raised overseas and thus did not directly experience dislocation and displacement from their homeland, as did the first generation. In addition, they had adopted more of the language and culture overseas in comparison to their immigrant parents. However, some participants, especially those that grew up in a neighbourhood with a small Tongan population, were conscious that they were nonetheless “different” from their white peers in terms of ethnicity and their culture and norms in their

family. The visit, then, was expected to be an opportunity to explore the origin of such differences and perhaps validate them.

*You live in a western culture, but you want to know more about your culture and why you are so different. I guess I am thankful that my parents forced me to come with them to the village reunion. **Participant 15***

One of the participants described that even prior to the visit she expected that visiting Tonga would be a distinct experience for her because she may “blend in” the local society owing to her physical characteristics as Tongan and family connections:

*(Before the visit) I was very aware that visiting Tonga would be very different from visiting any other foreign country .... In a sense that if I went there, people would look at me as if I was from there because I look like them, and because of the historical ties that my fāmili has with Tonga. So, I wanted to visit, in a way that was conscious of those linkages and connections between my family and I there (Tonga). **Participant 3***

Therefore, as Stephenson (2002) argues, the desire to visit the homeland is not merely based on an impulsive and spontaneous pursuit. Rather, it is a deliberate activity grounded in kinship, ancestors, ethnic histories and imaginary homeland.

### **Leimātu’a Village Reunion**

The 2012 village reunion managed to attract Tongan people from the village of Leimātu’a living overseas to return home. It was enjoyable to see how each family (the children in particular) behaved in different ways, according to the upbringing in the host nation they migrated to. What was entertaining during the reunion were the different varieties of English

spoken. Each set of families spoke with an accent of the countries they came from. The Australians talked with an Australian accent; the families from Hawaii spoke with an American English accent; New Zealanders spoke with a New Zealand accent; and those that lived in the main island of Tonga spoke Tongan with a tint of American. Despite the commonalities of being Tongan and understanding the Tongan culture and upbringing, each family and individual had adopted a “second culture” which they have been accustomed to in their host nation.

The findings indicate that the homeland for the second generation is considered to be one's birth home in association with attachment to the land and friends and relatives. Whereas the center is the place toward which one constructs positive memories and personal attachment but is not obligated to return. In the case of the second generation Tongans in this study, Tonga was named as none of the two. Rather, the participants identified Tonga as a cultural home or an ancestral, spiritual homeland where they are connected through their parents. Their motivation to return to visit the ancestral homeland has increased significantly due to the nature of the event they attended. At the same time, however, they did not necessarily express a strong sense of personal attachment to Tonga. Rather, through their stay in Tonga; the second generation participants from the following countries Australia, New Zealand and America, affirmed that these countries were home to them. Furthermore, Tongatapu emerged as a place where second generation participant's felt more at home due to the hotel facilities that were available as well as stores in town. Although they do not have any ancestral direct connections to Tongatapu, it became a surrogate home for some of the participants.



There are implications regarding the relationships between diaspora and their ancestral homelands in the context of globalisation. In the traditional view, the diasporic people are strongly associated with their ancestral homeland (Sheffer, 1986). The ancestral homeland is considered as the true home to which diasporic people and their descendants desire to return. In contrast, Cohen (1997) argues that the homeland is differently perceived depending on one's current location as well as the cultural, economic, and social conditions of the ancestral homeland country and the country of settlement. The findings of this study were consistent with the latter view. Through visiting Tonga, the second generation Tongans in this study acknowledged the historical linkages they have with Tonga, while they also realised that their homeland was New Zealand, Australia and America instead of Tonga, because of many differences in social expectation, cultural protocols between the countries. Even though the second generation Tongans in this study have the mobility to visit and be reconnected to the ancestral homeland, they still considered a sense of "home" in their country of birth. The country where they were born and raised, have family and friends, are familiar with the culture, have experiences and memories, hence where they belong.

### **My return 'Home'**

At the end of 2012, I decided to pursue post graduate studies and conduct field research work based on the village reunion *'foki ki 'api'* (returning home) that was held in Leimātu'a, Vava'u. Returning home after nearly 30 years was somewhat exciting yet scary. My younger sister Seini Niumoefanga Talakai accompanied me on our trip back to the homeland. Seini, at the time was 18 years old who was also struggling with the Tongan way of living (*anga faka-*

*Tonga*), she too felt the need to return back home (Tonga) to find her sense of identity and retain the culture she has battled with since growing up in New Zealand. The only downside was that for various reasons my husband and children could not come. Upon reflection I wished they had come because I felt as if only half of me was in Tonga, the feelings of anticipation and excitement of returning to my birth and homeland were immensely tempered by the absence of my little family.

Although I had been told extensively by my parents on what was deemed acceptable and what was not, nothing could prepare me for what I was about to experience. I couldn't believe that I was finally returning back to my 'roots' where I once was planted deep within the earth (*kelekele*) of Vava'u, my piece of paradise. That very afternoon, I remember meeting all my *kāinga* – relatives who were strangers and yet had names of my sister, brothers, cousins and other close relatives. Dinner was specially prepared by *kāinga*. We talked while we ate. There was *lū sipi* (taro leaves cooked with lamb pieces), '*ota ika* (raw fish), *vasua* (shellfish), *sapasui* (Chinese vermicelli – but Tongan style dish), *puaka* (traditional Tongan roasted pig) and the usual Tongan root vegetables of yams and taro. Often at times, I experienced culture shock, even though I only stayed for a couple of weeks. The food was different. The language was different. The way people thought was different. The realisation I had to adapt myself as a returning Tongan to the local cultural norm to survive culturally brought about my first major period of personal disorientation. During those moments I had experienced firsthand the reciprocation of families. These all came in all different forms such as bearing of food (cooked or raw), tapa cloths or woven mats, it was overwhelming to feel acknowledged and accepted by immediate as well as extended families. Returning home to Leimātu'a was truly a cultural experience I will

forever cherish. The vibrant presence of the local villagers was astounding, and served to captivate and influence the week-long event.

The Tongan concept of time was interesting at best. It's a concept that is slightly different from what is the 'perceived' notion of time in other places. Living in New Zealand trained me to be on time for everything. Matters required orderly planning and time was an important factor in this planning. In Tonga, the concept of time is bound by other factors. For example, there was a programme for the reunion. However, often times, the day would start an hour after the time stated on the programme. Furthermore, there would be changes to the programme at the drop of a hat. Rather than distract from the atmosphere of the reunion as a whole, such variations added to its success. Even though it required a bit of getting used to, by the end of the reunion, I was going with the flow and taking the 'Tongan time' in my stride. It was a great life experience.

I believe New Zealand-born Pacific Islanders should experience the life of their home countries. This will bring together all the uncertainty and confusion they often experience living in New Zealand. I truly believe that within a couple of weeks living in the home country, a person will know who they are and won't let anybody forget it!

