

Pacific Climate Mobility



Climate Change Mobility Research Tonga and Samoa

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"the [Tongan] people are some of the hardest working people I know, not for themselves but for the land and family, in Tonga abroad. Family is number one, this is embedded throughout generations."

Female survey participant, New Zealand-born member of the Samoan diaspora

"The people of Tonga are my very own"

Female participant, Tongan-born member of the diaspora in New Zealand

"Samoa is the motherland of my Mother"

Female survey participant, New Zealand-born member of the Samoan diaspora

"We are of the same blood"

Female survey participant, New Zealand based Samoan diaspora

PRODUCT OVERVIEW

This product fits into a broader research effort on the future of climate change mobility in the Pacific, enabled by New Zealand's climate finance through the International Development Cooperation (IDC) Programme.

This product, focused on those Tongans and Samoans living overseas is anchored on three data gathering approaches – insights from one-on-one talanoa with Tongan and Samoan people in Tonga and Samoa where the influence of the diaspora was referenced, small group and one-on-one talanoa with diaspora in New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America (approximately 30 people), and the outputs from a survey which garnered 111 responses (55 from the Tongan diaspora, 56 from the Samoan diaspora).

Diaspora engaged for talanoa represented a range of backgrounds, including business owners, leaders in business and local governance, factory and agricultural workers, students, homemakers and church leaders. A few people who have participated in the Recognised Seasonal Employment scheme, or who have had associations (e.g., local church ministers) were also engaged for discussions around the impacts of mobility and the role the Tongan and Samoan diaspora has played in the experience of those temporary/cyclical workers.

The majority of survey respondents reside in Aotearoa New Zealand, with some representation from those living in Australia and the USA. Given this geographic mix, though it would have offered a helpful lens, comparison of responses between those living in Aotearoa New Zealand compared with those living in other nations was not feasible. It is also worth noting that there were some differences between this sample and some diaspora population 'averages', including the fact that the average income of both the Tongan and Samoan diaspora were quite a bit higher than the average income of the Tongan and Samoan population in e.g., Aotearoa New Zealand.

In terms of survey results, a brief comparative analysis is shared ahead of the separate diaspora group findings which cover topics including the strength of feeling towards family and the population as a whole in Tonga/Samoa, the form and frequency of support for family in Tonga/Samoa, contributions or support specifically for addressing climate change impacts, roles in mobility decision-making for family and proposed role/s in future in the context of possible higher levels of climate change mobility. The insights from this product should inform further exploration with the overseas diaspora, especially given some of the early insights into their direct contribution to climate adaptation efforts – both at a family and village or island level, their involvement in mobility decision-making, their perspectives and insights on priorities around future mobility and risks (e.g., mental health support) as well as their proposals to facilitate and support the successful integration of Tongans and Samoans overseas should climate change lead to any mobility at scale. Further, some of the diaspora's ideas on actions that can and should be taken now should be considered, including furthering efforts for equal pay, rights and opportunities for Pacific people in places like Aotearoa New Zealand, investment in economic development opportunities overseas and investment in coordinated receiving services for those mobilising overseas due to climate change.

Given the short run nature of the diaspora survey, naturally there will be gaps in perspectives raised, and personal opinions spotlighted.

The research team wishes to thank our in-country partners in Tonga (Velata Tonga Inc.) as well as in Samoa (Dr. Tepora Wright) for their support in connecting in with various diaspora. Grateful thanks is also extended to the ~150 global diaspora of Tonga and Samoa who took the time to take part in talanoa and/or complete the survey, sharing their thoughts, ideas, hopes and worries for the benefit of this research agenda, and more so, for the benefit of their families and the broader community.

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the participants and authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

THE DIASPORA - CONTEXT AND RELEVANCE

This product provides a unique glimpse into the large, growing and influential Tongan and Samoan diaspora – a group that plays a critical role currently in the ongoing resilience of those in Tonga and Samoa, including climate resilience, and will unavoidably play a critical role in possible future climate mobility.

References to the diaspora were ubiquitous throughout engagement of research participants in Tonga and Samoa, where they were identified as critical funders of rebuilds or relocations, enablers of mobility and critical supports in efforts to integrate in new locations (internally and particularly overseas). This work affords new insights into the diaspora's level of engagement in climate specific support, their beliefs and assertions into their current and future roles, their roles in mobility decision making and the strength and nature of their connection to people and place in Tonga and Samoa (and some motivations behind this connection).

The size and spread of the overseas diaspora are important, due to the effects of chain migration and how influential the presence of family was in reported mobility destination preferences and plans (see also Survey One for analysis on overseas destination preferences and plans). Reported destination preferences and plans from those who participated in Survey One in Tonga suggests about 3/4 would opt to move to New Zealand, and the presence of family was the most common identified driver of this preference. The presence of family at a destination was also a priority for those planning mobility from Samoa, though work opportunities rated slightly higher. Migration data from the last decade shows that more Tongans and Samoans migrated to New Zealand with intended permanence than Australia or the United States (Statistics New Zealand, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics - multiple years' data).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Samoans and Tongans represent the largest and second largest Pacific populations respectively, and the Tongan population represents the fastest growing Pacific ethnicity in New Zealand (NZ Stats, 2018). In 2018, Stats New Zealand reported just over 82,000 ethnic Tongans in New Zealand, and nearly 183,000 ethnic Samoans, representing ~70% of total Pacific peoples in New Zealand at that point. About 13% of Tongans and Samoans in New Zealand reported at the time that they had been in New Zealand for 5-9 years. Reflecting on data captured in 2018, Tongans and Samoans in New Zealand have an unemployment rate of approximately 7%. Non-participation in the labour force in New Zealand for Tongans and Samoans is 33% and 30% respectively. Compared with Tongans in Tonga and Samoans in Samoa, labour force participation is higher in New Zealand (e.g., over half of Tongans in Tonga 15 years and older are not active in the labour force). This needs to be filtered through context (not being formally employed in Tonga or Samoa does not equate to not working or contributing to the family/village/community), however there are considerations in terms of resilience, adaptation capacity and choice offered through [formal] employment. The average income of Samoans in New Zealand, whether New Zealand or overseas born is higher than the average income of Tongans in New Zealand. The median income (2018) sat at ~\$21,000 for Tongans in New Zealand, and \$25,400 for Samoans in New Zealand. This compared with a median income in New Zealand of just under NZD\$52,000 in 2018.

In terms of religious affiliation, approximately 80% of Tongans and just over 70% of Samoans in New Zealand reported themselves as Christian in the 2018 census (Stats NZ, 2018).

For Australia, in terms of population counts, the Australian Bureau of Statistics reported 43,469 people of Tongan ancestry and 98,022 of Samoan ancestry from the 2021 census (ABS, 2021). The US Department of State estimates the Tongan American population to be in the range of ~70,000 people, concentrated in Utah, California, and Hawai'i. The State Department also noted two-way goods trade to the value of approximately \$17 million in 2020, reporting that exports from Tonga are led by frozen fish and seafood and cultural handicrafts for the Tongan diaspora. Data collected as part of the 2020 Census indicated a population of 49,710 for American Samoa, and an estimate of just over ~240,000 Samoan Americans with at least 'partial' reported Samoan ancestry in the 2021 US census (US Census Bureau, 2021). These Samoan American populations were reported to be concentrated in states such as California, Hawai'i, Utah, Oregon, Alaska and more.

