

***“Manatu ‘Ofa ki ‘Api” (Remembrance of Home in Love): Home and
Diaspora – Leimatu’a Remittance Fundraising***

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A thesis submitted to
Auckland University of Technology
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Communication Studies (MCS)

School of Communication Studies

AUT 2020

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GLOSSARY

<i>Anga faka-Tonga</i>	Tongan way of life or culture
<i>Anga faka-Leimatu'a</i>	Leimatu'aan way of life or culture
<i>Anga fakatokilalo</i>	generosity/humble/humility
<i>'Eke</i>	asking question
<i>Famili</i>	family
<i>Fatongia</i>	obligation
<i>Faka'apa'apa</i>	respect
<i>Fakapangopango</i>	slang or expression; jokes on others
<i>Faikava</i>	informal socialising and drinking <i>kava</i>
<i>Fai'aho</i>	birthday celebration
<i>Faa'ikavei koula</i>	four golden pillars in Tongan culture
<i>Fakasesele/to'oto'oa</i>	an inappropriate act of insanity
<i>Fakama'uma'u</i>	restrained behaviour
<i>Fakataha fakasiasi</i>	church meeting
<i>Fakataha fakafamili</i>	family meeting
<i>Fakapale</i>	donating money during fundraises
<i>Fakaehaua</i>	alienation
<i>Fakapopula'i</i>	oppression
<i>Fetokoni'aki</i>	reciprocity/helping each other
<i>Feinga pa'anga</i>	fundraise
<i>Fe'ilongaki</i>	meaningful engagement
<i>Fe'ofa'aki</i>	love/compassion
<i>Fefalala'aki</i>	trust each other
<i>Feveitoka'i'aki</i>	Caring/generosity/respect
<i>Fiefia</i>	happiness
<i>Fono</i>	community meeting
<i>Fu'u to</i>	sugar-cane tree
<i>Fu'u kava</i>	<i>ka va</i> plant
<i>Feleoko 'o Vava'u</i>	main supplies of plantation food for Vava'u
<i>Hua</i>	banter
<i>Kalapu kava-Tonga</i>	a <i>kava</i> club where men formally socialise and drink <i>kava</i>
<i>Katoanga 'aho Fakakolo</i>	Tonga day festivals
<i>Kaumatu'a</i>	elders
<i>Kape</i>	giant taro
<i>Kava</i>	traditional narcotic beverage
<i>Koloa faka-Tonga</i>	women's important textiles
<i>Kilia</i>	leprosy
<i>Lea faka-Tonga</i>	Tongan language
<i>Loto-to</i>	humility
<i>Loto mafana</i>	warmth-heart
<i>Lotu faka-Tonga</i>	Tongan church or congregation

<i>Luva</i>	present the outcome, giving
<i>Mali</i>	wedding
<i>Manatu 'ofa ki 'api</i>	remembrance and reverence of the love at home
<i>Mamahi'ime'a</i>	reciprocity/commitment
<i>Mafana</i>	inwardly warmth feeling
<i>Malie-mafana</i>	aesthetics-warmth
<i>Meimeivale</i>	extreme happiness/almost absurd
<i>Mo'oni</i>	truth or pure information
<i>Ngafa</i>	responsibility
<i>Nima foaki</i>	generosity/helping others
<i>Noa</i>	anything or nothing in particular
<i>'Ofa</i>	love
<i>Poto'ianga</i>	cultural competency
<i>Putu</i>	funeral
<i>Tauhi Va</i>	gratitude/keeping relationships/patriotism
<i>Tau'olunga/faiva</i>	dancing
<i>Tala</i>	to tell or to talk
<i>Talanoa</i>	talk about nothing in particular
<i>Talanoa faka'eke'eke</i>	talk involving probing or individual in-depth interview
<i>Talanoa fakakata</i>	telling a jokes or banter
<i>Taliangi</i>	loyalty
<i>Taumafa</i>	King's eat or drink
<i>Taumafa kava</i>	traditional kava ceremony for the King of Tonga
<i>Ta pauni ono</i>	metaphor for hitting the six pounds corn-beef with a stick
<i>Tapu</i>	sacred
<i>Ta'ovala</i>	traditional woven mat
<i>Tapalasia</i>	exploitation
<i>Ta'olunga</i>	Tongan dance
<i>Tokotaha muli</i>	overseas person/stranger
<i>Toli</i>	gathering
<i>Tou'a</i>	lady who serve the kava
<i>Toungaue fetokoni'aki</i>	cooperative fundraising task
<i>Toka'i</i>	care
<i>Tu'i</i>	king
<i>Tu'utu'ukehe</i>	sarcasm
<i>Tupenu</i>	lavalava
<i>'Umu</i>	Tongan way of cooking food by oven

DEDICATION

To my dearest parents, Lemani Tonga and the late Koloa Folofola Lavulavu Tonga. I dedicate this thesis to you, and I hope that this achievement will make you proud. I am struggling to accept that I will not see you Mom at my graduation day, but I know that you will be smiling at us from heaven.



Lemani Tonga & Koloa Folofola Lavulavu Tonga (RIL)

To my beloved wife, Seletute Anitoni Tonga and my four precious children, Koloa Folofola Lemani Tonga, Paige Pelenatita Lemani Tonga, Chris-Angelh Lemani Tonga and Sylvester Lemani JR Tonga. Thank you so much for your understanding, encouragement, and the huge sacrifices that you had made every step of the way, particularly every time that you pray for our Heavenly Father to bless Daddy with his thesis. You do not understand how you guys really touch my heart and I am truly blessed to have you all in my life and I am so proud of you all. I do hope that you can grow up and take the light of education from here to the highest level that you can possibly achieve. Thank you so much my dear darling wife, the love and rock of my life, and my very best friend. Without you darling, this journey will not get anywhere, and I am so grateful for your endless love and support. This thesis is also dedicated to you, my family.



Chris-Angelh, Seletute, Koloa, Sylvester, Paige, and Sylvester JR Tonga

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want.” Psalm 23:1
“Ko hoku Tauhi ‘a Sihova; ‘e ‘ikai teu masiva.” Saame 23:1

I am so grateful to our Heavenly Father for his grace and love that has been blessed upon me to have the courage and patience in fulfilling this thesis. This journey was so difficult and seems impossible for me to achieve my goal, especially when my beloved mother, the late Koloa Folofola Lavulavu Tonga, passed away at the beginning of this programme. There have been countless times that I wanted to quit, as my heart was broken into pieces and my world turned upside-down, but in remembrance of my dear mother I wanted to complete this journey and dedicate it to her. Even though I lost my mother, I am grateful that my father Lemani Tonga has continued supporting me in this journey, regardless of the financial challenges that we all faced. To my dearest brothers and your families, thank you so much for your love and support throughout this journey. To my parent-in-laws Francis & Pelenatita ‘Anitoni and the rest of the siblings, I am forever grateful for all the sacrifices that you all made.

I would like to acknowledge the advice and guidance of my primary supervisor Christina Milligan – thank you so much for your help, encouragement and trust in me to pursue my study and achieve my goal; I am so grateful for that. I appreciate your broad knowledge and guidance of the direction that I need to go in, and your encouragement to dig deep and explore in order to get there. You have encouraged me to think intensively and critically. Thank you so much Associate Professor Vijay Devadas for allowing me to complete this thesis. Last but not least, I want to thank Dr Gudrun Frommherz, who has assisted me at the last end of the thesis. I am forever grateful for your wisdom and your advice that encouraged and helped me to complete this thesis.

To all of those whose names were not mentioned, but who helped me along the way with advice, support, or prayer, thank you so much from the bottom of my heart. I appreciate everything that you have done for me on this journey.

‘Oku ou ‘ofa lahi atu ‘aupito ki he famili, kaunga ako pea moe maheni kotoa pe.

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.

Signed: _____

Sylvester Palu Tonga 2020

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Ethics approval was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on **16 August 2018**, reference number: **18/159**

ABSTRACT

Observers and scholars have claimed that remittance giving should decline over time due to weaker ties between overseas-born Tongans and kin in the homeland. Despite such claims, the magnitude of remittances that flow every year into Tonga's economy exceeds the income that Tonga receives from exports or the tourism industry. This is due to the increasing number of overseas Tongans in the population who are living particularly in New Zealand, Australia, and America, together doubling the total population of Tonga. The individual and organisational fundraising in the diaspora is very active and vastly supported by overseas Tongans.

This study explores the concepts of '*Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api*' (remembrance and reverence of the love at home) in the context of the remittance fundraising efforts of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland. It is interested in the motivations for and the processes of gifting back goods and money collected for community projects and village development. The research involves twelve interviews with members of the Leimatu'a community inquiring into their motives, perceptions, and practices of remittance funding. The study employs *talanoa* as its leading methodological approach in order to honour the cultural values of the community, which are trustworthiness, reliability, validity, and respect of the Tongan culture. The thematic analysis of the interview data produced an understanding that the *kalapu kava-Tonga* became a cooperative fundraising platform for the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland due to its increased popularity, its customary importance, and the change from traditional concert and floorshow fundraising to a *kalapu kava-Tonga* fundraising approach. Money is not the overriding issue for the Leimatu'a community, as their fundraising success is motivated by the unique culture of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life/culture), the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tonga culture), and their *manatu 'ofa ki 'api* (remembrance of home in love). Remittance fundraising is significant for a sustainable remittance economy that is strengthened by transnational ties and connections between the diasporic Tongans and the kin at the homeland. The upbringing of the overseas-born children can influence the future of remittance fundraising in the diasporas.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview

This research explores ‘remittance fundraising’ among the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland. The Leimatu’a community consists of Tongan migrants who have left their homeland for various reasons, including to seek opportunities for work, help their parents and siblings at home, to improve the chances of a better education for their children, and attain a higher living standard. I am one of the Leimatu’a community members who left Tonga to seek opportunities for a better education that would allow me a better living and therefore give my children a better hope for their future.

Despite the struggles and hardship in adjusting to a new environment that is very different to the Tongan culture and way of life, I learned a lot from the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland. Our leaders strongly encourage people to maintain the *anga faka-Leimatu’a* (Leimatu’a way of life) and never forget their home where parents and families are desperately in need of our financial help and support. This personal experience gave me the idea that ‘*Manatu ‘Ofa ki ‘Api*’ (remembrance of home) is one of the main reasons why the Leimatu’a community is committed to remittance fundraising and to helping their village in Tonga, and that it is worthy of research to clarify how and why remittance fundraising is so important to this community.

I am interested in contributing to the under-researched area of ‘remittance fundraising’ that occurs in the Pacific diasporas. There is little acknowledgement in previous studies of this phenomenon, and there still exists no theoretical framework exploring the fundraising practices for collecting remittance money among these

communities. I believe this research will benefit the Tongan and the Pacific communities experiencing diaspora because the strategies for ‘remittance fundraising’ of the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland might be able to offer a blueprint for other Tongan and Pacific communities. The policymakers from the Tongan government may also find this study useful in developing economic policies that could benefit the Government of Tonga, village development, and private households. That is the significance of this study and the reason why I am so interested in doing this research.

1.2 The Research Context

1.2.1 The Kingdom of Tonga

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of the five main islands *Tongatapu*, *Ha’apai*, *Vava’u*, *‘Eua* and *Ongo Niua*. According to the latest United Nation figures from 2020, the total estimation of the population for Tonga is 105,642 people.¹ In 2001, 37 per cent of the Tongan GDP (Gross Domestic Product) came from remittances, which it is “one of the highest rates in the world” (Gibson et al., 2006, p. 1).



Figure 1: Kingdom of Tonga (Five Main Islands)

¹ <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/tonga-population/>

In 2002, the World Bank urged Pacific Islanders in New Zealand not to send remittances to families in the Islands because it would make them more dependent rather than working hard to help their own economy. The former Prime Minister of Tonga and politician, Dr Feleti Sevele, said that the Tongan “government, churches and families are relying too much on this money.”² At the same time, the diasporic Tongans are struggling with their own living costs. Given that Tongans in the diasporas struggle with their own living costs, they still manage to send remittances back home. It is important therefore to explore the motivation behind remittance fundraising of Tongan people in the diasporas.

Remittance is usually known as an established method of sending money and goods individually from migrants abroad to their families at the village in the homeland (Pairama & Le De, 2018). It is a significant source of income, mainly in poor and developing countries, including Tonga (Adams & Page, 2005). According to the Global Economy’s Statistics from the World Bank ³, between 2015 and 2018, the Tongan Gross Domestic Products from overseas remittances ranged between 34.42 to 40.7 per cent per annum. This means that the total amount of Tonga’s GDP from remittances between the years 2015 and 2018 was between 34 to 40 million Tongan pa’anga per year. This is a huge contribution of remittances to the overall economy of Tonga.

There are conflicting views in the literature about the extent of sustainable remittances in relation to the economy of any developing country, including Tonga.

² <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/pacific/140129/tonga-mp-says-remittances-create-problems>

³ https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Tonga/remittances_percent_GDP/

Numerous scholars argue against the validity and sustainability of remittances. For instance, Poirine (1997) claimed that remittances could only be sustainable as an informal repayment of a loan, while Brown (1998) said that the practice of paying remittances would be unstable and likely to decline and eventually decay over time due to other family commitments. There is also the problem of trying to engage the second generation in the process of transnational ties and remittances (Lee, 2004; 2006).

Regardless of the arguments against remittance sustainability in Tonga, over the last 20 years, Tonga's economy ⁴ has become more dependent on remittances (see figure 2 below).

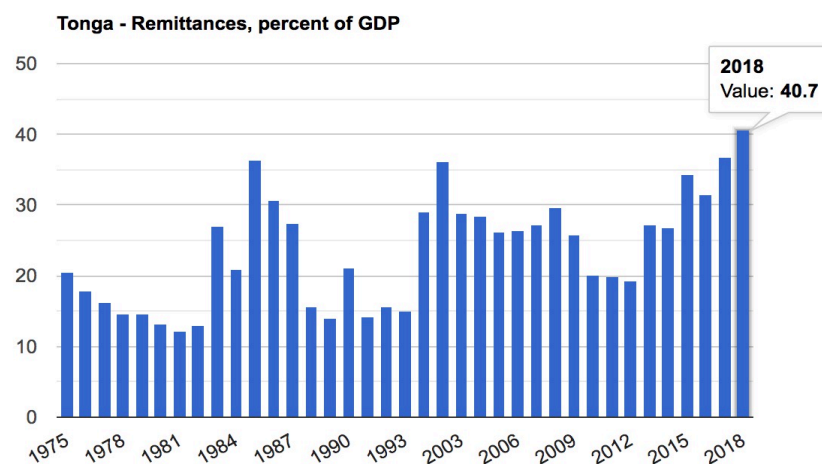


Figure 2: THE GLOBAL ECONOMY 2019: Tonga – Remittances, percentage of GDP

⁴ https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Tonga/remittances_percent_GDP/

The important questions to ask then are, how could Tonga manage to maintain sustainable remittances for so long and why is remittance fundraising in the diaspora so vital for Tonga? What motivates remittance fundraising and the sending of money to Tonga? This research seeks to give answers to these questions by exploring the Leimatu'a community's remittance fundraising in South Auckland.

1.2.2 The Leimatu'a Community/Village

The village of Leimatu'a is located on the main island of Vava'u, about 150 miles north of Tongatapu, the biggest island in Tonga. Leimatu'a is located in the north, at the centre of Vava'u, which divides the Eastern and Western districts of Vava'u. Morton (2003) stated that the total population of Leimatu'a was 2,434 in 2011, and nearly 20,000 of its citizens had already migrated overseas, mainly to the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.



Figure 3: The Village of Leimatu'a, Vava'u, TONGA

In comparison to the figures recorded on Tonga's latest census of 2016, the total population of Leimatu'a was only 1,173 (Tonga Census, 2016). The above-mentioned figures confirmed that more than half of Leimatu'a population in 2011 have migrated overseas, which significantly contributed to the success of their remittance fundraising in the diasporas.

The social structure of Leimatu'a is in hierarchical order. The *Fotu*, or the King's *matapule* (chief), is the head of the village. *Talakai* and *Afusipa* are *Fotu's matapule* (chiefs), which are second and third in rank, followed by the Church leaders or Ministers, Town Officer, and then the people of the village. *Leimatu'a* is metaphorically known by many names such as the *feleoko 'o Vava'u* (the food house of Vava'u), *ta pauni ono* (striker of six-pounds of corned beef), and *hala manga ono* (six road intersections – see figure 3). The *feleoko 'o Vava'u* means that Leimatu'a is a village that supplies food from their plantations to feed the whole island of Vava'u. Crops are the main source of income for Leimatu'a; the crops for the island Vava'u are mainly supplied from Leimatu'a, particularly when natural disasters occur, such as cyclones that cause food shortages on the island. The *feleoko 'o Vava'u (Leimatu'a)* can still supply food such as yams, cassava, taro, kape and kumara to the market so that the people of Vava'u can receive it from there. Leimatu'a is also famous for displaying a six-pound tin of corned beef in a major event, such as a church conference feast or birthday celebration, as a decoration of their *pola* (table of food). After feasting at the occasion, the Leimatu'a people change the mood by striking the corned beef can with a stick while dancing, until the contents spill over the grass (Poltorak, 2007).

This kind of warmth and happiness is hard to find in any other village in Tonga, because some people think it is an inappropriate act of insanity (*fakasesele or to'oto'oa*), perceiving it to be a very odd practice when interacting with the Leimatu'a people. However, from the Leimatu'an perspective, the extreme happiness and the act of insanity is a custom that motivates the greater good of *nima foaki* (generosity) and the helping of others. This is a kind of *mafana* (warmth emotion) that Manu'atu (2000) and Ka'ili (2008) defined as a powerful emotion of warmth that may only be achieved with an extreme act of happiness. The Leimatu'a people consider this action of *ta pauni ono* as one of their customary traditions that is passed from generation to generation (Poltorak, 2007).

1.3 Research Questions

This research aims at exploring the concepts of '*Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api*' (remembrance and reverence of the love at home) in the context of remittance fundraising efforts of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, and the process of gifting back goods and money collected for *kava clubs*' projects and the village development in Tonga. The critical question that guides this research is: How does the concept of '*Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api*' motivate remittance fundraising and what are the outcomes?

Specific questions which will be explored are:

1. How does the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland do remittance fundraising through *Kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava clubs) and community?
2. What motivates the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga?
3. Why remittance money is so important in sustainable Tongan economy?

4. Are the second-generation Tongans in New Zealand likely to maintain remittance practices that their parents did?

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This research will be presented in nine chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the aim, purpose and the objective in researching remittance fundraising in the diasporas and the motivations behind it. I also outline the context of the research.

Chapter Two: The Critical Review of Literature

This chapter critically presents and discusses literature related to the research study.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Research Design

This chapter outlines the overall methodological approach to the study and the detailed research design. I discuss the importance of employing an appropriate research methodology that justifies the tools and methods that are used in this research for collecting and analysing data. I also explain how this research design and theoretical framework are developed to meet Tongan and Pacific research principles.

Chapter Four: The Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the analysis of the research data.

Chapter Five to Chapter Eight: Four Main Key Themes of this Research

These chapters consider the four key themes through which I analyse the data to answer the research questions.

Chapter Five: *Leimatu’a Kalapu kava-Tonga* and Community Fundraising

This chapter discusses two key practices of fundraising that the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland employs, which are the kalapu kava-Tonga fundraising and community fundraising. The chapter looks at how the concept of *Manatu ‘Ofa ki ‘Api* motivates the Leimatu’a community through their different types of fundraising. Furthermore, the chapter introduces some of the histories of the *kava* and the *kalapu kava-Tonga*, the goals of the kava clubs and remittance fundraising, and how they currently function in New Zealand.

Chapter Six: The Motives for the Leimatu’a Remittance Fundraising

This chapter discusses the motivations behind the remittance fundraising of the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland, and whether it achieves its goals. To explore the motives for fundraising of this particular community, it is important to ascertain why they left Tonga. I then look at the importance of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) and its core values of *‘ofa* (love), *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity), *tauhi va* (relationship) and *fetokoni’aki* (reciprocity) and *loloto* (humility).

Chapter Seven: Remittance Money and a Sustainable Tongan Economy

This chapter considers at the importance of remittance money for sustaining a MIRAB economy. How does the theory of a MIRAB (migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy) economy apply to Tonga and why are transnational ties and connections between the migrants and kin in the homeland so important to maintain a MIRAB economy? How do the Tongan cultural practices of *lotu fakatonga* (Tongan churches), the kava clubs and the importance of the *fatongia* (obligation) influence a sustainable remittance economy?

Chapter Eight: The Future of Remittance Economy in Tonga

This chapter discusses whether the second-generation Tongans in New Zealand keep practicing remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga as their parents do? I discuss at some of the perceptions that are relevant to second-generation people in the diasporas such as the perception of an 'unsecured identity,' 'no sense of connection,' 'not feeling at home,' 'intermarriage,' and 'living between two worlds,' and how this influences remitting.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

In concluding this research, I will elaborate the general finding of the research and how it answers the main research questions, how the research study contributes to the literature, the research limitations, and its recommendation and suggestions for further study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This study utilises and expands upon the practice of remittance fundraising and how it contributes to a sustainable remittance economy in Tonga, known as the MIRAB economy. A MIRAB economy refers to migration, remittances, aid, and bureaucracy that are sent from diasporic migrants and overseas countries to help the small island's deficit in their economy. This deficit is due to the lack of natural resources and overseas exports that balance the high value of imports (further discussed in Chapter Seven) (Bertram & Watters, 1985). Despite a lack of literature on remittance fundraising for diasporic Tongans, this literature review looks at the influence of remittances in countries' economies – particularly Tonga. This study also looks at the World Bank (2018) graph that shows Tonga has the largest remittance economy in the World and questions how their small population manages to achieve this status. How remittance money is used in the development of Tonga and the different views about a sustainable remittance economy are also considered. Lastly, I look at some of the Tongan concepts that help sustain the remittance economy.

2.2 The influence of remittances in countries' economies

Many countries have economies, influenced to varying degrees, by remittance payments contributed by citizens living overseas. According to the World Bank (2018), the economies of the top 25 countries in the world have been influenced by the amount of overseas remittance payments. The overseas remittance payments of these 25 countries amounted to values between 10 to 40 per cent of their GDP. Tonga

appeared to receive the most remittance money which is a 40.70 per cent of their GDP in 2018, as shown in figure 4.

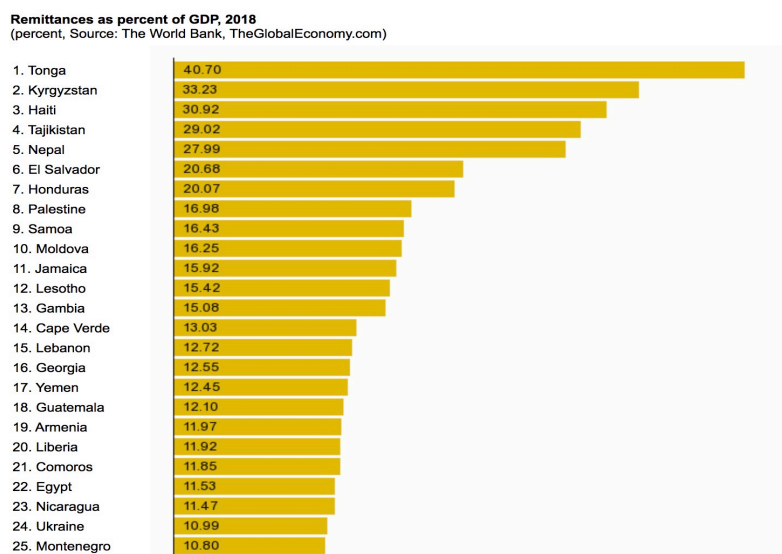


Figure 4: World Bank 2018 – Remittance as percent of GDP

Resulting from the significance of remitting, the longevity and validity of remittances might be a concern of a nation's future (Brown, 1998; Poirine, 1997) due to more Tongans being born overseas. There are some fears that the connections of the overseas-born children to their places of origin could weaken and remittances could eventually diminish (Addo, 2009; Lee, 2004; 2009; 2011). Some think that remittances are unstable and would decline over time due to other family commitments in the diaspora (Brown, 1998).

The World Bank (2018) statistics in figure 5 show that Tonga has received overseas remittances consistently since 1975. It means that Tonga's economy has benefited from remittance money for more than 40 years. Even though figure 5 shows that, in 1975, the overseas remittances were only 20 per cent of Tonga's GDP, it consistently increased up to 40.7 per cent of Tonga's GDP by 2018. Tonga received two forms of

remittances, in-cash and material goods, particularly appliances and clothing (Brown & Connell, 1993; Faeamani, 1995).

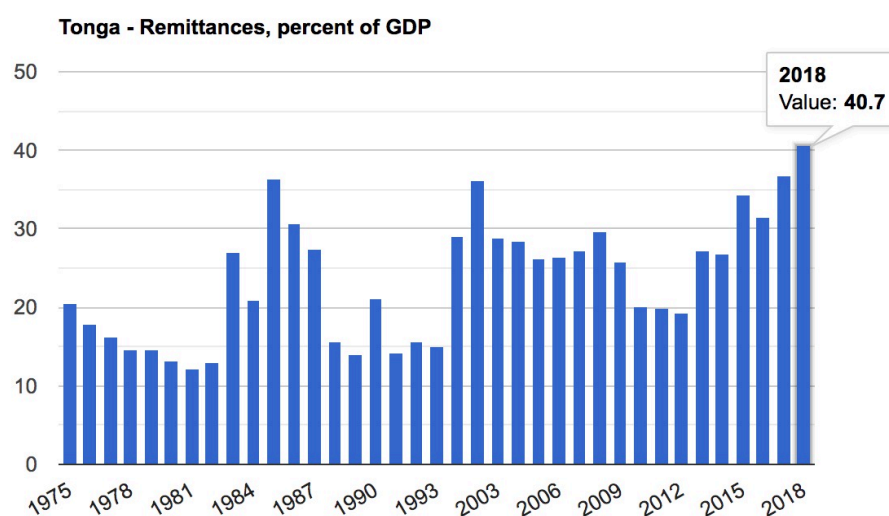


Figure 5: World Bank 2018 – Tonga remittances, percent of GDP

Bertram and Watters (1985) claimed that remittances are essential to Tonga's economy, as Tonga has few exports due to a lack of natural resources, which creates trade deficits in the government's account (further discussed in Chapter Seven). Lin (2011) claimed that overseas remittances influenced Tonga's economy through their GDP and exchange rate fluctuations. The main source of foreign exchange inflows in Tonga is remittances. Lin (2011) also stated that households and non-profit organisations such as churches were the two main recipients of remittances in Tonga. Household remittances are primarily for household needs such as school fees and household expenses, while church remittances are for schools, church construction and maintenance. Both recipients of remittances contributed to the economy of Tonga, their GDP and foreign exchange rates.

2.3 Tonga has the largest remittance economy in the world

Tonga has the largest remittance economy in the world (World Bank, 2018). According to the last census in Tonga (Tonga Statistics, 2016), the current population of Tonga in 2016 was around 100,651 individuals. In 2020, the population of Tonga was expected to increase to an estimation of around 105,642⁵ people. In 2004, it was estimated that there were about 216,000 Tongans who migrated overseas, mainly to New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America (Small & Dixon, 2004). In 2017, it was estimated that there were 59,188 Tongans living in New Zealand (Sorensen & Jensen, 2017). The Australian census in 2016 showed that there were around 32,695 Tongans living in Australia (Batley, 2017) and the rest of the 216,000 Tongans (which is approximately 124,117) are living in the United States of America.

Population Series

Year	Total
1891	19,196.00
1956	56,838.00
1966	77,429.00
1976	90,085.00
1986	94,649.00
1996	97,784.00
2006	101,991.00
2011	103,252.00
2016	100,651.00

Figure 6: Tonga Statistics – Census between 1891-2016

⁵ <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/tonga-population/>

These figures show that the population of overseas Tongans are two times larger than the total population currently living in Tonga.

Tonga is a sovereign nation under the monarchy rule of King Tupou VI, with a written constitution of more than 144 years old (Ahlburg, 1996). Hau'ofa (1994) stated that Tonga would be far too small and "too poorly endowed with resources", very isolated and too far away from the "centre of [the] economic growth" (p. 151). Poirine (2006) argued that a poor standard of living forces Tonga to rely heavily on overseas remittances that are sent by Tongan migrants. The financial operation of households in Tonga mostly rely on the parents and older siblings, but most of the family members are usually unemployed and there is no land to grow taro, yams and cassava to sell in the market or export overseas. There is nowhere to get money from but to heavily rely on the remittances from their family overseas. From Tonga's point of view, the remitting of funds has been stable and growing over the last 40 years (figure 5). This trend goes against a concern whether the remittance practice is sustainable in the Pacific Island States (Lee, 2004; 2009; Poirine, 1997; Brown, 1998; Taufatofua, 2011).

2.4 The use of remittance funding in the development of Tonga

Socio-economic development is one of the most important aspects of any nation's economy and policymaking. The lack of domestic resources has become a major obstacle for development in the villages in Tonga. In contrast, remittance fundraising in the diasporas helps school renovations, church building and maintenance, and rebuilding homes that were damaged by natural disasters (Faeamani, 1995; Brown, 2008). Some remitters raised concerns about how remittances are used when they reach Tonga. Faeamani (1995) examined the "pattern and the degree of remittances

used in Tongan villages, and their contribution to development” (p. 140), which suggested that limited employment opportunities and poor standard of living influence the degree of development and certain priorities of household living. For instance, “religious function and food consumption ranked very high in priority” (Faeamani, 1995, p. 143), while education and household bills (including funerals) were not far behind. Savings, vehicle maintenance, furniture, loans, construction, ploughing, fishing equipment and village projects were all low priorities by comparison. Village development over the past three decades has directly benefited from the significant flow of cash and materials exchanged from the diaspora. Villages have been developed, in the sense of a transnational exchange of local handicrafts and plantations, and cash from the diasporas has changed the nation’s economy and the welfare of many households in Tonga (Faeamani, 1995; Evan, 1999; Lee, 2009).