My journey back to Leimātu'a consolidated the foundation my parents once instilled in me, my identity of being a Tongan born growing up and living in New Zealand. This journey helped me define and redefine who I am and came full circle nearing the end of my trip in

Tonga, it has been full of ownership of good and bad choices made along the way: it is the reconciliation of challenges to my perceived self-identity as a Tongan born living in New Zealand. It was important that I returned back to my homeland as it helped me understand and unravelled the associated constraints and misconceptions of being called a ‘coconut’ by New Zealanders and *fie pālangi* (adopting western practices) by ‘*kāinga*’. These lifelong experiences were endured with anticipation, bewilderment and perseverance. Returning back home has strengthened my understanding of my roles and responsibilities to my family, *kāinga*, and how the role of returning back home to my birth land plays a major role in reclaiming and maintaining my identity and social, cultural ties with family (*fāmili*) back home as well as the land (*fonua*). The shaping of who I am, growing up as a Pacific Islander in New Zealand, has been a journey towards me accepting who I am and acknowledging that the values and beliefs I hold are all life experiences borne into fruition by the people who have played a major influence in my life.

The findings of this study draw attention to privileging the voices of the Tongan diaspora as well as allowing their children to raise their concerns about *tauhi vā* upon returning back to Tonga to visit friends and relatives via the form of tourism which has enabled the Tongan diaspora to make connections and maintain socio spatial relations between home and Tongans living overseas. The findings also seek to construct a sense of “home” in Tonga among the participants who were second generation Tongans living overseas. As an alternative of Tonga, the country of birth has become and developed into their homeland. Revealing the dynamic and complex experience that contributes to the development of a deeper understanding of the process to form feelings of belonging and of not belonging among the Tongan diaspora from overseas.

Furthermore the meaning of *Tauhi vā* and its association with family, culture and land is rich in meaning as it's manifested in all ways of Tongan living (*anga faka-Tonga*) and movements of Tongan people around the world, there is the notion to *tauhi* the *vā* (maintaining and strengthening) of socio spatial relations of home and of those Tongans living overseas.

## CHAPTER SIX

### *‘Aofangatuku – Conclusion*

### *‘Ātō ē manu ki Tokū – The bird returns to Tokū*

**Figure 26: Leimātu‘a Village Reunion 2012**



**Source: [Photograph] Authors Collection 2012**

*“Oku tu‘u ‘a e motu ko ‘eni ko Tokū ki he fakatokelau ‘o Vava‘u, ‘a ia ‘oku lata ki ai ‘a e fanga manupuna, pea neongo ia ‘enau puna takai holo ki he ngaahi feitu‘u mama‘o ‘o ‘osi‘osi ta‘u ko e kumi mafua ka kuo pau pē ke nau foki ‘o mālōlō ki Tokū.*

*The inevitability of a traveller’s return to their home. The island of Tokū is situated to the north of the Vava‘u Island, the habitat of a good number of birds. These birds fly out and leave the island at a very young age, however no matter how far the distance*

*and the number of years that have passed, miraculously the birds always find their way back and return home to die or rest.*

The above Tongan proverb raises questions as to why there is a need to return home. No matter how far one has migrated overseas with each passing day, there is always a longing to return to one's ancestral homeland. This question is significant as it unravelled my interests in wanting to explore the idea of what *tauhi vā* meant to the Pacific diaspora and the perspectives of the intergenerational differences there may be between parents and their children, upon their return to visit their friends and relatives through tourism which is validated in this study to strengthen and maintain connections between 'home' and Tongans living overseas.

Tongan parents' migrant dream of wanting the best for their children is a universal concept that is often highlighted through struggles of resettling in another country. Not only is this the dreams of Tongan parents, it is also common in the dreams of other Pacific Islanders (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2003). Failing to remember or overlooking the reasons why our parents migrated overseas in the first place would mean to disregard and forget the migrant dreams our parents had for us. This notion is reinforced by Hau'ofa (2008) that perhaps as children there is a need to look to our past to find our answers which will then guide us for our future. Doing this would mean we are less likely to forget our parents' dreams and aspirations they have for us, as their children.

Pacific nations, including Tonga, have embraced the importance of maintaining and strengthening their identity not only through their ways of living, oral based culture, their

connection with the homeland, the movement of people, the various ranges of purpose of travel, motivation and in this case to return to the homeland to visit friends and relatives. Laskai (2013) supports this notion by stating that ‘strong cultural ties and a need for reconnection amongst VFR tourists [and] the urge for cultural preservation seemed to be stronger in the people’s spirits who live off shore and these bonds could be a permanent motivational factor for travel’ (2013, p. 87). VFR constitutes a major component of travel and tourism, one that is being significantly reshaped by changes in migration and movement flows, cultural shifts, transport and communication technologies. Visting Friends and Relatives is an expression of the relationship between tourism and diaspora communities. In this case, VFR is a medium which allows the movements of people (Tongans living overseas) to return home to maintain and strengthen their socio spatial ties with their kin and kin like members.

The research objectives of this study aims to make a significant contribution to the academic literature written on VFR travel and the cultural aspects associated with visitors traveling to visit friends and relatives, a component that is often neglected or ignored in tourism literature. In this case, the study focuses on Tongan nationals living overseas returning to visit their friends and relatives in Tonga. An objective of this study was to examine what *tauhi vā* might mean from the perspective of the Tongan diaspora and how upon returning home, visiting friends and relatives tourism may contribute to maintaining cultural relations between home and Tongans living overseas. It also sought to investigate the experiences and why Tongan migrants return to Vava‘u, Tonga to attend a specific cultural village event. Conducting research in the Pacific contributes towards building capacity and capability of Pacific researchers which nurtures our understanding of who we are as Pacific people of Oceania. This research is relevant



to the development of an autoethnographic understanding of relationships between migrants and home and how the mobility of such movements may contribute to sustaining these relationships. The study highlights the importance of such movements in maintaining or strengthening these socio spatial ties, because it allows Tongans living overseas to return home and reconnect, rebuild the relationships so that the ties are strengthened when they return back to their country of residence.

The study serves to privilege the Tongan migrant voices through their experiences that have shaped and given meaning to their return home visit. The reflexive 'I' plays a key role in expressing my personal journey returning home to visit friends and relatives as well as validating the personal observations made during the village event. The concept of *tauhi vā* is inclusive and collective, it enables Tongan people to maintain socio spatial relations with friends and relatives. *Tauhi vā* encompasses the following attributes: *‘ofa* which denotes love to some one, *māfana* which is the act of inward warmth that is felt when you get excited or feelings of emotional joy towards someone or something, *faka ‘apa ‘apa* which is respect and last but not least *toka ‘i* which is the process of acknowledgement. The study examined the different perspectives of what *tauhi vā* meant to the participants and raised discussions around relationships between migrants and home in ways other than remittances, and, as to how such movements may contribute to sustaining relationships and shaping the identities of Tongans living outside Tonga.