LIMITATIONS

Sampling for the survey was not randomised. The total numbers engaged in Tonga and Samoa (56 and 55 respectively) offers sufficient sampling to suggest some insights though is not sufficient for most disaggregation efforts (e.g., by age group) and there will be limitations in insights gathered from additional analysis comparing responses to multiple questions for additional insights (e.g., links between reported feelings of 'ofa/alofa for 'all' in Tonga/Samoa and reports of providing support at a community level in Tonga/Samoa). Given sample size, the absolute counts of responses are presented for these additional analyses (versus just presenting percentages) to avoid misinterpretation of data, especially at lower overall counts.

Note, analysis of the survey data refers often to 'the diaspora' which includes diaspora from a mix of New Zealand, Australia, the USA and Hawai'i, noting that the mix of diaspora locations is not the same for the Tongan and Samoan diaspora surveyed. Reference to 'the diaspora', in the context of the survey, can obviously only pertain to the 111 people total who undertook the survey.

POLICY MAKERS SUMMARY

The following provides a high-level overview of the key findings gathered predominantly from the survey, with some richness added through insights from talanoa.

- The Tongan and Samoan diaspora reported strong feelings of 'ofa/alofa through the survey, with those born in Tonga and Samoa reporting the strongest feelings (the majority of those born in Tonga and Samoa reported leaving Tonga and Samoa over 10 years ago). Survey participants also reported frequent visits to or from family that live in Samoa/Tonga, with the Tongan diaspora surveyed reporting more frequent visits. Important to note that while in both survey comments ("[I have] a deep emotional and spiritual bond with Samoa fostered through multiple visits") and in talanoa ("my kids see how hard life is there for family and it has motivated them to give back"), some reported that regular visits between family facilitated a stronger sense of connection and obligation (particularly for generations not born in Samoa/Tonga), the results from the survey also showed that even those reporting that they see family in Tonga/Samoa very infrequently or 'never' still reported 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa/alofa for family in Tonga/Samoa.
- There didn't seem to be a connection between the reported strength of feeling of alofa for 'all' in Samoa and the likelihood of providing climate change support or general support at a community level. For the Tongan diaspora however, there did appear to be some influence of strength of feeling and likelihood of providing this support at a community or village level. There also appeared to be some connection between the strength of feeling of 'ofa reported in the survey and the likelihood that someone had hosted family that had moved from Tonga.
- Through the survey, the diaspora commonly reported (at least) annual contributions to family back in Tonga and Samoa, with money the most common contribution, followed by food and items for income and building or rebuilding. The Tongan diaspora reported sending both food and items to help family generate income in Tonga much more frequently than the Samoan diaspora. In talanoa with Tongan and Samoan diaspora, many reported sending money monthly back to those in Tonga and Samoa, sometimes pooling funds between siblings first, to support cost of living or meeting housing or other primary needs for family (sisters, aunties, in-laws etc) that remain.
- Diaspora in Tonga and Samoa reported providing support for climate change impacts at both a family and at a
 village or island level, with the Tongan diaspora supporting at a village or island level more frequently than the
 Samoan diaspora surveyed. In Tonga, climate change support most commonly went to elevating houses (with poles
 or solid rock), whereas in Samoa climate change support most commonly went to rebuilding homes or businesses
 after a storm or flooding.
- The Tongan diaspora reported a slightly stronger belief that family will need to move in future because of climate change than the Samoan diaspora. Interestingly, the diaspora surveyed displayed a stronger belief that family in

POLICY MAKERS SUMMARY (CONT.)

Tonga/Samoa will need to undertake mobility in future due to the impacts of climate change, compared with those in Tonga and Samoa surveyed in Survey One.

- The Tongan diaspora surveyed reported hosting family from Tonga more frequently than the Samoan diaspora reported hosting family that had moved from Samoa, though both reported a high frequency of hosting family (between half and 3/4 of diaspora surveyed from Samoa and Tonga respectively), supported by stories shared in talanoa of both hosting family from Tonga or Samoa, or being hosted for two, three or more months at a time by diaspora that came before them.
- Around half of those surveyed reported providing some input into mobility decision making for family in Tonga or Samoa, though they were not the final decision makers. The diaspora from Samoa reported initiating conversations on mobility more than the Tongan diaspora (recognising sample size limitations).
- In terms of beliefs around the future role of the diaspora in the context of climate mobility, most communicated an acceptance that they had a role to play, sharing common ideas of financial and in-kind support, including funding travel, hosting family, supporting cultural integration, connection with work opportunities and amplifying efforts of other key organisations like Tongan and Samoan churches to support those mobilising. Others shared innovative ideas around a shared investment fund to support future climate mobility priorities, lobbying local governments for support of those mobilising due to climate impacts, and providing professional expertise (e.g., for climate litigation). Some highlighted efforts that could or should start now, including diaspora continuing to push for the improvement of working conditions, opportunities and pay equity for Pacific peoples in places like Aotearoa New Zealand. This was seen as critical to secure a strong foundation for family who may rely on their security and support in future. In talanoa a few raised concerns that Pacific diaspora are not connected or working together for a common purpose and that there needs to be a dedicated push to move more Pacific peoples into leadership roles and positions of influence in key destination countries in order to address existing disadvantage, and even to shift some existing perceptions of Pacific peoples and their value.
- A number of Tongan and Samoan diaspora also believed efforts should be prioritised around identifying and securing land for future resettlement.
- The majority of the Tongan and Samoan diaspora reported that they would value direct outreach by the Tongan/ Samoan government for updates on recent decisions, developments and opportunities to support development priorities.



DIASPORA INSIGHTS FROM ONE-ON-ONE AND SMALL GROUP TALANOA

Influence and current role/s of the overseas diaspora

Throughout fieldwork engagements in 2023 and early 2024, the influence and contributions of the overseas Tongan and Samoan diaspora were often raised. More specifically, the diaspora's role in supporting climate change adaption measures and recovery efforts in country (both at a family and village level), as well as their critical role in influencing mobility decision-making, facilitating the act of mobility and successful integration overseas were also frequently referenced. The following are a series of summary insights gathered from fieldwork talanoa particularly with overseas diaspora, and as relevant to the influence of overseas Tongan and Samoan diaspora on those in Tonga and Samoa, future mobility, and its drivers. Meeting the costs of living and/or building resilience through health and education

Many members of the diaspora shared how they provide ongoing and regular contributions to those in Tonga/Samoa, including fortnightly or monthly monetary contributions, most commonly to parents, Aunties and/or siblings (e.g., brothers in New Zealand sending money to sisters in Tonga) to help with everyday costs. One member of the Samoan diaspora for example shared that she and her husband have been paying the rent on a new housing unit in Samoa for her husband's parents for the last two years as their previous residence was causing health issues. Another member of the diaspora in Australia shared how she and her siblings continue to pool money monthly, to the equivalent of WST\$1000, to send to their Aunty in Samoa. Other members of the diaspora in New Zealand and Australia reported regularly hosting family from Tonga and Samoa in order to bring family members back to full health (offering a sort of respite, with a good, varied diet and rest), sometimes hosting them for months at a time until they are strong enough to return to Tonga/Samoa. Others reported hosting extended family (either individual youth or whole families) to provide access to education opportunities in Australia, New Zealand and the USA. Several diaspora in New Zealand reported that there are regular fund-raisers held through kalapu/kava clubs. A member of the Tongan diaspora in Auckland shared that they hold fundraising through the club for a range of purposes, including educational scholarships in Tonga.