2.5 The question of sustainability of a remittance economy in the Pacific

There are different perceptions of remittance sustainability in the research literature. Some researchers argued against the sustainability of remittances (Lee, 2004; 2006; Brown, 1998; Addo, 2009). They were concerned about the validity and the timeframes of remittance aid that may take to eventually become unsustainable (Brown, 1998; Addo, 2009; Lee, 2009). Brown (1998) stated that the validity of remittances would be unsustainable and may decline over time due to other family commitments in the diasporas. Lee (2009) argued that the validity of remittances would be unsustainable due to a lack of transnational ties between the first and second generations in the diasporas and kin in the homeland. The lack of transnational ties is caused by the increasing number of overseas-born Tongans (second-generation) in which they grow up in a very different environment compared to their homeland.

The second-generation parents are living with children in the diasporas and that would make it hard for them to engage in transnational ties with their kin in Tonga. Addo (2009) questioned the validity of remittances due to weaker ties, links and connections between the diasporic Tongans and the homeland because of more generations of Tongans being born overseas.

In contrast, numerous researchers believe that remittances can be sustainable based on social relations (Evans, 1999), transnational ties (Evans, 1999; Addo, 2009), or through the cultural values of individual small state economies (Bertram and Watters, 1985). Evans (1999) acknowledged the importance of *lea fakatonga* (Tongan language) to the identity of diasporic Tongans. Most of the community activities for overseas Tongans such as *mali* (wedding), *fai'aho* (birthday celebration), *putu* (funeral), and the *feinga pa'anga* (fundraising) Tongan are conducted by *lea faka-Tonga*. Most of the overseas *lotu Tonga* (Tongan churches) and activities are also conducted in the *lea fakatonga*. Evans (1999) acknowledged the concept of *koloa fakatonga* and its cultural knowledge in the Tongan society that values and ranks the *koloa* itself higher than money or ritual cash.

The Tongan concept of *fatongia* (obligation), known as the sweet smell of *fa* (pandanus fruit) (Helu, 1999; Thaman, 2000; Mahina, 2006), which brings out the *loto fiefia* (happiness) and *loto mafana* (warm-hearted) of the Tongan people, to help and share whatever they have with their family and village back home (Tofuaipangai & Camilleri, 2016). Hansen (2004) emphasised the importance of *anga fakatonga* (a Tongan way of life), which Lee (2003) claimed is the fundamental attitude and behaviour that defines the identity of being Tongan. Fehoko (2015) claimed that the

cultural practices of *faikava* (Tongan kava) and *lotu fakakalisitiane* (Tongan Christian Churches) in diasporas contributed to a sustainable remittance economy.

The MIRAB economy, according to Bertram and Watters (1985), is an economic concept that is based on Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy. This economic framing helps shed light on the question of remittance economies and their sustainability which stated that the economy of the small developing countries, including Tonga, will only improve with strong transnational ties, aid from overseas countries, and the remittance from Tongan migrants in the diasporas. The position that a MIRAB economy is the key to a sustainable remittance economy is critiqued by various economists (Becker, 1974; Stark, 1991; Cox, 1987) who believe that a MIRAB economy is a highly irrational and unstable model for any government to adopt or depend on.

Evans (1999), supporting Bertram and Watters' (1985) claim, said that Pacific Island countries will indeed benefit from MIRAB economies, despite the concern about its negative effects (Brown, 2008; Lee, 2004). Evans (1999) argued that MIRAB economies were "embedded with regional and global economies in two main ways" (p. 138). A huge number of migrants from Pacific Island countries to New Zealand, Australia, and America "has resulted in a significant flow of cash and material" (p. 138) from migrants in the diasporas to kin in the homeland.

In contrast, Brown (2008) and Lee (2004) claimed that MIRAB economies have destroyed domestic growth and the domestic economies of developing nations that were based on agriculture and other island resources, to being solely dependent on migrants' remittances and overseas aid donations (Poirine, 1997; Brown, 1998; Lee,

2006). In reply, Evans (1999) argued that MIRAB economies shift the growth of production in Tonga, from agricultural economies into sustainable remittances that are strengthened by transnational linkages. This has “provided other more economically attractive alternatives other than agricultural growth” (Evans, 1999, p. 139).

2.6 Poirine’s theory of Implicit Family Loan Agreement

Poirine (1997) argued that the long-term success of sustainable remittances would depend upon his concept of the ‘Implicit Family Loan Agreement.’ This concept claims that sustainable remittances are an informal repayment or “implicit loan [...] taken out by emigrants during their youth, to secure a better education that later makes them more productive in the modern sector” (Poirine, 1997, p. 589). Those implicit loans were used to finance their education and make the most of opportunities to migrate. The next generation of emigrants were to do the same, repay their loans to former emigrants who may be retired back home, and the cycle of loans keeps going.

2.7 Brown’s decay hypothesis

Brown (1998) argued in favour of a ‘decay hypothesis’ which suggested that remittances would be unsustainable, and they might decline over time due to other family commitments experienced during the diasporas. He believed that the longer a migrant is away from family and the home country, the weaker the social ties and connections may become. That may influence individuals’ abilities and willingness to remit. Their new environment may bring new obligations and challenges which would likely loosen up their priorities and obligations to remit. It can be argued that one of the weaknesses of Brown’s decay hypothesis and assessments of remittance behaviour

was a fragmentation of data for the survey samples in his research, which were too small to undertake an adequate statistical analysis.

However, it can be argued that the success of the 'Temporary Work Scheme – RSE', in which New Zealand employs temporary seasonal workers from the Pacific Island nations, can compensate for the theory of remittance decay. Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua (2008) stated that the RSE programme was designed to allow 5,000 unskilled workers from Pacific nations to come and work in the horticulture industry to relieve labour shortages in both New Zealand and Australia. That is how the immigration policy of a country like New Zealand contributes to the remittance money that will be sent by 5,000 temporary workers from the Pacific nations. The success of this employment scheme allows more migrant workers to stabilise remittances that are sent back to Tonga. However, despite the remittance benefits that Tonga's economy should receive from this immigration policy of the temporary work scheme, Tonga has no control over New Zealand's immigration settings. New Zealand could change those policies at any time and that is the point that Lee (2009) puts forth.

2.8 Lee's consideration of the second-generation Pacific diaspora

Lee (2004) stated that the decline of donating remittances is a concern for Tonga's long-term economic security. Lee (2009) considered it as unwise for any national economy to have such a high dependence on remittances with the expectation of maintaining it for a lengthy period of time and over generations. She argued that the second generation in diasporas could be very difficult to engage in the process of transnational ties and remittances. There were obstacles in trying to maintain ties between the second-generation and the homeland, such as "unsecure identity as a

Tongan, lack of language and cultural skills, feels excluded and alienated from Tongan communities, and high rates of intermarriage to non-Tongans” (Lee, 2004, p. 247).

Anthropologist Ping-Ann Addo (2009) supported Lee’s (2004) claim by questioning whether those ties, links and connections between diasporic Tongans and their homeland seem to be getting weaker as more generations are born overseas (Addo, 2009). Lee (2004) claimed that the second-generation Tongans feel excluded from the Tongan communities and have no sense of connection with kin in the homeland. The second-generation does not feel at home when visiting Tonga and also does not accept *kavenga* as their obligation and responsibility (Lee, 2011).

By contrast, Kelly (2013) stated that the act of crossing a geographical border does not mean that the connections and the emotional ties of the migrants will be cut off from their homeland. This was supported by Ka’ili (2005) when it was stated that Tongan family members are connected within the spatiality of ‘*va*.’ Tofuaipangai and Camilleri (2006) argued that *fatongia* (obligation) in Tongan society is a pleasure and not a burden (*kavenga*) that needs to be coerced.

2.9 Tongan concepts sufficient to maintain sustainable remittances

There are also Tongan concepts that are sufficient in maintaining kinship ties and connections between Tongans in diasporas and those in the homeland. Those concepts are significant to preserve and sustain remittance practices, such as cultural identity, *lea fakatonga* (Tongan language), *fatongia* (obligation), *anga fakatonga* (a Tongan way), *lotu faka-Tonga* (Tongan churches) and *Katoanga ‘Aho ‘o Tonga* (Tonga Day Festival or village festival). These concepts are believed to be the backbone of a

transnational diaspora willing to do remittance fundraising to help their village back in Tonga.

The Tongan concepts of *fatongia* (obligation) known as the permeating of the sweet smell of *fa* (pandanus fruit) (Helu, 1999, 2006; Thaman, 2000; Mahina, 2006), which brings out the *loto fiefia* (happiness) and *loto mafana* (warm-hearted) of the Tongan people to help and share whatever they have with their family and village back home (Tofuaipangai & Camilleri, 2016). Hansen (2004) emphasised the importance of *anga fakatonga* (a Tongan way of life) which Lee (2003) claimed as the fundamental attitude and behaviour that defines the identity for being Tongan. Fehoko (2015) claimed that the cultural practices of *faikava* (Tongan kava) and *lotu fakakalisitiane* (Tongan Christian Churches) in the diasporas also contributed to a sustainable remittance economy.

The concept of cultural values and social ties claim to be central to MIRAB economies for Pacific countries (Evans, 1999). Stuart Hall (1990) defined cultural identities as “one shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside many other...” (p. 223). Our cultural values reflect the importance of our historical experiences and oneness that provides the truth of our identities. According to Hall (1990), our cultural identity is vital and strong in reshaping our world. Evans (1999) discussed the significance of kinship formation in Tongan society; a kinship of commoners with ties that are formed through the kinship of ‘*ofa*’ (love and generosity) and ‘*famili*’ (family). The history of Tonga and its cultural values and traditions are both unique and powerful.

The concept of *lea fakatonga* claims to be significant in developing a sense of belonging, connection and ties (Lee, 2004). Many young Tongan people overseas

declared that they “feel excluded and alienated from Tongan communities due to lack of language” and are unable to speak or understand the Tongan language (Lee, 2004, p.246). Evans (1999) acknowledged the importance of *lea fakatonga* to our identity of who we are and where we came from.

The concepts of *lotu faka-Tonga* and church activities are a significant praxis for maintaining transnational ties and sustainable remittances in Tongan communities. Addo (2009) and Evans (1999) reminded that religion is a way of life for Tongans. Not only that Tongan people treated religion as part of their life, but they also claimed religion as part of their culture and tradition. Every family celebration, such as a wedding or birthday, always start with a prayer. Even the official events hosted by the government of Tonga always start with an opening prayer. Religion is one of the most valued cultures in Tonga; even the constitution prohibits any work being done on a Sunday except to attend church (Evans, 1999; Lee, 2004), which contributes to transnational ties and keeps them connected with kinship at home.

Lastly, the concepts of *Katoanga 'Aho Fakatonga* or *Katoanga 'Aho Fakakolo* enhance the idea of transnational ties and sustainable remittances. Village day and Tonga Day Festivals are part of village celebrations and encourage people to closely connect to their home village through sharing food and fundraising to help village development at home. Most of the high schools have the same concept of running a Pasifika school festival annually to promote the significance of each culture, the languages, traditional dances and singing. All the above concepts are nonetheless vital to recognise that the sustainability of remittances is dependent on the reproduction of social relations.

2.10 Summary

The review of literature established the scope, relevance, and significance of remittance for the Tongan nation. In particular, the contested concern of sustainability of the Tongan remittance industry has been introduced and it was shown that although there are many economic concerns for sustainability, the traditional Tongan cultural values might in fact help maintain a remittance future.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discussed why it is important to employ an appropriate research methodology in this culture-sensitive study. Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) defined research methodology as the overall approach to research, which is linked to the epistemological paradigm or theoretical framework employed within a specific research project. Burns (1997) described methodology as an overall approach to research with specific tools for data collection, data analyses and the interpretation of that data (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). It is the choice of the theoretical framework that informs this research with motives and the philosophical purposes (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000) that connects the theoretical paradigm and its overall research questions. I am also interested to write about the development of the methodology that I chose to use in this research study; a methodology that is trustworthy, reliable and valid, and suitable to the nature of the study as a Tongan research undertaking.

3.2 Methodological Framework

The methodological and theoretical framework employed in this research are selected to meet the Tongan and the Pacific research values and principles. Tilley (2016) suggested that the researcher's identity is one of the important aspects of choosing a methodology for respectful research; the identity of the researcher ought to be reflected in the design of a research study.

One may argue that the researcher's positioning, shared identity, and connections with the participants or communities might create a bias that may influence the

outcome of the research; this could happen when socially constructed identities intersect with the participants and communities. In contrast, Tilley (2016) argued that one of the challenges of doing research within indigenous and Pacific communities is trust. Outside researchers, i.e. those who do not belong to the community and might be unfamiliar with the culture, are often not trusted by Pacific communities; most indigenous communities require a level of trust before access is granted.

While identifying an appropriate methodology for this research, I was well aware of my position as a Tongan researcher, looking for a Pacific or Tongan methodology that would uphold the respectful and valid approach of this research. McFall-McCaffery (2010) supported the importance of cultural belonging of the researcher when stating that people experience phenomena differently over time and place. Therefore, it is very important to choose the appropriate method that could acknowledge the Tongan perspective to ensure that we interpret and share the information from participants appropriately and respectfully.

3.3 Research Methodology

The methodology I have chosen for this research is qualitative. Qualitative research addresses the “meanings, definitions, metaphors, concepts, characteristics and description of things” (Patton, 2002, p. 372). Its primary focus is to collect, analyse and interpret the data by observing what people do and say. Patton (1990) claimed that the purpose of qualitative research is to “understand how people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world they live in” (p. 3). It explains the meaning of ‘social phenomena’ as they occur naturally and how an individual establishes reality with their own social world (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

In other words, qualitative research explores how people make meaning of individual lived experiences and how they become aware of them, how they “describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it” with others (Patton, 2002, p. 104). Qualitative methods aim to capture the participant’s point of view and their lived experience of how they see things. This can mean that a qualitative researcher becomes more involved in people’s lives and writes about their views of how they see things around them (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Once the researcher enters into the participants’ world to collect the data, he or she has to observe the participants’ stories, perceptions and feelings, then interpret and analyse them in order to answer the research question(s) and make the participants’ world visible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

One of the frequently addressed concerns of qualitative research is the researcher’s bias (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Tilley, 2016; Patton, 2002). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) stressed the importance of validating the contents of the research to ensure that the research findings are trustworthy, competent, relevant, and meaningful. I was therefore conscious of the ethical considerations and validity of my method in ensuring the trustworthiness of this research. Marshall and Rossman (2006) claimed that transparency between the researcher and the participants contributes to the validity of the research. Therefore, in this research study, the inter-subjectivity between the researcher and the participants must embrace Tongan values such as *falala* (trust) and *faka’apa’apa* (respect). Furthermore, Thaman (2006) acknowledged the core of research ethics for Tonga to be founded upon *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *loto fakatokilalo* (humility), *fe’ofa’aki* (love/compassion), and *feveitoka’i’aki* (caring/generosity). It is also an ethical

framework for understanding Pacific people, especially Tongans, and how to communicate with them. Hence, a research methodology that involved Pacific communities and was particularly appropriate for dealing with Tongan participants, values, and cultures, was required. I did not consider using a Western research methodology because it is not suitable for this research. McMillan (2008) claimed that one important characteristic of Western research methodologies is a need for a neutral relationship between the researcher and the participants, especially in qualitative research. It encouraged researchers to distance themselves from the participants and not to influence the outcome of the research with the researcher's biases and subjectivity. Thus, to have neutral settings where behaviour and sharing of life experiences are best understood, Western research protocols do not support that kind of personal relationship in order to get the information (Vaiolleti, 2006).

From my viewpoint, employing Western Research Methodologies in this research study is problematic because it is unlikely to get credible data from Pacific people (including Tongans), by distancing the researcher from Pacific values and cultures. Tilley (2016) stressed the importance of the researcher's positioning towards respectful research. She argued that the researcher's position as an 'outsider' can either create tensions from lack of trust between participants and what they called *tokotaha muli* (overseas person, the stranger), or create inconsistent answers that may satisfy the researcher as a sign of respect, but the study's validity is uncertain. This has happened a lot within Tongan and Pacific communities due to their cultural values, traditions, and Christian beliefs, particularly when Pacific people do not want to disrespect the *palangi* (white people). Furthermore, Vaiolleti (2006) argued that applying research methodologies that were designed for the dominant culture, is not

necessarily suitable or culturally appropriate to provide a solution for minorities, including Pacific peoples.

By contrast, Tupou (2018) described it as walking between two worlds. She argued that promoting Tongan methodology is not belittling the significance of the Western paradigm. As a Pacific researcher, we can still walk between two worlds. We can use Pacific and Tongan methodology, but the outcome of our research can still be written into a thesis in a Western style format. Therefore, it is not about trying to get away from Western methodology, but instead choosing a methodology that is culturally appropriate and best suited to Pacific values to have a trustworthy outcome that is appropriate, effective, and credible.

3.3.1 Indigenous Research Methodology

Porsanger (2004) stated that indigenous research methodology is appropriate for doing research that involves cultural values and indigenous people. It is a methodology to ensure that the indigenous viewpoint can be respected in an ethical, correct, and useful way. That is, to seek ways through decolonising the research process by establishing indigenous methodology where it privileges indigenous knowledge and learning (Vaka'uta, 2013). It is a shifting of power-balance from the researcher as an individual, into building a relationship between researcher and participants in making meaning. For instance, Kaupapa Maori Research is a research methodology related to Maori philosophy and using Maori principles, language, and culture (Smith, 1999). My research for an appropriate methodology led me to consider the overarching paradigm of Tongan methodology, values, and traditions.

3.3.2 Tongan Research Methodology

The careful choice of the most appropriate research approach is a concern of mine and of my position as an insider researcher within a small Tongan community in South Auckland, where my status and gender can affect the trustworthiness of the data, through inconsistent answers and different replies from the participants to different interviewers (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Vaka'uta (2014) argued that building a strong relationship between the researcher and community or participants is vital for the researcher to access information. The largest foundation of Pacific activities is built upon relationships (Morrison, Vaoleti & Veramu, 2002). Pacific scholars and researchers argued, in order for research outcomes about Pasifika people to be credible, the outcome should come from a Pacific researcher (Anae et al., 2001; Smith, 1999; Taufe'ulungaki, 2003). The skill, professionalism and integrity of the researcher also contributes to the trustworthiness of the research (Patton, 2002). As a Tongan researcher, I accept my responsibilities to uphold the ethical procedures that are required by Auckland University of Technology and AUTEC, to respect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, their human rights, providing informed consent and dignity, that all is above board in this study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). These are significant keys to trustworthy research.

I take my background as a Tongan migrant into consideration, particularly growing up in Tonga and experiencing Tongan values and cultures. Of particular importance are kinship ties as *famili or kainga* (family or extended kin), as are the core values of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) during the years of my youth before migrating to New Zealand in the 1990s. Everyone is related to each other, either by blood or by culture, and they know almost everyone due to the small size of the island. For that

reason, I suggest that employing a Tongan methodology and a method of collecting data is the appropriate one for this research study.

While considering the appropriate methodology to use in this study. I came across the *Kakala* methodological framework by Konai Helu Thaman, which uses the metaphor of making a garland of flowers – this could easily be relevant to my research study (Thaman, 2002). According to Thaman (1993), there were three stages of making the garland of flowers; *toli* (gathering), *tui* (making), and *luva* (giving) (see Foliaki, 2005; Johansson-Fua, Manu, & Takapautolo, 2007; Vaka’uta 2014). This is a framework that draws from Tongan cultural values and their understanding of community, relationship, and sharing. Tongan research values that were guided by our *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) included: *’ofa* (love/compassion), *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *tauhi va* (relationship), *fakama’uma’u* (restrained behaviour), and *anga fakatokilalo* (humility). In another approach, Manuatu (2000) explored the metaphor of *malie-mafana* (aesthetics-warmth), relating to the performance of Tongan dancing or *faiva* and *tau’olunga*. Once the dancing is getting its *malie*, people are starting to feel the warmth of the heart. However, these two Tongan methodologies can be used in this research study, but I see *talanoa* methodology as the right one for my study to use. The strength of the *talanoa* is its openness and warmth, which seeks the answer from the *loto* (heart) of the participants, that could maintain the trustworthiness of this research. Therefore, I decided to use the *talanoa faka’eke’eke* (individual interview) as the method of collecting data in this research study.

3.3.3 Talanoa Research Methodology

Talanoa Research Methodology was well established by a Tongan researcher known as Timote V. Vaoleti from the University of Waikato (Vaoleti, 2006). This research employs *Talanoa Faka'eke'eke* (individual semi-structured interview) as the method of collecting data. I was keen to use the methodology involving *talanoa* discussion at the *kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava circle), that it be recorded with a video camera during the sessions. But due to the importance of the ethical values of the participants as human beings, no harm was to be done in any way during this research study. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) stated that in order for the research to be considered credible, “researchers must take extreme care to avoid any harm” (p. 88) to the participants. Hence, I agreed with the AUTEK decision that *talanoa* discussion with video recording at the kava clubs should be omitted from the study. The reason for that is it may cause harm to other members of the *kalapu kava-Tonga* who do not give their consent and it may also breach their privacy and rights of confidentiality. I want to ensure that I will respect all participants and none of them should feel vulnerable or under duress. Therefore, I approached all my participants with the *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *'ofa* (love), *'ulungaanga lelei* (appropriate humility) and *toka'i* (care). These are the ethical protocols and also the core values of our Tongan culture.

Vaoleti (2006) stated that the *Talanoa* Research Methodology is an encounter where people tell their stories, issues, realities, and desires which allows more truth or pure (mo'oni) information. Vaoleti (2006) claimed that the *talanoa* research method can derive more credible information from the Pacific people than any other research methods. The word *talanoa* itself can refer to two Tongan words; “*tala*, which means to tell or to talk, and *noa*, which means anything or nothing in particular” (‘Otunuku,

2011, p. 45; Vaioleti, 2006). These are the people who engaged in a conversation about anything or nothing in particular. According to Vaioleti, *talanoa* is a face-to-face conversation or talk between two people with an exchange of ideas and thinking (Vaioleti, 2006). That *talanoa* tends to remove the neutral context that distances the researcher from the participant, instead developing a relationship and trust between them. Furthermore, Vaioleti (2006) suggested that *talanoa* is an open discussion with a precise nature of the unstructured interview and the questions developed during the process of interview, but the most important thing is to have that *fefalala'aki* (trust) and *faka'apa'apa* (respect) between researcher and participant.

A relationship that is based on cultural contexts and characteristics of *talanoa*, which are *'ofa* (love), *mafana* (warmth), *fefalala'aki* (trust) and *faka'apa'apa* (respect) (Vaioleti, 2006). The importance of relationship to Pacific people cannot be understated because *tauhi va* (relationship) and *faka'apa'apa* (respect) are the foundation of Pacific activities with the family at home, church, and community as well. Vaioleti (2006) claimed that *talanoa* is the ideal research methodology for Pasifika people because talking is a natural thing for Pacific communities. Hence, *talanoa* can be used in multiple ways to obtain information, such as *talanoa faikava* (talk at *kava* club), *talanoa* discussion (group discussion), *talanoa fakakata* (telling jokes and banter), and *talanoa faka'eke'eke* (direct one-on-one interview) (Vaioleti, 2013). We can find out how people feel about things through *talanoa* (Otsuka, 2005; Tovale, 1991). *Talanoa* also provides opportunities to ask probing questions for the clarification of answers. It is a good conversation which allows one to talk and the other to listen. The continuity of the *talanoa* depends upon what the other has to say and the "the *talanoa* will end when it loses its malie" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 26).

People can engage in all different types of *talanoa* at a church meeting (*fakataha fakasiasi*), family meeting (*fakataha fakafamili*), community or village meeting (*fono*), and *faikava* or *kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava circle). Engaging in *talanoa* can lift people's spirits to happiness, connectedness, and spirituality. Once the *mafana* is reached, rapport and trust will follow, building into 'ofa (love) (Manu'atu, 2000). *Talanoa* aims to dissolve the barriers of hierarchy in Tongan society so that people do not see one another as their social positions, but more as equals sitting on the mat together (Halapua, 2002; Jensen, Johansson-Fua, Hafoka-Blake, & 'Ilolahia, 2012; Marcus, 1981). Manu'atu (2000) described *talanoa* as the constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing of Tongan social realities. *Talanoa* Research Methodology "is now arguably the most prominent research methodology applied across the Pacific" (Vaiolleti, 2013, p. 191; McFall-McCaffery, 2010; Otsuka, 2005).

The collective characteristics of the *talanoa* suits the Tongan way of life and its cultural values, which is interested in keeping good relationships among the people ('Otunuku, 2011). Halapua supported 'Otunuku's statement by urging the Pacific people to use *talanoa* to solve their Pacific issues, rather than employ foreign tools (Halapua, 2002). Other scholars supported the claim by criticising Western paradigms for being inappropriate and ineffective when Western methodologies dominate and undermine critical understanding, knowledge, and values of indigenous people (Smith, 1999; 'Otunuku, 2011). Thaman argued that relationships are so important in the Pacific because it is "central to personal as well as group identities and it provides the frameworks for appropriate behaviour and performance" (Thaman, 2010, p. 355).

By contrast, Talanoa Research Methodology has been criticised for its lack of validity and reliability. That could happen because of the relationship between the researcher and participants. The outcome of the study can be affected if the researcher tends to be biased. In reply, Vaiioleti (2006) argued that “Talanoa research methodology is unlikely to yield similar results over time” (Vaiioleti, 2006, p. 32). People’s reasons and ideas on an issue may change over time, but what we will get from the participants at that particular time is the most suitable and knowledgeable ones that we can have. Vaka’uta (2009) criticised *talanoa* as having a lack of structure to find fault because the ideas that people talked about all came from their *loto* (heart). In reply, Vaiioleti (2013) argued that the warmth, openness, and approach to the heart can bring out reliable information from the participants.

3.4 Research Design

3.4.1 Talanoa Faka’eke’eke (semi-structured interview)

Talanoa faka’eke’eke is a form of *talanoa* that is closest to a one-on-one interview. It is a dialogue or *talanoa* between two people where one must ask questions to lead the *talanoa* while the other gives an answer to the question. The continuation of the *talanoa* relied on the answers given; more probing questions may follow. “*Eke* implies the act of asking questions. *Faka* means the ‘way of’ and ‘*eke’eke* implies verbal searching or relentless questioning” (Vaiioleti, 2013, p. 201). The direction of the *talanoa faka’eke’eke* is determined and controlled by the researcher. The participants still have the freedom to answer the question directly and still keep on *talanoa* with other issues that may be important to discuss. But once the interviewer thinks that the interviewee gets distracted from the research questions and the purpose of the research, then pre-prepared questions need to be asked to bring the *talanoa* back to

the context of the research. In other words, *talanoa faka'eke'eke* is a type of semi-structured interview where a topic and questions are prepared in advance to lead the interview. However, participants still have the flexibility to *talanoa* with any issues and the researcher also has the flexibility to do follow-up questions depending on the direction and *mafana* of the *talanoa* (Patton, 2002).

Overall, the most important aspect for me as an inside-researcher doing *talanoa faka'eke'eke* with the participants from my community in South Auckland is the validity, creditability, and reliability of the data which contributes to the trustworthiness of the research study. For instance, before I conduct my interviews with all the participants, I reviewed most of the core values of Tongan culture which related to my ethical framework, such as *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *fefalala'aki* (trust each other), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility), *fe'ofa'aki* (love/compassion), and *toka'i* (caring/generosity). I also look at the privacy and rights of the participants to make sure that their private matters are not exposed and become a threat to them. The first official meeting that I did with this Leimatu'a community was to discuss the research's protocols. Even though we did not discuss beforehand the appropriate clothes that we need to wear to the meeting, I decided to wear my Tongan traditional clothes. That is a *tupenu* (lavalava) and the *ta'ovala* (mat), just to be humble and show my community and the participants that I respect and care for them. Once we were seated at the hall, I realised that most of the people who attended this meeting were wearing Tongan clothes, the *ta'ovala* for men and *kiekie* for women. Our traditional clothing is our identity and shows who we are and where we came from.

One of my participants is a priest from one of the Christian churches. Before I went to his home to conduct my interview, I decided to wear my *tupenu* and *ta'ovala* to show him my respect, even though it is his home that we are conducting our *talanoa faka'eke'eke*. When I get to his place, the priest was wearing a *tupenu* and *ta'ovala* and welcomed me to his home. That is why the *talanoa* methodology is appropriate to use in this research. The type of clothes that I wear to my interview with the *kaumatu'a* (elders) at Group A and B was different when I did the interview with the younger people from Group C. The setting of my interviews with the younger participants was given to them as their place of choice. Two of them did their interview at the restaurant, while the other two chose to do it at their homes. I decided to wear casual clothes like short pants and a T-shirt at the restaurant, just to make them feel comfortable and willing to *talanoa* freely. However, I decided to wear formal clothes to the home of the other two younger participants because I still needed to show respect and care to their parents and family. I tried to make it easier for all my participants to share with me the information that I asked them, by acting informally. Then I started to build the relationship between us by telling jokes and discussing their topic of interests. Once I felt that the participant is not nervous and started to *talanoa* openly, I changed the topic and started to introduce myself and the purpose of my research study, leading on to asking my research questions.

3.4.2 Recruitment Process

I am a member of the Leimatu'a community, and I mostly know everybody who would be suited for this research. Thus, I believed that my relationship and connection with this community would benefit this research by engaging the possible participants required. I work closely with all the leaders of the Leimatu'a *kalapu kava-Tonga* (*kava*

club) to get recommendations of names from which I could pick participants according to the research's recruitment criteria. In Mangere (South Auckland), the Leimatu'a community has three different *kava* clubs: Club X, Y and Z. These *kava* clubs did a lot of remittance fundraising to help their development projects in the village of Leimatu'a that helps the *famili* (families) and *kainga* (relatives) back in the village. I also *talanoa* with the *kava* clubs' leaders and elders for names of men, women, and young people who have knowledge of remittance fundraising. Gathering individual lists from several elders, I then must choose from them the participants which I think are qualified for Groups Y and Z. I wanted to make sure that all participants that will be chosen for these three groups must between them represent all levels of social hierarchy, gender, and roles in society.

Group 1 Interviewees: Cross-representation of *kalapu kava-Tonga* men from the Leimatu'a community. Four participants will be chosen from the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs. The members of the Tongan *faikava* or *kalapu kava-Tonga* are traditionally men.

- Individuals aged 30 to 75 years of age.
- Must personally identify as Tongan and belonging to the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland.
- Must live in New Zealand.
- Must be involved in either one of the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs.
- To anonymise this group, I have called them Group A.