The findings of this study confirmed the unique nature and role of tourism and how it contributed in maintaining the socio spatial relations of Tongans living overseas with their kin

and kin like members in the homeland. The strengthening of these relations allowed people from the home to renew, build and reconnect with their families overseas. It is the elusive space that connects one person to another. Furthermore, the Tongan culture and way of living plays a vital role in maintaining the ties and relations as seen in *tauhi vā*.

The nature of this relationship is being recreated as a consequence of changes in migration, movement regimes, new internet communication and technological developments. Particularly with regards to longer traditional migration and return, it has now turned into short term sequential migration and movement, all of which contribute towards the needs and opportunities for VFR travel. Furthermore, visiting friends and relatives actually informs and encourages future migration, through the creation of ‘search spaces’ as well as the ability to create movement (Williams and Hall, 2002). Such visits offer the opportunity for building and renewing socio spatial relationships and strengthening social identities. Moreover, this study reinforces the idea about relationships between migrants and home in ways other than remittances, and to how such movements may contribute to sustaining relationships and shaping the identities of Pacific Islanders living outside the Pacific. With that being said, the cultural contribution which is revealed as a key motivator for travel should be taken into consideration as an important factor that may influence sustainable economic development in Tonga.

This thesis has explored the relationships between migrants and home within indigenous perspectives. The findings in this study confirmed the assumption that overseas countries such as Australia, New Zealand and the United States are homes for Tongan people in the diaspora.

Alternatively, it suggested that people born in the islands often saw Tonga as their home which explained why there was the yearning for home as it was a memory in one's past. This indicated that where you are born or raised can consequently shape the way one affiliates them with a particular time and space. It is our emotional attachments to our identities that determine whether we belong or not. Visits to friends and relatives create one of the driving forces or motivators of travel. Such visits offer opportunity for renewing one's trust, social bonding and social identities as well as their sense of obligation to their families. The village event allowed Tongans living overseas to return home to visit their friends and relatives and take part in the annual event. The village event allowed Tongans to practise what *tauhi vā* meant to them by building and maintaining socio spatial relationships, and also, nurturing our understanding of home when visiting friends and relatives.

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## Appendix A – Participant Information Sheet

### Participant Information Sheet



#### Date Information Sheet Produced:

18<sup>th</sup> September 2012

#### Project Title

*“Foki ki ‘Api”* – “Returning Home Tourism”: The case of Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u, Tonga

#### An Invitation

Mālō e lelei my name is Sio Ki he La‘ā Talakai-‘Alatini. I am currently studying for my Master’s degree in Tourism Studies at the Auckland University of Technology. I would like to warmly invite you to take part in a research project where your ideas, knowledge will give us better understanding of Tongan ideas about VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism in Tonga by using the specific event *‘Foki ki ‘Api’* (returning home) in the village of Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u as a case study to research aspects of cultural identity and VFR tourism. It is important that you read the following information carefully and please notify me if there is anything that you are not clear about. Participating in this research project is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Thank you for taking time out to read and consider the following information.

#### What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to examine VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism in Tonga by using the specific event *‘Foki ki ‘Api’* (Returning Home) in the village of Leimatu‘a, Vava‘u as a case study to research aspects of cultural identity and VFR tourism. *Talanoa* (dialogue and discussion) as an indigenous research methodology is used to investigate the links between specific cultural events at a village level and the diaspora of Tongan people around the world. This study will explore, how tourism can strengthen the economic and cultural ties between Tongan nationals living overseas and the importance of returning home to remain connected with the land (*fonua*), the Tongan way of living (*anga faka Tonga*). The findings of this research will be published in a thesis and may be used in presentations and publications within an academic or professional context.

### **How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?**

You heard about this research project through the announcement by the *foki ki 'api* Leimātu'a committee which you have volunteered to be one of the participants. Participants selected to participate in this study are purposely selected at the event. They are Tongan nationals living overseas or abroad, returning back to Leimātu'a to attend this village reunion. Your perspectives, views and knowledge are essential and highly valued in this research project.

### **What will happen in this research and its results?**

I will personally contact you for a suitable time to meet for a *talanoa* and therefore a time and venue will be arranged for a meeting to take place. All *talanoa* sessions and meetings will be audio taped and transcribed onto hard copy. Themes from the data will form the basis of the thesis. Results of this research project will be part of a thesis for Auckland University of Technology. A presentation of the final report will be presented in the next *foki ki 'api* reunion event, held in Leimātu'a, Vava'u, Tonga Islands in 2014. The material gathered may be used in future publications and conference presentations.

### **What are the discomforts and risks?**

There should be no discomforts or risks during the time of *talanoa* (discussions and dialogue) but possibly if the conversation may evoke responses which are emotional or distressed. The participants will have the rights to withdraw at any time; the participants will also encouraged to seek emotionally and culturally meaningful support.

### **What are the benefits?**

As a Tongan national living in New Zealand and conducting this field research, it has given me the opportunity to finally reconnect with my Tongan culture and heritage as well as connecting with *kāinga* (extended relatives and family) who are still living in Vava'u, Tonga. For Tourism it contributes to the vast knowledge that is already been established by many academics in the Tourism field. I will be adopting *talanoa* as a research methodology as I aim to investigate the links between specific cultural events at a village level and transnationalism of Tongan people around the world. This research is an exciting prospect especially as an indigenous research methodology is being employed and adds another dimension to the understanding of how tourism and cultural identity are inter-related. Also this research is part of a larger project investigation VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism in the South Pacific being undertaken by post-graduate students at the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute and will be beneficial from both a policy perspective and an industry perspective. With the completion of my thesis, I will be able to travel back to Tonga, Vava'u, to the Leimātu'a village and give a summary



presentation of the final results of research project, this way I am able to give back to the community as a gift (*me'a 'ofa*) for their support and help with my research project.

### **How will my privacy be protected?**

I will respect the rights of the participants and protect the knowledge gained from this research which means that no personal details or information will be divulged. Appropriate protocols and Tongan cultural values will be inclusive, protected and respected at all times. The participant's interests, qualities, and rights will also be respected and protected, as well as using appropriate Tongan language to conduct our *talanoa* sessions. The information given by the participants will be collected and used in the findings for this research. All information that will be collected from our *talanoa* for this research will be kept strictly confidential. In consideration of the level of confidentiality that can be offered to participants and given the context of the research, limited confidentiality only can be offered.

### **What are the costs of participating in this research?**

There will be no financial costs in participating in this research project. However refreshment will be provided for participants depending on the time and place of the *talanoa* and a gift (*me'a 'ofa*) will be presented to participants at the conclusion of our *talanoa* meeting.

### **How do I agree to participate in this research?**

Taking part in this research project is entirely voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not you want to take part in this project. If you do decide to participate in this research project you will be given this information sheet and you will be asked to sign a consent form. *Talanoa* sessions, venue, and time will be arranged to suit participant's availability. Perspectives and information collected from these meetings will be recorded by audio tape so the information gathered is accurately recorded. There are no structured questions in *talanoa* however there will be subheadings and topics to drive our discussions. The Tongan language will be used during the *talanoa* sessions, unless participants requests that *talanoa* session is conducted in the English language.