Meeting the gap for relocation or disaster rebuilds

In Tonga, during engagement with those relocated from Mango to 'Eua following the Hunga Tonga-Hunga Ha'apai eruption, people shared how family overseas paid the co-payment requested by government on their new houses. Fisher people since time immemorial, those from Mango reported that they had no choice but to have family cover the cost as they had lost the means to pay the ~TOP\$4,000 through fishing. In Samoa, families in the Aleipata district (e.g., Satitoa, Lalomanu) who relocated inland and upland following the 2009 tsunami reported significant shortfalls in (government) funding available for home rebuilds and the funding gap was again met by family overseas to rebuild in their new setting (and sometimes, rebuild more resilient). Siblings were often mentioned as the key providers of funding, as were children working overseas. Some reported family from overseas returned to Samoa temporarily to help with clean up and rebuilding. A member of the Samoan diaspora in Sydney shared that following natural disasters in Samoa, family members of a given village are called to a meeting in Sydney

Decision-making and mobility influence

In Samoa, a Paramount chief in Savai'i shared how Matai overseas influence decision making in the village through family in Samoa, adding that there is no difference in the weighting of their input because they are overseas. Several participants in Samoa, including in a workshop held in Lalomanu, Samoa, shared how family overseas participate in, and influence aiga decision-making, including in mobility scenarios. In engagements held in Ha'apai, Tonga, one person mentioned that their family speaks daily with friends overseas – in New Zealand, the USA, Canada – who help them with general and professional decision making back in Tonga, and more generally, those overseas often share details about their lives, their work, and their lifestyle. Another person shared how their children in New Zealand and the USA frequently suggest they move out of Tonga and stay with them so that [the children] can take care of them. In 'Eua, a local government leader shared how his children often ask him to move to live with them in New Zealand, but he pushes back saying he assumes he would be expected to take on care of the grandchildren and prefers to stay in Tonga where he lives for 'free' on his own land, with his livestock and plantation. In Tongatapu, a woman (never married) shared how a cousin in New Zealand often encourages her to leave Tonga and go and live with them in New Zealand.

First response, village-level resilience and development

A Member of Parliament in Tonga shared his perspective on the critical roles the diaspora plays in supporting resilience and adaptation in Tonga, claiming that as a group they are the first to mobilise (including financially) in disaster response, much earlier than official disaster response organisations. He also spoke on a specific example of the diaspora in Hawai'i funding a village level climate adaptation infrastructure project (building a sea wall), facilitated through a local leader in Ha'apai. Many members of the Tongan and Samoan diaspora engaged in New Zealand, Australia and the USA reported that they had been personal contributors to natural disaster response at a family and community level, sending food, building materials, and household items soon after disaster to support family recovery. A few members of the Tongan diaspora recalled the quick response of diaspora in Auckland who organised sponsorship of shipping containers and put out an open call over social media to Tongan families in New Zealand, offering the opportunity to fill (provided) drums with food and other necessary items to send to Tonga. Hundreds of families turned up with tonnes of canned, dried and other food to send to their respective families in Tonga. An additional container was made available due to demand from diaspora in New Zealand. Some participants in Tonga, but many particularly in Samoa shared how diaspora/family support financially, in-kind and through physical support following natural disasters, returning to Tonga or Samoa temporarily to clean up or rebuild a family house. Diaspora also amplify their impact through their own international networks. In Paa'atangata for example, following tsunami damage, international churches (of which the international diaspora form a significant part of their congregation) provided materials, including new mattresses to those in the affected settlement.

Advocacy and influence

Many diaspora from Tonga and Samoa reported a strong sense of purpose to use their expertise and/or their positions of influence to better the lives and opportunities of Tongans/Samoans/Pacific peoples. One member of the Samoan diaspora in New Zealand shared how she, and her family, play quite a conscious role of advocacy for Samoan and Pacific peoples through her many governance roles, her accountancy business and her husband's legal practice. She shared examples of supporting the professional establishment of Samoans who have migrated to New Zealand through the Samoan Quota visa category, and how her husband frequently supports the immigration processes of those seeking migration to New Zealand. Through her governance roles she reports many years of 'asking the hard questions' of others in central and local government, academia and business in attempts to put the Pacific perspective on the agenda of other, influential leaders, including questions put to the head of the Reserve Bank regarding remittance sending and leadership within New Zealand Post regarding opportunities to reduce freight costs for those sending goods or building materials post disaster back to those in the Pacific. A member of the Tongan diaspora in the United States shared how she sees herself as a 'vessel' for others, using her professional position and expertise (also in accounting) to support Tongans establish themselves successfully, taking on roles to educate Tongans on financial literacy and leading efforts in state government – where she works – to increase the profile of Pacific people in the organisation through an Asia and Pacific club. Other diaspora pointed to specific efforts of other diaspora in New Zealand, Australia and the United States who are building enterprises, businesses, and networks of influence in e.g., education, housing, health, and wellbeing and who are overtly focused on the social and economic betterment of Pacific peoples. It was acknowledged that though there are more examples of this service-led leadership in the international diaspora, there is an opportunity and a need, for a lot more.

Income in-country, Tonga

A senior government leader in Tonga shared that there is an arrangement between diaspora in New Zealand and Australia for the commissioning of weaving from people in Vava'u, representing a critical income stream for those involved in Vava'u. The researchers also held talanoa with a woman now living in 'Atata Si'i who shared that she has been able to maintain income continuity following relocation by adapting the material that she weaves with and the channel that she sells through – from an in-person market to social media. She reported selling her weaving via Facebook to diaspora in New Zealand, Australia and the United States, and believes that she might make more income now than she did prior to relocation. Those relocated from Mango, Ha'apai shared how prior to relocation, they would sell their catch to overseas diaspora, making around TOP\$4,000 per month sometimes. Sometimes diaspora would travel to them, though a lot of their catch would be transported first to Tongatapu before being shipped overseas to diaspora there. In talanoa with a senior leader in the Ministry for Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, he highlighted the trucks that were outside the office at the time, loading root vegetables bound for export to overseas diaspora. He referenced the large diaspora-driven food market, sharing that ~5,000 tonnes of root crops are exported to overseas diaspora annually, in comparison to ~1,000 tonnes that remains in Tonga for sale in supermarkets etc. Many families in Tonga reported sending food (root crops, pineapple etc.) overseas to family there who rely on this flow of products for physical and emotional/spiritual well-being.