Group 2 Interviewees: Cross-representation of women from the Leimatu'a community. Four female participants were chosen, who were not involved in the *kalapu kava-Tonga*.

- Female individuals aged 30 to 75 years of age.
- Must personally identify as Tongan belonging to the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland.
- Must live in New Zealand.
- Must not be involved with the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs.
- To anonymise this group, I have called them Group B.

Group 3 Interviewees: Cross-representation of young people. Four participants of young people were chosen; it did not matter whether they were involved at the *kalapu kava-Tonga* or not.

- Young people 20 to 30 years of age.
- Must personally identify as Tongan belonging to the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland.
- Must live in New Zealand.
- Either involved or not involved in the *kava* clubs.
- To anonymise this group, I have called them Group C.

Their inclusion was entirely voluntary and consultation, ethical protocols, benefit, and risk information were provided, and participants' full consents were obtained in due process.

After approaching possible participants through a telephone call, an introductory email and information sheet was sent giving them fourteen days to decide whether they want to accept or decline the invitation. Participants were assured of all their ethical

rights and procedures. It was explained that they would not be identifiable in the research as it would protect them not to expose their identities or be easily identifiable by the public and the rest of the community. Their involvement with the research study was entirely voluntary and they could withdraw from this research at any time without disadvantage to them. Kvale (2007) claimed that it is extremely important to keep participants' confidentiality. He stated that "private data identifying the subjects will not be reported" (p. 27).

Once participants approved the invitation and agreed to participate in the research study, a date, time, and place had been set for the *talanoa faka'eke'eke* (in-depth interview). The date and time for the *talanoa* were arranged to suit the participants and a duration of at least an hour set aside. A place of their choice that makes them comfortable for the *talanoa faka'eke'eke* will be helpful to the outcome of this research. Participants must sign the consent form in front of me before the interview begins. I called every participant and thanked them personally.

3.4.3 Transcription of Data

The *talanoa faka'eke'eke* was conducted in both the Tongan and English languages, just to make it easier for the participants to *talanoa* openly in whatever language that they were comfortable with. All interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants. After the interviews, I played all the *talanoa faka'eke'eke* and transcribed them, typed, and saved the transcript to my laptop. There were twelve transcripts all together that I typed, played, and read several times before transcribing from the Tongan language into English. The transcription is required to be consistent, appropriate, and trustworthy. I could have hired an independent transcriber subject to

funds availability. However, Rubin and Rubin (2012) suggested that it is better for the researcher to do the transcription so that they may learn to pay attention and review again what has been said by the participants. It also familiarises the researcher with the collected data and helps to improve analytical skills. Therefore, I transcribed the data myself.

3.4.4 Data Analysis – Thematic Analysis

Data collected from the in-depth interviews (*talanoa faka'eke'eke*) was analysed using thematic analysis. This analysis is significant to the research process because it produces qualitative answers to the research questions. Braun and Clarke (2006) stated that the purpose and goals of employing thematic analysis are to identify the themes from the data by analysing, identifying, and interpreting the patterns of meaning across the data that are interesting and relevant to the research questions.

Thematic analysis is considered a flexible and accessible method which allows the researcher to see and understand an overview of the material and patterns of meaning in the data. Using thematic analysis of my data allows me as a researcher to focus on the data in different ways. Even though it is important to analyse the meaningful patterns from the data, the assumptions and ideas behind the data are equally important. Thus, analysis could be undertaken in multiple stages, first focusing on the more obvious patterns, and gradually moving towards discovering the latent meanings in the data.

The analysis of the data followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six steps which outline the analytical procedure to work with data in a disciplined but also insightful way. The first step was to familiarise myself with the data; this means I needed to listen to the audio

recording many times before transcribing it. After that, I read and re-read the transcripts to become more familiar with the contents of the interviews. After this, I generated initial codes by identifying and labelling the data in relevance to the research questions. In the coding process of this data, I chose the exact expressions, terms, statements, and keywords, and grouped them by using different colours to highlight emerging themes. Thirdly, I searched for evolving patterns to capture all important details, which I organised into sets to make it easier to analyse, identify and interpret. Fourth, the thus emerging patterns needed to be reviewed and organised into potential themes. Fifth, I classified, defined, and named the themes by stating what was unique about each of them. Lastly, I summarised the themes in form of findings, and organised these to produce the report of my analysis. Patton (2002) stated that reflecting on data is an analysis of what I know from what participants have been saying through in-depth interviews.

3.5 Summary

Overall, *Talanoa* Research Methodology is the appropriate and trustworthy methodology that suitable for the nature of this research study. *Talanoa faka'eke'eke* (unstructured one-on-one interview) is the method of collecting data. A trustworthy and respectful relationship between the researcher and the participants is very significant to avoid inconsistent data. The warmth of the talanoa touches the heart of the participant to openness with consistent reliable information that maintain the trustworthiness of this research.

Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the research findings organised by questions, namely, participants' reasons for partaking in the *kalapu kava-Tonga* remittance fundraising, the motives of Leimatu'a remittance fundraising's success, the future of remittance economy in Tonga, and the prospect of the second-generation Tongans in New Zealand to maintain the remittance practices of their parents.

4.2 The significance of the *kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava club)

Kava club is a common place for men to socialise, family get-together and drinking kava.

One of the key findings in this research demonstrated the significance of the *kalapu kava-Tonga* in the Tongan society. Most of the male participants claimed that the *kava* club is a shared place where the Leimatu'a men get together in the weekend to socialise, family get-together and drinking kava. Data showed that some of the participants attend the *kava* club because they feel homesick, missing their parents and kin in the homeland. This is the place where every Leimatu'an man allowed to keep practicing the kava circle's tradition with the core values of the Leimatu'an way of life.

The first-generation female participants stated that while their husbands socialising and drinking kava on the weekend, wives are allowed to have a family get-together at one of the homes. They socialise and have time to cook food, eat and then sing and dance while waiting for their husbands to pick them up.

Kava clubs promote the core values of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture).

Data showed that the uniqueness of the kava club was perceived when leaders of the kava clubs and elders of the Leimatu'a community promoted the core values of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture) at the kava club. They taught the members of the kava clubs, including the second-generation members, the importance of being generous, respectful, humble, and how to keep the relationship between one another. The younger generations were taught how to be seated in a kava circle and practice how to speak in the Tongan language. Participants told me that the *kalapu kava-Tonga* would unite the Leimatu'a community with Tongan values, which emphasised the importance of our cultural identity of who we are and where we came from.

4.3 *Kalapu kava-Tonga* is the main source of remittance fundraising

Another key finding in this research demonstrated that there were two ways in which the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland contributes to remittance fundraising. Firstly, data showed that the Leimatu'a community do remittance fundraising through the *kalapu kava-Tonga*. Most of the first-generation participants stated that the *kalapu kava-Tonga* is the main source of remittance fundraising for the Leimatu'a community. The second method of fundraising is known as the community remittance fundraising. That is, a community fundraises, which is mostly operated together with the *kalapu lahi* fundraising (*kava* club's main fundraising). The *kalapu* leaders and organisers of the fundraising invited the Leimatu'a community to participate in the fundraising and performed one *ta'olunga* (Tongan dance) for each family on the fundraising night. During the performance of the *ta'olunga*, people feel the *mafana* (warmth) within their hearts, which encourages them to do the *fakapale* (placing

money on the dancer). All the money collected from the *ta'olunga* will be donated towards the fundraising.

The change of traditional fundraising method into *kalapu kava-Tonga* and community fundraising.

The data showed that the Leimatu'a community changed their fundraising method from group dancing and floorshow to *kalapu kava-Tonga* and community fundraising. This is due to changes in the immigration policy, the increase of overseas migration, and the increase in popularity of the *kava* clubs within the Tongan community. The majority of the participants told me that *kava* club is a common practice in the Tongan society and every village in Tonga would have a *kava* club. For instance, the Leimatu'a community in Mangere is currently operating three *kalapu kava-Tonga* compared to the only one *kava* club that they started in the 1980s. Other Tongan communities in South Auckland started their own *kalapu kava-Tonga* due to increasing numbers of Tongan people who have migrated to Auckland. I discovered from the data that the cultural practice of the *faikava* or *kalapu kava-Tonga* in New Zealand has increased in popularity due to the change of fundraising activity and the increased numbers of participating in the *kalapu kava-Tonga* that have been operating so far.

***Kalapu kava-Tonga* fundraising is a *toungaue fetokoni'aki* (a cooperative fundraising task).**

The first-generation participants stated that the *kalapu kava-Tonga* fundraising is a *toungaue fetokoni'aki* (a cooperative fundraising task). The cooperative fundraising task allowed different *kava* clubs from different villages to work together and help

each other in terms of their remittance fundraising. Each kava club takes a turn for organising their main fundraising, and the rest of the community's kava clubs should participate and donate money.

Kalapu kava-Tonga have different goals and purposes for fundraising.

Data showed that all the Leimatu'a kava clubs in South Auckland have been operating with different fundraising goals and purposes. They all have different short-term goals and long-term goals for remittance fundraising depending on what they had agreed to with respect to development projects running in the village of Leimatu'a. For instance, the short-term goals for Kava Club X's fundraising is to financially help the funeral of club member's family in New Zealand. The long-term goals of the club are to pay for students' scholarships, particularly the students in the village who lost their parents. They also fundraised to install streetlights around all small roads in the village to make them safer for everyone.

4.4 The motives of the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising success – Improving quality of life

Looking for a better life in New Zealand.

The research looked for the motives that motivated the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising. The data showed that most of the participants had left Tonga to seek for a better life and better standard of living in New Zealand. Most of the first-generation migrants had grown up in very poor families, and they experienced the struggles and hardship of daily life. Tonga is a small and poor country with no resources and limited amount of employment opportunities.

The Desire for a better life for the children.

Data shows that most of the participants left Tonga with a desire for their children to have opportunities for better education and a good future in New Zealand. Most of the first-generation participants claimed that there was a lack of opportunities for education in Tonga. The data clearly showed that the poor standard of living influenced their decision to migrate overseas. Most of the parents could not afford to pay for their children's school fees to further their studies overseas.

Seeking for better job to help parent and kin at home.

Data showed that the first-generation participants came to New Zealand with a purpose of seeking a better job to help their parents and kin at the homeland. First-generation participants stated that their parents sent them overseas to find a better job to help the financial expenses of the family in Tonga. Some of the participants claimed that despite of the loneliness and homesickness, they have no choice but to leave their parents and families behind to seek a better job overseas to help their parents at home.

***Anga faka-Tonga* motivates remittance fundraising's success.**

One of the significant findings in this research demonstrated two main motives behind remittance fundraising success of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland. First, the importance of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life or culture) and its core values such as *'ofa* (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility/generosity), *tauhi va* (gratitude/relationship) and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity). Second, the *anga faka-Leimatu'a*, which I will discuss in the next section. The data

supports the claim that the *anga faka-Tonga* and its core values motivate remittance fundraising and the sending of money to Tonga, particularly when Tongan migrants in the diasporas uphold the importance of these core values.

***Anga faka-Leimatu'a* motivates remittance fundraising's success.**

Another significant finding in this research showed that the core values of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life) motivated the success of the remittance fundraising. These core values are *loto mafana* and *fiefia* (warm-heartedness/happiness), *nima foaki* (generosity), *fetokoni'aki* (helping others), *meimeivale* or *to'oto'oa* (extreme happiness/almost absurd), *hua* and *fakapangopango* (banter/jokes on others), and *tu'utu'ukehe* (sarcasm). Data showed that the success of the Leimatu'a remittance fundraisings were all based on the spirit and warm-heartedness (*anga faka-Leimatu'a*) of the Leimatu'a community. For instance, for someone to have the spirit of giving money to the fundraising needs to have a warm heart and a life that is full of happiness. Furthermore, data showed that having fun, enjoying life, and not taking things too seriously are core values of the Leimatu'a way of life. That is the uniqueness of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a*, which gave them the positive mind that nothing is impossible to achieve. Throughout the interviews, most of the participants emphasised the idea that the amount of money that anyone contributes to the fundraising had never become an issue for the Leimatu'a community. It does not matter how much money one contributes to the cause, but what matters the most for this community is their happiness, warm-heartedness, willingness to help others, and to have fun at the fundraising.

Community fundraising contributes to the success of the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising.

Data shows that the successful of Leimatu'a remittance fundraising was based on the unique spirit of the Leimatu'a community and how they always supported and worked together with the Leimatu'a kava clubs to achieve their fundraising goals. The Leimatu'a community did that through contributing raffle tickets, and the performance of the *ta'olunga* (Tongan dance) and the *fakapale* (people put money on the person who perform the ta'olunga). The participants stated that the community is a big part of their fundraising success.

Village development projects motivate remittance fundraising success.

Research data showed that the achievement of the village development projects motivate the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising. For instance, all participants in group A stated that the village projects funded by the Leimatu'a kava clubs in South Auckland aimed at helping the Leimatu'a village development, so that everyone in the village would benefit from it. These village projects, such as the students' scholarships, operation of the kindergarten, streetlights, graveyards' fences, lawn mowers, water pump generators and the school buses, are the outcome of the remittance fundraising success of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland. Thus, these projects are the motives that motivate the successful of the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising.

Helping parents and kin at home motivates remittance fundraising.

Most of the participants claimed that their involvement with remittance fundraising was motivated by the idea of helping their parents and families that are still living in

Tonga. Participants said that, “the worthwhile life is a life that does not forget their home” (Participant 3, Group A). In other words, the only life that is worth living is one that does not forget one’s obligation to parents and the family at home. The importance of family orientation and family values motivated participants to involve and help with every Leimatu’a remittance fundraising. The data showed that Leimatu’a remittance fundraising was never about the amount of money that one donated but the spirit of love, care, and remembrance of their parents and kin at home. Thus, Leimatu’a remittance fundraising is all about helping others.

Cultural identity motivates remittance fundraising success.

Data showed that the cultural identity of the Leimatuan motivated the success of remittance fundraising. The Leimatu’a people were known as the ‘*ta pauni ono*’ (striking of the six pounds corn-beef) and the ‘*hala mangaono*’ (six intersection streets). It is very easy to identify the Leimatuan during any celebration they are involved in, such as church’s conference, agriculture show, and King’s birthday. Their spirit of happiness, warm-heartedness, willing to help, jokes and banters identified them as the Leimatuan. One participant stated that it is not hard for people to identify us with our *anga faka-Leimatu’a* (Leimatu’a way of life) such as *mo’ui fiefia* (happiness life), *loto mafana ke foaki* (warm heart to give/generosity), *to’oto’oa ke tokoni* (extreme happiness to help others), and *fakapangopango ke fiefia* (make jokes on others to get happiness). Hence, these are the motives that make this community so unique and successful in remittance fundraising.

Communication strategies that contribute to the success of remittance fundraising.

This research showed that the success of the Leimatu'a kava clubs and the Leimatu'a community fundraising were based on the leadership of the kava clubs, the fundraising organisers or the *kaumatu'a* (elders), and the way how they communicated with each other in regard to remittance fundraising. Participants claimed that door-to-door visiting in person was the best way to reach out to the Leimatu'a community and inviting them for the remittance fundraising. Leimatu'a community leaders in South Auckland were using other simple ways of communication such as *fono* (community meeting), word of mouth, telephone, email, and social media – but door to door visits in person was the best and effective method so far.

4.5 A sustainable remittance economy

Remittance fundraising is significant for Tonga's sustainable economy.

The question that needed to be answered in the theme of remittance money and a sustainable economy is why remittance money is so important in sustaining a Tongan economy. Or why the practice of remitting is so significant for a MIRAB economy. The data showed that participants did not particularly mention the MIRAB economy as such, but they discussed the significance of a sustainable remittance economy that Tonga would benefit from. This is particularly evident in village developments and other projects that were funded by the overseas Tongan community. Hence, sending money from the migrants in the diasporas, community fundraising, and aid-donation from overseas nations generated revenue that fully helped the developing country to move from deficit into a surplus. Looking at the Leimatu'a projects for village development, all these projects were funded from overseas remittance fundraising of

the kava clubs and the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland. Those remittance moneys help in sustaining the remittance economy. Participants stated that the population of Tongan people in the diasporas would be three times the total population in Tonga. The Tongan culture and values encourage people to help their family and kin in the homeland. The opportunities for Tongan people to come overseas as seasonal workers or builders also contribute to a sustainable economy in Tonga.

Sending money to parents and kin at the homeland is a *fatongia* (obligation) and *ngafa* (responsibility).

This research showed that all the participants including the second-generation participants claimed that it is the main obligation and responsibility of Tongan children to look after their parents, regardless of the situation they are living at. Thus, it is their obligation and responsibility to send money to their parent and kin in the homeland. They stated that no one is forcing them to send money to their parents, but it is the way of showing their love, respect, and appreciation of what they have done for them. A participant stated, "I count my *fatongia* to my parent as a blessing because at least that I will be able to send them money to buy something to eat with my siblings while they are still alive" (P6). "Despite the importance of *fatongia* to us Tongans and our culture, we still have the freedom to choose whether to do something or not. I have the freedom to choose whether to keep my *fatongia* to my parent or not ..." (P2). "*Fatongia* (obligation) is the foundation of our Tongan culture. Our parents were taught by their parents about their *fatongia* to the chief of our village, *fatongia* to our church's minister, *fatongia* to their parents and *fatongia* to their sisters and

mehikitanga (aunty). We were taught about the same thing by our parents and it is our job to tell the same story to our children and grandchildren..." (P4).

In contrast, the second-generation participants claimed that they do not need to send money to Tonga because they are living together with their parents here in New Zealand. Their obligations and responsibilities are to work and look after their parents here in New Zealand.

Cultural practices strengthen transnational ties, Tongan values, and sustainable remittance economy.

Research data showed that cultural practices in the diasporas such as the *kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava club), *lotu faka-Tonga* (Tongan church), Pasifika school festival, Tongans Language week, Tonga Day Celebration, Tonga weddings, funerals, alumni association meetings, and remittance fundraising strengthen transnational ties, Tongan values and sustainable remittance economy in Tonga. For instance, the Kava club taught overseas-born children the importance of their identity, tradition and *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life). Other cultural practices such as school festival, church activities, Tonga language week and remittance fundraising gave the overseas-born Tongans a sense of connection with their homeland. Taking their children to a Tongan church on Sunday, and let them get involved in church activities, reminded them of the importance of shared values and the sense of belonging. One participant stated, "I prefer to let my children be involved with our Tongan church's activities because it will help them socially and spiritually. They can learn and experience more about our Tongan culture and language. I used to take my two sons to our *faikava*, but they did not interest in

drinking *kava*. The more they become involved with our Tongan cultural practices, the more they interested in fundraising and sending money to Tonga ..." (P3).

Taking overseas-born children to Tonga will strengthen their bonds, connections and sending money to family in Tonga.

This research showed that the majority of the participants believed that taking overseas-born children to Tonga will strengthen their bonds and connections with their family and kin at home, and that could motivate them to send money to Tonga. One participant stated that he took his children three times to Tonga and he can see the difference, as his oldest son is sending money to his aunty and uncle in Tonga. He told me that his children are video calling and chatting with their grandmother on the weekend. The bond between his children and the family in Tonga is very strong. Participants stated that taking their children to Tonga will allow them to see and experience the hard way of living that their parents have gone through. That experience will strengthen their bonds and connections with their roots and family in Tonga. Furthermore, data showed that overseas remittance has been very sustainable in Tonga's economy for the last 30 years. There were more Tongans who are living overseas than those who are currently living in Tonga. Thus, it is so vital for Tongan parents in the diasporas to bring their children and family back home.

Overseas-born children appreciate the love and care that they received from families in Tonga.

The second-generation participants stated that they are grateful for the love and care that their families in Tonga showed when they visited them. Every time they went to

Tonga, their family and kin in the village came with food and roast pigs to welcome them. They were invited by different relatives whom they never meet before, and their peers were always take them around the village. Most of the people in the village treated them as guests of honour, and they never experienced that kind of warm welcome back in New Zealand.

4.6 The future of remittance economy in Tonga

The upbringing of the overseas-born children can influence the future of remittance economy.

Most participants claimed that the upbringing of the overseas-born children can influence the future of remittance fundraising in the diasporas and the continuous of remittance economy in Tonga. Participants believed that the future of remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga relied on the role of every Tongan parent in the upbringing of their children. For instance, one participant claimed that the overseas-born children will continue helping remittance fundraising in New Zealand because that is the way they had been brought up. Tongan children love to follow the lead of their parents. Others believed that Tongan parents should encourage their second-generation children to participate at the cultural practices in the diasporas such as *lotu fakatonga*, kava clubs, Tongan language week, Pasifika school festival and other Tongan traditional practices like wedding and community fundraising.

Tongan parents are the best role model for their children.

The second-generation participants stated that even though they did not agree with some of the ideas in remittance fundraising, particularly how their parents donated a

lot of money at the fundraising, they do not want to disappoint or upset their parents in front of the people at the fundraising. They felt that parents would be their best role model, and whatever the parents did, they will follow their footsteps. At home, children are always looking up to their parents for guidance, help and assurance. The younger generation believed that obeying their parents is a blessing from God. If the parents are the role model at home, it is therefore, that overseas children will likely follow what their parent did.

Living between two different cultures became a challenge for the second generation in the diasporas.

This research shows that living between two different cultures in the diasporas will always be a challenge for most of the Tongan families. The overseas-born children stated that they struggled to communicate with their parents in Tongan, because they are living in a society where everything is communicated in English. The first-generation participants also struggled to communicate in English at work. They clashed when required to work on Sunday with the Christian values. Tongan children struggled to cope with their education due to the pressures that their parents put upon them. For instance, the wearing of very short pants by the girls at sport functions or school activities is not allowed in the Tongan culture. Tongan culture assumes that it is disrespectful for girls to do so in front of their brothers and of the people. Thus, Tongan youths wear short pants with a lavalava outside of it. The discipline of children became a challenge for Tongan parents particularly for talking back to a parent is not allowed in Tongan culture, and the smacking of children is prohibited in New Zealand.

Cultural identity is in the blood and veins of Tongan people regardless of where you were born.

Data showed that the cultural identity is in the 'blood and veins' of all Tongans regardless of where they were born. Participants claimed that their overseas-born children still have Tongan blood in their veins regardless of their inability to speak the Tongan language. For instance, one participant stated that even though his children were all born in New Zealand, they still identified themselves as *Ta Pauni Ono or Mangaono*. This identity gives them the right to get involved in the fundraising by the Leimatu'a community. The second-generation participants believed that it is important to speak Tongan and learn to understand one's cultural identity, but, ultimately, it does have nothing to do with Tonganness, as they are proud of their identity as Tongans regardless of their situation. A point in case was the *Mate Ma'a Tonga* rugby league game at the World Cup 2017. Most of Tonga's team were overseas-born Tongans, and this game encouraged all second-generation Tongan to stand up and be proud of their identity.

Overseas-born Tongans will continue to help remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga.

The majority of the first-generation participants believed that their overseas-born children will continue to help remittance fundraising and send money to Tonga due to their upbringing, their parents as their role models, an obligation to look after their parents, and their willingness to make their parents proud of them. In contrast, most of the second-generation participants stated that they were not sure of whether they may continue helping the remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga such as

their parents did. Most of the overseas-born children live here in New Zealand with their parents, therefore, there is no one else in Tonga for them to send money to, apart from their kinship. At the same time, most of the second generation saw that their parents did remittance fundraising, and it might influence their decision in the future.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has summarised the key findings from the data, which will be further discussed in the coming chapters. Findings indicate that the reasons and rationales for remittance fundraising are strongly associated with traditional cultural values and a wish to not merely improve one's life but also to assist the relatives and relationships back home. A sense of community belonging was clearly evidenced in the data of this study.

Chapter 5: Leimatu’a kalapu kava-Tonga and community fundraising

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores to what extent the Leimatu’a *kalapu kava-Tonga* and the community remittance fundraising was done through the *kalapu lahi* fundraising (kava club’s major fundraising). In doing so, I unfold this chapter in four sections: 1) the *kalapu kava-Tonga* group and their history; 2) the significance of the *kalapu kava-Tonga*; 3) the functioning of *kalapu kava-Tonga* in New Zealand now; and 4) how the remittance fundraising is done in the Leimatu’a community. The importance of community fundraising, so as the importance of *kava*, particularly in the *kava* ceremony or *kava* circle, shows how it represents the Tongan culture and its core values of *’ofa* (love), *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *fatongia* (obligation), *taliangi* (loyalty) and *ngafa* (responsibility).

5.2 What the *kalapu kava-Tonga* groups are and their history

5.2.1 The Legend of Kava

In Tonga, the story of the myth and legend of *kava*⁶ is told that there was a couple named *Fevanga* (husband) and *Fefafa* (wife) who lived on an unoccupied island in Tonga, with their only daughter who suffered from leprosy. Her name was *Kava koe kilia mei Faa’imata* (*Kava* the leprosy from *Faa’imata*). The King (called the *Tu’i Tonga*) and his men were passing the island and stopped for a rest. The island was barren, and the couple had only one *kape* (big giant taro), but the King was sitting and resting his back towards the giant taro. *Fevanga* knows that it would be disrespectful in Tongan

⁶ <https://www.thecoconet.tv/know-your-roots/pacific-history-legends/the-legend-of-kava-tonga/>

culture if he asked the King to move and let him cook the giant taro for the King's *taumafa* (food to eat). Therefore, Fevanga decided to kill and sacrifice their most precious possession, their only daughter, and cook her in the 'umu⁷ for the King's *taumafa* (food). The sacrifice of his daughter is an expression of *fatongia* (obligation), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), 'ofa (love), *taliangi* (loyalty) and *ngafa* (responsibilities) of the Tongan people to the King of Tonga. It was a mutual sacrifice, but the *Tu'i Tonga* refused to accept the sacrifice, instead telling them to keep buried the 'umu forever as an act of appreciation and generosity towards the sacrifice. One day, the couple visited the site of the 'umu and saw two plants growing up from the front and the back of the 'umu. A mouse had bitten the skin of the plant at the front and got affected by its narcotic properties. It then ran to the other plant at the back and bit it, then sobered up and disappeared. The bitter plant at the front was called *kava* (*kava* plant), and the sweet plant at the back was called *fu'u to* (sugarcane) (see Gifford, 1924; Latukefu, 1975; Davis & Brown, 1999).

The myth of kava represents its importance to the Tongan culture and how people live in a hierarchical order shaped like a pyramid. A King on the top, then Nobles in the middle, and the commoners on the lower level of the pyramid. The couple and their daughter represent the commoners' *ngafa* (responsibilities) and *fatongia* (obligations) to the King. The sacrifice of their daughter represents an expression of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), 'ofa (love), and *taliangi* (loyalty) towards their King in the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life). That is why *kava* became a kind of traditional plant and drink in

⁷ 'Umu – is when Tongan people cooked their food on heated stones that was burned in an oven of a hollow in the earth.

Tonga that commoners used to show their respect for the Nobles and the King (Latukeyu, 1975; Helu, 1993). Furthermore, *kava* is a very familiar plant in Pacific countries that benefits people financially. In the modern era, the recreational narcotic beverage of *kava* has been transformed into a commercial pharmaceutical product of great potential (see Lemert, 1967).

5.2.2 Five Types of Kava Ceremony

The *kava* ceremony is one of the cultural practices in Tongan society. A Tongan scholar, Professor Futa Helu, stated that the customary form of *kava* ceremony with how the King, chiefs, *kau matapule*⁸ and commoners were seated in a kava circle, traditionally symbolised “how rank and power are distributed” amongst society in a hierarchical order, in which the King is the highest in rank and the most powerful, then the Chiefs or Nobles and the commoners are the lowest and most powerless (Helu, 1993). Helu (1993) acknowledged five different types of kava ceremonies in Tongan society; “*tau fakalokua*; *faikava ‘eva*; the formal *faikava*⁹ known as the *taumafakava*; *kava fakasiasi*; and *kalapu kava-Tonga*” (p. 189).

The first type of *faikava* called *tau fakaloto fonua*, is when the fishermen and farmers unwind after working at the weekend, discussing, and sharing some information about their work and drinking *kava*. The second type of *faikava* is known as *faikava ‘eva*, a traditional method of drinking *kava* for courting and dating. A group of men in the village go to the girl’s house to ask permission from her parents for the girl to *tou’a*¹⁰ or serve their *kava* at the girl’s house. The young man whom they agree to allow to

⁸ *Matapule* is a title that was given to a commoner by the Chief of the village as the Chief’s representative.

⁹ *Faikava* – the informal practice of men socialising and drinking *kava* at one’s place.

¹⁰ *Tou’a* – the young lady who mixes and serves the *kava* drink.

date the girl, must talk to her while the rest of the *faikava* sing love songs and make jokes to direct the interest of the girl to the young man. The third type of *faikava* is known as the *taumafakava*. This is the most formal of the traditional *kava* ceremonies consisting of serving *kava* for the King, particularly in a very important event such as the King's coronation. Most notably, *taumafa* is a hierarchical term that has been commonly used by Tongan commoners for their King's drinking and eating of food. The first *taumafakava* was held in "the reign of the tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, about 1150" (Newell, 1947, p. 370). So, the term *faikava* evolved from the *taumafa kava* of the King, which refers to the drinking of *kava* of the commoners or lowest class in society.