### **Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?**

Yes – participants may receive a summary of the final report of this research or may wish to attend the *foki ki 'api* event in 2014 held in Leimātu'a and attend presentation of the final report of this research which will be available to the village as a whole.

### Participant concerns about research?

In the first instance you can contact me otherwise you can contact my supervisor Dr. Hamish Bremner – Postgraduate Programme Leader for the School of Tourism and Hospitality at Auckland University of Technology.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Dr Rosemary Godbold, [rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz](mailto:rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz) , 921 9999 ext 6902.

### Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

<b>Researcher:</b>	Sio Ki he la‘ā Talakai-‘Alatini
<b>Contact Details, email:</b>	<a href="mailto:Sio.Alatini@gmail.com">Sio.Alatini@gmail.com</a>
<b>Mobile:</b>	02102853009
<b>Project Supervisor:</b>	Dr Hamish Bremner
<b>Contact Details, email:</b>	<a href="mailto:Hamish.Bremner@aut.ac.nz">Hamish.Bremner@aut.ac.nz</a>

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEK Reference number *type the reference number*.

## Appendix B – Ngaahi Fakamatala Ma’a e Tokotaha Mau’u’anga Fakamatala

### **Ngaahi Fakamatala Ma’a e Tokotaha Ma’u’anga Fakamatala**



**‘Aho :**

18<sup>th</sup> September 2012

**Kaveinga ‘o e Fakatotolo:**

“Foki Ki ‘Api” - Ko e Foki Ki ‘Api Fakatakimamata: Ko e fakatotolo ‘i he kolo ko Leimātu’a, Vava’u Tonga

**Talateu mo e Fakaafe:**

Mālō e lelei ko hoku hinga ko Sio Ki He La‘ā Talakai – ‘Alatini. ‘Oku ou lolotonga ako ki hoku faka‘ilonga Masters ‘i he tafa‘aki Ako ki he Folau‘eve‘eva ‘i he ‘Univēsi Fakatekinolosia ‘a ‘Aokalani, Nu‘usila. ‘Oku ou loto fiefia ke fakaafe‘i koe ke ke kau mai ki he fakatotolo’ ni ‘a ia ‘e hoko ho‘o ngaahi fakakaukau mo ho‘o ngaahi ‘ilo ke ne paotoloaki ‘a e mahino felāve‘i pea mo e folau ‘eve‘eva mai ki he ngaahi fāmili mo e maheni ‘i Tonga’ ni ‘i he sio fakalukufua mei he takimamata mo e folau‘eve‘eva. ‘Oku uho mo fakatefito ‘a e fakatotolo’ ni ‘i he polokalama “Foki Ki ‘Api” ‘a e kolo ko Leimātu’a ‘i Vava’u ‘a ia ko e polokalama fakakolo ki hono uki e ngaahi fāmili ‘oku nau nofo muli ke toe fai ha foki ki honau tupu‘anga ‘i he ngaahi ‘uhinga kehekehe tautau tefito ki he ngaahi ‘uhinga fakakolo mo fakafonua.

‘Oku mahu‘inga ke ke lau tokanga ‘aupito ‘a e ngaahi fakamatala’ ni pea ke fetu‘utaki mai kapau ‘oku ‘i ai ha ngaahi me‘a ke toe fakama‘ala‘ala. Ko e kau mai ki he fakatotolo’ ni ‘oku makatu‘unga ‘ata‘ataa pe ia ‘i ho‘o fie tokoni mo e fie kau mai ki he poloseki’ ni. Fakamālō atu ki ho taimi ke ke lau ai e ngaahi fakamatala’ ni.

### **Ko e hā ‘a e Kaveinga ‘o e fakatotolo?**

Ko e kaveinga ‘o e fakatotolo’ ni ko hano sivilisi‘i mo ‘analaiso ‘o e folau ‘eve‘eva ‘a e kāinga Tonga nofo muli’ ki he ngaahi maheni mo e fāmili ‘i Tonga’. ‘Oku fakatefito ‘a e ‘analaiso’ ni ‘i he polokalama fakakolo ‘oku ui ko e “Foki ki ‘Api” ‘a e kolo ko Leimātu‘a ‘i Vava‘u, ‘i he‘ene felāve‘i pea mo e ngaahi ‘ulungaanga fakakolo pe fakafonua tu‘ulua pe ko ha feinga ki hano fakatolonga. Te u ngāue‘aki ‘a e “Talanoa” (dialogue and discussion) ko ha me‘angāue tukufakaholo ki hono ‘analaiso ‘a e fehokotaki ‘a e ngaahi tefito‘i ‘ulungaanga tukufakaholo fakakolo makehe pea pehē ki he fetukutuku atu hotau kāinga’ ki he ngaahi fonua muli.

‘E ho‘atā mei he fakatotolo’ ni ‘a e anga hono fakatupulekina ‘e he folau‘eve‘eva ‘a e ivi mo e mālohi ‘o e ‘ekonomika pea pehē ki he ngaahi fehokotaki fakatukufakaholo, ‘i he‘ene felāve‘i pea mo e tu‘unga fakalukufua ‘o e nofo muli’ pea mo e mahu‘inga ‘o e foki ki ‘api ki he “Fonua” tupu‘anga. Ko e ola ‘o e fekumi ko ‘eni, ‘e pulusi ia ‘i ha tohi fekumi fakaako (thesis) pe ko hano ngāue‘aki ki ha ngaahi ngāue, lea, fa‘u tohi ‘o fakatefito ‘i he polokalama fakaako pe fakapolōfesinale’.

### **Founga hono fili au mo hono fakaafe‘i ke u kau ‘i he fakatotolo ko ‘eni.**

Na‘a’ ku fanongo ‘i he fakatotolo ko ‘eni ‘i hono fakamafola ‘e he kōmiti ‘oku nau fokotu‘utu‘u ‘a e *‘foki ki ‘api’* ‘a Leimātu‘a pea na‘a’ ku loto lelei mo fiemālie ke u kau atu ki ai. ‘Oku mahino kiate au ko e tangata‘ifonua Tonga au ‘oku ou nofo muli’ ka ‘oku ou kau atu ki he polokalama “Foki Ki ‘Api” ‘a Leimātu‘a. Ko ho‘o ngaahi fakakaukau ‘oku fu‘u mahu‘inga ‘aupito ia ki he fekumi ko ‘eni’, tuku kehe ange ‘a ‘eku hounga‘ia ‘i ho‘o kau mai.