DIASPORA INSIGHTS FROM ONE-ON-ONE AND SMALL GROUP TALANOA (CONT.)

Work/income overseas, work/opportunities in Tonga/Samoa

A group talanoa was held in Te Aroha, New Zealand in early 2024 with ~eight participants. This group shared their stories of relocation to New Zealand, starting with one (male) member of the family travelling first and getting set up with accommodation and work who has since brought over other siblings and their spouses and children to Te Aroha. This initial mover reported active efforts to secure work for their siblings and reported continued efforts - 20 years later - to bring over other family members through securing work and providing initial accommodation and support. A number of the Tongan diaspora reported regularly sending items to family in Tonga for them to on sell in local markets or on roadside stalls as second-hand goods, including clothing, consumables and small appliances (this pattern was validated in the data from the Tonga diaspora survey, see later). One member of the Samoan diaspora reported he is part of an existing effort to explore service-based employment opportunities for Samoans in Samoa, in this case, growing a regional call centre based in Samoa but servicing regional clients, though he noted limitations from existing national communication infrastructure.

Land provision, Tonga

In talanoa with a few diaspora in New Zealand, they reported that many who leave Tonga with the intent of (relative) permanency, 'sell' their land before leaving. Recognising that land sale is not formally possible, the more likely arrangement could be long term leases or gifting of the land in exchange for a mea'ofa. In terms of freeing up land for use by others, some spoke on the fact that many land holders display generosity in the sense that it is not uncommon for parts of their land to be planted on by extended family or other villagers in their absence, and this is not seen as a major issue. Others (land heirs) in Tonga mentioned that they would be open to making their land available to others for

climate related relocation if it was needed. One Tongan participant in New Zealand shared their perspective that land vacancy in Tonga is often unintended, and that communication, including on the period of expected absence, can be a main blocker for land access, and that people often feel too shy to ask to use vacant land, especially not knowing the longer-term plans of the land holder.



MOTIVATIONS OF THE DIASPORA

Most of the Tongan and Samoan diaspora reported that they are motivated to act in support of their family/extended family/others in Tonga or Samoa through a strong sense of obligation, loyalty and/or a need to be of service.

Those in Tonga referenced fatongia (an obligation to fulfill one's role in the family, and sometimes beyond), and some in Samoa shared the value of tautua and the popular expression 'o le ala I le pule o le tautua ('the pathway to leadership is through service'). One woman from the Samoan diaspora highlighted the critical link between cultural and spiritual connection to Samoa and those in Samoa and motivations to support those in Samoa, believing that there is a risk of cultural disconnection in any generation, but likely that that disconnection will increase as more generations are born outside of [Samoa]. She felt that those with the strongest sense of obligation to those in Samoa have a critical role to play in filtering that 'down' to other generations. This was noted in the survey, particularly for those in the Samoan diaspora, that grandparents had played a key role in instilling a sense of obligation towards those in Samoa. In terms of connection/disconnection of the diaspora and motivation to support those in Tonga/Samoa, one member of the Samoan diaspora reported that even though she was born in Samoa and left Samoa at the age of 17, she was 'so disconnected' from her culture for many years, reporting that her family in Samoa did not have strong ties into, for example, the matai system and she did not grow up with a deep understanding of fa'asāmoa. She shared that her reconnection into her culture only came when her (New Zealand-born) daughter joined a Pacific club through school in New Zealand and believes that these opportunities are critical for fostering future cultural connection of the diaspora. Another member of the Samoan diaspora in Australia reported in comments that community-based Pacific clubs has (re)connected her with her culture.

One member of the Samoan diaspora in Australia shared how her and her seven siblings continue to send money to their late father's sister in Samoa "we support her like our father did when he was alive... he always wanted us to support her as she doesn't have kids". She shared how this ongoing act of care is motivated by alofa and loyalty to their father, and to maintain tuatua of their aunt who is also responsible for the welfare of their land in Samoa.

Many reflected on the relatively difficult day-to-day lives of those in Tonga and Samoa (including access to work opportunities, standard of living, minimum wages), and expressed feelings of empathy and how this motivates their giving, particularly in reflecting on their own lives overseas, drives them to try to lessen this gap between them and those in Tonga/Samoa.

One person shared that they have invested in making their children aware of the disadvantages faced by Pacific people, and the limitations many face (both in country and when they relocate overseas) and they feel their children have a strong sense of social justice now which is motivating them (as New Zealand born diaspora) to invest in trying to reduce these social and other gaps.

When asked about the reciprocal flow of value between the diaspora and those in Samoa, one participant felt that the main 'return' on their financial, practical investment and their time and efforts to support those back in Samoa is the return of love/alofa, particularly when they visit Samoa and stay with family, as well as what was described as a sense of peace from knowing that their family and loved ones needs are being met.

To provide some context to this section it is important to briefly discuss the concepts of 'ofa/alofa and fatongia/tuatua (an obligation to fulfill one's role in the family, and sometimes beyond). Politician, academic and author, Langi Kavaliku (1977) believed that 'ofa, is the 'Treasure of Tonga' writing that "it seems to me that 'ofa' to Tongans, is the philosophy behind their way of life".

Manatu as a Tongan word roughly translates as remembering, and as a Samoan concept it translates somewhat as thought. In Tongan it consists as 'mana' (one's power, efficacy, ability to carry out tasks) and 'tu' (a place of origin/ where on rises from). In Tongan, it can mean mindfully remembering or longing (for a loved one and/or one's origin). It is considered a force so powerful that the sadness or longing it can cause can result in a loss of life (see case study from 'Atataa Si'i and the belief that separation from their original island contributed to additional deaths following the Hunga Tonga-Hunga-Ha'apai eruption). This force can drive Tongans to share their finances, food and other means with those from their place of origin, including loved ones/kainga in home nations (or in other places, e.g., diaspora elsewhere if they are in need).

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MOTIVATIONS OF THE DIASPORA (CONT.)

Fa'asāmoa on the other hand can be described as a network of values which interact, and which have laid the foundation of customary practices in Samoa (and now for Samoan people outside of Samoa). Some of these values include 'autasi (consensus), alofa, fa'aloalo (respect) and mamalu (dignity). Because Fa'asāmoa is highly treasured, the traditions that are derived from customary practice are often executed in the same way today as they were hundreds of years ago (Ministry of Pacific peoples, 2017).