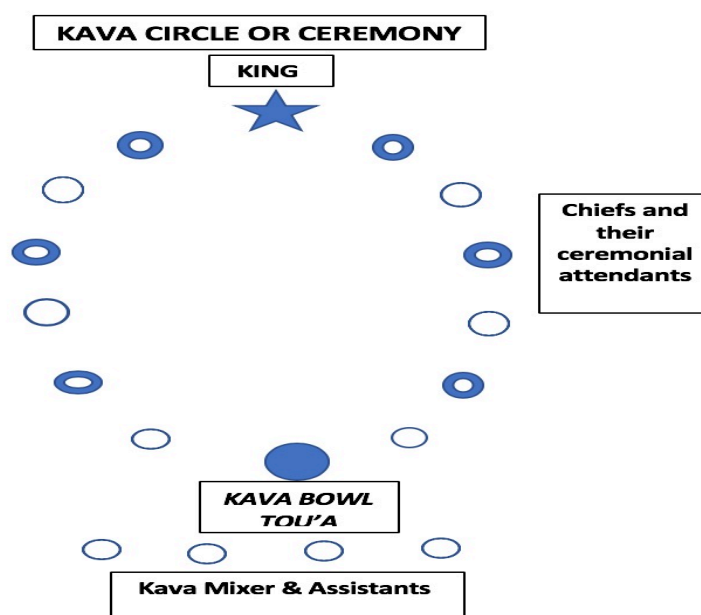


Figure 7: – Traditional *Kava* Circle at the *Taumafa Kava*

The fourth type of *faikava* is called a *kava fakasiasi*; that is the embedding of the drinking of *kava* into church practices. Church members went to the church's hall to drink *kava* just an hour before church started. The last form of *faikava* known as the *kalapu kava-Tonga*; that is the form of the *faikava* in which it is structured to raise

funds (Helu, 1993). These *kava* ceremonies were all traditionally seated according to the *taumafa kava* in figure 7. In ceremonies other than the *taumafa kava*, the King's seat is taken by whoever has the highest rank. For example, the community leader or president of the *kava* club.

5.3 The significance of the kalapu kava-Tonga (faikava)

This research study mostly focuses on the latter type of *faikava*, known as the *kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava clubs), even though most of the Pasifika scholars used the well-known term *faikava* in anything that regards to drinking *kava* and its culture (Fehoko, 2015; Mahina, 1992; Latukefu, 1980; Taumoefolau, 1991). The term *faikava* has been defined in many ways but they all have the same meaning. Most of the male participants from the Leimatu'a community stated that the context and nature of the *faikava* is slightly different from the *kalapu kava-Tonga*, despite their similarities in socialising and drinking the narcotic beverage.

"Faikava is the informal way of socialising and drinking kava in the village or community..." (P2, Group A).

"Faikava is referred to as drinking kava at one's place for free. All we do is to sit down, talanoa (talk), make jokes, and sing[ing] while drinking the kava ..." (P1, Group A).

"Faikava is a Tongan practice that benefits young people in courtship to convince the tou'a who serve the kava to marry with a young man whom they agreed with..." (P4, Group A).

5.3.1 Kalapu kava-Tonga is a common place for men to socialise and promote the Tongan way of life (anga faka-Tonga)

The majority of the participants claimed that the kava club is a common place for men to socialise and drinking kava in the weekend. The younger participants stated that kava club is the place where the kava club's leaders and the community elders

promote the importance of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture). That is where they learned to open themselves and have fun with their *faikava* family. Participants that involved at the kava clubs stated that the operation and management of the *kava* clubs are more formal than the *faikava* itself because the club's official roles such as the *palesiteni* (president), *sekelitali* (secretary), *angi* (work leader), and *tauhi pa'anga* (treasurer) are chosen annually. Participants also stated that the role of the *kava* club is to provide the *kava* powder and other expenses while anyone else are welcome to drink for a charge or donation. This is what the *kalapu kava-Tonga* meant to the Leimatu'a participants:

"*Kava* club is a common-place where the Leimatu'a men can meet, drink *kava* and socialise together. The club's officers were chosen annually by the members. We put our long-term goal(s) and a short-term one at the beginning of the year, and we work upon those goals throughout the year. Our remittance fundraising effort is one of the tools employed to achieve our goal(s) ..." (P1, Group A).

"*Kalapu kava-Tonga* is another type of *faikava*, but everyone has to pay money or make a donation to keep the clubs running. *Kava* club is like a village practice for the men to socialise, drink *kava* and help others ..." (P4, Group A).

"*Kava*-club is a community place that they help others as they did to my uncle when he visited New Zealand. I learned a lot about our Tongan culture from the elders ..." (P11, Group C).

"It is a place where I learned to express my happiness by telling jokes, banter or sarcastic stories that makes everyone laugh while drinking *kava*..." (P12, Group C).

5.4 How these *kalapu kava-Tonga* function in New Zealand now?

5.4.1 *Kalapu kava-Tonga* is the main source of remittance fundraising's success

The context of the *kalapu kava-Tonga*, in its formation, goals, operation and mechanism, is designed to raise funds through a financial contribution of the club's members, visitors and community members. According to the participants of this study, *kalapu kava-Tonga* became one of the key structures for fundraising within the

Leimatu'a community in New Zealand. The combination of the Leimatu'a community and their *kava* clubs became a very strong driver of their remittance fundraising practices. Most participants from these three different groups involved in this study shared in common excellent leadership of the presidents and officers of the *kava* clubs, how well they organised fundraising through other Tongan *kava* clubs and the Leimatu'a community, which contributed to the success of the *kalapu kava-Tonga* remittance fundraising.

"The success of our remittance fundraising was based on the leadership and the fundraising experienced of our community leaders and the presidents or organisers of our Leimatu'a *kava* clubs..." (P6, Group B).

"I have been to two of the major fundraisings of our Leimatu'a community and I experienced the uniqueness of our fundraising culture. The warm-spirit of their happiness and their ability to work together with the *kalapu kava-Tonga* contributed to the success of our remittance fundraising..." (P9, Group C).

"The key to the success of our *kava* clubs' remittance fundraising was based on our spirit of oneness and the culture of working together with our people in the community..." (P4, Group A).

Further, a *kava* club's fundraising not only relied on their *tauhi va* with other Tongan *kava* clubs, but the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland was also included. The officers from the *kava* club ask the leaders of the community and the people of Leimatu'a to help them with their *kalapu lahi* fundraising (main fundraising) by performing a *tau'olunga* (Tongan dance) for each family. This kind of *kalapu lahi* fundraising is a combination of drinking *kava* fundraising and community *tau'olunga* fundraising performing together at the hall.

"Most of the remittance fundraising with our *Kalapu X* relied on our *kalapu lahi* fundraising with the other Tongan *kava* clubs in Auckland that we worked together and helped each other throughout their fundraising. We also give away raffle tickets with big prizes to our Leimatu'a community and asked them to perform a *tau'olunga* (Tongan dance) for every family in the community. We

did a lot of this type of fundraising and all of them were a success..." (P1, Group A).

Lastly, it is a fundraising that involved the village of Leimatu'a in Tonga, the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, and all the Tongan *kava* clubs in Auckland. This is a major remittance fundraising that aimed to achieve a very large amount of money for bigger projects in the village. The Town Officer and the people in the village or the Club's president and their members in the village will work together throughout the year to send a container of frozen Tongan foods (taro, yam, cassava, and *kape*) and at least 300 kilograms of Tongan *kava* powder. They will choose four or five members from the village to travel with the container to New Zealand and do remittance fundraising. They will also have to choose which *kava* club from the Leimatu'a community that they want to organise and look after the fundraising. Once the group from Tonga arrives in New Zealand with their container of foods, the President and Officers of that *kava* club will take over the right to organise and run the fundraising until the end.

"The last fundraising that we did was major fundraising that I was asked to organise and look after with our *Kalapu Z*. There were five club officers who came from *Tonga* to help in the fundraising. A container of frozen foods (each 20kg bag) was given away for free to every Leimatu'a household in Auckland. That is our invitation for them to attend our major *kalapu lahi* and perform a *tau'olunga* for every family. We visited 36 *kava* clubs and gave them our *ma'ukava* (offering – \$10kg of *kava* powder) that is worth more than NZD\$1,000 dollars. We did our *Kalapu lahi* fundraising separately from our community fundraising in order for us to manage them properly. Our fundraising was a success, we collected around a hundred thousand New Zealand dollars from our fundraising ..." (P3, Group A).

"This is what the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs do best, particularly when communicating and upholding a good relationship with everyone related to the fundraising..." (P4, Group A).

Group B was not forthcoming when they were interviewed for the way the *Kalapu kava-Tonga* does remittance fundraising. This is possibly due to the exclusion of women from drinking *kava* in Tongan society. The young people in Group C had mixed ideas about the fundraising practice of the *kava* clubs. One male participant thought that the overall fundraising practices are too much for overseas-born Tongans to maintain (see Chapter 8 below). A female participant in the same group supported the idea even though she was born in Tonga and migrated to New Zealand to further her studies. She experienced what happened at the *kava* clubs fundraising through her role as the *tou'a* that serve the *kava*. She stated that helping others is the best thing that one can achieve in life but helping yourself should be the first thing that everyone should do before helping others.

“Even though I did not understand most of the things which happened at the *kava* club, I appreciate the way how I was welcomed to it. They make me feel like at home as I know for sure that I am at the right place where I should belong and not the nightclub. The *kaumatu'a* showed us members how to respect others during our *ha'ofanga* (*kava* circle or meeting). My Tongan is so fluent, and I am so grateful for my community...” (P12, Group C).

5.4.2 The changed of Leimatu'a traditional fundraising method into *kalapu kava-Tonga* and community fundraising

The *kalapu kava-Tonga* (*kava* clubs) for the Leimatu'a community was slowly transformed, not only for a place to socialise, share, advise, make jokes, and drink *kava* but it also became a key structure for remittance fundraising. In the 1980s, the remittance fundraising for the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland was in the form of a concert and floorshow. A group of people from the village have learned different types of Tongan dance and floorshow and came to New Zealand to perform.

Once they perform the floorshow and Tongan dances, the people in the community will do the *fakapale*¹¹ and all the money collected will be sent to Tonga.

“In the 1980s, most of our remittance fundraising was done through a concert and floorshows that performed by a group of dancers from Leimatu’a who came over to help the fundraising...” (P5, Group B).

“I remember the time that my husband and I used to go and watch the performance of the dancing group from Leimatu’a while people *fakapale* (donated money) to help the fundraising ...” (P6, Group B).

Nowadays, the Leimatu’a fundraising in South Auckland has transformed into *kalapu kava-Tonga* as well as community fundraising. The changes that happened in fundraising was due to changes with New Zealand Immigration policies which make it harder to approve a visitor’s visa for the dance groups. Applying for a group visitor visa to the Immigration New Zealand were getting harder and mostly decline for various reasons.

“Our *kalapu* nowadays is the most source of remittance fundraising that fulfil our village projects and help our families in the village. But at the same time, we are still using it as a place for our social gathering and sharing with our *kau inukava* (drinking *kava* members) ...” (P3, Group A).

“*Kalapu X* has filled the voids in our lives of missing our homeland. Drinking *kava* and telling jokes with our fellow Leimatuans keep us happy and connected with each other. *Kava* club is our main way of fundraising for a long time...” (P4, Group A).

“In the late 2000s, the immigration policies changed, and they hardly approved a visa for the whole fundraising group from Leimatu’a. Then we have to focus on the *kalapu kava-Tonga* fundraising as our main source of community fundraising for our village in Tonga ...” (P1, Group A).

All participants in Group A stated that there are other factors that contribute to the increased of numbers for the *kalapu kava-Tonga* in South Auckland. The increased in

¹¹ *Fakapale* – a Tongan tradition of fundraising which involves the donation of money, which is placed on a Tongan dancer who performs a *ta’olunga* (dance).

popularity for the kalapu kava-Tonga was recognised through the high numbers of people who were migrated to overseas countries including New Zealand. For instance, participants from group A and B told me that a group of five people from the Leimatu'a community started the Kalapu X in the 1980s. The increased numbers of the Leimatu'a migrants that came to New Zealand contributed to the overcrowding of the Kalapu X and the beginning of Kalapu Y and Z. All of these Leimatu'a *kava* clubs had their own goal(s) for remittance fundraising. At the same time, they are working together and help each other in all their fundraising.

The majority of the participants of my research study stated that they are familiar with all the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs in Mangere, South Auckland. I refer to these *kava* clubs here as *Kalapu X*, *Kalapu Y* and *Kalapu Z*. These three *kava* clubs had their own club leaders and officers, a short-term and a long-term goal in which their remittance fundraising will be set-up to work accordingly for achieving their goal. There were four participants in my study that were involved in the 1980s when the Leimatu'a *Kalapu X* started. They claimed that the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs increased from one *kava* club in the 1980s to three *kava* clubs in 2000s. Other communities in South Auckland operated their own *kava* clubs.

"In the 1980s and 1990s, there were only few of us that started the Kalapu X in Mangere. It was rarely to find any *kava* club in South Auckland. But today, our Leimatu'a community have three *kava* clubs in Mangere. Kalapu X was so overcrowded and let to members left and started the Kalapu Y and Z ..."
(P1, Group A).

"Back in the days, most communities in South Auckland does not have a *kava* club. They usually come and drink *kava* with us. Today, there were many *kava* clubs in South Auckland. We invited 36 *kava* clubs in South Auckland to our last fundraising..." (P4, Group A).

“In the 1970s, my husband and his other four workmates from Leimatu’a started drinking *kava* in the weekend in the form of *faikava*. In the 1980s, we had a few more families migrated with us and the *faikava* was transformed into *Kalapu X*. Not only that our husbands can get together and drink *kava*, but we also have time to meet up with their family like a village meeting. Today, our community have more *kava* clubs...” (P5, Group B).

“*Kalapu Z* does have a short-term goal(s) and long-term goal(s). Our long-term goal is ‘to love and help the village of Leimatu’a.’ We tried to work closely with the Leimatu’a *kava* clubs in order to achieve our goal for the village...” (P3, Group A).

“Our short-term goal within the first two years of our *kava* clubs was to help our club members’ family in Tonga and the people from our village who visit our *kava* club...” (P2, Group A).

The data from this research study supported the claimed by Fehoko (2015) that there is an “increase in the popularity of the *faikava* in Auckland, with over 50 *kava*-drinking sessions held regularly in South Auckland region alone” (p. 3). These *kava* clubs function differently in the diasporas according to their goals and purposes, sometimes function according to the influence and demands from their own community or village. Not only was the popularity of the *faikava* (*kava* clubs) increasing within the Tongan communities in South Auckland (Fehoko, 2014), but the migrants and *kava* clubs from the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland also increased tremendously.

5.4.3 *Kava club fundraising is a toungaue fetokoni’aki* (cooperative fundraising task)

All participants from Group A claimed that all *kava* clubs were managed and operated differently according to how they wanted to run their *kava* clubs. But in terms of remittance fundraising, all the Leimatu’a *kava* clubs were using three methods of *kalapu* fundraising. Firstly, it is a kind of *kava* club fundraising that was built throughout the year based on their *tauhi va*¹² (relationship) with other Tongan *kava* clubs in Auckland. The *kava* club will try to visit and be involved in other *kava* clubs

¹² *Tauhi Va* – keeping the relationship between each other

fundraising throughout the year. Every *kava* club will take a turn in fundraising and when it comes to your turn, other clubs will be invited to come and donate money to your fundraising. This kind of fundraising practice for *kava* clubs was all based on *tauhi va* with other *kava* clubs. All the expenses involved with the fundraising are looked after by that *kava* club and their members.

“The remittance fundraisings for our *Kalapu Y* have mostly relied on us members and our relationship with other Tongan *kava* clubs in Auckland. Our last fundraising was to buy a village school bus to help take students to school for free. We excluded the village and our community village and our community in South Auckland from this fundraising because we thought that we could give them a break. We managed to collect a total amount of NZD\$35,000 which covered everything that we need...” (P2, Group A).

“I believed that I had a very good relationship with all of the *kava* clubs in South Auckland. I supported most of their fundraising by donation a lot of money throughout the year. For us who actually drink *kava*, we were known at the *kava* circle as the *faikava* family. Our relationship with each other at the *kava* circle is solid and we love each other with ‘*ofa fakaetokoua* (brotherhood’s love) and ‘*ofa ta’efa’alaua* (God’s endless love) ...” (P3, Group A).

“Supporting each other in *kava* club fundraising is not a new concept. I involved with other community’s fundraising to build church and school in Tonga. Visiting and inviting other *kava* clubs is everyone’s job. Every *kava* clubs work together to help each other in remittance fundraising...” (P4, Group A).

Participants from group A told me that most of the *kava* clubs that they invited for their remittance fundraising were so glad to help. That is the uniqueness of employing *kalapu kava*-Tonga as a tool for fundraising because *kalapu kava*-Tonga adopted the idea of *toungaue fetokoni’aki* (cooperative fundraising task) to their advantages. These *kava* clubs replied to the invitation by saying:

“We are so glad that you have something to ask us in favour. Most of the time you always help us out, but this is our turn to help you as your *kava* drinker brotherhood...” (P1, Group A).

5.4.4 *Kalapu kava-Tonga* have different goals and purposes for fundraising

The main information about the goals and purposes of the *kava* club's and their fundraising comes from the participants in Group A because they are the people who involved with the *kava* clubs and also drive it. The participants in Groups B and C were a lot less concerned about the goals and purposes of the fundraising. Most of the participants from Group A migrated to New Zealand in the 1980s; they have been involved with the Leimatu'a *kava* club and remittance fundraising for a long time. According to the collected data, all three *kava* clubs that belonged to the *Leimatu'a* community in South Auckland have different long-term, short-term and remittance fundraising goals. These long-term goals have been developed more recently by adding remittance fundraising as one of their main long-term goals to collect funds for their village projects.

"The main goal of our *Kalapu X* is to become a common-place where the Leimatu'a people can meet, drink *kava* and socialise together to avoid their feeling homesick and lonely while living in an unfamiliar western culture and its social demands. It is another way of trying to hold on to our tradition and culture..." (P1, Group A).

"The main goal of our *Kalapu Y* was originally aimed at a family get-together. Everyone lived apart from each other and we hardly see each other unless there is a community event such as funeral, wedding or birthday celebration. So, it is important for us to have time off from work and socialise together and drink *kava* at the weekend..." (P2, Group A).

"The main goal of our *Kalapu Z* was to establish the importance of '*ofa* (love) and *tokoni* (help) to our village of Leimatu'a. That goal was implemented with an idea to try and work closely with *Kalapu X and Y* to achieve our target. Hence, loving and helping the village of Leimatu'a is a collective goal for the village but at the same time, our families and relatives in Tonga will also benefit from it..." (P3, Group A).

All the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs have their own short-term goals for fundraising, such as helping anyone from the village who visits and drinks *kava* at *Kalapu X*. These short-

term goals used to be the main goals of the *kava* club at the beginning, but these goals have evolved due to some changes in circumstances including requiring help from our village.

“Our short-term goals for our fundraising was to help anyone from our village that visits and drink *kava* with us. We used to do fundraising to support our club’s members with funeral...” (P1, Group A).

“Our short-term goals for our fundraising was to help us members and our family in Tonga...” (P2, Group A).

“Our short-term goal for fundraising was to manage the operation of our club, particularly the cost of the *kava*. We only ask members for donation, but it is optional, so fundraising will cover all our costs...” (P3, Group A).

All Leimatu’a *kava* clubs claimed that their long-term goals for remittance fundraising have relied on the village projects that they wanted to fund due to the extreme demands or problems that are currently facing the village. These long-term goals for each *kava* club became different from the others despite working together and supporting each other.

“The long-term goal for our *Kalapu X* remittance fundraising was to fund a village scholarship for students who lost their parents or an overcrowded family that the parents cannot afford to pay for their children’s school fees. Also, to fund the road maintenance in the village and celebrate our *Kalapu Day* at Leimatu’a every three years. The idea was for us in the diasporas to take our family back home where our roots started. All our *Kalapu X* branches in New Zealand, Australia and America will go there in December to celebrate and donate a huge amount of money to fund our projects and other village developments...” (P1, Group A).

“The long-term goals for *Kalapu Y* remittance fundraising was to buy a school bus for our children in the village to get to school. The school bus is taking the students to school and bring them back after school for free. Also, we help in looking after the maintenance of the two buses, diesel and pay for the driver’s wages...” (P2, Group A).

“The long-term goals for *Kalapu Z*’s remittance fundraising was to put streetlights in every road in the village to make it a safer place for our family and children. We also help in the replacement of the water-pump generator and funded the diesel. Our last remittance fundraising was to put fences all

over the village's graveyards and pay a few people to look after the lawn of the graveyards and the street's lawn in the village ..." (P3, Group A).

It is important to look at the view of the two young male participants from Group C who are both involved with the *kava* clubs. I asked them about the goals of the *kava* club but neither of them knew or were unsure about the goals of the *kava* club that they participated with.

"Since I joined the *Kalapu* Y and the only fundraising goal that I know is helping others..." (P11, Group C).

"I like going to *Kalapu* X when I have a day off from work. Our goal for this year is to visit Tonga in December and celebrate our *Kalapu Day*..." (P12, Group C).

5.5 How remittance fundraising is done in the Leimatu'a community

The nature and practices of the individual remitting of migrants to their own family members, particularly to their parents and kin in the homeland, are slightly different from the practices of *kava* clubs' and community remittance fundraising. Literature has been written about the individual remittances of the migrants which was often used predominantly for consumption purposes, including funeral, wedding, school fees and household expenses. These individual remittances influence a lot of people in the village and their standard of living, so as to increase the overall economy of Tonga (Ahlburg, 1991; Faeamani, 1995; Brown, 1998; Cohen, 2011; Lee, 2004; 2007; 2011). But on the other hand, I was not able to locate any literature that specifically investigates the significance of remittance fundraising of the Tongan community in the diasporas, particularly throughout the *kalapu kava-Tonga* and community fundraising, which underlines the significance of this research study.

In the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, there are differences between the practices of *kalapu kava-Tonga* remittance fundraising and the practices of community remittance fundraising. Let me first start with the fast evolution of community fundraising within Western society. Millar (2009) stated that people are currently living in an evolving society of mass community fundraising, communication, and marketing. Fundraising is so much in evidence with the internet, telemarketing, and fundraising websites. These types of fundraising quickly reach out to people in the community through the advance of technology.

However, the remittance fundraising practices of the Leimatu'a community is different; people are still using the traditional Pacific way. In other words, everything within the Leimatu'a community is all about family and the collective rather than the individual. Remittance fundraising is all about a collective of people from the Leimatu'a community which comes together to fundraise for their village in Tonga, which emphasised and reflected the importance of the core values of Tongan society, particularly the importance of *kainga* (extended family) and not the selfish idea that is based on the individual.

5.5.1 The Community Fundraising

Leimatu'a community fundraising is a kind of fundraising that was organised for those who are not involved at the *kalapu kava-Tonga* and its fundraising; particularly women who are prohibited by the Tongan culture and tradition to sit down at the *kava* circle and drink with the men and elders of the community. The one exception is a female that needs to become their *tou'a* to serve their *kava*. So, everyone else in the

community that are related to the Leimatu'a community are invited to do fundraising. Nowadays, the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland hardly run any community fundraising by itself without the *kava* clubs' fundraising. They are usually combined in terms of remittance fundraising despite the *kava* club's ability to do remittance fundraising without the assistance of the community. However, the major fundraising that was organised by *Kalapu Z* has revolutionised the fundraising system of Leimatu'a by separating them to achieve a better result.

"This is the first time that we separated the *kalapu* fundraising from the community fundraising just to perform on two different nights. I was a bit scared of failure, but it was a risk that gives us a big reward at the end. Thirty-six *kava* clubs attended and sixty-eight *tau'olunga* performed on their fundraising night, it was a success..." (P3, Group A).

"Community fundraising is the best night for us to dance and raise funds. We enjoyed catching up, telling jokes and donating money to help our village in Tonga. Our community fundraising never fails..." (P8, Group B).

Community fundraising was always organised from the fundraising organisers or the president of the Leimatu'a *kava* clubs. They had a meeting with the leaders and elders of the Leimatu'a community to approach them about fundraising. Then the elders and fundraising officers would visit every Leimatu'a household to approach them about fundraising and its purpose. Fundraising nowadays is very advanced in the use of high-speed internet, branding techniques, non-profit websites, and even adoption of mobile devices to change the perceptions and communications framework of fundraising (Bellio, Buccoliero, & Fiorentini, 2013). But it appears that the Leimatu'a community with its fundraising organisers are sticking with the simple technique of door-to-door communication with their community to organise fundraising despite their easy access to social media and technologies.

"Door-to-door is the best way for us to use within our Leimatu'a community, especially when organising a remittance fundraising. You can sit down with

them face-to-face in their home and have a proper *talanoa*. We usually do a family prayer before leaving the house. Our people are excited seeing us and excited when visiting them..." (P4, Group A).

"Even though I am too old to participate in everything fundraising that happens in our community, but I never want to miss out on any of them. We started this community and now my husband passed away, but I am still here to support our community. I am so grateful to witness the growth of this Leimatu'a community. My feet do not help me much these days but as long as I can be able to *tau'olunga* and become part of the fundraising celebration. I can sleep well at night knowing that I gave all the pennies that I have to help others" (P5, Group B).

Overall, the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising was summed up by the oldest female participant that was involved in this research study. She stated that for forty-five years of her involvement with the Leimatu'a community, fundraising was always a success. Other participants supported the statement by discussing the success of the remittance fundraising within the Leimatu'a community compared with other Tongan communities that they were also involved with.

"For 45 years of living in New Zealand, Leimatu'a fundraising never failed ..." (P5, Group B).

"This is a very unique and successful community (Leimatu'a) compared to the other two communities that I am involved with, in terms of remittance fundraising..." (P4, Group A).

"The success of our fundraising was based on the spirit of the Leimatu'a people, happiness, willing to help, warm-hearted, love, and generosity..."

(P1, Group A).

5.6 Summary

The history of *kava* in Tongan society emphasises the prominence of the traditional *kava* ceremony as a major event in Tongan culture, particularly in the most important of events such as birthdays, graduation, the King's coronation, funerals, and weddings.

The core basis of Tongan values and cultures was started from the myth of *kava*, particularly the concepts of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *'ofa* (love), *fatongia* (obligation), *taliangi* (loyalty) and *ngafa* (responsibilities). I can say that the dignity of the above-mentioned concepts and values are kept within the *faikava* circle and *kava* ceremonies within Tongan society, despite the fundraising form of *kalapu kava-Tonga*. The social purpose of having a *faikava* has not disappeared. The Leimatu'a community is still using the *kalapu kava-Tonga* as a place to socialise, share, advise younger men, and drink *kava*. The development of remittance fundraising was later added to the *kava* clubs due to the significance of helping others, particularly the people and the village of Leimatu'a in Tonga. Young participants involved in the study were often unsure about the goals of *kalapu* fundraising, and sometimes did not agree with their parents about donating a lot of money. Their involvement in the *kalapu kava-Tonga* moulds their lives to feel at home and that is what makes them keep going to the *kava* clubs and involved with their remittance fundraising. The culture of the *kava* clubs slowly changed the overseas-born Tongans with how they look at the *kalapu* and community remittance fundraising.

Chapter Six: The motivations for Leimatu'a remittance fundraising

What motivates the *Leimatu'a* remittance fundraising and sending money to *Tonga*?

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the motives behind remittance fundraising of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland. I will discuss the reasons behind the Leimatu'a migration and why they left Tonga to assess how this motivates their remittance fundraising. I will also discuss the importance of *anga fakatonga* (Tongan way of life) in terms of how its core values such as *'ofa* (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility/generosity), *tauhi va* (gratitude/relationship) and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity) motivate remittance fundraising practices. Queen Salote Tupou III called these core values the 'Four Golden Pillars' of Tongan society. It metaphorically means that the strength of a building will depend on its foundation and the four strong posts or pillars are the four corners of the foundation. Hence, Queen Salote claimed that embedding of the 'Golden Pillars' philosophy into the foundation of Tongan society makes it stronger and distinct from other societies. However, in considering the motives for remittance fundraising, it is important to discuss the difference between *anga faka-Tonga* and *anga faka-Leimatu'a* by looking at the similarities and differences of the *anga fakatonga* versus the *anga fakaleimatu'a*.

This chapter, therefore, concludes with a discussion of the uniqueness of the *anga fakaleimatu'a*, its core values and the importance of maintaining these values to ensure that our descendents will not lose them. Let me quote the famous Tongan Scholar, 'Epli Hau'ofa when he addressed the significance of home and our identity as Pasifika people.

“Somewhere in Oceania is my home which I belong. No one can take it away from me. I may never return to it, not even as mortal remains, but it always be homeland” (Hau’ofa, 2008, p.76).

6.2 Improving quality of life

6.2.1 Looking for a better life

The process of migration involves a crucial decision for migrants in terms of their willingness to leave behind their loved ones, parents, culture, families and villages, and to face the unknown challenges that come with the new environment that they choose. This research study looked for answers on why did the Leimatu’a people leave their home. If you are not familiar with the new environment and do not understand the unknown challenges that you may face, then how did you have the courage to leave behind your loves one and migrate overseas. What are the motives for your migration?

All participants from Group B are mothers and they all have a very clear and similar perception of the motives of why they left Tonga and migrate to New Zealand.

“I left Tonga to seek for a better job and a better standard of living so that I could work and help my parent and family back in Tonga...” (P6, Group B).

“We moved here to find a better life for us and our children. Both of us parents did not work back in Tonga ...” (P8, Group B).

“We moved here to seek better living and opportunities for our children to have a better education ...” (P7, Group B).

In contrast, Cowling (1990) argued that most of the people who migrated overseas do not have a clear perception of why they left their homeland, what they are going to face, and to what extent their lives will be changed. When it comes to Tonga, does it true that Tongan people do not understand why they left Tonga? Tongans who never

travel overseas may not understand what they are going to face and how it will change their lives. But to claim that people have migrated without knowing why they leave Tonga is not supported by the participants from the Leimatu'a community in my study. In reply, the participants in group A disagreed with the argument of Cowling (1990) by argued that all of them left Tonga with a clear perception of the goals and purposes of their migration. That is the motivations for their migration and involved in the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising.

"I left Tonga to look for opportunities and a better life because I am the youngest of six children. In our Tonga tradition and culture, I have no place or right to claim our Father's land as it will traditionally claim by the eldest son as the heir to the estate..." (P1, Group A).

"I did come to New Zealand to look for a better life and living so that I can help my family back home..." (P2, Group A).

"I came to New Zealand to seek a better living..." (P3, Group A).

6.2.2 The desire for a better life for our children

The majority of the participants in group A and B claimed that their desire for a better life for their children is one of the motives that motivated them to leave Tonga and seek opportunities for their children. I looked at the two most common answers from the participants through an economic perspective. The poor standard of living in Tonga is common for most of the people. The financial effect of the poor standard of living cannot be underestimated, and how it influences a lot of the everyday tasks of the family. There were so many parents in the village that have no income to support the education of their children. They not only struggled to put food on the table, but children's education was always disrupted because of the parents who cannot afford to pay for their school fees.