### **Ko e founga ‘o e fakatotolo pea mo hono ola**

Te u fetu‘utaki fakafo‘ituitui atu ki ha faingamālie ke ta fepōtalanoa‘aki ai ‘a ia ‘e lava ke fokotu‘utu‘u ai ha taimi mo ha feitu‘u ki ha fakataha hoko mai. Ko e fakataha mo e talanoa kotoa pē kuo pau ke hiki tatau hono ‘ata pea mo e ongo ‘i ha me‘a hikitatau faka‘elekitulōnika. Ko e ngaahi kaveinga mei he ngaahi fakamatala ko ‘eni’ te ne fakava‘e ‘a e tohi fakatotolo te u fa‘u ‘i he kaha‘u’. Ko e ola ‘o e fakatotolo ko ‘eni’ ko e kongia ia ‘o e tohi fakatotolo ma’a e ‘Univesiti Fakatekinolosia ‘o ‘Aokalani. Ko e lipooti ‘aofangatuku ‘o e ola ‘o e fakatotolo’ ni, ‘e fakahā mo talaki ia ‘i he polokalama *‘foki ki ‘api’* 2014 ‘i Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u, Tonga. ‘E lava ke ngāue‘aki foki e ola ‘o e fakatotolo’ ni ki hano fa‘u ha tohi pe ki ha talanoa ‘i ha ngaahi konifelēnisi fakaako ‘i he kaha‘u’.

### **Ko e Ngaahi Fakafe‘ātungia pe Palopalema**

‘Oku ‘ikai ke totonu ke ‘i ai ha palopalema pe ha fakafe‘ātungia lolotonga ‘a e ngaahi fepōtalanoa‘aki ‘e fakahoko, ka ‘oku malava pē ke mapuna hake ha ngaahi lelei fakaeloto lolotonga ‘a e talanoa. ‘Oku ‘i ai ‘eku totonu ke u holomui mei ha hoko atu ‘o ha toe talanoa pē faka‘eke‘eke. ‘Oku mahu‘inga ke fai ha kumi fale‘i ki ha kakai taukei mo e ngaahi me‘a pehe’ ni.

### **Ko e Ngaahi Ola Lelei ‘e ma‘u’.**

‘I he ‘uhinga ko e fefine‘i fonua Tonga au ‘oku ou fokoutua ‘i ‘Aokalani, Nu‘usila, ‘oku malava ‘e he fekumi ko ‘eni’ ke ne ‘omai ha faingamālie ke toe fakafehokotaki au pea mo hoku tukufakaholo pea mo e angafakafonua faka-Tonga. Pea pehē ki hoku kāinga ‘oku nau kei mo‘ui mo nofo ‘i Vava‘u. Kuo tokolahi ha kau mataotao faka‘ekatemika kuo nau talanga‘i ‘a e folau ‘eve‘eva mo hono ngaahi fehokotaki kehekehe. Kae kehe, te u ngāue‘aki ‘a e me‘angāue fakatotoalo fakaako ko e ‘ki‘i ‘talanoa’ ki hano ‘analaiso ‘a e ngaahi tō‘onga fakakolo makehe pea mo hono fa‘ahinga māfana tukufakaholo ‘i he lēvolo fakakolo mo fakavahefonua ‘i he ngaahi feitu‘u kehekehe ‘o māmani ‘oku nau nofo ai. ‘Oku ta‘imālie ‘a e fakatotoalo’ ni tautau tefito ki hono fakakau mai ha me‘angāue fakatukufakaholo ki hono ‘analaiso mo huluhulu e fekumi ‘oku fai’, tautau tefito ki hono mahino‘i ‘a e fekuki ‘a e takimamata pea mo e angafakafonua tukufakaholo. Ko e fakatotoalo’ ni foki ko e kongia ia ‘o ha fakatotoalo lahi ki he folau ‘eve‘eva ‘a e Pasifiki Saute ‘oku lolotonga fakahoko ‘e ha tokotaha mei he Va‘a Fakatotoalo Fakatakimamata ‘a Nu‘usila. ‘I he ‘uhinga ko ia’, ‘e ‘i ai e ngaahi ola lelei fakafokotu‘utu‘u ngāue pea mo ha sio fakangāue ki he kaha‘u.

‘I ha kakato ‘a e fakatotoalo mo e fekumi ‘oku fai’, ‘oku ou faka‘amu ke u foki ki Tonga, Vava‘u pea mo e kolo ko ia ko Leimātu‘a ke fakahā mo fakahoko ‘a e to‘oto‘o me‘a lalahi ‘o e ola e fekumi ne fakahoko. Ko e taha foki eni ‘eku me‘a’ofa ki he kāinga ‘o Fotu, ko e fakahounga e tokoni mo e fakalotolahi ne nau fai mai lolotonga e vaa‘i taimi ne mau fengāue‘aki ai ‘i he fakatotoalo’ ni.

### **Ko hono malu'i 'eku totonu fakafo'ituitui**

Kuo pau ke u (tokotaha fakatoto) faka'apa'apa'i 'a e totonu fakafo'ituitui 'a e Tokotaha Ma'u'anga Fakamatala (informants) kotoa pē 'aki hono malu'i 'enau ngaahi lekooti fakamatala fakataautaha 'oku ou tauhi mei ha'ane mama kitu'a 'i ha 'uhinga 'oku 'ikai fenaapaasi mo e taumu'a 'o e fakatoto' ni. Kuo pau ke u ngāue'aki ha founa fakapotopoto hono malu'i e ngaahi totonu fakataautaha' ni pea pehē ki hono faka'apa'apa'i e totonu mo e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga 'i he taimi kotoa. Ko e ngaahi faka'amu, kakano, mo e totonu 'a e tokotaha ma'u'anga fakamatala, kuo pau ke faka'apa'apa'i he taimi kotoa. 'E fakahoko e fakatoto 'i he lea faka-Tonga' pea pehē ki hano filifili ha ngaahi lea Tonga fe'unga mo faka'apa'apa ke fakahoko'aki e fepōtalanoa'aki. Ko e ngaahi fakamatala kotoa pē te u tātaki lolotonga e fakatoto' ni, kuo pau ke tauhi malu ia he taimi kotoa pē. He 'ikai ngofua ke u ngāue'aki ha fakamatala 'a ha tokotaha, lolotonga e fakatoto' ni, ta'ema'u ha mafai mei he tokotaha totonu 'oku ha'ana e fakaikiiki mo e fakamatala.

### **Ko e Ngaahi Kavenga Fakapa'anga ki he kau Ma'u'anga Fakamatala**

'Oku 'ikai ha pa'anga ke totongi atu ki he kau ma'u'anga fakamatala 'i he fakatoto ko 'eni'. 'Oku ou 'amanaki pē te u lava ke tokoni'i ha ki'i fakaneifua ma'ama'a pē lolotonga e ngaahi fepōtalanoa'aki, pehē foki ki ha fanga ki'i me'a'ofa ma'ama'a pē 'i he 'aofangatuku 'o e fepōtalanoa'aki ko e fakahā pē 'eku hounga'ia he tokoni kuo fai ka 'oku 'ikai ko ha fatongia ia kuo pau ke u fakahoko.