A cultural model that Tongans and Samoans use in mentally representing relationships and society is hierarchical, ladderlike; individuals are located at different levels of the society's ladder (Bennardo, 2008; Ministry of Pacific peoples, 2017; Morrison, Vaioleti and Vermeulen 2016). 'Ofa/alofa links these individuals to make them a whole. The core concept of 'ofa/alofa (love and compassion) is giving - either giving help (fatongia/tuatua) from those in a 'higher' position to those in a 'lower' position, or from those 'better off' to those who have less, or giving respect, blessings or through fulfilling duty (e.g., from those in a 'lower' position to those in a higher position) (Bennardo, 2008; Vaioleti, 2011). People within Tongan or Samoan culture utilise and subscribe to this model and these concepts, especially its core concept of giving, when thinking about, and acting within diaspora support/social relationships, either consciously or subconsciously.



FUTURE ROLE/S OF THE TONGAN AND SAMOAN DIASPORA (BASED ON TALANOA, IN THE CONTEXT OF CLIMATE MOBILITY)

Those diaspora engaged in small group and one-one talanoa reported similar beliefs to those engaged in the diaspora survey about potential roles that the diaspora could or should play in a future of heightened climate mobility, including financial support for travel, accommodation, pre-departure preparation and integration support. See further in the document for insights on possible future roles of the diaspora based on survey responses.

All engaged in talanoa for this effort acknowledged that the diaspora would do whatever they could to support their family through a strong and ongoing sense of love ('ofa/alofa) and obligation. In talanoa, a few diaspora shared a couple of additional ideas that the researchers thought were worth spotlighting:

Conscious, coordinated, and deliberate efforts to grow the representation and influence of Pacific peoples in key decision-making spheres, in countries like New Zealand and Australia

A few diaspora proposed that over the coming ~20-30 years, there needs to be a dedicated push to move more Pacific peoples into leadership roles and positions of influence in key destination countries. Greater influence was believed to be needed across spheres of government, business, and the community in order to address existing disadvantage, and even to shift perceptions of Pacific peoples to be recognised as people of [high] value – believed to be critical in a future of possible high climate mobility. One member of the Samoan diaspora felt that in order to reach these levels of influence Pacific people would need to further prioritise higher education, while recognising the current challenges faced by many Pacific families who are struggling to meet day-to-day needs. This same person had concerns that currently many Pacific peoples don't support each other, that many work in competition with each other, where coordination for mutual benefit is instead needed "everyone is just contesting, we aren't supporting each other... currently Tongans and Samoans and Fijians just operate in siloes... [in the context of future climate mobility] we need to focus on a common purpose and work together towards that... is a common purpose possible?".

Establishment of a dedicated investment fund, now, to grow the financial strength and options of those mobilising in future

Two members of the Tongan diaspora, based in Australia and in New Zealand raised the possibility of establishing a company and/or a dedicated investment fund, contributed to by all (diaspora/family overseas, and those in country) which would be available in due course to support future investment in land, housing and the development of enterprises by, and for, Pacific people relocating due to the impacts of climate change. The practicalities of such an organisation or fund would need to be detailed out, though one suggested that lessons could be taken from Iwi in Aotearoa successfully growing their investment portfolio across e.g., primary industry, business, health and housing, for the benefits of their (Iwi) shareholders.

Role of governments to plan and support those moving

A couple of the diaspora from both Tonga and Samoa also emphasised that while the 'Pacific way' will mean people will do whatever they can to be there for their family ("naturally, family will be the ones we, and they, will turn to"), there are unknowns about the strength of connection or sense of obligation of future generations. Beyond this, out of principle, these members of the diaspora felt that governments need to be the first port of call to support those mobilising in future - not banking on the support and cushioning of family overseas.

IN-COUNTRY TONGAN AND SAMOAN INFLUENCE ON THE OVERSEAS DIASPORA

The following is a brief addition on some of the 'outwards' influence of in-country Tongan and Samoan people on their overseas diaspora, recognising that there is reciprocity in all connections.

A number of the Samoan diaspora reported that family in Samoa play a critical role in caring for and 'maintaining the motherland' on behalf of family, including those living overseas. They described the important role that family in Samoa play in protecting and continuing the culture on their behalf, looking after family land, and that they must be supported and enabled to continue to do so.

Tongans living outside of Tonga reported the importance of receiving food from Tonga, maintaining spiritual, cultural and emotional links to home through this food.

One participant shared a story of the influence of elders back in Tonga on financial, education and professional decision-making in other countries, with older members of the family advising and strongly encouraging children (and grandchildren) overseas to take up education and work opportunities not available in Tonga.

A group of women in Tonga in a small group talanoa mentioned how they play a critical role in providing koloa (e.g., fine woven mats and other family heirlooms) for different occasions held overseas, including weddings, funerals, baptisms etc., with women in the family often travelling from Tonga with the koloa in support of these events.

As mentioned already in the 'motivations' section, a number of the Tongan and Samoan diaspora shared that the key return they receive for their (financial, professional and other in-kind) support of family and the broader community in Tonga or Samoa is the return of love, and a sense of peace knowing family are taken care of.

TAPPING THE UNDER-TAPPED DIASPORA

In talanoa with the Member of Parliament for 'Eua, Tonga – Taniela Fusimalohi spoke on the opportunity to better engage diaspora for climate resilience and adaptation possibilities. He highlighted the financial capacity of the group as a whole, particularly in comparison to the financial position of Tonga, and spoke to the willingness and generosity of the group, proven many times over in times of disaster. He lamented the lack of deliberate or coordinated effort to engage the diaspora – both to communicate opportunities for the diaspora to support, but also in terms of relationship management – directly thanking those overseas for their significant contributions. Taniela shared how he takes on this role himself, using social media to promote development plans and self-funding travel to New Zealand and further afield to meet with 'Euan diaspora.

In a meeting with ACEO Jennifer Key and team at the Ministry for Prime Minister and Cabinet, Samoa, their Diaspora Relations Unit was discussed. The purpose of this unit is to lead outreach efforts and attempt to coordinate support from overseas Samoan diaspora for a range of national-level development priorities. On a practical level, no money exchanges hands via the Unit, rather they act as an intermediary, connecting Samoan diaspora who indicate a willingness to support with the Public Sector Commission overseeing these development priorities. In return, Samoan diaspora engaged through the Unit are publicly celebrated, and when they come to Samoa, the Diaspora Relations Unit puts in effort to make them feel particularly special – inviting them to a meeting with the Prime Minister where possible, or to meet with another senior government leader. Gifts and thanks are exchanged. The team shared that the Unit is still in its relative infancy, targeting celebrity Samoans in the first instance, including for the reason they are easier to find and contact ("we don't yet know the best way to contact Samoan diaspora who are not public figures"). At the time of meeting in late 2023, they had a database of around 1,000 people and have a social media presence to promote and celebrate the support given through this initiative.

As noted in the results of the diaspora survey (see later), the majority of those surveyed reported a desire or an interest in being contacted by the Tongan or Samoan government for national updates and to learn about opportunities to contribute in-country.

PRIORITIES AND IMPACTS OF MOBILITY - BRIEF DIASPORA INSIGHTS FROM TALANOA

In one-on-one and small group talanoa with Tongan and Samoan diaspora in New Zealand and Australia, a range of impacts of mobility were highlighted.