“I grew up in an impoverished home, and my parent was struggling to pay for our school fees or put food on the table...” (P6, Group B).

“My husband came to New Zealand to work and support me with five children in Tonga. After 4 years, I decided to come over with our children so that they can have a better standard of living and more opportunities to study...” (P5, Group B).

“I know for sure that I would not be able to pay for my children’s school fees and other expenses, that is why I am in New Zealand today...” (P4, Group A).

The poor standard of living in Tonga and how most of the families struggled financially with their everyday life have lessen the opportunity for parents to be able to pay for their children education. The poor standard of living in Tonga is discussed by Hau’ofa (1993) and Ahlburg (1996) when they claimed that Tonga is an isolated country, very small and located far away from the centre of economic growth. Tonga lacks resources like oil, minerals, gold, and copper to help its national economy and the village’s development (Hau’ofa, 1993; Ahlburg, 1996). That is the fact of life that participants of this research claimed as the motives that motivated the village of Leimatu’a in the process of their migration. The importance of children is the parent’s uttermost priority.

“In early 1980s, I left Tonga while my children were so young. Looking at my myself as an unemployment father then look at the eyes of my children gave me courage to move here, find a job to support them while looking for opportunities to bring them over. I did not want my children to grow up in the same situation as mine...” (P4, Group A).

In 2005, we moved here to seek for a better living and an opportunity for a better education for our children. I applied for my family’s permanent resident so that we could move here for the sake of our children. Life back in Tonga is so poor and people are struggling with the standard of living...” (P7, Group B).

6.2.3 Seeking for better job to help parent and kin at home

This research study showed that most of the participants from group A and B believed that unemployment and very low wages are one of the social and economic problems that faced with most families in Tonga. The majority of the people in Tonga do not have a job because there are not enough jobs to employ 140,000 members of their population, and it has contributed to the poor standard of living for most families. That is to say that the poor standard of living and the struggles in Tonga does motivate people to look somewhere else to find work and send money back home to their parents and siblings. Participants of this study stated that their parents and family needed money for food, household expenses, church commitments and school fees, and this gave them a clear perception of what they should do, to migrate overseas and work to send money back home.

“My parents asked me to come and work here in New Zealand so that I can help to pay for the school fees of my younger siblings...” (P6, Group B).

“My income in Tonga was not able to feed and look after my family. I have an obligation to look after my parents and my children and it gives me no other choice but to migrate overseas and look for job and opportunities...” (P2, Group A).

The research data supported the Statistics of the Global Economy from the World Bank (2018). It showed that the rate of unemployment in Tonga increased between the year 1991 to 2003, a minimum of 1.2 per cent in 1991 and a maximum of 5.1 per cent in 2003¹³. These are the years during which overseas migration from Tonga increased. The older participants in the study support the World Bank data by saying that they came to New Zealand in the 1980s where you are hardly see anyone from your village.

¹³ https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Tonga/Unemployment_rate/

South Auckland was started to overcrowd with Tongans in the late 1980s, 1990s and 2000s.

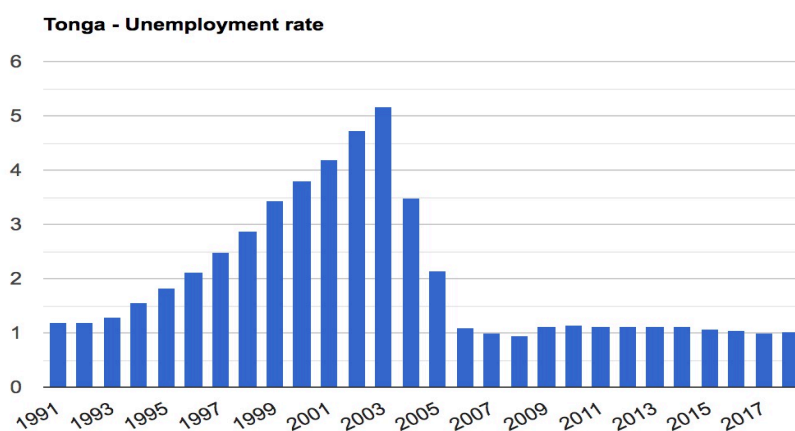


Figure 8: Tonga Unemployment Rate by Global Economy and World Bank 2018

“I remember back in 1987, New Zealand Immigration opened a no-visa policy for Tonga and the Pacific countries to enter New Zealand. Tongan people were started to be flooded here in Auckland...” (P1, Group A).

“I was unemployed with my husband in Tonga. All I did is asking money from my overseas families to pay for our home expenses and school fees for our children. They started to get sick of me asking money all the times, then they put our names in the Pacific Quotas. We were got lucky on the draw and be able to move here and work to support our family...” (P8, Group B)

In contrast, Kelman (2015) claimed that overseas migration from the Small Island

Developing States (SIDS) was influenced by the effect of climate change. He says it has

forced Pacific parents to migrate either themselves or send their sons or daughters to

overseas countries to work and send money to help their families back home. In reply,

no participant in my study cited the effect of climate change as a major reason for

their migration. When I asked the participants about the reasons why they left Tonga,

and whether it was caused by the effect of climate change, economic problems, or

family reasons most participants from Group A and B did not understand what climate

change means. They all agreed to two common answers for the major reasons why they left Tonga: the poor standard of living and for family reasons.

“I grew up in a very poor family. My father always told me that after high school, I should go overseas and look for a job to help my grandparents whom I lived with...your children should not experience your struggle if you migrate overseas ...” (P3, Group A).

The poor standard of living in Tonga is also influenced by the Tongan custom and tradition, especially when it comes to the *tapu* (sacred) of keeping the *faka’apa’apa* (respect) between brothers and sisters at home. I will discuss the details of *faka’apa’apa* in the later part of this section, but I am noting here it is relevant to the poor standard of living. In the Tongan custom, brothers and sisters are not allowed to sleep together in one room. Tongan houses are usually built with no division and parents must build a separate house for the boys. Sometimes this forces parent to go overseas or send someone overseas to work and send money to build a separate house that could accommodate everybody in the family.

6.3 The importance of *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) as a motivation for remittance fundraising

Taumoefolau (1991) and Ka’ili (2005) defined the term *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way) as the closest translation of ‘culture,’ even though it specifically refers to the way of living or the behaviour that Tongan people should uphold in society. The term *anga* means behaviour and *faka* means like. Thus, *anga faka-Tonga* can easily be defined as behaving like a Tongan. It is an exact way of behaviour that was accepted by Tongan society as part of their culture and tradition. Pasifika Scholars considered those behaviours as the core values and pillars of the Tongan society that makes us different from our neighbouring islands and western society. These core values are known as;

'ofa (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility/generosity), *tauhi va* (gratitude/relationship) and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity). It is important to consider how these core values differentiate Tongan society from the neighbouring countries and Western society.

The original meaning of the Western terms is straight-forward, but the Tongan terms sometimes overlap with other related terms. The weight and ideas behind the Tongan words are meaningful and values can be added to it. For instance, *anga faka-Tonga* is defined as the identity of being Tongan. According to a Western dictionary, identity means “the fact of being who or what a person or thing is”¹⁴. It is the characteristic of determining who or what the person is. The meaning of identity is straight-forward with no confusion or complexity. However, when it comes to the Tongan perspective and the word for identity, I note that there is no specific Tongan word to address the exact meaning of the term. Nevertheless, the literature of Tongan identity has acknowledged three factors that contribute to its definition. Firstly, you can identify someone as Tongan by the language. You cannot claim that you are a Tongan if you cannot speak the Tongan language. Secondly, a Tongan can have Tongan blood or descent. This is your birth-right as a Tongan if either your parent, grandparent or *kainga* (relatives) has Tongan blood. Lastly, you can identify someone as being Tongan by the *anga faka-Tonga* (Lee 2003; Small, 2011; Prato, 2009) that is, they behave like a Tongan. Thus, Tongan identity is defined by the language, blood/descent, and the *anga*

¹⁴ <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/identity>

faka-Tonga. It is a very detailed definition, but it does give more weight and value to the word 'identity.'

The first and the second factors that contribute to Tongan identity will be discussed in the later chapters of this research. But in this section, I will delve into more details about the *anga faka-Tonga*, the significance of its core values in Tongan society, and how those core values influence the motives of remittance fundraising as noted. The core values of *anga faka-Tonga* were described by Queen Salote Tupou III as the 'Golden Pillars or Themes' of Tongan society¹⁵. Queen Salote believed that gratitude and reciprocity have the same meaning and values, that is why she counted them as four pillars instead of five. These golden pillars have been taught to Tongans by our great grandparents to our grandparents, then to our parents and then on to us (Taumoefolau, 1991, 2004; Helu, 1975; Latukefu, 1980; Mahina, 1992; Thaman, 1999; Ka'ili, 2005). These also ensure that their children and subsequent generations will not lose the *anga faka-Tonga*.

Most participants from this study supported the importance of maintaining the *anga faka-Tonga* and ensure that their children will hold on to it while seeking a better future here in New Zealand. They shared how the Leimatu'a community and their fundraising benefited from the influence of the *anga faka-Tonga*.

"I involved with both the *Leimatu'a* community fundraising and the fundraising of my husband's village. In my view, the success of the *Leimatu'a* fundraising has basically relied on two motives. Firstly, the *Leimatu'a* community uphold the importance of our Tongan culture (*anga faka-Tonga*) and the Leimatu'a culture (*anga faka-Leimatu'a*). Secondly, the excellent leadership of the *Kalapu*

¹⁵ <https://www.parliament.gov.to/media-centre/latest-news/latest-news-in-english/525-crown-prince-calls-pocc-meeting-to-embrace-tonga-s-4-golden-values>

leaders and the community leaders and their proud of their identity. My husband and I are currently trying to embed those motives into my husband's community so that we may get a better result in our future fundraising ...” (P7, Group B).

“Living in New Zealand makes me realise how important that parents should teach their overseas-born children with our Tongan culture (*anga faka-Tonga*) so that they could understand their identity and how our *anga faka-Tonga* mould our life and make us ready to have our own family and children. I learned a lot from our Leimatu'a community here in Mangere when seeing their overseas-born children and young people dancing at the fundraising and act like they were born in Tonga. I am so proud of them ...” (P10, Group C).

6.3.1 The concept of '*ofa* (love)

The concept of '*ofa*' is translated into a simple English word called 'love,' but in Tongan culture, '*ofa*' can be defined as feeling warmth, respect, generosity, pity, kindness, help and care (Kavaliku, 1977). That is the beauty of trying to understand the depth of Tongan culture despite its complexity due to the lack of a word to express the true meaning without overlapping with other concepts. A Tongan scholar, Langi Kavaliku, defined '*ofa*' as an internal emotion or feeling of caring that is exposed through actions and performance. For instance, when a family member is going overseas, crying at the departure is “the outward manifestation of '*ofa*'” (Kavaliku, 1977, p. 53).

'*Ofa* can also be used in terms of love, generosity and kindness. This usually happens during a birthday ceremony when giving the gift in public. Tongan people usually express their '*ofa*' through their donation which could express their willingness to help and how much they care for the recipient. There is no better example of '*ofa*' that everyone could easily understand but the '*ofa*' of a mother to her child (Nishitani, 2018). A kind of love that is deeply expressed from the warmth-heart of the mother through her child that she could take care of and protect the child from any threat that

could harm her child. No-one can be forced to love, because *’ofa* is something that comes from the heart. That is one of the significant values of *’ofa* that could encourage Tongan migrants to contribute to remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga as an act from their heart. People are encouraged to practice the notion of love (*ofa*) through remittance fundraising.

According to the interviews that I did with the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland, *’ofa* (love) played a big part in their remittance fundraising’s success. This community-supported Kavaliku’s (1977) definition of love as having a warmth-heart, generosity, kindness, care, and willingness to help others.

“The MC of the fundraising night always asks people that the amount of money you will give-away is not that important unless you give them away from your heart...” (P7, Group B).

“These are the motives that contributed to our fundraising success. Love, warmth-heart, happiness, kindness, help others, big hearts that never surrender to failure ...” (P8, Group B).

“Our *Kalapu Y* changed our goal to include fundraising for a village school bus because we loved our village and our family there. I do not want them to walk from Leimatu’a to Neiafu every day like I did in order to get to school. *’Ofa* is a key part of our motivation for the success of our village’s projects...” (P2, Group A).

When looking at the concept of *’ofa* through the cultural values, family values and Christian values, I would argue that they all promote and uphold the value of *’ofa* through different layers of the hierarchical order in Tongan society. The commoners, known as the lowest layer in Tongan society, are encouraged to show their *’ofa* and their pride in the Nobles and the King through their *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity), *tauhi va* (gratitude), and *fetokoni’aki* (reciprocity) (Kavaliku, 1977).

In family values, children are taught to *'ofa* their parents so that they can be blessed and live longer. The work of their hands will also be blessed to become fruitful. The fruit of *'ofa* will be shown through the *ngafa* (task/responsibility) and *fatongia* (obligation) of children towards their parents and siblings. Hence, it is the children's *fatongia* (obligation) to work and look after their parents and their siblings. That is the significance of *'ofa* where it motivates Tongan migrants to do remittance fundraising.

“Despite our struggles in our everyday living. We taught our children and grandchildren to love and respect God and us parent so that they can live longer on earth. Love and respect should be hidden in their heart as the motives to face whatever challenges in life, its biblical and true ...”
(P5, Group B)

“It is my responsibility as the oldest in the family to look after my parent and the rest of the siblings...” (P11, Group C).

“That is why I wanted to come here and see if I could get a better job that can earn much money because I had an obligation and responsibility as the oldest in the family to look after my parent and to pay for my sibling's school fees ...”
(P6, Group B).

Talking about *'ofa* from the perspective of Christian values, the Bible taught us about the importance of loving the Lord and loving your neighbour as you love yourself.

Mathew 22: 37, 39

[37] Jesus said unto him, thou shalt **love** the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

[39] And the second is like unto it, thou shalt **love thy neighbour as thyself**.

People were taught to *'ofa* with each other and not to kill as they used to do during the heathen era. Therefore, *'ofa* is the first core value of the *anga faka-Tonga* which motivates remittance fundraising of this Leimatu'a community.

6.3.2 The concepts of *faka'apa'apa* (respect)

Faka'apa'apa is the second core value of the *anga faka-Tonga*. According to a Western dictionary, the word 'respect' means “a feeling of deep admiration for someone or

something elicited by their abilities, qualities, or achievements”¹⁶. I prefer to use the term *faka’apa’apa* and not the English word respect because of the weight and ideas behind what defines *faka’apa’apa* for Tongans. *Faka’apa’apa* can be defined as *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity/humility), *‘ulungaanga lelei* (good behaviour), and *tulou* (excuse me/sorry). The idea behind the *faka’apa’apa* is to treat others the way you want to be treated. *Faka’apa’apa* can be expressed in action, language, and culture (Taumoefolau, 2004).

Faka’apa’apa can be expressed in action with the respect that the people gave to their King and the nobles, through the wearing of the lavalava and the *taovala* (mats) to emphasise the importance of *faka’apa’apa*. That is the customary way of showing respect to the King and the nobles. In 1875, King Tupou I gave his people the freedom to practice their Christian religion, freedom to live in their land, and the freedom to do whatever they want (Latukeyu, 1980; Mahina, 1992). In return, people are expected to show their *faka’apa’apa* to their King through *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity), *‘ulungaanga lelei* (good behaviour), and *tulou*, especially when you walk in front of the King and nobles.

Taumoefolau (1991) defined *faka’apa’apa* not by action but using language (*lea faka-Tonga*). Tongan society lives in a hierarchical order; a commoner occupies the lowest layer, the nobles the middle, and the King on the top layer of the pyramid – this is defined in the language. For instance, the ordinary word for *kai* (to eat) is applied to commoners. The chiefly word for *kai* is *‘ilo* (to know), and that is when the nobles are

¹⁶ <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/respect>

invited to come and eat. The regal word for *kai* is *taumafa* (to eat), which means to invite the King to come and eat. People have to show their respect to the nobles and the King by using the right language, so for example, it is disrespectful (*ta'e faka'apa'apa*) for commoners to ask the King to come and *kai* instead of using the word *taumafa*.

The significance of the *lea faka-Tonga* (Tongan language) as a concept, is that it identifies one's true identity as Tongan. When a society is using different languages according to different hierarchical order or status in society, it can become a very difficult and complicated process for overseas-born children to learn and practice in everyday living. However, the parents and the *kaumatu'a* (elders) try to maintain teaching the Tongan language to their overseas-born children in order to maintain their identity as Tongan. When the children are able to speak the proper language in Tongan society, particularly when they speak in Tongan to the nobles and the King, that is one way for overseas-born children to show *faka'apa'apa* (respect).

“Even though our children started to forget the language when living in an environment that predominantly speaks English at school and almost everywhere in New Zealand. All we could do as a parent is not to give-up in letting them speak our Tongan language at home because people will find out that they are Tongan when they speak Tongan ...” (P4, Group A).

“Sometimes I told my children that I feel ashamed and offended when our church's Minister and the members visit me, and my children welcome or thanks them in English, I always upset when they do not speak in our language, it is disrespectful ...” (P5, Group B).

But why does the concept of *faka'apa'apa* became so relevant and vital to the motives of remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga? When I asked the Leimatu'a participants about the reasons why they were interested to teach their overseas-born

children about the importance of the Tongan cultures and values, they answered that it is the responsibilities of the parents, community leaders, the elders, church leaders and *kalapu* leaders to embed these core values into the overseas-born children so that they could hold on to those values and pass them on to their descendents. These values are the best moral values that a parent can ever ask for their children to have such as love (*'ofa*) and respect (*faka'apa'apa*) others and they want others to love and respect them.

“At the *kava* circle, I learned a lot from the elders and the club’s leaders, especially the importance of Tongan culture and values, such as respect others, good behaviour, humility, and kindness. When I’m late to the *faikava*, I have to bow down and say *tulou* (excuse me) on my way to the available seat ...” (P12, Group C).

“Tongan people always have deeper values of respect and love for their country, village and family in Tonga. As a New Zealand-born, I am so grateful that my parents taught us about our culture and the importance of love and respect others. Sometimes I don’t feel like going to the fundraising, but I feel bad about letting down of my parent, family and community. I have a huge amount of respect for them and it motivates me to love and help others. This is a very deep topic and I really love talking about it ...” (P9, Group C).

It can be argued that most of the migrant’s parents have a clear vision of their priorities and what is important to raise their children within the diasporas. Members of the family are brought up knowing how to love and respect one another and they should pass on that knowledge to their children and grandchildren regardless of where they live. Evans (2001) argued that *'ofa* (love/generosity), *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity or mutual assistant) are the core principles in any levels of Tongan society, but the oldest participant in my study stated that there were other core values in Tongan society that are worth looking at, such as *tauhi va* (keep the relationship), *lototo* (humble), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility), and *feilaulau* (sacrifices).

“Our Tongan culture have so many core values we are benefited from it when we raised our children. Every parent wants their children to *mata-'ofa* (willing to love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect others), *fetokoni'aki* (help each other), *anga fakatokilalo* (kindness/humility) and *tauhi va* (keep their relationship with others). When our children or grandchildren lived with these principles, we called them in Tonga, *manumanu melie* (the sweetness of its characters) ...” (P5, Group B).

6.3.3 The concept of *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity/humility)

Anga means attitude and *fakatokilalo* is a verb which means to be humble, self-abasing and implies being self-derogatory (Churchward, 1959, p. 112). In the workplace, *fakatokilalo* refers to someone that has lowered oneself from a higher social class and high status that they have known and be able to put everyone at the same level. From a Tongan perspective, *anga fakatokilalo* is a combination of two English words; ‘humility’ and ‘generosity.’ Humility is defined as “the quality of having a modest or low view of one's importance.”¹⁷ That is to accept others view and consider their worthiness without considering their status and social class in society. Generosity is defined as “the quality of being kind and generous”¹⁸. Humility and generosity were both emphasised as the importance of having a good attitude, character, and humour.

From a Tongan viewpoint, *anga fakatokilalo* is losing some of its meaning in translation, but like the other terms discussed has deeper meaning and values in Tongan culture. A literal explanation of the terms *anga* means (behaviour), *faka* means (causes), *to* means (fall), and *kilalo* means (down). So, *anga fakatokilalo* should be defined as a behaviour that causes someone to fall down. When I asked the

¹⁷ <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/humility>

¹⁸ <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/generosity>

participants about *anga fakatokilalo*, one young participant explained that when King Tupou V passed away here in Auckland, the Leimatu'a community joined other Tongan communities in prayer and singing the hymn outside 'Atalanga (the King's Estate in Epsom). It was an unusual experience to see people crawling on their knees while the King lay inside the coffin and could not see them anymore.

"I saw everyone crawling with their knees including my Dad. At home, I ask him why, and he told me, that is what *anga fakatokilalo* meant to us Tongan..." (P12, Group C).

According to this Leimatu'a community, people need to have the attitude of *anga fakatokilalo* for them to show their love and support of the community events such as remittance fundraising. The nature of remittance and community fundraising must involve a willingness to sacrifice, love others, kindness, humility and always remember your family at home. They are the motives that encourage you to donate money and help in the fundraising. Thus, *anga fakatokilalo* motivates people to help others in need. To love and respect our *kaumatua* (elders) and not to show off that you have a lot of money, but to encourage them that everyone is the same in society. When your community needs your help, you donate for remittance fundraising for your village development or help families back home. Everyone who understands about 'ofa (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *anga fakatokilalo* (humility/generosity) should be happy to help and have the courage to sacrifice their family needs and their priorities, but help out in remittance fundraising.

"Those who look down on other people because they think that they are financially better than the others, are those in the community who never help in any of our fundraising. They do not have the spirit of *anga fakatokilalo* (humility/generosity) ..." (P8, Group B).

"*Anga fakatokilalo* (humility/generosity) is when you sacrifice your money to donate in the fundraising, but you did not want people to know how much you

offered for the fundraising. When one's not forgotten about his/her home and the struggled that they faced every day, that person will support our fundraising just like that ..." (P7, Group B).

6.3.4 The concept of *tauhi va* (gratitude/patriotism) and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity)

The fourth joint concept of the core values in Tongan society are called *tauhi va* and *fetokoni'aki*. *Tauhi* means to maintain or nurture and *va* means the "distance between or distance apart" (Churchward, 2015, p. 528). *Fetokoni'aki* means helping each other. Ka'ili (2005) suggested that in a metaphorical sense, *va* can be referred to the relationship between people when living in a society. Ka'ili also claimed that the *va* (space and time) between people in society are conceptualised differently according to various societies. "*Va* is a social space between individuals or groups and *tauhi va* is to connect or maintain that social space" (Ka'ili, 2005, p. 90). *Tauhi va* is to maintain and nurture the social relationship between children and parents, people and the King, neighbour to neighbour in the village, individuals to individuals, or groups to groups.

The social relationship and the connection of *va* is maintained (*tauhi*) with *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity), helping each other and the *va* (relationship) can be nurtured with love (*'ofa*), respect (*faka'apa'apa*), and humility or generosity (*anga fakatokilalo*). These core values contribute to the moral characters and good behaviour of the *fanau* (children) in the family and the people in a society. When one fails to respect the *va* between one's self and others, it causes the problem of feeling disconnected, excluded, disloyal, hateful, and disrespectful.

"The success of our *kalapu* fundraising was relied on my good relationship (*tauhi va*) with all of the *kalapu* here in Auckland. We visited and helped most of their fundraising throughout the year. So, our relationship with them was solid, and we respect each other through the *kava* circle..." (P1, Group A)

“Good attitudes and behaviours are not something that we grow up with but we (mothers) should teach our children with those Tongan values at home, everything should start from home. We need to respect our children and they need to respect us parent. The relationship between us should be kept clean and easy so that they do not hide anything from us regardless of how serious it is ...” (P6, Group B).

One participant in the study shared a story about the first time that he took his overseas-born children to Tonga.

“My children (two sons and a daughter) were all born in New Zealand. The first time we took them to Leimatu’a, they were surprised seeing our families and friends visit us with cooked roasting pigs, fruits, and green coconut. After church on Sunday, our neighbours gave us food and we have to give them back food in exchange, and that is how everyone keeps their relationship (*tauhi va*) with others. My children never experienced that in their lives here in New Zealand. They asked me why people are sharing food with neighbours while there is not enough food on the table? I told them, that is the Tongan way of life. ‘Love’ and ‘sharing’ are part of our culture. The bible taught us the importance of love and share with your neighbour...” (P3, Group A).

Hansen (2004) argued that Tongan people are interested in Tongan values and *anga faka-Tonga* when growing up in Tonga, but once they migrated overseas, they started to lose the core values as a result of assimilation into other cultures. Furthermore, some Tongan people left behind the Tongan way of living once they get on the plane. When the new way of life conflicts with the Tongan way of life, some Tongans preferred to adopt the new way of life. They can easily compromise their culture and values because they are fresh off the boat without knowing what to expect in a new environment. Lee (2003) supported the claim and stated that the younger generations will lose their *anga faka-Tonga* and their cultural identity as a result of growing up in a different environment that does not have the same culture and values practiced in Tonga. I will consider these claims when I discuss in detail the second-generation Tongans in diasporas in Chapter 8 of this research.

I have looked in detail at *anga faka-Tonga* and now I will look specifically at the Leimatu'a community and how the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* differs from the *anga faka-Tonga*. However, the *anga faka-Tonga* that I discussed in this section is similar to the nature of the *anga faka Leimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life) which I will discuss next.

6.4 The *anga fakaleimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life) as a motivation for remittance fundraising

Anga fakaleimatu'a (Leimatu'a way of life) is a concept that can be defined in a similar nature to the *anga fakatonga*. It is a way of life and a social identity for everyone who has a connection with the Leimatu'a village or what we usually called the identity of being a *Leimatu'an*. The core values of the *anga fakaleimatu'a* consists of so many aspects and shades of humour such as; *loto mafana* and *fiefia* (warm-heartedness/happiness), *nima foaki* (generosity) and *fetokoni'aki* (helping each other), *meimeivale* and *to'oto'oa* (extreme happiness/almost absurd), *hua* (banter) and *fakapangopango* (slang/jokes on others), and *tu'utu'ukehe* (sarcasm). This sense of humour runs through the blood of the Leimatu'a people. Tongans who are not from Leimatu'a find it hard not to take things personally. It is easy to tell the identity of these people from Leimatu'a from their conversation because they always love to *hua* (banter) and play jokes on others (*fakapangopango*). Their sarcastic nature does not let you take things too seriously and their happiness and warmth heart can be felt when they do things to help others.

"We have a history that runs through our blood and generation that identify us from Leimatu'a. A big warmth heart gave us happiness and the spirit of helping others. We are not wealthy people, but when we come to fundraising to help our village or people in need, we gave all that we have from the bottom of our hearts then come back home and start again..." (P8, Group B).

“It is not hard for people to identify us from Leimatu’a due to our *anga faka-Leimatu’a* (Leimatu’a way of life) such as *mo’ui fiefia* (happiness life), *loto mafana ke foaki* (warmth heart to give/generosity), *to’oto’oa ke tokoni* (extreme happiness to help others), and *fakapangopango ke fiefia* (make jokes on others to get happiness). These are the motives that make us unique and successful in fundraising and whatever we do ...” (P4, Group A).

Comparing the concept of *anga faka-Tonga* and the concept of *anga faka-Leimatu’a*, the former is based on the values of love and respect, humility and generosity, while the latter is based on the values of happiness and willingness to help others. Queen Salote Tupou III addressed the ‘Four Golden Pillars’ as the foundation of Tongan culture, but the Leimatu’a people added these Leimatuan core values on top as their identity. This differentiates them from any other villages in Tonga. As Ka’ili (2008) notes, the *meimeivale* (almost absurd) and *fiefia* (happiness) of the Leimatu’a people “is not an act of insanity but in fact another act of powerful Tongan emotion of warmth-heart (*loto-mafana*)” (p. 2).

Every Tongan can easily access and adopt the main core values of the *anga faka-Tonga* but the *anga faka-Leimatu’a* and its core values are limited only to those who are connected with the village of Leimatu’a. When it comes to the church conference or the King’s birthday, the people of Leimatu’a prepare their *pola* (tables of food) and decorate them with many six-pound cans of corned beef, their traditional food, and *kava-Tonga* powder. The Leimatu’a people are known for their tradition when extremely happy and almost absurd, they hold a stick and hit the six-pounds-can corned beef until it is damaged or destroyed. The Leimatu’a people called this *ta pauni ono* (striking of six pounds of corned beef). They will give away the rest of the cans of six-pounds-can corned beef to the people who attended their *pola* (table of foods) to

take home. Poltorak (2007) claimed that this is emblematic of the extreme generosity and happiness of the people of Leimatu'a.



Figure 9: Leimatu'a Six Pounds of Corned Beef & Kava at a Methodist Conference, 2018

"There is no other village in Tonga who would celebrate things so many six pounds corned beef apart from us Leimatu'a. If we do things with no six pounds corned beef involved then we feel weird and cold ..." (P7, Group B).

"I never see any Tongan community in New Zealand that have so much energy in doing weird things such as dancing with the six pounds corned beef. We are all proud of our Leimatu'a way of life which gave us the spirit of happiness and love others, warm welcoming of others and shameless to overjoy ..." (P6, Group B).

It is easy to identify the Leimatuans by listening to their language, its tones and exclamations which are the expressions of happiness.

"The culture of our *kalapu kava-Tonga* made me stick with them and enjoy their kind of jokes, banter and sarcasm *faka-Leimatu'a* (laugh). You will not get it anywhere else ..." (P11, Group C).

"I am familiar with most of the Leimatu'a way of life but the *meimeivale* (extreme happiness), *fakapangopango* (jokes on others), and *tu'utu'ukehe* (sarcasm) are the highlighted of all (laugh) ..." (P10, Group C).

The majority of the participants in the study from all three different groups were able to explain the meaning of *anga faka-Leimatu'a* as a customary tradition of extreme

happiness and a culture that equates happiness with a willingness to help others.

Participants agreed that the core values of *anga faka-Leimatu'a* is important to learn by the Leimatuans and pass on to their children and grandchildren as their identity of being Leimatuans. The extreme happiness of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* is practised and interpreted through their action of *meimeivale* (almost absurd), *fakapangopango* (jokes on others), *tu'utu'ukehe* (sarcasm) and *hua* (banter).