### **Ko e anga 'eku loto ke u kau ki he fakatoto**

Ko e kau ki he fakatoto' ni ko e fili tau'atāina pe ia 'a e tokotaha ma'u'anga fakamatala 'o 'ikai ha totongi pea 'oku toe tau'atāina pē foki ia ke holomui mei ai. 'I ha'o fakapapau'i te ke kau ki he fakatoto ko 'eni', kuo pau ke ke lau 'a e foomu *Ngaahi Fakamatala Ma'a e tokotaha Ma'u'anga Fakamatala* pea fakamo'oni foki he foomu *Fakamo'oni 'a e tokotaha Ma'u'anga Fakamatala ki he Fakatoto Fakaako*. 'Oku' ke loto lelei ke ke kau ki he fakatoto. Ko e taimi mo e feitu'u 'e fai ai e talanoa' 'e fakatefito ia he faingamālie 'a e tokotaha ma'u'anga fakamatala. Ko e talanoa kotoa pē mo hono ngaahi kaveinga', kuo pau ke lekooti totonu ia 'o tatau 'i he 'ata mo e ongo. 'Oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha fokotu'utu'u fehu'i pau 'o e talanoa 'e fakahoko ke muimui pau ki ai' ka 'oku 'i ai pē ngaahi vahevahe lalahi pe kaveinga ke ne tataki e talanoa. 'E fai e talanoa 'i he lea faka-Tonga' tuku kehe ka 'o ka fai ha felotoi ke fai 'i he lea fakapapālangi.

### **Te mau lava ke sio pe fanongo ki he ola ‘o e fakatotolo ‘i he kaha‘u?**

‘Io, ‘oku fai e fokotu‘utu‘u mo e palani ke u toe foki mai he polokalama tataui ‘o e 2015 ke ‘oatu e to‘oto‘o me‘a lalahi ‘o e ola e fakatotolo ke mou fanongo mo mamata ki ai.

### **Taala‘a pe Hoha‘a fekau‘aki mo e fakatotolo‘ ni**

‘Oku ‘i ai e faingamālie ke ke fetu‘utaki mai kiate au pe ko ‘eku supavaisa, Dr. Hamish Bremner, ko e ‘ulu ia ‘i he Polokalama Ako Takimamata mo e Talitali kakai ‘a e Univēsiiti Fakatekinolosia ‘a ‘Aokalani. Ki ha‘o taala‘a pe fehu‘ia e founa hono tataki e fakatotolo‘ ni, ‘oku totonu ke ke fetu‘utaki ki he sekelitali pule ‘o e, AUTEK, Dr Rosemary Godbold, [rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz](mailto:rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz), 921 9999 ext 6902.

### **Ngaahi Fakamatala makehe pe fakaikiiki fekau‘aki mo e fakatotolo‘ ni.**

Kataki ‘o fetu‘utaki ki ha taha ‘o e ongo fakafofonga ‘oku hā atu ‘i lalo‘.

<b>Tokotaha Fakatotolo:</b>	Sio Ki he La‘ā
Talakai-‘Alatini	
<b>Contact Detail – email:</b>	<a href="mailto:Sio.Alatini@gmail.com">Sio.Alatini@gmail.com</a>
<b>Mobile:</b>	02102853009
<b>Supavaisa ‘o e Poloseki:</b>	Dr Hamish Bremner
<b>Contact Details, email:</b>	<a href="mailto:Hamish.Bremner@aut.ac.nz">Hamish.Bremner@aut.ac.nz</a>

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEK Reference number *type the reference number*.

## Appendix C – Consent to Participation to Research

### Consent to Participation to Research



**Project title:** A case study in Leimātu‘a, Vava‘u, Tonga: “Foki ki ‘Api” – “Returning Home Tourism”

**Project supervisor:** Dr Hamish Bremner – Postgraduate Programme Leader & Senior Lecturer at the School of Tourism and Hospitality.

**Researcher:** Sio Ki he La‘ā Talakai-‘Alatini

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about the research project.
- ☐ I have had the opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that the information that I will be given will be collected and gathered for future report.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I understand that participant’s names will be kept confidential at all times.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this interview at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ I understand that I can view the researchers report if I may wish to.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research
- ☐ I agree to the future use of the findings of this research in publications and presentations within an academic context



Tick one: Yes

☐

No

☐

O I wish to attend 2014 'foki ki 'api' village event to be present at the presentation of the research findings.

Tick one: Yes

☐

No

☐

Participant's

signature:

.....

Participant's

name:

.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

.....

Date:

*Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTC  
Reference number type the AUTC reference number*

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

### Terminology

Fakatotolo/Poloseki -	Research
'Foki ki 'Api -	Return Home
Fehokotaki -	Relationships
Fefolau'aki -	Travel
Takimamata -	Tourism

Ma‘u‘anga Fakamatala -	Informant
Fakamatala -	Information
‘Elekitulōnika -	Electronic
Polokalama -	Programme
Lekooti -	Record

## Appendix D – Fakamo‘oni ‘a e tokotaha Ma‘u‘anga Fakamatala ki he Fakatotolo Faka-ako

### **Fakamo‘oni ‘a e tokotaha Ma‘u‘anga Fakamatala ki he Fakatotolo Faka- ako**



**Hingoa ‘o e Poloseki/Fakatotolo:** “Foki Ki ‘Api” – Ko e fehokotaki ‘a e Foki Ki ‘Api’ pea mo e Fefolau‘aki mo e Takimamata’.

**Kau Supavaisa:** - Dr. Hamish Bremmer – School of Tourism and Hospitality - Professor Peggy Fairbairn Dunlop – Faculty of Culture and Society.

**Tokotaha ‘oku’ ne tataki e fekumi mo e fakatotolo:** Mrs. Sio Ki he La‘ā Talakai-‘Alatini

- O Kuo’ u ‘osi lau mo mahino’i ‘a e ngaahi fakamatala kotoa pē fekau‘aki mo e poloseki/fakatotolo ko ‘eni’.
- O Na‘a’ ku ma‘u ‘a e faingamālie mo e taimi fe‘unga ke u fai ha ngaahi fehu‘i pea mo tali mai foki ‘a e ngaahi fehu‘i ko ia ‘e he tokotaha fakatotolo.
- O ‘Oku mahino kiate au ko e ngaahi fakamatala kotoa pē te u fai’, ‘e tānaki pea ‘e faka‘aonga’i ia ki hano fa‘u ha lipooti ‘i he kaha‘u.
- O ‘I ha ‘ikai te u loto ke hoko atu ‘eku hoko ko e tokotaha ma‘u‘anga fakamatala ki he poloseki’ ni, ko e lekooti fakamatala kotoa pē felāve‘i kakato pe konga mo au, kuo pau ke faka‘auha. ‘Oku kau heni e ngaahi fakamatala ne lekooti tohi, pe fa‘ahinga lekooti faka’elekitulōnika.
- O ‘Oku mahino kiate au ko hoku hingoa kuo pau ke mātu‘aki malu mo fakapotopoto ‘aupito hono ngāue‘aki ‘i he fakatotolo’ ni ‘i he taimi kotoa pē.
- O ‘Oku mahino kiate au ‘oku malava ke u fakafisi pe fakafisinga’i ha fakamatala kuo’ u ‘oatu he fakatotolo’ ni ‘o ‘ikai hano ola pe nunu‘a kovi kiate au ‘i ha fa‘ahinga tafa‘aki.
- O ‘Oku mahino kiate au ‘e malava ke u sio ki he lipooti ‘a e tokotaha fakatotolo ‘o kapau te u fiema‘u.