Many spoke of the main challenge being missing family, others shared that they miss or missed the language - speaking Tongan or Samoan regularly. Many spoke of the pressures to earn income and some shared that they felt loneliness with that pressure. One young father from Tonga, now based in Te Aroha, shared how he feared he was failing as a father when he could not earn enough to provide for his young children. Many in Tonga and Samoa compared this need for income 'you need money for everything here', to freer access to necessities like food in Tonga and Samoa.

A female member of the Samoan diaspora in Sydney reflected on their family's mobility experience, sharing how they moved for education opportunities, but that financial challenges were significant on first moving to Australia in the 1980s. She shared how family already present in Sydney (an Aunty) hosted all eight of them for over three months while they saved to afford rent elsewhere. It was her belief that mobility would have been impossible without the financial (and otherwise) support of this Aunty.

A few Tongan diaspora in New Zealand shared that their greatest challenges and needs on moving to New Zealand was securing adequate income. One of these men spoke about working for 12 years to save for a deposit for a house, saying it was a priority to establish a base so that he could establish a sound base for (other) family to move from Tonga to New Zealand.

Interestingly, a couple of people in the Tongan diaspora shared that the second highest priority challenge or need in the first month and after a year was for spiritual/mental/emotional support (trumping e.g., physical health needs, cultural challenges).

A FEW ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS FROM THOSE INVOLVED IN THE RECOGNISED SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT SCHEME

The researchers engaged a few people directly or adjacently involved in the Recognised Seasonal Employment scheme for additional insights into the current/recent role of diaspora supporting those [temporarily] living and working in New Zealand.

One member of the Tongan diaspora shared a story about how diaspora in New Zealand had provided necessary legal process support to a member of the family when they were summoned to court during their time on the RSE scheme. Another reported how a Tongan Church Minister based in Motueka intervened in a situation between a seasonal worker from Tonga and a member of the local community which would have led to both a relationship/family breakdown in Tonga and likely conflict between the seasonal workers and members of the local community. Others shared how New Zealand family of seasonal workers provide practical support when they are able, including sharing or sending food or warm clothing, and often meeting workers on arrival at the airport with a meal, or seeing them off on their return with food and gifts for those back in Tonga or Samoa.

One member of the diaspora shared an example of local diaspora chipping in to support workers who lost family during their time on the RSE scheme, including supporting the cost of funerals and return travel.

A church leader – also a member of the Tongan diaspora – shared that there is not enough visa flexibility that would otherwise allow seasonal workers to return to e.g., Tonga in a timely way in situations such as to help with natural disaster response or recovery, or even to fulfil their family obligations following an e.g., death in the family. He believed this inflexibility affected thousands currently working outside of Tonga and was negatively impacting the thousands of family members remaining in Tonga.

In terms of mobility impacts, the effects of the RSE scheme provides useful insights into how future climate mobility, which may have cyclical elements, could also play out in future.

Talanoa with diaspora in Motueka in the South Island of New Zealand revealed some concerns about drug and alcohol misuse for those participating in the RSE program in New Zealand, stating that it has led to conflicts within the diaspora community (but not so much between the seasonal workers and the local community at this point). In a small group talanoa with some Tongan-born workers in Te Aroha (some living in New Zealand permanently, and a couple not), a few people reported that Tongans have been introduced to marijuana through connections with locals they work with, and some go on to harder drugs through associations with others met through those initial connections.

The New Zealand-based diaspora reported that these shifts in behaviours go unchecked as in parallel some stop their usual church attendance (and associated church, family and community obligations) when working temporarily in places like New Zealand.

A Tongan-born youth, now based in New Zealand, shared how she is coming to realise how much she missed out on through the absence of her mother who was part of the RSE scheme for nearly a decade, feeling she has major cultural and practical knowledge gaps because of her mother's absence in Tonga. In turn, the mother reported a recent realisation of the impacts on her children's development and preparedness for adulthood and expressed feelings of guilt because of this.

A father from Apia, Samoa, who reported annual participation in seasonal work for ~7 months each year, for the last decade, reported many years of difficulties missing his family and challenges for his wife raising their children over that time. He did share that over the years the separation has gotten a little bit easier. He shared that his goal is to work towards a modest promotion after a decade of loyalty to his overseas employer, and that he and his wife hope to apply for permanent residency in the medium-term through they both shared that their experience of the process has been complex, drawn out and costly.

DIASORA SURVEY INSIGHTS

Overview

A survey targeting Tongan and Samoan diaspora in New Zealand (predominantly) but also those in Australia, the USA and Hawai'i was run via the Survey Monkey platform in the months of January and February 2024.

Diaspora were engaged through a range of methods, including direct targeting by our Tongan and Samoan in-country partners, social media promotion and direct outreach by the researchers themselves.

The total numbers engaged in Tonga and Samoa (56 and 55 respectively) offers sufficient sampling to suggest some insights though is not sufficient for most disaggregation efforts (e.g., by age group) and there will be limitations in insights gathered from additional analysis comparing responses to multiple questions (see below).

The analysis presented is both the basic answers to the questions in the survey, plus a few sets of additional analysis that looked at e.g., connections between reports of strength of 'ofa and contributions to community in Tonga or Samoa, the provision of climate change specific support and hosting family leaving Tonga or Samoa. Given sample size, the absolute counts of responses are presented (vs. percentages) to avoid misinterpretation of data, especially at lower overall counts.

Note, analysis of the data refers often to 'the diaspora' which includes diaspora from a mix of the aforementioned locations, noting that the mix of diaspora locations is not the same for Tongan and Samoan diaspora. Reference to the diaspora, in the context of the survey, obviously pertains to the 111 people total who undertook the survey.



SURVEY: BRIEF COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, TONGAN AND SAMOAN DIASPORA

Who was engaged?

- A higher proportion of the Tongan diaspora surveyed were living in New Zealand than the Samoan diaspora surveyed (78% and 66% respectively). 23% of the Samoan diaspora surveyed lived in Australia at the time of the survey (versus 13% of the Tongan diaspora surveyed)
- The average income of those surveyed was higher than the median income of e.g., Tongans or Samoans living in New Zealand which could mean some of the results of the survey may have been influenced by this difference in resource capacity (e.g., willingness or type of future support, reports of historic support)
- ~2/3 of Tongan diaspora surveyed were between the ages of 25-44 years with low relative representation of the 24 years and younger and 55 years and older populations compared to the general population. There was also a much higher representation of females over males in the Tonga diaspora survey (~70% female). Important cultural and social cultural context to note here is that survey completion, like in Survey One, for many would have involved more than the one person, with women in a household leading the surveys completion but with the involvement and input of others, including males.
- The age of the Samoan diaspora surveyed was roughly representative of the general population, however like Tonga, there was a gender imbalance, with ~65% of the sample from the Samoan diaspora identifying as female.