"I always went to the *faikava* because I really enjoy when one's telling jokes about others. Their kind of banter and sarcasm always keep us awake..."
(P12, Group C).

They all agreed with an idea that *anga fakaleimatu'a* is a customary tradition or culture of happiness and warmth heart that the *Leimatu'a* community has practised for many generations. Their children and grandchildren have grown-up and experienced the culture of the Leimatu'an way, particularly the importance of *fiefia* (happiness), *loto mafana* (warmth hearted) and *mamahi'i me'a* (commitment), also known as the characteristic's foundation of the *anga fakaleimatu'a* despite it looking inappropriate to others. They agreed that the expression of jokes on others (*fakapangopango*) and making everything confused (*tu'utu'ukehe*) are the two vital aspects of the *anga fakaleimatu'a* because it always triggered *mafana* (warmth) at the occasion, celebration, or the fundraising.

"*Anga faka-Leimatu'a* can only happen when things are not taken seriously..."
(P1, Group A).

"When the happiness is getting weird and absurd, that is the true colour of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a*..." (P4, Group A).

The people of *Leimatu'a* became *meimeivale* (almost absurd) when their extreme happiness and warmth heart reached the point of performing inappropriate behaviour. The participants see this as important to successfully doing remittance

fundraising. All participants in Group B made the same point that *anga fakaleimatu'a* is an attitude based of *'ofa* (love), *loto-mafana* (warmth heart), *fiefia* (happiness), and *nima foaki* (generosity). These characteristics of *anga fakaleimatu'a* motivates everyone in the community to stand up and dance to the music. Happiness is the key to everything in life they maintain. Happiness creates love and love allows you to help others.

"Anga faka-Leimatu'a is a miracle inside our hearts that drove us to a kind of useful insane. Everyone is doing the same thing..." (P6, Group B).

"Anga faka-Leimatu'a is when you become *meimeivale* (almost absurd) with extreme happiness. A kind of *'ofa* (love) that committed to *fetokoni'aki* (helping each other) ..." (P5, Group B).

When it comes to remittance fundraising, participants say that everyone cannot wait for the date of the fundraising so that they can get together and dance with happiness with each other. Leimatu'ans feel the difference between their own fundraising events and those of other villages.

"I went to one of my daughter's in-law village fundraising at Lotofale'ia (Methodist Hall in Mangere), fundraising was fine, but I feel so cold throughout the fundraising. People from the village do not have the warmth to dance and be happy like our Leimatu'a community ..." (P8, Group B).

All of the participants reported a very strong feeling about their identity as being a Leimatu'an. They reported being proud to be known that they came from the place where they strike the six-pounds cans of corned beef (*ta pauni ono*).

"When your happiness makes you insane and crazy to do good things, that is our Leimatu'an way of life ..." (P5, Group B).

"Our Leimatu'a way of life is for everyone to enjoy life, have fun, and not to take things seriously ..." (P2, Group A).

"I never saw any other community that their people are overjoyed during fundraising as I saw with the Leimatu'a community ..." (P9, Group C).

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that Tongan people including those from Leimatu'a, have a clear perception of why they have to leave Tonga and migrate overseas. Like other Tongans, the Leimatu'ans left Tonga because of their poor standard of living and family reasons, in particular to work and send money to help their parents and siblings in Tonga and seek opportunities for their children's higher education. I discussed how their motivations are explained through the concepts of *anga faka-Tonga* and *anga faka-Leimatu'a*. They both have similar core values but differ when putting them into action. The importance of the 'Four Golden Pillars' as a foundation of the Tongan culture is embedded into the *anga faka-Tonga*, while the Leimatuans expressed their own core values as their second identity for being Tongan and Leimatuan. They both have common values that are similar to each other, but *anga faka-Tonga* is based on love and respect while *anga faka-Leimatu'a* is based on happiness and willingness to help others. The core values of *anga faka-Tonga* such as *'ofa* (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility), *tauhi va* and *fetokoni'aki* (gratitude and reciprocity), and the core values of *anga faka-Leimatu'a* such as *loto mafana* and *fiefia* (warmth heart/happiness), *fetokoni'aki* (helping others/generosity), *to'oto'oa* (extreme happiness), *fakapangopango* (slang or jokes), *tu'utu'ukehe* (sarcasm) and *hua* (banter), are all motives that contribute to successful remittance fundraising in the Leimatu'an community. As the participants note, remittance fundraising is never about the amount of money that is collected, but the love, respect, generosity, and happiness that comes from the heart of the people of Leimatu'a.

Chapter Seven: Remittance Money & Sustainable Tongan Economy

Why remittance money is so important in sustaining the Tongan Economy

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have shown how the *Leimatu'a* community in South Auckland does remittance fundraising and what motivates them. I will now explore the question of why remittance money is so important in sustaining the Tongan economy. Bertram and Watters (1985) claimed that developing countries like Tonga have too much import consumption, with less trade and exports due to the lack of natural resources, which creates trade deficits in the government's account. However, the sending of money from overseas migrants (remittances), community fundraising, and aid-donations generates revenue that fully finances the government's deficits into surplus. But to maintain a sustainable economy, there is a need to ensure that transnational ties and connections between migrants and kin at the ancestral homeland are sustained for a long period of time. So, I will explore firstly the theory of MIRAB economy and how it applies to Tonga. The importance of the *fatongia* (obligation) and its influence in sustaining remittance economy. I will look at the question of how Tongan cultural practices, such as *lotu fakatonga* (Tongan churches) and the *faikava* clubs and their influence in sustaining the remittance economy. Even though Lee (2004) mentioned the influence of other cultural practices, such as ex-students' groups, overseas festivals, and kinship networks or family reunions, I will primarily explore the significance of the *lotu fakatonga* and the *faikava*, and how they contributed to the acknowledgement of *anga fakatonga* (Tongan culture), *lea fakatonga* (Tongan language), and remittance fundraising.

7.2 The Theory of MIRAB economies and how it applies to Tonga

In the 1980s, Bertram and Watters introduced an analytical framework for the South Pacific microstates known as the MIRAB economies, which stands for Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy (Bertram & Watters, 1985). This study was conducted with a select group of Pacific Island economies, which points out that many microstate countries sustain a high level of import consumptions and have a lesser level of trade and exportation. This has resulted in a long run of trade deficits where most of the governments' expenditure was far in excess of their generated revenue. However, Bertram and Watters and others claimed that the huge inflows of remittances from overseas migrants and the benefit of overseas-aid donations have fully financed the governments' deficit accounts into a surplus, so therefore, this is the model that best suits Pacific Island countries' economies (Bertram & Watters, 1985; Evans, 1999; Fraenkel, 2006).

Bertram and Watters stressed the idea that South Pacific countries are embedded in regional and global economies in two main ways. Firstly, through the large-scale of overseas migration which resulted in sending back a very substantial amount of remittances from overseas migrants to their homeland ('Migration and Remittances'). Secondly, the foreign-aid donations from overseas' countries towards Pacific microstates resulted in moving a large amount of funds and resources towards Pacific Island countries ('Aid and Bureaucracy') (Bertram & Watters, 1985; Evans, 1999; Fraenkel, 2006). Thus, the theory of MIRAB economies underlines the importance of Pacific Island States' external linkages either through transnational kinship ties or the administration of international relations with overseas countries.

According to the MIRAB model, the stability and sustainability of economic development in the Pacific are focussed less on the growth of production, exports, and tourism, and more on “the stability of various sorts of transnational linkages” (Evans, 1999, p. 138). This model relies on opportunities to stabilise the overseas labour market through Pacific migration rather than the development of capitalist enterprise within Pacific countries (Fraenkel, 2006). For instance, the shortage of labour within the agricultural and horticultural sector in New Zealand is substantial. The introduction of the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) Programme run by Australia and New Zealand to Pacific Island countries to help in solving such seasonal labour shortfall, offers opportunities to migrants from Pacific countries, including Tonga (Prochazkova, 2010; Bailey, 2015; NZ RSE Report, 2010).

Despite the argument that Bertram and Watters (1985), made when they stated that the theory of MIRAB economy is a good economic model that suit Pacific Island countries with their lack of natural resources and lesser trade of exports, some economists (Becker, 1974; Stark, 1991; Cox, 1987) criticised this theory by saying that it is a very risky economic model for any government to adopt and rely upon. They maintain it is unwise for any developing country to adopt this kind of dependent economic strategy which relies on the receipt of overseas remittances and aid-donations that has no firm foundation, but are dependent on the motives of the remitters, international negotiation and relations between states. Thus, they argue that MIRAB economies are irrational and unstable due to the reliance on altruistic feeling that can weaken over-time. Furthermore, this model of relying on remittances

and aid destroys regional and international economic development which is focused on the growth of production and exports (Brown, 1998; Lee, 2004).

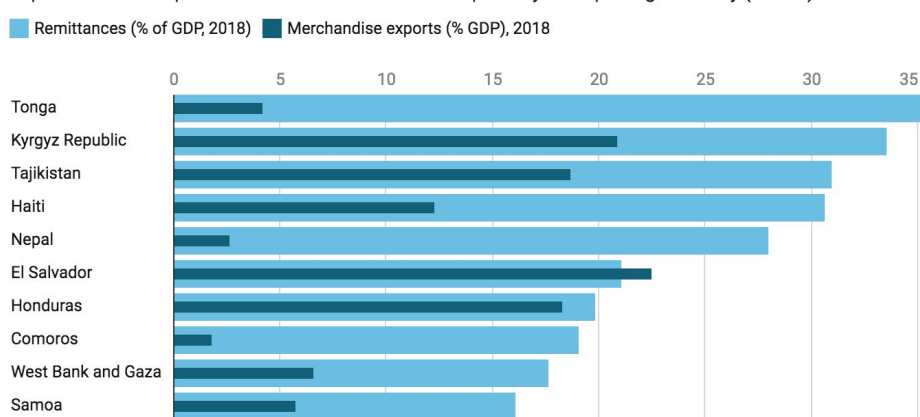
In reply, Bertram and Watters argued that the high level of resources and consumption that remittances and aid-donations bring into Pacific countries cannot be replaced by agricultural growth and development (Bertram & Watters, 1985). Evans suggested that Bertram and Watters' argument concerns very small states, where the overseas migrants are greater than the numbers of people who are currently living at home (Evans, 1999). In that way, remittances from overseas migrants will always surpass the amounts that are gotten from agricultural developments and trade. Therefore, the sustainability of the MIRAB economy will always rely on transnational ties and connections between migrants and their kinship with the homeland. These island economies are thus dependent on ensuring that the emotional transnational ties with kin are strengthened and maintained in the long-term so that the flow of remittances back home is sustainable (Macpherson, 1985).

There is little or no evidence so far to prove a direct correlation between remittances and the failure of Tonga's export. There is also no evidence of any direct or negative link between overseas-aid donations and Tonga's export performance. The failure and decline of Tonga's copra exports began in the late 1970s and early 1980s, due largely to the redirection of "coconut (copra) output into the production of desiccated coconut and coconut oil" (Fleming & Blowes, 2003, p. 17). The exports of banana from Tonga to New Zealand declined in the 1970s due to "black leaf diseases, irregular shipping, drought and cyclones damag[ing] production" (p. 18). The exclusion of Tonga

from exporting their green bananas to New Zealand was thus not the result of remittances and overseas-aid donations but rather other unrelated causes. The World Bank Report (2018)¹⁹ stated that remittances comprise of more than one-third of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and a major source of the foreign exchange of Tonga. The graph below in Figure 10 shows that Tonga sustains 35 per cent of its GDP from remittances in comparison with less than 5 per cent of its exports.

In some countries remittances account for a significantly larger share of GDP than merchandise exports

Top remittance recipients in 2018 and merchandise exports by the reporting economy (% GDP)



Data for West Bank and Gaza reflects 2017 values.

Source: Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD), World Development Indicators, IMF Directions of Trade Statistics

Figure 10: World Bank 2018 - Remittances and Export GDP

Brown (1998) suggested that economies reliant on remittances are very unstable and would decline over-time due to competing family commitments in diasporas. Other scholars were concerned that over time the MIRAB economy may become unsustainable due to an inability to engage the second generation in diaspora in the process of transnational ties (Addo, 2009; Lee, 2009), and the contrast between the views of older and younger participants in this study suggest support for this view.

¹⁹ <http://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/money-sent-home-workers-now-largest-source-external-financing-low-and-middle-income>

Older participants in Group A and B state that any other family commitments here in diasporas should not stop them from their *fatongia* (obligation) to their parents and kin at home.

“The reason why I came to New Zealand is to work and be able to look after my family. It is my *fatongia* (obligation) as the oldest in the family to feed and take care of my parents, and my children...” (P2, Group A).

“My children are my main priority but that does not mean to avoid my *fatongia* (obligation) to my parents whom I owe them my life...” (P7, Group B).

“Moving here was not that easy because our two oldest children were still in Tonga. We were new to a busy life of full-time employment and paying household bills. But we budget everything in the house so that we can manage to send money to our kids and our parents in Tonga...” (P8, Group B)

However, the young participants in Group C expressed different views compared to the older generation. They agreed with the idea that the children’s *fatongia* (obligation) is to love and respect their parents, but sometimes they criticise them, especially when it comes to remittance fundraising and church donations.

“I am the only one working in the household, still with no car. I went to work by bus and sometimes walk home after work. I do not understand how my parent donated \$10,000 for the church’s *Misinale* (fundraising), and a thousand dollars at the Leimatu’a remittance fundraising. It is killing me, but I do not want to disappoint them and tell me that I am the *ta’e ’ofa* son (no love or unkind) ...” (P11, Group C).

It is hard to overestimate the challenges faced by Tongan migrants when they move from a small village to live in a more developed and modernised city like Auckland, Sydney, or Los Angeles. Western culture always becomes a threat to Tongan culture, family values and Christian values and can test the patience of most migrant parents when they see their children starting to drift away with westernised culture.

“Sending money to Tonga is my *fatongia* (obligation) to my family. My children always criticise me and my wife by saying that we are still ‘*fakamolitonga*’ (holding to Tongan traditions), but this is who we are...” (P4, Group A).

“I told my children that I did not expect them to *fu’u fiepalangi* (act like European) because Tongan people will call them *‘uluma’olunga* (high-head) ...” (P5, Group B).

From the young participants’ points of view, they suggested that overseas Tongan parents should start focusing on the primary needs of their children rather than keep supplying their extended families in Tonga. Despite this, the young participants in the study showed their lives are still embedded with the most important notions of the *anga faka-Tonga*, which is to love and respect their parents.

“My parent is like a god for me. I respect them dearly and I do not want to upset them...” (P9, Group C).

“My wages always go to my Mom’s bank account. She is the boss at home...she is my hero...” (P12, Group C).

One participant sums it up by quoting a Tongan proverb which says:

“It is better to be stupid and still respect your parents than be wise and disrespectful of your parents” (P12, Group C).

The differences in perspective between the older generation and the younger generation showed that older generations are trying to maintain and live by the accepted notions of *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of living), while some Tongan cultures are sliding away from the younger generation. They grew up in an environment that has the dilemma of learning two different cultures, where at home they learned the Tongan way of life, but at school or work they learned the Western culture which tends to weaken their personal cultural narrative. This issue is further explored in Chapter 8 where I look in detail at the views of second-generation Tongans in the Leimatu’a diaspora.

7.3 The importance of *fatongia* (obligation) and its influence in sustaining the remittance economy

As the participants always mention, their *fatongia* (obligation) to their parent is the highlight of everything in Tongan culture. Even in disagreement of the younger generation with the decisions that their parents made, they still uphold and respect their *fatongia* (obligation) to their parents as the sign of their *'ofa* (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity/humility), and *tauhi va* (gratitude). According to an English dictionary, obligation means 'an act or course of action to which a person is morally or legally bound; a duty or commitment.'²⁰

By contrast to Tongan culture, the meaning of obligation in Western culture does not capture thoroughly the meaning and essence of *fatongia* in Tongan culture. The metaphorical meaning of *fatongia* (obligation) derived from the "traditional Tongan sweet-smelling plant of *fa*, and *tongia*, stands for immediately permeating fragrance" (Tofuaipangai & Camillery, 2016, p. 61). Tongan scholars wrote about the significance of *fa*, a kind of pandanus plant which is mostly found throughout the Pacific Islands. When it comes to important events and traditional functions, such as a wedding, birthday, graduation, and even the Tongan funeral, Tongan women immediately pick fragrant and pleasant-smelling flowers or ripe pandanus fruit (*fa*) to making a garland of sweet-smelling *kahoa fa* (necklace) or *sisi fa* (waist-lace) (Helu, 1999; Thaman, 1993; 2000; Mahina, 2005, 2006). Not only does *tongia* refer to the picking of sweet-smelling flowers by Tongan women, but it also metaphorically means "an unforgettable love by a man for his beloved partner or wife (and vice-versa)." That is illustrated with a

²⁰ <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/obligation>

Tongan proverb that says, 'My heart is still mesmerised with your love' (*'Oku kei tongia pe hoku loto 'iho'o 'ofa*) (Tofuaipangai & Camillery, 2016, p. 61).

Thus, the essence of *fatongia* is the gift of a sweet-smelling garland to wear with happiness, and it is also the pleasure of love or pleasure to be loved instead of a burden or an obligation that must be performed. When *fatongia* became a gift to wear with happiness or the pleasure of love, everyone still has their right to choose. A son or daughter still has the right and the freedom to refuse or accept the gift of the sweet-smelling flowers as their *fatongia* to their parent and that is to love them endlessly and that could bring happiness in life.

"*Fatongia* is the essential part of being Tongan" (Tofuaipangai & Camillery, 2016, p. 62). The foundation of Tongan society and the *anga faka-Tonga* is based on the concept of *fatongia*, such as the myth of *kava*. The interrelation between the commoners, the nobles, and the King are based on the essence of *fatongia*. The interrelation between the parents and their children are also based on the *fatongia*. It is the acceptance of the core principles of the *anga faka-Tonga* such as *'ofa* (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity/humility), *tauhi va* (gratitude/relationship), and *mamahi'ime'a* (reciprocation), which results in happiness and satisfaction from its sweet-smelling garland.

"*Fatongia* (obligation) is the foundation of our Tongan culture. Our parents were taught by their parent about their *fatongia* to the Chief of our village, *fatongia* to our church's minister, *fatongia* to their parent and *fatongia* to their sisters and *mehikitanga* (aunty). We were taught about the same thing by our parents and it is our job to tell the same story to our children and grandchildren..." (P4, Group A).

It is argued that the notion of *fatongia* (obligation) is a burden that emphasised the *tapalasia* (exploitation), *fakaehaua* (alienation), and *fakapopula'i* (oppression) of people in Tongan society, which results in unhappiness and dissatisfaction (Thaman, 1999; Helu, 1999; Mahina, 2006; Ka'ili, 2011). However, participants in the study emphasise freedom of choice.

“Despite the importance of *fatongia* to us Tongans and our culture, we still have the freedom to choose whether to do something or not. I have the freedom to choose whether to keep my *fatongia* to my parent or not ...” (P2, Group A).

“I count my *fatongia* to my parent as a blessing because at least that I will be able to send them money to buy something to eat with my siblings while they are still alive. No one is forcing me to send money to my parent, but I am happy to do it to show my love and appreciation of what they had done for me ...” (P6, Group B).

This *fatongia* can be seen as an important influence in encouraging transnational ties and connections between Tongan migrants and the kin at home, sustaining transnational linkages to support a high level of remittance funding. Participants from the Leimatu'a community claimed that remittance fundraising is so unique and successful in their community because the notion of *fatongia* (happiness and love) are the basis of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a*. The important question to consider now is how the overseas migrants could maintain transnational ties and cultural values for a longer period of time so that Tongans can continue to sustain their homeland as a remittance or MIRAB economy.

7.4 The cultural practices of the lotu faka-Tonga (Tongan churches), the faikava and their influence in sustaining the remittance economy

Tongan communities at home and in the diasporas have many cultural practices, such as the ex-students' associations, *koloa faka-Tonga* (women's textile and mats) at

traditional functions, Tongan festivals and Village Day, *lotu Tonga* (Tongan churches) and the *kalapu kava-Tonga* (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2002; Lee, 2007). This study now focuses on two key practices, the *lotu faka-Tonga* (Tongan churches) and the *faikava* to discuss their significance to the maintenance of a sustainable remittance economy.

“I prefer to let my children involved with our Tongan church’s activities because it will help them socially and spiritually. They can learn and experience more about our Tongan culture and language. I used to take my two sons to our *faikava*, but they did not interest in drinking *kava*. The more they become involved with our Tongan cultural practices, the more they interested in fundraising and sending money to Tonga. ...” (P3, Group A).

7.4.1 *Lotu faka-Tonga* – a cultural practice

The rapid increase in the numbers of Tongan churches that have been built in the diasporas due to the population’s dispersal and as the result of a dispute between the Tongan congregation and the Western churches’ headquarters, indicates the importance of the *lotu faka-Tonga* (Tongan church/religion) as a social institution for Tongans. In Auckland, Tongans have established their own *lotu faka-Tonga* (Tongan church) aiming to conduct all the services in the Tongan language, despite some of the Tongan churches deciding to use both the Tongan and English languages for the benefit of their overseas-born children. For instance, in the 1990s, the Tongan Wesleyan members in South Auckland decided to have a fundraising to buy land and build the *Lotofale’ia* Methodist Tongan Church in Mangere which is under the Methodist Church of New Zealand.

“Our Tongan church really help our children in so many ways, especially when most of our programs are conducted in Tongan. Our children were involved with most of our church’s fundraising activities with the performance of their *tau’olunga* group ...” (P5, Group B).

The dispute between Tongan church members and the Methodist church in New Zealand over the moral issue of accepting to ordain openly gay and lesbian clergy, led to the departure of large numbers of Tongan members.²¹ They left the Lotofale'ia church because they believed that gay and lesbian behaviour is not only against Christian belief and values, but it also against Tongan culture, and they do not want to raise their children in that kind of church environment. This group of Tongans went on to have fundraising and buy other land located in Favona Road in Mangere and build the *Tuingapapai* Tongan Church under the guidance of the Wesleyan Conference in Tonga. Even though it is not an easy task to buy land and try to build Tongan churches overseas, it shows how important churches are in the lives of Tongan people in the diasporas. There were also other Tongan churches in Auckland apart from the Tongan Wesleyan Church such as the Catholic Tongans, LDS Tongan Wards, *Mo'ui 'ia Kalaisi* Church, *Siasi Penitekosi*, Seventh Day Adventist Tongan in Penrose, the *Pulela'a* Church in Mangere and so many more.

“Most of us were financially struggled to get here but we hold on to our culture and Tongan values just for the sake of our children and grandchildren. Look around in Auckland today then you can see how the Christian values influence our Tongan people here in the diasporas, particularly when we decided to build so many Tongan churches ...” (P4, Group A).

Tongan churches in the diasporas are one of the most influential institutions for Tongan families. The church's Ministers are one of the most respected people in Tongan society and they have considerable powers amongst their church's members. They have a large responsibility in spiritually feeding the church's members, and physically helping families who are struggling with their living, especially assisting new

²¹ http://www.methodist.org.nz/touchstone/lead_articles/2004/october_2004/mou_enables_gay_leaders

immigrants with their accommodation, employment, or any other financial needs. The church's activities are monitored to assist young people in the church to learn Tongan culture with the *faiva* and *tau'olunga* (Tongan dances) and the performance of drama from bible stories in Tongan to encourage the importance of using our own language. The diasporic Tongans believe that the Tongan church is one of the best and safest institutions for Tongan families to teach second- and third-generation Tongan children the core values of the *anga faka-Tonga* and the importance of Tongan language through the church's activities, formal debates, and seminars (Morton, 1998).

"I remember back in 1987, New Zealand Immigration has opened a no-visa policy for Tonga and the Pacific countries to come to New Zealand. Tongan people were started to be flooded here in Auckland. Our church's Minister and a Tongan lawyer were organised accommodation and employment for our Tongan people. Most of our Tongan church was assisted our Tongan community to ensure that their financial, social and spiritual needs are satisfied ..." (P1, Group A).

"If you look around all Tongan communities here in Auckland, our Tongan churches is the most influential institutions that can possibly change the lives of the people in so many ways..." (P7, Group B).

In a study conducted in Australia, Tongan parents from Sydney denied that the church played any role in teaching their children the *anga faka-Tonga* (Morton, 1998). They stated that "the church is something for the child to fall back on, it doesn't necessarily teach the child to behave like a Tongan, or in the Tongan custom" (p. 10). In my research, the majority of the participants from this Leimatu'a community agree that Tongan churches in the diasporas had a very large influence in the lives of the migrants' children and especially with the teaching of the *anga fakatonga*, the *tau'olunga fakatonga* (Tongan dances), and the *lea fakatonga* (Tongan language).

"When we aware that our son taking drugs and involved in South Auckland gangs. We decided to let him involve our youth's activities at church rather than send him to Tonga. The church had done miracles to his life and he is

the leader of the Youth. He speaks Tongan fluently and performs Tongan dances beautifully..." (P1, Group A).

During my research, I decided to attend the Sunday combined service of the Tongan Wesleyan Church at *Tuingapapai* to observe the culture of the Tongan church and see how this Leimatua's families are involved with their churches. I was surprised to see an estimate of around 40 per cent of church members are young people and children. Then I went on the next Saturday evening to the *Tokaikolo'ia Kalaisi* Youth's fundraising at *Nasaleti* in Mangere. These Tongan youths performed different types of *faiva faka-Tonga* (Tongan old dances) and the *tau'olunga* (dances). I was told that an estimate of around 80 per cent of the Church's youth who performed the Tongan dances are overseas-born Tongans, including twenty-four of them who came from Leimatu'a parents, as I noted at the time.

"On Sunday the 9th of December 2018, I have attended the Sunday combined services of the Tongan Wesleyan churches at Tuingapapai, Mangere at 10 o'clock in the morning. An estimate of forty per cent of the church's members were young people and children. On Saturday the 15th December 2018, I went to the *Tokaikolo* Church in Mangere for their youth's fundraising. I estimated that eighty per cent of the youth who performed the *faiva* and *tau'olunga* are overseas-born Tongan..." (Researcher note 1).

Most of the major remittance fundraising that happens in the churches are for fundraising to build new churches or new schools in Tonga and these young people perform their *faiva* and *tau'olunga* to raise money. I was told that these young people were trained in small project fundraising, such as car washing and participating in walkathons.

"Most of our churches main fundraising was either to build a church, school, church's hall, or school's hall in Tonga. The most recent fundraising was from the *Toloa* College in Tonga. They sent here their school brass-band to do fundraising around all Tongan churches to help to build their school's hall remembrance of their 100 years jubilee ..." (P4, Group A).

“Here in New Zealand, Tongan churches are the best places to do big fundraising project such as building school and church in Tonga ...”
(P5, Group B).

“Every Saturday morning, we do car-wash fundraising to help our youth’s transportation and other expenses in getting ready for our Tongan festivals...”
(P11, Group C).

Some Tongan parents believed that their children would be better off learning Tongan culture at home, while a majority of them believed that Tongan churches are the safest place to teach our children about the *anga fakatonga* because most of the parents were busy at work and have little time at home with the children.

“Our Tongan churches are the safest place for the upbringing of our children especially when both parents are working full-time. They could learn there the Tongan way of life, values and cultures ...” (P3, Group A).

This research study thus shows that Tongan churches in diasporas promote the Tongan culture and the core values of the *anga fakatonga*, remittance fundraising, cultural identity, and the Tongan language, especially with migrants’ children. Therefore, it supports Fehoko’s finding that family, church activities and cultural activities practices “are the heart of our Pacific peoples in New Zealand” (Fehoko, 2015, p. 132).

7.4.2 *Faikava* – A Cultural Practice

As indicated in Chapter 5 the practice of *faikava* plays an important role in nurturing the *anga fakatonga*, securing the *lea fakatonga* (Tongan language) and maintaining the cultural identity of overseas-born Tongans in diasporas. Nowadays, the *faikava* has been embedded and is combined with the church’s functions for social bonding and fostering of migrants’ overseas-born Tongans with Tongan knowledge, tradition, and the importance of respect, love, generosity and helping others, “whilst drinking of the narcotic beverage of *kava*” (Fehoko, 2015, p. 132).

The participants from the older generation in the Leimatu'a community agreed with the idea that *faikava* is another social institution that teaches the younger generation about the core values of the *anga fakatonga*, and the importance of respecting the *kaumatu'a*. In the course of my study, I found that an estimate of 10 per cent of the young people of Leimatu'a attended the *faikava*. The statistics do not worry the *kaumatua* (elders) participants at the *faikava* because they believe that the narcotic beverage of the *kava* does not appeal to most young overseas-born Tongans. This illustrates the benefit of having so many cultural practices available for young people to choose from, because if they are not interested in the drinking of *kava*, then they may be interested in attending the church's activities, while some prefer staying at home and studying.

"I did not force my son to the *faikava*, even though I believed that the *faikava* will definitely help him with his Tongan and many cultural values ..."
(P3, Group A).

The two young male participants in Group C both attended the *faikava* for two different reasons, but they agreed that what they learned at the *faikava* they could not get anywhere else.

"I understood more about our Tongan culture and the president of the *faikava* sometimes told me to perform the *matapule* (chief's frontman) task. I have to reply to the *ma'ukava* (a person who came and ask for fundraising) in the formal Tongan way. In the beginning, I was so nervous but I'm good now ..."
(P12, Group C).

So, my research supports the contention that *faikava* plays an important part in supporting remittance fundraising.

7.5 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter answers the question of why remittance fundraising is so significant for a sustainable Tongan economy, and how the cultural practices of the *lotu fakatonga* and the *faikava* influences the sustainability of a remittance economy. This study supports the theory that Bertram and Watters (1985) claimed as the solution for any developing countries that have minimal or no resources for trades and exports, that could cause a deficit in their government's economy because their import consumptions far exceeds the generated revenue. Therefore, the flow of huge amounts of cash from remittances strongly assists and supports the government's deficit into surplus. The important question is whether a MIRAB economy like Tonga is sustainable. Most economists and scholars criticise allowing a state's economy to be fully dependent on the receipt of remittances and aid donations. But in the case of Tonga, the statistics from the World Bank proved that more than one-third of Tonga's GDP is from remittances and Tonga's economy has survived as remittance and an aid-based economy for more than thirty years. There were other factors that contributed to the sustainability of the remittance economy, through the enhancement of transnational ties and connections between migrants and kin at home, the significance of the concepts of *fatongia* (obligation), the importance of cultural practices such as *lotu fakatonga* and the *faikava* which promotes the significance of Tongan culture, the *anga fakatonga*, family values and Christian values. These concepts all contributed to the success of transnational ties and therefore a sustainable remittance economy.