- O 'Oku ou loto lelei mo fiemālie ke u hoko ko e tokotaha ma'u'anga fakamatala ki he fakatotolo' ni.
- O 'Oku ou loto lelei mo fiemālie ki hano ngāue'aki e ngaahi fakamatala' ni ki hano pulusi ha tohi/ngaahi tohi pea mo ha fa'ahinga ngāue fakaako pē.

**Tiki pē taha:** 'Io ☐ 'Ikai ☐

- O 'Oku ou faka'amu ke u kau atu ki he Polokalama "Foki Ki 'Api" fakakolo 'o e 2015 pea ke u kau fakataha hono fakamā'opo'opo mo fakahoko mai 'o e ola 'o e fakatotolo' ni.

**Tiki pē taha:** 'Io ☐ 'Ikai ☐

Fakamo'oni	Hingoa	Tokotaha	Ma'u'anga	Fakamatala:
.....				
Hingoa	'o	e	Tokotaha	Ma'u'anga
Fakamatala:				
.....				

Founga ke lava fetu'utaki ai mo e Tokotaha Ma'u'anga Fakamatala kapau 'oku faingamālie:

Telefoni: .....

.....

Tu'asila:

.....

.....

.....

.....

→'Aho: .....

*Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTC  
Reference number type the AUTC reference number*

**Manatu'i:** 'Oku totonu ke 'oange 'a e tatau 'e taha 'a e Tokotaha Ma'u'anga Fakamatala.

### Terminology

Fakatotolo/Poloseki - Research

'Foki ki 'Api - Return Home

Fehokotaki -	Relationships/Connections
Fefolau‘aki -	Travel
Takimamata -	Tourism
Fakamatala -	Information
‘Elekitulōnika -	Electronic
Lekooti -	Record
Ma‘u‘anga Fakamatala -	Informant
Polokalama -	Programme

## Appendix 1: The tales and Meaning of the Tongan name Leimātu'a

### *The Tales and Meanings of the Tongan name LEIMĀTU'A*

**Lei** – Whale Tooth. It is said to be one of the most precious good in ancient Tonga. It is also taken as a symbol of being rich, brave and successful in society.

**Mātu'a** – Refers to a couple, a man with his female wife. It also refers to two or more men being identified and considered together for social, political, economic or cultural importance, achievement, class or obligation by higher authority both in local and regional level.

There are two versions of the Folk Tale (tala) of Leimātu'a.

#### **First Version**

When Tafua'ahau (King Tupou I) slowly conquered the whole of Tonga in his attempt to unify the country, one of the strongest remaining oppositions was from 'Ulukālala Feletoa (the King of Vava'u) who centered at the village of Feletoa (a village located in central Vava'u). The land which is now called Leimātu'a was also owned by 'Ulukālala. Unfortunately, Tafua'ahau's success was inevitable in terms of war and politics all over Tonga. Tafua'ahau, however, asked 'Ulukālala for a piece of land in Vava'u. As a sign of 'Ulukālala conceding his power to the new warrior of Tonga, he accepted the plea and told Tafua'ahau that he will confine his estate to Feletoa and the rest of the lands belonging to him including the estate that is now known as Leimātu'a. Please refer to figure XX a map of Vava'u highlighting the boundaries and distance between Leimātu'a and Feletoa.

When Tafua'ahau first visited his new estate in Vava'u (a village next to Feletoa to the south) the people warmly welcomed him. As a token of respect, he was presented with Tongan traditional goods including pig, tapa, kava, lei and yam under the guidance of two prominent men whom they referred to as the leaders or elders (mātu'a tauhifonua) of the village. Unexpectedly, he was curious about the Lei due to its massive importance. He was told that they are whale's teeth that belong to the two elders of the village being presented as a sign of love, respect and appreciation. Consequently, at the end of the welcome ceremony, Tafua'ahau announced that the

village will be called *Leimātu'a* which literally referring to the presentation of **Lei** by the village *mātu'a* or elders.

#### *The Tale and Meaning of the Tongan name LEIMĀTU'A*

##### **Second Version**

*Beauty was one of the competitive qualities and values in ancient Tonga where some of young men were nationally known for their beauty and being attracted by women all over the country. They were called Māna'ia. Leimātu'a, however, had a well-known Māna'ia name LEPUHĀ and his residence was called HILA-KI-TAPANA in Leimātu'a.*

*The story in the first version of Leimātu'a is still the same here but Leimātu'a as a point of reference shift from emphasising the presentation of the Lei (as a precious and important pearl) to the king by the elders of the village to Lepuhā as the Lei himself being brought up by the elders of the village. Lepuhā was the most popular and important property of the village. Therefore Lei in this context refers to the beauty and popularity of Lepuhā in the art of womanizing in Tonga.*

## Appendix 2: Ko e tala mo e ‘uhinga ‘o e hingoa Leimātu‘a

*Ko e tala mo e ‘uhinga ‘o e hingoa leimātu‘a*

### **‘Oku ua ‘o e tala ‘uluaki**

*‘Oku pehē ko e ‘uhinga na‘e ui ai ko Leimātu‘a. Ko e fakahingoa ‘ehe Tu‘i (Tupou I) pea ko e ‘uhinga ‘o e hingoa Ko e LEI ko e nifo‘i tofua‘a . MĀTU‘A = Ongo mātu‘a – ‘oku pehē na‘e ma‘u kotoa ‘e ‘Ulukālala ‘a Feletoa ‘o lele mai ai ‘o a‘u ki he tu‘aliku Leimātu‘a. Pea folofola atu ‘a e Tu‘i (Tupou I) kia ‘Ulukālala ke ‘omi ha ki‘i ‘api ‘i hono tofi‘a ko e tukuhua he sio ki he lahi ‘o e kanofonua kuo ‘i he Tu‘i Vava‘u (‘Ulukālala) pea tali atu ‘e he Tu‘i Vava‘u kia Tupou I ko ho‘o to e kole mai ko ho fonua ko ‘eku tauhi pe fonua ‘o e feitu‘u’ na. Pea to e pehē ‘Ulukālala ‘oku sai te u ngata pē he matapā ko fatungakoa ko e toenga’ ko e feitu‘u’ na. Na‘e ‘uhinga ia ne ma‘u ai ‘e Tupou I ‘a Leimātu‘a.*