Strength of connection (feelings of 'ofa/alofa towards family or the population in general)

- Most of those surveyed who reported being born in Tonga or Samoa had left Tonga/Samoa over 10 years ago
- Many described a strong sense of 'ofa/alofa for family in Tonga or Samoa, whether or not they were born in Tonga or Samoa, however as could be anticipated, those born in Tonga or Samoa reported stronger feelings of 'ofa/alofa for family back in Tonga/Samoa (around 90% of both Tongan and Samoan diaspora born in Tonga/Samoa reported either 'strong' or 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa/alofa towards family in Tonga/Samoa)
- Interestingly, when asked about their strength of 'ofa/alofa for all in Tonga/Samoa (as opposed to just family), while those born in Tonga also expressed stronger sentiments of 'ofa than those not born in Tonga, those not born in Samoa reported stronger feelings of alofa towards all in Samoa (compared to those born in Samoa).

Strength of feeling of 'ofa/alofa and possible connection to actions

- Higher proportions of the Tonga diaspora surveyed reported providing support for climate change impacts at a village or island level, support at a community level generally (e.g., money or equipment), and hosting family who left Tonga. The relevance of reported strengths of 'ofa/alofa towards family seemed different between Samoan and Tongan diaspora. For Tongan diaspora, there seemed to be a connection between the strength of feeling of 'ofa for the broader population in Tonga and the likelihood someone has provided general support at a community level, as well as providing support specific to climate change at a village or island level. There also appeared to be a connection between the strength of 'ofa towards family and the likelihood someone reported hosting family when they have left Tonga.
- For Samoa, there was no clear connection between reported strength of feelings of alofa for 'all' (not just family) and the likelihood that they have provided support at a community level, nor reported strength of alofa for family and reports of hosting family when they leave Samoa. Sample size was too small to draw conclusions about those reporting village or island level support for climate change impacts.

Beliefs about future climate mobility and support to respond to climate change

- 1/4 of the Samoan diaspora surveyed strongly agreed that at some point in the future family in Samoa will need to leave their home in Samoa to live somewhere else in Samoa or overseas due to the impacts of climate change. This was slightly higher for the Tongan diaspora (1/3 strongly agreed)
- A slightly higher proportion of the Tongan diaspora reported providing support to family specifically to respond to the impacts of climate change (1/3 of the Tongan diaspora versus 1/4 of the Samoan diaspora)
- What climate change support went towards most commonly was different however (noting limitations of sample size) for Tonga it was lifting or raising a family home (e.g., on poles or with solid rock), in Samoa however it was most commonly to rebuild following damage from e.g., flooding or a storm
- More Tongans than Samoans reported providing support to respond to climate change at a village or island level (1/4 of Tongan participants versus 10% of Samoan participants)
- There didn't appear to be a connection between the reported strength of feeling of 'ofa/alofa and the provision of climate change support to family in Tonga/Samoa

General support and remittances

- ~80% of the Tongan diaspora and ~75% of the Samoan diaspora surveyed reported providing money to family in Tonga/Samoa at least once per year
- Interestingly, ~half of Tongan diaspora report sending food to family in Tonga at least once per year, a lot higher than the 13% of the Samoan diaspora who reported the same
- ~20% of both the Tongan and Samoan diaspora reported sending building materials and household appliances to family in Tonga/Samoa, while twice as many Tongan diaspora than Samoan diaspora reported sending items to family in Tonga to sell as part of a business/in order to generate some income

Input into mobility decision making

- A slightly higher proportion of the Samoan diaspora reported involvement in mobility decision making for those in Samoa, though both were high (40% of the Tongan diaspora, 50% of the Samoan diaspora)
- A higher proportion of the Samoan diaspora reported instigating the conversation about mobility
- None of the Samoan diaspora reported being the final decision maker in a mobility decision, and only one from the Tongan diaspora reported being the final decision maker
- The most common reported role in mobility decision making was providing information to help with the decision (Tongan diaspora) or providing financial support and information to help with the mobility decision (Samoan diaspora)
- There didn't appear to be a gender difference in decision-making participation for the Samoan diaspora, there may be a slight difference for the Tongan diaspora (slightly more males reported participation in mobility decision making e.g., 63% versus 51% of females).

Hosting and desire for government contact

- When family have left Tonga or Samoa, the Tongan diaspora more commonly reported hosting family (3/4 of survey participants) versus the Samoan diaspora (1/2 of survey participants)
- 2/3 of both the Tongan and Samoan diaspora said they would like more contact from their respective governments to hear about national updates, or ways to input or help (e.g., development projects)

Future role/s for the diaspora and opportunities

- The majority of survey participants were clear on their perceived role to provide financial support for internal or overseas mobility. Many Samoan and Tongan diaspora shared a commitment to house family until they can get on their feet, support family into housing, and facilitate connections with work. Some believed there was a need to pool efforts to support at a village level (i.e., not just individual family to individual family).
- A couple of people from the Samoan diaspora suggested they would be open to support professionally, leveraging their networks or expertise for in-kind support, including a suggestion of support for climate litigation if it came to that.
- One person from the Samoan diaspora emphasised that one of the more critical roles diaspora could play now is to keep pushing for equal pay, safer working conditions and better or fairer opportunities for Pacific people in places like New Zealand so that a strong foundation can be built for others to follow or benefit from in future.
- A few people from both the Tongan and Samoan diaspora suggested the importance of investing in large pieces of land overseas that could be used for both residential and commercial purposes – and importantly, that investment and economic development could start ahead of anyone needing to move due to the impacts of climate change so that people can move with dignity and opportunities.
- The Tongan diaspora frequently highlighted the importance of improved climate awareness campaigns focused on impact - for those in Tonga, as well as better education of the overseas diaspora who may or may not be aware of the hazards facing their homeland/family land, and thought that diaspora of different backgrounds could lead these discussions in their respective overseas communities to spread the message most effectively
- A few from the Samoan diaspora lamented the difficulty and financial barriers to sending practical support (like building materials) in the event of rebuilding efforts, particularly from the USA, and wondered how governments or aid partners could look to remove some of these barriers to get the most out of diaspora support.
- The Tongan diaspora also highlighted the need to focus not just on meeting practical needs, but mental preparation and mental health support on relocation, citing existing impacts of mobility on mental health.
- Finally, the Tongan diaspora noted the critical role of the church in practical support, centralisation or coordination
 of funding and supplies, and community integration, more so than the Samoan diaspora, though in talanoa a few
 members of the Samoan diaspora in Samoa shared that there is potential for future support by churches but that
 there may need to more leadership taken by the churches and by the congregation to prioritise the support of
 those mobilising in future.

SURVEY RESULTS - TONGAN DIASPORA

The following provides the results of the diaspora survey for those within the overseas Tongan diaspora. The graphs show the results of the questions asked, as well as a few additional pieces of analysis done to compare responses to two different questions in order to reveal possible connections. As before, 55 members of the Tongan diaspora took part in the survey. Approximately 70% of those completing the survey were female, though important context includes the fact that the woman of a household would often complete the survey on behalf of a number of household members, and/or bring in the inputs of others in the household e.g., the husband or father.





If you were born in Tonga, what was the main reason you left Tonga?