Chapter Eight: The Future of Remittance Economy in Tonga

Are the second-generation Tongans in New Zealand likely to maintain remittance fundraising as their parents did?

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the future of remittance economy in Tonga. Whether the second-generation of the Leimatu'a diaspora in New Zealand is likely to maintain remittance practices. Firstly, I will explore the importance of the upbringing of the overseas-born children and its influence on the future of remittance fundraising and remittance economy. I will also be looking at the claimed from the participants of this study that Tongan parents are the best role model for their children as the children do not want to upset their parents. It is also important to explore how the overseas-born Tongans in South Auckland cope with the challenges of living between two worlds. The perception of an 'unsecured identity' and how cultural identity claimed that it is in the blood and veins of all Tongans regardless of where there were born. Lastly, are the overseas-born Tongan in New Zealand being likely to maintain practices that their parents did? The aim is to consider whether second-generation Tongans in New Zealand are likely to maintain the remittance practices that their parents did. I will look at the argument made by anthropologist, Helen Morton Lee, who researched second-generation Tongans in Australia (Lee, 2004; 2007). Lee's studies reveal how they feel "unsecured with their identity" (Lee, 2006, p. 125), have "no sense of connections" (Lee, 2004, p. 248), do "not feel at home" (Lee, 2011, p. 296), have 'high rates of intermarriage' (Lee, 2016, p. 130), and how "living between two worlds" (Lee, 2007, p. 306) have all contributed to their resentment of remittance practices. My research, however, shows that even though the participants from the second-generation group did not agree with their parents' remittance practices, the influence of their

upbringing, particularly the values of respect, love and obedience to their parents and elders, outweighs their negativity towards remittance practices.

8.2 The upbringing of the overseas-born children will influence the future of remittance fundraising

Throughout the remittance literature, scholars have studied worldwide the remittance practices of first-generation migrants, particularly their remittance behaviour and their motives in connection with the importance of maintaining the transnational ties with their homeland (Levitt, 2002; Levitt & Waters, 2002). But due to the lack of research studies about the remittance practices of second-generation Tongans in the diasporas, it is important to look at the outcome of the study with the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland.

The majority of the first-generation participants in group A claimed that the upbringing of the overseas-born children known as the second generation is so significance for the future of remittance fundraising in the diasporas and the continuous of remittance economy in Tonga.

“I believe that the upbringing of our overseas-born children is so significant for the continuous of remittance economy in Tonga...” (P2, Group A).

“Our overseas-born children will continue helping our remittance fundraising here in New Zealand because that is the way we brought them up with...” (P1, Group A).

Most of the first-generation participants of group B supported the claimed that the upbringing of the overseas-born children is so significance for the future of remittance fundraising. However, they furthermore suggested that the responsibilities of every parent are to teach their children at home with the core values of the Tongan culture

and the Christian values. Once the children are growing up, they will not depart from the attitudes and values of their upbringing.

“It is our responsibility to teach our children at home with the core values of our Tongan culture. Even if our children’s upbringing does not reflect on the choice that they had made with their lives...” (P5, Group B).

“We taught our overseas-born children with the values of love, respect and kindness. That should be enough for them to decide whether helping their kin at home is worth doing or not...” (P6, Group B).

“The mountains for Tongan people are their hearts, that is why the upbringing of our children is so important for the future of remittance fundraising...” (P8, Group B).

Also, the majority of the second-generation participants in group C supported the claim that the upbringing of the overseas-born children is so important for the future of remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga. The second-generation participants agreed with the ideas that their decision to follow what their parents particularly did in remittance fundraising are based on their upbringing.

“I feel like that it is just all come down to your upbringing. It is your upbringing that kind of influence your life like it can draw you closer to the family or push you far away from them. Your upbringing will let you involve with remittance fundraising or not...” (P9, Group C).

“In my view, it all depends on the environment that we grew up with...” (P12, Group C).

“Since we were young, our parent taught us how to love and respect others...” (P11, Group C).

“The majority of Tongan people in diasporas declared that they have been raised and going through a tough time in their upbringing. That poor, miserable and hard life that we have been experienced back home get us to where we are at the moment. Those struggles and desperation changed our lives and make us eager to help others that are currently facing the same situation in life and needs help...” (P10, Group C).

8.3 Tongan parents are the best role model for the children as they do not want to upset their parents

All participants in this research study acknowledged the importance of the parents in Tongan society. The father who always the leader of the family and the mother is the one who assist the father. The parents do have a *ngafa* (responsibilities) to teach their children with the core values of Tongan culture and Christian values. While the children's *fatongia* (obligation) is to 'ofa (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), and look after their parent until they die. *Fatongia* is the essential part of the Tongan way of life in the foundation of Tongan society (refer to chapter 6).

"Tongan parents are the best role model for the children in every step of the way..." (P7, Group B).

"Parents are the best role model for our children, and this is what the Leimatu'a parent did best is remittance fundraising to help others..." (P1, Group A).

"My first priority is to love, respect and look after my parent and siblings. That is my *fatongia* (obligation) to my parent and I do not want to disobey my parent or bring shame to the family..." (P12, Group C).

"We must follow the leads of our parent regardless if we like it or not. My Dad is my super-hero and I wish that my brothers can follow his footsteps. It is our responsibility to love and look after our parents. We cannot pay back the love and sacrifices that they did for us. There is nothing that could replace the importance of my parent to me..." (P9, Group C).

This is the reality of life within Tongan society back in Tonga and also in the diasporas. The core values of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture) and the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life) that was discussed in chapter five, influenced a lot of the overseas-born Tongans including the Leimatu'a second generations in South Auckland. Living in the western society does have its own challenges on Tongan families such as the influenced of so many young people that involved in gangs, drugs, and violent behaviours. In contrast, Tongan culture, and cultural practices such as the *kalapu kava-*

Tonga, Tongan churches, and Tongan language week influenced a lot of the overseas-born children in a positive way.

“The parent has a role to play with their overseas-born children otherwise it will be a different story. Some of the overseas-born Tongans have not sense yet their real belonging until they were introduced to our Tongan church’s activities, kava club, Tongan language day, Tongan birthday or wedding and even the funeral. These cultural practices will definitely transform their lives into real Tongan...” (P11, Group C).

“However, it could be the parent were so busy at work and had no time to take them to church or other Tongan festivals. As a result, these young people were mostly influenced by western cultures and became addicted to nightclubs and drugs...” (P12, Group C).

“Tongan parents should become the role model for their children at home. But most of the time, parents are too busy with their work and church responsibilities and have no time with their children. Even though parents are still there at home, but they are actually not there, no parenting time. Can the children still see them as a role model? (P10, Group C).

The majority of the second generations participants acknowledged the importance of cultural practices should the parents were not so busy at work and have no time to take their children to church or Pasifika festival and such. Overseas-born Tongans still look up to their parents and follow their footsteps especially involving in community functions and remittance fundraising. The second-generation participants told me that they are not sure whether they can continue with what they saw with their parents in remittance fundraising. However, it is part of their responsibility to help their parent in remittance fundraising and not to upset them or let other people to mock at their parents of not involving in remittance fundraising.

8.4 Living between two worlds became a challenge for the second generations in the diasporas

The perception of 'living between two worlds' can be weighed and unpacked differently. This study analyses the differences in viewpoint between first-generation migrants and second-generation migrants. Acknowledgement of their perspectives and experiences with how they manage to live in a society that consists of different cultures is of particular interest. Predominantly, a society that operates with a western culture but still allows acknowledgment of their own culture at school, church, and their community. Thus, the nuance of understanding between these two generations and how they accepted or rejected cultural values and their native language is very challenging and complicated, particularly when living in a society like New Zealand which acknowledges its cultural diversity.

The Leimatu'a participants stated that they have struggled with getting used to so many things, such as communicating in the English language at work. Most of the factories operated twenty-four hours, seven days a week and every employee needed to take turns on Saturdays and Sundays. This is an example of the clash between trying to uphold Tongan culture and Christian values within Western society.

"In the 1980s, most of us from Tonga worked at the Penrose glass factories. We must have to work on Sunday despite its conflict with our Christian belief..." (P4, Group A).

"My first job was to become a road assistant operator that we have to wear all safety gear and helmet but my husband told me to find another job because it is a shame in our culture for women to do men's job..." (P6, Group B).

Their children also struggled to cope with education due to the pressure that the parents put upon them, particularly when a school event clashed with Tongan culture.

Sometimes the parents thought that their children were disrespectful when they tried to explain the reasons for their behaviour, but the parents did not allow them to discuss their reasons because the children are not allowed to talk back to their parents in the Tongan culture.

“Our first year in New Zealand was the worst one for my children’s education. We did not allow them to participate in school camps, trips or any school function apart from the classroom study because in Tongan culture, it is a shame looking at our children holding hands or hugs with their friends at school ...” (P5, Group B).

“The social welfare nearly taken our children from us because of the way how we try to discipline them. It is a norm in Tongan culture to punish or slap our kids for discipline, but our daughter calls the police and reports that her father slapped her for inviting her boyfriend from school to our home. It is not easy to raise our children in two different cultures...” (P8, Group B).

Nowadays, other social groups assisted and encouraged the first-generation migrants to cope with living between two worlds. For instance, there was a lot of *faikava* clubs, Tongan churches, ex-students’ associations, and other cultural events at school.

The perspective of the second-generation is very different from the viewpoints of their parents in many things, even though they tried their best not to disrespect them with their actions.

“The worst experience that I ever had with my parent is the discipline time, help me God (laugh)...” (P11, Group C).

“There is nothing that could replace the importance of my parent to me, but I sometimes sick of them treating me like kids because I am Tongan. I am not allowed to wear shorts or long pants to any of our school function or church, very boring culture (laugh)...” (P9, Group C).

“I do not like so many things that my parents told me to do but I always sacrifice them all just to make them happy, seeing them smiling at home make my day...” (P12, Group C).

For those in the Leimatu'a community in New Zealand, living between two worlds is not an easy thing to do, but it is possible to adjust to. All cultures are different and sometimes hard to make work for our children in the diasporas, but to respect and love them unconditionally makes everyone happy in the family.

“This is what makes my parent's happy seeing me sending money to our family in Tonga. Sometimes I wish that my parent already passed away so that I can do whatever I want. Who knows if my parent passed away, I should have continued doing remitting to Tonga so that they could smile at me from heaven...” (P10, Group C).

8.5 Cultural identity is in the blood and veins of all Tongans regardless of where you born

Lee (2006) stated that second-generation Tongans in Australia are unlikely to maintain the remittance practices of their parents due to their 'unsecured identity'; that is, being unsure of who they are and their lack of language and cultural skills in becoming real Tongans. However, my research shows that second-generation participants from the Leimatu'a community in New Zealand stated that their Leimatu'anness or Tonganness had nothing to do with their inability to speak their native language or have cultural skills. Hence, other factors may influence the increase or decrease of the second-generation's remitting, such as their upbringing and the culture of the Leimatu'a community.

“For me, supporting the remittance fundraising does not have anything to do with my *lea fakatonga* or *anga fakatonga* ...” (P9, Group C).

“Why should I feel insecure with my identity when I do not speak Tongan fluently? Does anyone going to change my Tongan name into an English name because I am not qualified to become a Tongan? ...” (P12, Group C).

“I understand why my parents send money to Tonga, even though I sometimes do not agree with my parent's decision when told me to remit but I always want to make them happy, I have to do it ...” (P11, Group C).

“Even though my *fanau* (children) did not want to hear me when asking them to send money to their older brother in Tonga and his family, but I know that they will do it to make me happy...” (P5, Group B).

“My two sons are 26 and 24 years of age, New Zealand-born, and cannot speak Tongan fluently. They always send money to my older sister in Tonga without asking me whether it is okay or not. That is the way how I raise them...” (P3, Group A).

When asked if their children felt excluded and alienated from the Leimatu’a community if they cannot speak Tongan or cannot understand much of the Tongan culture, the majority of the participants in Groups A and B disagreed, stating that they already taught their children about who they are and where they came from since they were born.

“If you do not want to be Tongan then, who do you think you are? You are not a white Pakeha, you have no Maori blood, no Chinese blood...Your parents are brown and have full-Tongan blood...then who do you think you are if you not a Tongan?” (P1, Group A).

“I told my children to stop acting like *fie palangi* (act like Pakeha) because there is nothing that can take away their Leimatu’a blood from them. You may not have a Tongan passport, but you do not need to have one to claim your identity as a Leimatu’an. It is already inside there (pointing her hand to her heart) ...” (P8, Group B).

“I always feel welcome when I went with my parent to the Leimatu’a community fundraising. The spirit and the happiness of our Leimatu’a community have kept us warmth and happiness. Gosh, you want to enjoy the moment before you start to worry about other things in life...” (P9, Group C).

Stuart Hall defined identity as “names we give to the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within” (Hall, 1994, p. 394). The overseas-born migrants sometimes tried to identify themselves according to their current position and the geographical location of where they are, despite knowing that their parents are full-blood Tongan. They regard themselves as Tongan New Zealanders because New

Zealand is their country of birth and that is also the environment that their parents adopted and chose to make their new home.

“I did not force my children to speak Tongan because I do not want them to be like me. When I first came here, I hardly speak or understand any English word. I struggled at work and everywhere I go because I cannot speak English. I do not want my children to be like me in that context. Even though they hardly speak any Tongan words, but they are proud Tongans inside their hearts. One of my sons played for the Tonga Ikale Tahi National Rugby Team for 8 years...” (P4, Group A).

“The members of the Leimatu’a *faikava* club always jokes about me. At first, I did not understand why they were laughing at me but I never give-up and now my Tongan is improved. Once you connected with this community, you do not want to get away from them because they are very unique people with warmth-heart, happiness, love and care ...” (P11, Group C).

One participant reminded me about the sacrifices that Tongan overseas-born rugby league stars, such as Jason Taumalolo, Andrew Fifita and the Mate Ma’a Tonga Rugby League Team (MMT) made at the last Rugby League World Cup for Tonga. They sacrificed their financial benefits from the game and decided to play for their country without pay. Their decision to play for Tonga has connected Tongans around the World, young and old, just to come together and support the team. The overseas-born children were influenced a lot by the MMT, and they became die-hard supporters for the ‘Die for Tonga Team’ (MMT).

“My children can only speak very less Tongan, but they do understand a few words that we usually used at home. When I saw my son cried when the MMT loses the game to England at the World Cup. I suddenly cried because I understand how much our young kids deeply connected to our homeland through the MMT. That kind of experience is very hard to explain and also hard to erase from our children’s hearts. Who can tell me that my son is not a Tongan? ...” (P7, Group B).

Hall (1990) suggested that our cultural identity should define our “true self that is hiding inside many others” (p. 223). It is a reflection of our common cultural experience that makes us one people. Looking at Hall’s definition of cultural identity

from the Western point of view, the true self that is hiding inside one's heart with many others can define one's identity. On the other hand, the context of the Tongan perspective refers to the cultural factors surrounding our inside circle that can identify someone's true identity. There are many other factors apart from the language and cultural skills that can identify the true self, such as blood, ethnicity, race, place of origin, church and family.

"I have a Leimatu'a blood that went through our family veins for so many generations. That is our real identity regardless of wherever you are..." (P10, Group C).

"My true identity is inside there (my heart), I am a *Lama* (a short name for Leimatu'a) ..." (P12, Group C).

The second-generation participants in this study were asked whether they feel ashamed knowing that they cannot understand the language or speak in Tongan and whether they felt any threat against their identity of being Tongan.

"This is sound funny, but it is true. Tongan people feel ashamed of being able to speak in English rather than Tongan. I have no problem with that even though I speak both languages. ..." (P9, Group C).

"The only threat to our identity as Tongan is when you choose to exclude yourself from being Tongan but that is your individual decision and good luck for being nothing. You do not represent us all ..." (P10, Group C).

"I cannot speak much Tongan, but I know how to respect my parent and the elders in the family. My parent taught us to love and respect others. I am a proud Tongan whom I was called at College the 'Tongan Tiger' because I would rather fight to the death than allow anyone to mock my parent as coconut or poor Tongan..." (P11, Group C).

Waldinger (2011) stated that "identities are constructed through the internal and external social world" (p. 29). The family, school, church and community are some of the external social worlds that construct identity for most people. Most Tongan parents had taken their overseas-born children to Tongan Early Learning School then

from there to the church's primary school, then to Tongan church on Sunday and also the events at their Tongan community such as fundraising. These external social factors modify and shape their cultural identities, which Helen Morton refers to as the "identity of people within their home culture" (Morton, 1998, p. 3). The internal social world is that which the Leimatu'a participants always refer to what is inside their hearts. If their external social world cannot define their true identity, their inside social world (hearts) will always construct their true identity as Leimatu'an.

8.5.1 The perception - 'no sense of connections'

Lee (2004; 2011) stated that the majority of the participants in her study of second-generation Tongans in Australia acknowledged that they do not remit at all because they have little or no connection with anyone in Tonga. Most of their immediate family which they feel obligated to had already migrated overseas, particularly their parents. Some participants in her studies acknowledged that they still have a connection to Tonga and sometimes remit money or goods, but their transnational ties are far weaker. These few people only remit when they were asked for money by their kin from the homeland or they were forced by their parents to send it (Lee, 2007; 2009).

Teena Brown, a Tongan anthropologist in Auckland, supported the idea of 'no sense of connections' when she asks whether the Kolonga Day in New Zealand is the product of disconnection between the diaspora and the Tongan village being celebrated. Kolonga is one of the villages in Tongatapu where Brown's father came from. The Kolonga community in Auckland usually celebrated a Kolonga Day every year and Brown claimed that the "event was a waste of time, money and effort" because there is no

fundraising throughout the celebration that could aim to benefit the Kolonga village in Tongatapu (Brown & Pamatatau, 2015, p. 145). However, in my research study with the Leimatu'a community, I found that all the participants from the three different groups still have connections and ties with their families in Tonga. One first-generation participant told me that their overseas-born children's 'sense of connection' with their kin in the homeland is like a natural feeling that is born with them.

"When the burial of King Tupou V was screened on TV One, my son saw his uncle (my older brother) walking with bare feet with the other *matapule* (King or Chief's representative) to accompany the King to the tomb. My son shouted and called his uncle's name then he told me that he feels sorry for his uncle for having no shoes. He asked me if we could send his uncle some money to buy him sandals or shoes to wear. Our overseas-born children already grew-up with that natural sense of connection and love that they born with, no one is forcing them to do it..." (P1, Group A).

All of our first-generation participants from Groups A and B told me that you can hardly find any of their second-generation Leimatu'a in New Zealand that are not involved with their community social functions and remittance practices. Their overseas-born children's sense of connection with their community in New Zealand is very strong due to the influence of the Leimatu'aan way of life and culture.

"Our Leimatu'an way of life is one of the strongest cultures that you may come across within any Tongan communities in New Zealand. That culture has been united us to work together as a community and not as an individual. Its influence most of our children to have a connection with our community here in New Zealand and also our community back in Tonga..." (P7, Group B).

The majority of the first-generation participants from Groups A and B stated that one of the best ways that the Leimatu'a community used with their second-generation children, is to keep them in touch and connected with their family in Tonga. The parents must take their children back home where the roots of the family began. In

that way, their overseas-born children will experience and appreciate particularly the hardship and struggles that their parents faced when growing up in Tonga.

“When my children experienced the kind of poor life and struggled that I went through when I grew-up in Tonga. They told me that they appreciate more the sacrifice that us parents did for them in New Zealand. My son told me that he did not know whether he could survive if he grew up in Tonga, but it is weird when seeing his family smiles and happy with their lives...” (P2, Group A).

“One of the best things that we did to our children was to take them back home to meet with our family and the people in the village of Leimatu’a. Now, they always talk about everything that they came across in Tonga. Even when they heard of our community fundraising, they do not want to miss out that event because they wanted to help our family in the village back home...” (P6, Group B).

“We are strongly connecting and communicating with our family in Tonga. We taught our children that the worthwhile life is a life that helps others and does not forget their home and where you came from...” (P5, Group B).

When it comes to Group C, the participants that represent the second-generation of the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland, all of them stated that they have connections and ties with their family in Tonga, despite all of them currently living with their parents in New Zealand. When I ask them why they feel obligated to help their extended family in Tonga if their parents and siblings are all here in New Zealand, these participants gave me an explanation about what their parents taught them about the difference between Tongan culture and others.

“Since I grow-up, my Dad always taught us about the importance of respect and love his brothers and our Mom’s sisters because we should all call them our *fanga tamai* (fathers) and *fanga fa’e* (mothers) and not uncles and aunties. That is our strongest connections and ties back home in which we obligated to...” (P10, Group C).

“My main task is to look after my parent and siblings here, but I still have connections with my family in Tonga. Even though I hardly remit but I help in our fundraising to support them in Tonga...” (P11, Group C).

“Very solid connection bro, I am a real Leimatu’a boy (laugh and hold his hand on his chest) ...” (P12, Group C).

These second-generation participants claimed that no-one is forcing them to remit, even if their parents told them to send money to Tonga, because that is the norm of being Tongan. Remittance practices are part of their socially constructed space that they grow up with in their everyday lives.

“No one is forcing me to help out at the Leimatu’a fundraising. In the beginning, I went to the *faikava* (kava club) just to have a timeout from my study. But as soon as I enter that environment (*faikava*), I feel welcome and connected to my community. I noticed their sacrifice and fundraising to help others in Tonga, why shouldn’t I? I started to go there regularly and help the fundraising because it is the right thing to do in life...” (P12, Group C).

“I feel that there is a very strong connection between myself and the family back home. That is where the family started from before our parent came here. It is kind of makes you appreciated more of what family values always did to your life and how important to keep open-minded, ties and connections with the roots of your family where it was started...” (P9, Group C).

A Tongan anthropologist, Tevita O Ka’ili, provides a very interesting argument about the “concept of *va* (space),” which connected Tongan families irrespective of the place they lived and the distance to it. Ka’ili (2005) argued that “sociality and spatiality are linked together in Tongan ontology” (p. 90). *Va* can literally be defined as the space or social ties between people. Those connections and ties (*va*) between kin members are considered “spatially near to one another” despite the distance of scale of where they live (Ka’ili, 2005, p. 90). Hence, the social space of *va* is keeping immediate family members connected and when a person travels to overseas countries to visit his or her kin members, it is still considered as the movement within the social space of *va* that connects ties within a Tongan family. Thus, Ka’ili (2005) concluded with the idea that the Tongan family members are literally connected within that spatiality of *va*. Every kin member is connected through that social space; transnational ties and remittances should not be affected.

A participant from the Leimatu'a community supported the idea of Ka'ili (2005) with the concept of *va* and underlines how '*tauhi va*' (keeping the relationship), one of the core factors of the *anga fakatonga* (Tongan way of life), functions even for second-generation Tongans in the diaspora.

"Every time my sister in Tonga asked my two sons for money, they just went and send it without letting me know. Our overseas-born children were taught to do exactly what us parents did in the diasporas except for those children whom the parent did not have time with them in their upbringing. Their sense of connection should be started from home ..." (P3, Group A).

8.5.2 The perception of 'not feeling at home'

Lee (2007) stated that the participants from the second-generation Tongans in Australia claimed that they did 'not feel at home' when they visited Tonga. However, in this research study with the Leimatu'a community in New Zealand, the majority of the participants involved disagreed with the claim and no-one raised any concern with the reception that they get from the people of Tonga when they visited the country.

"The first time I visited my family at Leimatu'a I did not know how to explain the happiness and the joy that I have from their reception up to the farewell. I was treated like a princess which I never treated like that throughout my entire life..." (P9, Group C).

"I was born and grew up in Tonga before migrated to New Zealand. It is our culture there to welcome and be friendly with all the visitors. That is why Tonga is the only Friendly Island in the Pacific ..." (P10, Group C).

"I went to Tonga with my parent to spend Christmas with our grandparent. I was surprised to see our families and the people of the village visited our place to see us. My uncles took me to their plantation at the bush to eat pineapples and drink coconut. We were welcomed and treated with love and respect ..." (P11, Group C).

"I visited Leimatu'a so many times now with our *faikava* club to celebrate our Kalapu Day. I feel more at home when I live there rather than living here in New Zealand because everyone in the village came with foods and pigs to welcome us back home. What a nice feeling ..." (P12, Group C).

Tongan migrants' parents have a *fatongia* (obligation) to remit money and food for their immediate family in Tonga, but they also benefited from Tonga in other ways. For instance, some migrant-parents send their overseas-born children to Tonga to either discipline them for their unwanted behaviour, or send them there for schooling, or to learn the language and the Tongan culture by being immersed in it.

8.6 Overseas-born Tongans will continue with helping remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga

The majority of the participants from Groups A and B, known as first-generation migrants, agreed with the idea that their children (second-generation) are likely to maintain remittance practices in New Zealand because that is the way of their upbringing. The parents are the role model for their children and whatever the parents did, their children tend to follow.

“Our overseas-born children will continue helping our remittance fundraising here in New Zealand because that is the way we brought them up with. Our Tongan children always love to follow the lead of their parent. Since I came to New Zealand in the late 1980s, I helped so many fundraisings for our Leimatu’a community and I am still doing it at present. I see that with my own eyes how my children helped most of our *faikava* and community fundraising here in South Auckland...” (P1, Group A).

“Yes, our second-generation children will keep on sending money to Tonga because that is what I see with my children. ...” (P3, Group A).

“My children always send money to their older brother and sister whom they are still live in Tonga. Our sons followed their father to the *faikava* club at the weekend. As a parent, we are proud of them (P8, Group B).

Furthermore, the participants emphasised the uniqueness of this Leimatu’a community and how it influences their people, including their overseas-born children. The uniqueness of their culture and how Leimatu’ans became so obsessed with their

way of life, is believed to be the major factor that motivates their second-generation children to maintain remittance practices that their parents did in the diasporas.

“Our Leimatu’a culture is so strong and influence a lot of our people. If you have Leimatu’an blood, then helping others become part of your lives. I do not see any difference when it comes to our second generation with remittances...” (P6, Group B).

“The *anga faka-Leimatu’a* (Leimatu’a way of life) is a unique factor that motivates our second-generation children not to lose our culture and our community goal is to help others. Remittance fundraising is the vehicle that helps us achieved that goal and everyone within our community are so useful to fulfil our community tasks...” (P4, Group A).

“The uniqueness of our community is underlying through our culture of happiness, warmth-heart, absurd, willing to help others and oneness in working together to achieve our goals. That is the main strength that makes us different from other Tongan communities here in New Zealand. Our children will do the same...” (P7, Group B).

However, the majority of the participants in Group C, which are the second-generation people of Leimatu’a, were not sure whether they are going to maintain remittance practices that their parents did once they passed-away. They wanted to support fundraising as they do not want to disrespect their parents and the elders of the community. They were taught by their parents with important values of life which are to love, respect, and obey others so that you may live long on the earth.

“Yes and no, I would rather make sure that there is food on the table before sending money to help my family in Tonga....” (P11, Group C).

“I am not sure; it all depends on the environment that you grow up with. I help most of our fundraising because I belong to this Leimatu’a community. I do not want to disobey my parent or bring shame to the family...” (P12, Group C).

“I do not agree with the way that my parent do remittance practices, but I do understand their reasons for doing it and that why I support them with the community fundraising. I do not want to let them down...” (P10, Group C).

Lee's studies stated that second-generation Tongans in Australia are unlikely to maintain the remittance practices of their parents because they have an unsecured identity as Tongans due to a lack of language and cultural skills to become a real Tongan (Lee, 2006). They do not have the motives for remitting as they feel excluded and alienated from the Tongan community (Lee, 2004), have no sense of connection to Tonga, do not feel at home when visiting Tonga, and do not accepted the *kavenga* (obligation) as their responsibility, which gave them a negative attitude about remitting (Lee, 2011). If the second-generation do remittance fundraising, they either do it by force from their parents or they do it for their present relatives in Tonga. Hence, the second-generation Tongans send much less money than their parents (Lee, 2007). To explore the differences in attitude between the young Tongans in Lee's studies and those of the Leimatu'an diaspora in Auckland, I will compare the different perceptions of each country.

8.7 Summary

This chapter has considered to what extent the second-generation Tongan in New Zealand is likely to maintain the remittance practices that their parents did, or whether the practices of remittances and transnational ties are a phenomenon that is only designated for first-generation migrants. Examining in particular an outcome of the research study with the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland and comparing it with the outcome of Lee's (2004; 2007) studies, I was interested to explore and compare the different perceptions of 'unsecured identity', 'no sense of connection', 'not feeling at home', 'intermarriage', and 'living between two worlds.' However, the outcome of my research study states that transnational ties and connections between second-

generation Tongans in New Zealand would be likely to maintain remittance practices that their parents made despite struggles that they faced, particularly when living in a society where they need to uphold two different cultures. The second-generation believed they will not forget their roots and the home where they came from because that is who they are. At the same time, they have to cope with the influence of western culture in which they are currently living to become a success in everything they do, especially their education. The Leimatu'a community have passed on to their children the essence of their culture, such as happiness and willingness to help others. Thus, my research confirmed that the sustainability of the remittance economy is likely to be supported by subsequent second-generation Tongans.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

“Home is always where my heart belongs. That is where my journey begins and where it should end. Even though I left my home for a reason, but nothing can replace how I feel about it. I am so grateful that I help out in most of our community fundraisings to help our family and village back home...”
(P5, Group B).

The critical question that guided this research is ‘how does the concept of *manatu ‘ofa ki ‘api* (remembrance of home) motivate Leimatu’a remittance fundraising and what are the outcomes? The keywords for this research were: remembrance of home, motivation, and remittance fundraising. Alatini (2004) identified ‘home’ as a place that signified with deep meaning where one has emotional and sentimental attachment. Morton Lee (2003) considered Tonga to be a home for all diasporic Tongans who left its shores and hope to return to one day. The participants from the Leimatu’a community defined home as a place where their heart belongs. It is the place where their journey begins and some of them hope that home is the place that they should be buried when their lives are over.