*Pea ko e fuofua taimi ne ‘a‘ahi ai ‘a e Tu‘i’ ki hono kelekele na‘e ‘i ai e ongo mātu‘a na‘a’ na tauhi ‘a e kelekele’ pea ko e taimi ne fakatu‘uta ai ‘ena hā‘unga ko e puaka toho mo e kape, ‘ufi, kava, nifo‘i tofua‘a (LEI) pea ko e fehu‘i atu ‘e he Tu‘i’ pe ko e hā ‘a e nifo (Hui lalahi ko ē) pea pehē atu ‘e he matāpule, ko e nifo‘i tofua‘a pē LEI ‘a e ongo mātu‘a’ pea folofola ‘e he Tu‘i ‘e ui ‘a e kelekele’ ni (‘api) hoku ‘api ko e lei-‘a e – ongo mātu‘a’ ko e ‘uhinga ko e ‘osi ki a velenga – ko ‘ena koloa mahu‘inga taha pē ‘oku na ma‘u kuo luva ia ke foaki hona fatongia (foaki lī‘oa) pea ko e ‘uhinga ia ‘o e hingoa Leimātu‘a.*

*Na‘e hokohoko mai ai pē ‘a e nofo’ pea ko e taimi ne fakanofo ai ‘a ‘Aisea Fotu ke ne tauhi ‘a e kelekele ‘o e Tu‘i’ pea hoko ai ki he hingoa matāpule ma‘u tofi‘a ko e Fotu pea motuhi mo foaki ‘osi ai pē ‘a e kelekele ki he hingoa ma‘u tofi‘a ko ho tofi‘a, pea ko e Fotu’ ko e matapule pē ‘a e Tu‘i Kanokupolu mei he fale Ha‘a Kili.*



***Ko hono ua ‘o e ‘uhinga:***

*Ko e Leimātu ‘a ko e ‘uhinga kia LEPUHĀ māna ‘ia. Na ‘e ‘i ai ‘a e ongo mātu ‘a na ‘a’ na ohi mo tauhi ‘a Lepuhā. Manatu ‘i na ‘a tau lave ‘ane nai ‘i he ‘uluaki ‘uhinga ‘o e Leimātu ‘a na ‘e sio ki he lei (nifo ‘i tofua ‘a) ko e koula ia ‘i he ‘aho ko ia ka ma ‘u ‘e ha taha. Pea ko e ongo mātu ‘a ko ia na ‘a’ na ohi ‘a lepuhā na ‘e ui hona ‘api ko Hila-Ki-Tapana. ‘Oku kamata mei ai e ‘uhila ko e ‘uhinga kia lepuhā pea manatu ‘i ko e taimi ‘eni ki mu ‘a atu, pea ‘i he taimi ne nofo ‘i ai ‘a e kolo na ‘e pau ke fakahingoa ‘aki ‘a e kolo ‘a e Lei-‘ae-ongo mātu ‘a’ ko e ‘uhinga kia lepuhā mo hono fu ‘u talavou mo ‘ene lava me ‘a. Ko e Lei ‘a e ongo mātu ‘a’ (Koula) ‘oku ‘i ai foki mo e talanoa mālīe ki he tamasi ‘i ko lepuhā mo hono tupu ‘anga mo hono tupu ‘anga ka te tau ngata pē he ‘uhinga ‘o e hingoa Leimātu ‘a he ko e kuonga lotu ‘eni.*

*Ko e ki ‘i lave nounou pē ‘eni ki he ‘uhinga ‘o e hingoa Leimātu ‘a.*

*Pea ‘oku fakatoungāue ‘aki pē ongo talanoa.*

## Appendix 3: VFR disaggregation: Differences between VFs, VRs and VFVRs

Profile Differences: VF, VR, VFVR groups			
	VF	VR	VFVR
<b>Previous Visits to Ireland</b>	Most on first or second trip (47.2%)	Most have made 9 visits or more (75.6%)	Most have made 9 visits or more (80.2%)
<b>Ethnic connection</b>	Yes (13.6%)	Yes (77.6%)	Yes (83.3%)
<b>Main ethnic connection</b>	Born in N.I (52.9%); Parents/grandparents born in N.I. (47.1%)	Born in NI (84.5%); Parents/grandparents born in N.I. (15.5%)	Born in NI (86.4 %); Parents/grandparents born in N.I. ( 13.6%)
<b>Country of origin</b>	Britain (86.2%), esp.England (67.9%) and Scotland (21.8%)	Britain (85.5%), esp.England (75.5%) and Scotland (20.1%)	Britain (95.1%), esp.England (60.1%) and Scotland (36.9%)
<b>Accommodation stayed in</b>	With friends/ relatives (61.4%) ; Company accommodation (36.2%)	With friends/ relatives (66.2%) ; Company accommodation (37.6%)	With friends/ relatives (68.5%) ; Company accommodation (36.0%)
<b>Party size</b>	Mainly singles (63.5%) and couples (17.1%)	Singles (50.2%), couples (21.8%) and families with children (19.4%)	Singles (38.9%), couples (30.5%) and families with children (17.7%)
<b>Occupational status</b>	Mainly ABC1s (62.1%) ; Significant student group (9.8%)	Mainly ABC1s (67.9%) ; Highest AB total (34.9%)	Mainly ABC1s (65.7%)
<b>Age</b>	Young, mainly 16-34 (60.1%)	Older, mainly 35-65+ (58.8%)	Older,mainly 35-65+ (57.8%)
<b>Method of travel to N.Ireland</b>	Air (57.4%) Sea (42.6%)	Air (61.2%); Sea (38.8%)	Air (20.2%); Sea (79.8%)
<b>Those travelling by sea with own transport</b>	Minority (21%)	Minority (26.5%)	Majority (58.6%)
<b>Season of visit</b>	Mostly spring/ summer trips (60.7%)	Mostly spring/ summer trips (58.7%)	Highest spring / summer trips (70.5%)
<b>Length of stay</b>	Mainly short breaks (54.9% stay 1-4 nights)	Mainly long stays (53.8% stay 6 nights or more )	Mainly long stays (43.8% stay 6 nights or more)
<b>Relative spending differences between groups</b>	Spend most on drinks/ entertainment;  Least on shopping;  Total spending concentrated over shorter stays	Spend most on shopping and on gifts/ souvenirs;  Least on drinks/ entertainment;	Spend most on transport in N.Ireland and meals/ accommodation;  Least on souvenirs/presents;
<b>Main differences in activities engaged in</b>	Visiting Giant's Causeway (56.5%); Golf (5.1%); Festival/event (3.5%); Fishing (3.9%)	Visiting Giant's Causeway (38.2%); Golf (14%); Festival/event (6.2%); Fishing (8.4%)	Visiting Giant's Causeway (32.9%); Golf (18.6%); Festival/event (1.4%); Fishing (5.5%)
<b>Main differences in things liked</b>	People nice/friendly (64.6%); Scenery (43.9%); Pubs/drink/Guinness (7.8%)	People nice /friendly (52.3%); Scenery (35%); Pubs/drink/Guinness (4.6%)	People nice/friendly (65.5%); Scenery (40.4%); Pubs/drink/Guinness (8.4%)

Source: Seaton (1997)