“Home is the only place that you feel safe and secure. It is a place where you will be able to hear the familiar voices of your parent through the wind, rain, or sunshine. It is the only place that you turn to when your world seems to be falling apart. It is the only place where I wanted to take my children to...”
(P3, Group A).

This research has shown four key themes that contributed to the overall answers of the main research question, and the finding of how the concept of *manatu ‘ofa ki ‘api* (remembrance of home) motivates remittance fundraising of the Leimatu’a community in South Auckland.

9.2 Answering the research questions

1. How does the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland do remittance fundraising through *Kalapu kava-Tonga* (kava clubs) and community?

The research has shown that this community emphasised and acknowledged the love and remembrance of their home through their *kalapu kava-Tonga* and community fundraising. These are the main two ways to fundraise and maintain their ongoing projects that were installed and are currently running at the village of Leimatu'a in Tonga. This ranges from student scholarships, the operation of the village school bus, keeping the village clean and tidy, plus other projects that are already mentioned in this study.

2. What motivates the Leimatu'a remittance fundraising and sending money to Tonga?

The motivation of the Leimatu'a community in remembrance of their home is contributed to through remittance fundraising. They emphasised the importance of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) and how its core values of 'ofa (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (generosity), *tauhi va* (relationship), *lototo* (humility) and *fetokoni'aki* (helping others) motivate them in remittance fundraising. They acknowledged the significance of their *anga faka-Leimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life) as a major motivation in their remittance fundraising. These core values of the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* such as the *loto mafana* (warm-hearted), *meimeivale & to'oto'oa* (extreme happiness or almost absurd), *nima foaki* (generosity/helping others), *hua* (banter) & *fakapangopango* (expression of jokes on others), and *tu'utu'ukehe*

(sarcasm) became the motivation for the success of their remittance fundraising and in remembrance of their home.

3. Why remittance money is so important in sustainable Tongan economy?

The concept of *manatu 'ofa ki 'api* motivates the Leimatu'a community to maintain a remittance economy and encourages transnational ties and connections between migrant Tongans and the kin at home. The data showed that the connections and transnational ties between the Leimatu'a migrants and their kin in the homeland is very strong. Even their overseas-born children are taught to understand the importance of love and sending money back to the kin in the homeland. The data also acknowledged the importance of the *fatongia* (obligation) between the children to their parent and the Leimatua community in the diasporas to the village of Leimatu'a in Tonga. Also, the significance of the cultural practices in the diasporas such as *lotu faka-Tonga* (Tongan churches) and the *faikava* (kava clubs) which have influenced the support of a sustainable remittance economy through the maintenance of transnational ties and connections.

4. Are the second-generation Tongans in New Zealand likely to maintain remittance practices that their parents did?

The research shows that second-generation Tongans from the Leimatu'a community are likely to maintain the remittance practices that their parents did, despite some of the younger participants not supporting their parents' actions and not wanting to disrespect their parents. They sometimes disagreed with their parents' decision, but they are living together under the roof of their parents. It is unacceptable in Tongan culture for those children to not obey their parents and that is why children do not

want to let their parents down in front of the community. The data also stated that the Leimatu'anness or Tonganness of the second-generation had nothing to do with their inability to speak the native language or have cultural skills. Hence, they feel secure with their identity as Tongan regardless of whether they are supporting the remittance fundraising or not. These second-generation people have a very strong connection with their kin in the homeland and every time they travel to Tonga, they felt at home and welcomed by their family and the village. The perception of living between two worlds is a reality of life that their parent has chosen for their children to grow up in. The western way of life and the Tongan way of life became so significant for the second-generation Tongan to adjust to and cope with, as they are both important in every aspects of their living.

9.3 Contribution to knowledge

This study proves significant in contributing to the under-researched area of the topic. Due to no theoretical research existing from previous studies on remittance fundraising in the diasporas, neither the *kalapu kava-Tonga* or the community *ta'olunga* fundraiser for collecting remittance fundraising. The incorporation of funds of the Leimatu'a community from this research study has the possibility of benefiting the Tongan community in the diasporas, so also to the economy of Tonga in general. This study will not only contribute to the literature on 'remittance fundraising' but could also become a blueprint to other Tongan and Pacific communities in New Zealand, and how their communities fundraise through the *kalapu kava-Tonga* and community fundraising, which became the two main fundraising practices. The study also contributes to the international literature on 'remittance fundraising practices'

and how the concept of *manatu 'ofa ki 'api* (remembrance of home) motivates the remittance fundraising of this Leimatu'a community in New Zealand that contributes to its uniqueness and success in remittance fundraising according to the collected data.

The current research gives voice to other Tongans and Pacific communities in New Zealand and other overseas countries that operate a *village kalapu kava-Tonga* and community that can become a successful tool and practice for remittance fundraising in the diasporas. This is the first time that a community in New Zealand has been properly researched about their fundraising practices, particularly the *kalapu kava-Tonga* remittance and community fundraising. The interest showed by the participants in discussing the motivation of remittance fundraising was significant because the success of their remittance fundraising was never about the money and its financial values. The uniqueness and success of their remittance fundraising was based on Tongan core values and their way of life (*anga faka-Tonga*), so as the core values of their *anga faka-Leimatu'a* (Leimatu'a way of life). The appropriateness of the *talanoa* research methodology and the *talanoa faka'eke'eke* as a research method of collecting data is also a success in this research study. This research offers new knowledge or information on how that information will shed light on how to do remittance fundraising.

9.4 Limitations of the study

As this is a qualitative study, I acknowledge that the sample size of 12 does not sufficiently represent the total population of Tongan people in New Zealand. This study

was particularly focused on one Tongan community in South Auckland, but the result may not be the same in other Tongan communities either in or outside Auckland. Even though this research used a small sample size of 12, it does have values. The participants were chosen from a broad range of people in the Leimatu'a community, including leaders, elders and women, to the young.

9.5 Recommendation and suggestions for further study

This research study may be useful for the Government of Tonga in its strategic or long-term planning and also its tactical plan of how to sustain and maintain overseas remittances that has contributed to the economy of Tonga and 30-40 percent of its Gross Domestic Products (GDP) for the last forty years or so. It should be valuable to the government should they wish to establish a long-term policy direction that could encourage the diasporic Tongans in overseas countries such as the United States of America, Australia, and New Zealand to empower the grassroots and poor families in Tonga to properly monitor the remittances to create other financial opportunities. The policy makers from the Tongan government may use this study to develop economic policies that could benefit the government, village development and private households. At the operational level, other Tongan and Pacific communities could apply the principle of this study to inspire them and open doors of other communities that are less successful.

For further research, it is important to do further studies in the subject in other communities such as Australia and the United States of America. Their experience in remittance fundraising, the motivation for their remittance fundraising and the outcome of their participation in this future study could be very useful. We also need

to know how the concept of remembrance of their home, if any, motivates the Tongan and the Pacific people outside New Zealand.

This study was only focused on the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland and how the concept of *manatu 'ofa ki 'api* motivates their remittance fundraising. There is also a need for future research in the organisation of the receiving community, how they spend the remittances, particularly in village development, including the projects that are funded from overseas fundraising. The diasporic communities need to follow-up the end results of the projects that they had funded, to make sure that the money has been spent wisely and the community leaders who receive the funds are accountable for it spending.

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INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: 2018

Title: "MANATU 'OFA KI 'API": HOME AND DIASPORA – Leimatu'a Remittance Fundraising

1. Can you please tell me your name, age range, place of birth, and marital status? (Kataki 'o fakaha mai ho hingoa, ta'u motu'a, feitu'u na'e fa'ele'i ai koe, moe tu'unga mali 'oku ke 'iai?).
2. When did you migrate to New Zealand and why did you leave Tonga? Na'a ke ha'u fakaku ki Nu'usila ni pea koe ha 'uhinga ho'o mavahe mei Tonga?
3. How long you have been involved in fundraising with this Leimatu'a community? Koe ha hono fuoloa ho'o kau atu ki he ngaahi feinga pa'anga 'a e komiuniti Leimatu'a?
4. Are you still connected with your families and village back home and why? In case you are not, then what holds you back from connecting with your kin at the homeland? 'Oku ke kei fetu'utaki nai moho famili pehe ki ho kolo 'i Tonga pea koe ha hono 'uhinga? Kapau leva 'oku 'ikai, pea koe ha me'a 'oku ne ta'ofi koe 'l ho'o fetu'utaki mo ho kainga 'i Tong?
5. How does this Leimatu'a community do remittance fundraising through traditional faikava and community fundraising? What are the purposes of the fundraising? 'Oku anga fefe 'a hono fakahoko 'o e feinga pa'anga homou komiuniti tautau tefito ki he ngaahi feinga pa'anga he kalapu moe komiuniti? Pea koe ha e ngaahi taumu'a homou feinga pa'anga?
6. What are the roles that you play in remittance fundraising and what are the communication strategies that have been employed for your remittance fundraising? Koe ha ho fatongia na'e fakahoko 'ihe feinga pa'anga pea koe ha e ngaahi founa fetu'utaki na'a mou fakahoko ki ho'o mou fa'a feinga pa'anga?
7. Do you think that remittance fundraising in your community a success? Why or why not? 'Oku ke tui koe feinga pa'anga koia 'iho'o mou komiuniti 'oku fa'a ola lelei? Koe ha nai hono 'uhinga?

8. What are the motives that motivates the Leimatu'a community in remittance fundraising?
Koe ha ngaahi me'a 'oku ne faka'ai'ai e komiuniti Leimatu'a kenau feinga pa'anga ma'ae kolo tupu'anga?
9. What is the *anga faka-Leimatu'a* and its comparison to *anga faka-Tonga*? Koe ha 'a e anga faka-Leimatu'a pea mo 'ene fakafehoanaki pea moe anga faka-Tonga?
10. What are their (anga faka-Leimatu'a and anga faka-Tonga) contribution to remittance fundraising? Koe ha leva 'ena (anga faka-Leimatu'a & anga faka-Tonga) tokoni ki he feinga pa'anga?
11. Why is remittance fundraising so important to village development and Tonga's economy? Koe ha e 'uhinga 'oku fu'u mahu'inga ai e feinga pa'anga ki he ngaahi langa fakalakalaka e kolo pehe ki he tu'unga faka'ekonomika 'o Tonga?
12. How often do you do remittance fundraising to help your village back home? What are the negative side of it? 'Oku tu'o fiha e lahi homou fa'a feinga pa'anga ke tokoni ki he kolo 'i Tonga? Pea koe ha hono ngaahi pole?
13. Do you think that remittance economy is sustainable in Tonga? Why or why not? 'Oku ke tui nai koe 'ekonomika mei he talafi pa'anga mei muli 'oku fakafiemalie mo hoko 'i he ta'u kotoa pe pea koe ha hono 'uhinga?
14. Do you think that your overseas born children will keep doing remittance fundraising and remit to Tonga as you do? Why or why not? 'Oku ke tui nai 'e kei hokohoko atu ho'o fanau 'oku fanau'i 'i muli 'a e feinga pa'anga mo e talafi pa'anga ki Tonga hange koia 'oku ke fakahoko? Koe ha hono ngaahi 'uhinga?
15. Why should you agree that remittance fundraising is a fatongia (obligation) and ngafa (responsibilities) of those who lived overseas to their parents and siblings in Tonga? Koe ha 'oku ke pou pou ai ki he fakakaukau koe feinga pa'anga moe talafi pa'anga ko ha fatongia moe ngafa ia 'o kitautolu 'i muli ki he 'etau matu'a moe famili 'i Tonga?
16. Is there any cultural practices in the diasporas that helps our second generation Tongans to sustain Tongan culture and values? 'Oku 'iai nai ha ngaahi me'a 'oku mou fai he komiuniti 'i muli ni tene lava 'o faka'ai'ai 'etau fanau kenau mahu'inga hotau 'ulungaanga fakafonua?

Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced: 16 July 2018

Project Title: "MANATU 'OFA KI 'API" – HOME AND DIASPORA: LEIMATU'A REMITTANCE FUNDRAISING

An Invitation:

Malo e lelei,

My name is Sylvester Tonga, and I would like to ask if you could assist me in my research for my Master's degree at AUT. This research study aims to explore the concepts of 'Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api' (remembrance and reverence of the love at home), in the context of remittance fundraising efforts of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, and the process of gifting back goods and money collected for *kava clubs* projects and the village development in Tonga. The critical question that will guide this research is: How does the concept of 'Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api' motivate remittance fundraising and what are the outcomes? I am seeking to interview twelve members of the Leimatu'a community through a one-one interview. This interview will be recorded with an audio recorder for research use only. All interviewees will be free to express their honest opinion which is important for the quality of the research project. All participants will be protected from being identified because at the transcription stage, all identities will be disguised by using pseudonyms or letters of the alphabet for each interviewee. This will be done so that the rest of the Leimatu'a community will not be able to identify you in the finished dissertation. If you are willing to accept then please notify me on either one of these options; Email: sptonga@gmail.com or telephone 0211797749. I will make a follow-up call after fourteen days from today's date. Malo 'aupito.

Malo e lelei,

Ko hoku hinga ko Sylvester Tonga, pea 'oku ou kole keke kataki mu'a 'o tokoni mai ki he 'eku fakatoto ni hoku mata'itohi MA 'ihe 'Univesiti AUT. 'Oku fakataumu'a fakatoto ni koe fekumi ki he mahu'inga 'o e 'Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api' moe ngaahi me'a 'oku ne faka'ai'ai 'a e kakai kenau foaki pa'anga he ngaahi feinga pa'anga ke tokoni ki he ngaahi poloseki e ngaahi kalapu pea moe langa fakalakalaka 'i Tonga. 'Oku fakahoko e fakatoto ni ke vakai'i hono fakahoko koia 'ehe komiuniti Leimatu'a 'i 'Aokalani ni 'a e feinga pa'anga pea 'oku ou faka'amu keu faka'eke'eke ha toko hongofulu mau ua. Koe 'initaviu ko 'eni 'e ngaue 'aki 'a tepi ki hono hiki lolotonga e faka'eke'eke pea 'e ngaue 'aki pe ki he poloseki ko 'eni kae ikai ko ha toe me'a kehe. Koe kotoa 'e faka'eke'eke tenau tau'ataina ke fakaha faitotonu 'enau fakakaukau koe 'uhi he 'oku mahuinga ia ki he kakano mahuinga e fakatoto ni. Koe kotoa 'o kinautolu e faka'eke'eke kuo pau ke malu'i honau hinga o kamata mei hono liliu lea, pea 'e ngaue 'aki e ngaahi mata'itohi 'alafapeti pe ko ha ngaahi hinga fa'u 'o fakahinga 'aki e taha kotoa pe 'e 'initaviu. Koe ngaue 'eni 'e fakahoko koe 'uhi ke 'oua na'a lava e toenga komiuniti Leimatu'a kenau tala ko hai e taha koia. Koia kapau 'oku ke loto keke tali e fakaafe ko eni pea ke fetu'utaki mai he email: sptonga@gmail.com; pe telefoni 0211797749. Teu toki fetu'utaki atu hili ha uike 2 mei heni 'okapau he'ikai keu ongona mea te koe. Malo 'aupito.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to explore the concepts of 'Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api' (remembrance and reverence of the love at home), in the context of remittance fundraising efforts of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, and the process of gifting back goods and money collected for village development in Tonga. Mainly, looking at the perceptions of this Leimatu'a community in the diaspora and how they individually approach remittance fundraising. The outcome of this research study may lead to the completion of my Masters' qualification and may in the future help other Tongan and Pacific Islands diaspora communities with information around how to do remittance fundraising.

Koe ha 'a e taumu'a 'o e fakatoto fakako ni? Koe taumu'a 'o e fekumi ni ko hono vakili 'a e ngaahi konisepe fakako moe 'uhinga 'o e 'Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api', 'o makatu'unga 'ihe ngaahi feilaulau moe feingapa'anga kuo fakahoko 'ehe komiuniti Tonga 'o Leimatu'a 'i Saute 'Aokalani 'iha vakai fakafu'ituitui kiai 'a e kau memipa, pea mo hono talafi koia ki Tonga ke tokoni'i e ngaahi langa fakalakalaka 'ihe kolo ko Leimatu'a, Vava'u. 'Aia 'oku fakatefito pe 'a e fakatoto ni ki hano vakai'i e founa feinga pa'anga koia 'a e komiuniti Leimatu'a 'i Saute 'Aokalani tautau tefito ki he feinga pa'anga he ngaahi kalapu kavatonga. Koe ola koia e fakatoto ni 'e tokoni ke fakakato hoku mata'itohi fakako Maasita pea 'e malava pe 'ihe kaha'u ke 'aonga mo tokoni e ola 'o e fekumi fakako ko eni ki he toenga ngaahi komiuniti Tonga moe ngaahi fonua Pasifiki i muli ni tautau tefito ki he ngaahi fakamatala fekau'aki mo hono fakahoko koia e feinga pa'anga.

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

You are identified as a member of the Leimatu'a community in South Auckland who fits my inclusion criteria for participants to be invited. The inclusion criteria for group one (traditionally Tongan men) are: male individuals aged 30 to 75 years of age, must personally identify as Tongan belonging to Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, must live in New Zealand, and must be involved at the Leimatu'a faikava. The inclusion criteria for group two (cross representation of women) are: female individuals aged 30 to 75 years of age, must personally identify as Tongan belonging to Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, must live in New Zealand, and must not be involved the Leimatu'a faikava. The inclusion criteria for group three (cross representation of young people) are: male or female young people aged 20 to 30 years of age, must personally identify as Tongan belonging to Leimatu'a community in South Auckland, must live in New Zealand, either involved or not involved in the faikava.

Na'e anga fefe hono fili 'o'oku pea koe ha hono 'uhinga? 'Oku fakatokanga'i koe koe 'uhi koe memipa falala'anga koe 'o e komiuniti Leimatu'a 'aia 'oku faka'apa'apa'i mo toka'i ha'o fakamatala ki he anga 'o hono fakahoko 'a e feinga pa'anga 'i muli ni. 'Oku ke kau foki 'ihe kulupu 'e ua 'aia 'oku makatu'unga mei ai 'a hono fili 'o kinautolu kenau kau mai ki he fakatoto ni. Koe

kulupu 'uluaki (koe kau tangata pe); 'aia kuopau keke ta'u 30 ki he 75 ho ta'u motu'a, kuo pau koe taha koe 'o e komiuniti Leimatu'a 'i Saute Aokalani, 'oku ke nofo 'i Nu'usila ni, pea koe memipa koe 'oe ngaahi kulupu faikava Leimatu'a. Koe kulupu ua (fine'eiki); kuopau koe fefine koe 'oku ke ta'u 30 ki he 75 ho ta'u motu'a, koe taha koe 'oe kau memipa 'o e komiuniti Leimatu'a 'i Saute Aokalani ni, pea 'oku ikai keke kau he ngaahi kalapu kavatonga Leimatu'a. Koe kulupu tolu (koe to'utupu), 'e tatau pe fefine pe tangata, 'oku ke nofo 'i Nu'usila ni, pe talavou/finemui 'oku ke ta'u 20 ki he 30 ho ta'u motu'a, koe taha koe 'o e kau memipa 'o e komiuniti Leimatu'a 'i Saute Aokalani, pea 'e tatau pe ia pe 'oku ke kau he faikava pe 'ikai.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice), and you can withdraw from this research at any time without being disadvantaged in any way. However, once findings are produced, removal of your data may not be possible. If you agree to participate in this research study, you are required to sign the consent form which authorises me to interview you and use the data collected in the outcome of the study.

Na'e anga fefe hono fakaafe'i 'o'oku keu kau he fakatoto ni? Ko ho'o kau mai koia ki heni ko ho'o fili tau'atina pe 'a koe, pea 'oku ke tau'atina ke 'oua teke kau mai pe fili keke nofo ka he'ikai tene ala uestia ai koe. Ka 'ihono fakakato koia 'o e ngaue ki he fa'utohi ni, he'ikai lava keke toe to'o ho'o ngaahi fakamatala kuo pulusi. Kapau leva teke fili keke kau pea 'e fiema'u leva koe keke fakamo'oni he consents form ke fakamafai'i au keu hanga 'o faka'eke'eke koe pea mo ngaue 'aki ho'o fakamatala ki he fekumi fakaako ni. Koe foomu aleapau moe fakamatala'i 'o e poloseki kuo pau ke hiki loua 'ihe lea fakapilitania pea moe lea fakatonga koe 'uhi keke matu'aki mahino'i.

What will happen in this research?

Participants will only be required to share information or data on how they do remittance fundraising in the diaspora. All participants will be asked to do a one-on-one interview up to two hours at the place of their choice. The interview will be audio-recorded for the researcher to use in this research project only.

Koha 'a e me'a 'oku fiema'u ke fakahoko 'ihe fakatoto ko 'eni? Koe fiema'u tefito ki he kau faka'eke'eke kenau vahevahe 'a e ngaahi fakamatala moe a'usia fekau'aki moe founa 'enau fakahoko e feinga pa'anga 'i muli ni. 'E kau kotoa kinautolu kuo fili ki ha faka'eke'eke taha ki he taha ihe meimei houa taha ki he ua iha fa'ahinga feitu'u pe teke fili ke fakahoko ai ho initaviu.

What will happen to data from audio recording?

Once the audio data is transcribed, then the data will be stored confidentially and eventually be deleted or destroyed after six years. The written transcriptions of the audio data will also be stored confidentially and destroyed after the same period.

Koe hiki tepi ko 'eni 'oku 'uhinga pe ia ke ngaue'aki ki hono tatanaki e ngaahi fakamatala ke fa'u 'aki e tohi. Ko 'ene 'osi pe hono tatanaki mo liliu e ngaahi fakamatala pea kuo pau leva ke malu'i e tisi pea 'e toki faka'auha 'a e ngaahi le'o kuo hiki tepi 'iha hili ha ta'u e ono.

What level of confidentiality can be expected in this research study?

Every effort will be made to disguise the identity of all participants by using pseudonyms when writing up the thesis. However, given the size and nature of our community it is possible that you may be identified if a member of the community reads the thesis.

Koe ha tu'unga malu ho hingoa mo fakapulipuli 'oku ke 'amanaki mai kiai 'ihe fekumi ko 'eni? Koe kotoa 'o e ivi 'e feinga'i 'aki ke malu'i ho hingoa 'aki hano ngaue'aki ha ngaahi hingoa fa'u ki hono tohi 'o e fisisi. Ka koe 'uhi koe natula moe tokolahi 'o e komiuniti 'aia 'e ala faingofua pe ke 'ilo'i koe 'okapau 'e 'iai ha memipa he komiuniti tene lau 'a e fisisi ko 'eni.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

You will be asked to take part in a one-on-one interview conducted by myself. The interview will take between one and two hours. 'E fiema'u mea tekoe keke kau mai ki ha faka'eke'eke taha ki he taha 'aia teu fakahoko pe 'eau. Koe taha kotoa pe 'e fiema'u ke faka'eke'eke koe 'ihe houa taha ki he houa ua.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

All participants will be given fourteen days to consider the invitation. The primary researcher will follow-up the invitation once, through a phone call or email.

Koe ha e taimi teu ala fakakaukau'i ai e fakaafe ni? 'E 'oatu 'a e 'aho 'e tahafa keke fakakaukau ai pe teke ala faingamalie keke tokoni mai ki he fekumi 'oku fakahoko. 'E fakahoko atu ha fetu'utaki telefoni pe email kia koe 'oka hiliange e 'aho 'e tahafa 'oku te'eki ke fai ha ongo na mea tekoe.

Will anyone other than the researcher be involved in the transcription and translation of documents and recordings?

This is to confirm there is no one else involved in the transcription and translation of documents and recordings apart from the researcher.

'Oku ou fie fakaha heni 'oku ikai ha toe taha 'e kau 'ihono liliu lea mo taife'i 'a e ngaahi fakamatala koia e tatanaki mai mei he ngaahi faka'eke'eke.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Once the thesis has been completed, marked and returned to the primary researcher, all participants will receive a written summary in Tongan or English of the research findings.

'E 'omi nai 'a e ola 'o e fakatoto keu vakai kiai? 'Oka hiliange ha kakato e fa'u tohi ko 'eni mo hono fakamaaka, 'e toki fakafoki mai leva kia teau. Kuo pau keu 'oatu e tatau 'o hono fakama'opo'opo konga lalahi 'o e tohi ni 'ihe lea fakatonga kia tekinautolu kotoa pe na'a nau kau hono faka'eke'eke.

What are the potential risks and discomforts to me and how will these be managed?

We are members of the same community discussing matters on mutual interest. It is unlikely that you feel discomfort but if you do, you do not need to answer any question and if you wish, we can terminate the interview.

Koe ha 'a e kaungakovi moe ongo'i ta'efiemalie kiate au e poloseki ni pea 'e anga fefe hono tokanga'i? Koe memipa kotoa pe kitautolu he komiuniti 'aia 'oku tau fe'ilongaki mo talanoa langahake tau'ataina. 'Oku ou tui he'ikai teke ongo'i ma mo faingata'a'ia keke tali e fahu'i, ka 'okapau teke ongo'i pehe pea 'oua na'a ke tali 'e koe fahu'i pea 'e lava pe ke kaniseli e initaviu 'okapau k oho loto ia.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this research study should be notified in the first instance to the Primary Supervisor, Christina Milligan, email: christina.milligan@aut.ac.nz Tel: 09 921 9999 ext. 8256 Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Koe ha me'a teu fai 'okapau 'iai ha me'a teu tokanga kiai? Ka 'iai leva ha me'a teke hoha'a kiai fekau'aki moe natula 'o e fakatoto ko 'eni pea kuo pau keke 'uluaki fetu'utaki mai ki he Supavaia Pule - Christina Milligan, email: christina.milligan@aut.ac.nz Tel: 09 921 9999 ext. 8256. Ka 'iai leva ha fetu'utaki mai koe hoha'a ki hono fakahoko 'o e fakatoto ni kuopau ke fakahoko ke 'ilo kiai 'a e Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows: **Researcher Contact Details:** Primary researcher – Sylvester Tonga; Email: sptonga@gmail.com; **Project Supervisor Contact Details:** Christina Milligan, email: christina.milligan@aut.ac.nz Tel: 09 921 9999 ext. 8256 and Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038..

Ko hai nai teu ala fetu'utaki kiai 'okapau teu kei fiema'u ha tokoni? Kataki 'o tauhi ha'o tatau mei he tohi fakamatala ko 'eni (information sheet) pehe ki he aleapau (consent) 'oka fiema'u ha fakatonutonu. Pea ke hiki atu e hinga moe tu'asila ko 'eni 'olunga keke fetu'utaki mai kiai.

Consent Form

Project title: *"Manatu 'Ofa ki 'Api": Home and Diaspora – Leimatu'a Remittance Fundraising*

Project Supervisor: *Christina Milligan*

Researcher: *Sylvester Tonga*

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research in the Information sheet dated 16 / 07 / 2018. ('Oku ou 'osi lau mo mahino'i 'a e ngaahi fakamatala ko 'eni fekau'aki moe fakatotoalo fakaako ko 'eni 'aia 'oku ha 'ihe Pepa Fakamatala 'oku faka'aho ki he 'aho 04 'o Siulai 2018).
- I understand that I will be allowed to ask questions during the one-on-one interview and to have them answered. I understand that I will be encouraged to raise different views and opinions if I wish. ('Oku ou mahino'i 'e faka'ata au ke fahu'ia lolotonga e 'initaviu ha me'a 'oku 'ikai ke mahino pea ma'u mo hono ngaahi tali. 'Oku ou mahino'i e fakalotolahi'i au ke vakai tau'atina ki he kaveinga 'okapau teu faka'amu pehe).
- I understand that notes will be taken during the Interview sessions and that they will also be audio recorded only for this research study. Once the data is transcribed, then it will be held securely and will eventually be destroyed. ('Oku ou mahino'i 'e fakahoko e hiki nouti moe hiki tepi 'ihe 'initaviu ke ngaue 'aki fakafo'ituitui ka 'e 'ikai tuku atu kitu'a ki he kakai. Ka hili ange hono liliu mo taipa'i e ngaahi fakamatala kuo hiki pea kuo pau leva ke tauhi malu ia kae toe tamate'i 'osi ke mole).
- I understand that taking part in this Interview is voluntary (my choice), and I can withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way. ('Oku ou mahino'i pe ko 'eku fili tauataina pe keu kau 'ihe Initaviu 'o 'ikai ha totongi, pea 'e malava pe keu malolo 'o oua toe kau pea 'ikai ke uesia ai ha tafa'aki)
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that I have contributed to this research removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible. ('Oku ou mahino'i 'okapau teu fili ke 'oua teu toe hoko atu hono faka'eke'eke au pea e faka'ata pe keu fili ki hano kei hoko atu hano ngaue'aki 'eku fakamatala, pe ko hano to'o faka'aufuli)
- I understand that the outcome of this study may lead to the completion of a Master qualification for the primary researcher. ('Oku ou mahino'i pe koe ola 'o e fekumi fakaako ko 'eni 'e tokoni ia ki hano fakakakato 'oha mata'itohi MA).
- I understand that pseudonyms will be used in writing up the thesis. Every attempt will be made not to identify me but given the size and nature of our community. I may be identifiable if someone in our community reads the thesis. ('Oku ou mahino'i e ngaue'aki pe 'a e ngaahi hinga fa'u ki hono tohi 'o e fisisi. 'Oku fiema'u ke 'oua na'a malava ke 'ilo'i au ka koe 'uhi koe natula moe ki'I lahi homau komiuniti. 'E malava pe ia ke 'ilo'i au 'eha taha mei homau komiuniti tene ala lau 'a e fisisi pe tohi kuo fa'u.)
- I wish to receive a written summary of the research findings (please tick one):
 1. ☐ In Tongan or
 2. ☐ In English
 ('Oku ou faka'amu ke 'omai kia au ha fakama'opo'opo tohi 'o e fekumi fakaako ko 'eni ihe lea fakatonga pe fakapalangi). Tiki'i mai e lea oku ke fiema'u.
- I agree to take part in this research. ('Oku ou loto lelei keu kau 'ihono faka'eke'eke)

Participant's signature :
(Fakamo'oni Hingoa)

Participant's name :
(Hingoa)

Participant's Contact Détails (if appropriate) : (Fakaikiiki moe tu'asila)

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Date :