Nearly 80% of the Tongan diaspora completing the survey reported living in New Zealand, the rest were spread between Australia and the USA.

Just under half surveyed reported they were born in Tonga (note the data is presented here in absolute numbers).

For those reporting that they were born in Tonga, the most common reported reason for leaving Tonga was for work followed closely by education. An interesting insight, though small total numbers, a few reported leaving Tonga due to matters of land availability. 'Other' reasons included moving as a child with parents or moving to see family.



A high proportion of respondents had tertiary education (from a diploma or certificate to a PhD), at approximately 60% of the sample (not shown in a graph). There was also a high representation of those in professional and government positions sampled in the survey (~60%).



In a similar vein, those sampled reported relatively high incomes, much higher for example than the median income for Tongans living in New Zealand of ~\$25,000 (Stats NZ, 2018).



Survey participants reported relatively high levels of contact with family in Tonga (nearly 2/3 reporting seeing family living in Tonga at least once per year, and nearly 3/4 reporting seeing family living in Tonga every 2-3 years), either seeing them in Tonga or family in Tonga travelling overseas to visit them. This appeared more frequent than what was reported in the responses from the surveyed Samoan diaspora.



Just over half of participants reported 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa towards family in Tonga, with 90% reporting either 'very strong' or 'strong' feelings of 'ofa towards family. Sample sizes were small on the comparison of responses, meaning insights could not be reasonably drawn between e.g., frequency of visitation and reported strength of 'ofa for family. However, important to note that the data did show a number of people reporting seeing family in Tonga less than every three years or 'never' also reporting 'strong' and 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa for family in Tonga.

When comparing responses between those born in Tonga and those not, those born in Tonga responded 'very strong' at a much higher rate regarding their feeling of 'ofa for family.



Overall, nearly half of survey respondents reported 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa towards all people in Tonga (not just family).

When asked about the reasons for this strength of feeling, common responses included:

Love for family and ongoing family connections, particularly links via parents and grandparents was a very common response e.g., "it is where my parents and grandparents are from, without them and their sacrifices there would be no me"/"without Tonga my parents and grandparents would not exist"/"[Tonga] shaped my father and thus me."

Pride in Tongan traditions, heritage and values, especially 'ofa and tauhi va was also very commonly raised e.g., "God and Tonga are my heritage."

- A sense of obligation to reciprocate care and/or continue to care for all in Tonga, instilled by older generations of family, e.g., "my parents and grandparents taught me to have 'ofa for all back in Tonga, [it is] my responsibility to keep that going"/"my family loved me unconditionally, I want to love them as they have loved me."
- Tonga being considered home or the motherland, irrespective of being born there and/or irrespective of how long someone
 has been away. A strong sense of connection that is linked with the natural surroundings "Tonga is where I feel the most
 connected to the land, sea and environment. My ethnicity, culture and ancestors are rooted in Tonga therefore I will always
 feel a sense of belonging and connectedness". And for one member of the diaspora living in New Zealand, "I feel Tongan,
 [even] though [I was] not born there I don't feel connected to Māori or palagi."
- A sense of inextricability between Tongans, and even an interdependence, e.g., "it is who I am"/"the people of Tonga are my very own and I am proud of that wherever I am in the world"/"we treat everyone as kainga"/"All Tongans are family to me"/"we are nothing without each other."
- What constitutes 'Tonga' as a strengthening tie to family "my culture doesn't just bind me to my family but Tonga itself" and to ones' identity "[I'm] grasping at the little ties I have left with the island so I don't lose my identity."
- Having a strong sense of empathy and admiration for those in Tonga "the [Tongan] people are some of the hardest working
 people I know, not for themselves but for their land and family, in Tonga and abroad. Family is number one, this is embedded
 throughout generations". Others referenced how hard life can be in Tonga, and the relative privileges enjoyed by those living
 in New Zealand e.g., "thinking of how we shared what little we had growing up, and the sharing we did as a family"/"we have
 plenty of milk and honey here in New Zealand."



When looking at responses between those born in Tonga and those not, when asked about strength of feeling for all people in Tonga (not just family), nearly 2/3 of those born in Tonga expressed 'very strong' 'ofa for all, nearly twice that of those not born in Tonga.



Over half of all Tongan diaspora surveyed reported they have provided support (in the form of money, equipment or other) at a community level in Tonga.



Looking at those who reported providing e.g., financial support at a community level, while sample size limitations, a higher proportion reporting 'yes' also reported 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa for 'all' in Tonga. Note, for response comparisons like this, data is shown in absolute figures to ensure transparency regarding sample size.



Of those who said 'yes' to providing climate change support at a village level, more reported 'very strong' 'ofa for all in Tonga than those reporting 'strong' or 'neutral' feelings of 'ofa combined. Taking another angle, 32% of those who reported 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa for all had supported at village level (higher than the over proportion of the sample reporting village/island level climate change support). Note, for response comparisons like this, data is shown in absolute figures to ensure transparency regarding sample size.



Back at a family level, $\sim 1/3$ (29%) reported providing support of some kind (mostly financial) to help family in Tonga deal with the impacts of climate change.

While recognising the limitations of sample size, those in New Zealand more commonly supported family with the impacts of climate change (30% vs 14% of those surveyed in Australia)

Interestingly, those not born in Tonga seemed to provide climate change support more commonly

Male respondents reported providing climate change support to family more commonly than female

There didn't seem to be a connection between the frequency of seeing family in Tonga and providing climate change support (though low overall counts to compare, those who reported less frequent visits to/from family reported higher rates of providing climate change specific support)



When providing support to family specifically to deal with the effects of climate change, most commonly that support in Tonga went to lifting/raising a family home. At a similar level was rebuilding a home or business after a strong storm or flood. These results align with findings from talanoa with both those in Tonga and the overseas diaspora who reported frequent efforts and fund-raisers to send building materials to Tonga.

Note, survey respondents were able to select more than one application type hence percentages not totalling 100.



 \sim 1/4 of the Tongan diaspora surveyed reported they have also provided support at a village or island level to support with climate change impacts. Again, those in New Zealand seemed to be doing this more commonly (recognising the limitations of small sample sizes).



Just over 40% reported they had participated in discussions regarding family leaving Tonga to live overseas. Of these: A higher proportion of females who took the survey reported involvement in mobility decision-making (~1/2 of all female respondents versus ~1/3 of all male) The most common reported role in decision making was

providing information to help with the decision, but not making the final decision

The next most common reported role for the Tongan diaspora was providing information and financial support, but not making the final decision

Just two people reported initiating the discussion on mobility and one person reported making the final mobility decision for family in Tonga.



~ 1/3 strongly agreed, and nearly 80% strongly agreed or agreed that family in Tonga will need to leave home at some point in the future because of the impacts of climate change. Interestingly, these figures are quite a bit higher than what was seen in the responses for Survey One of those living in Tonga (where 20% responded 'strongly agree' and 27% 'agree' to the statement "climate change means me/my family will have to leave our home at some point in the future").

29



3/4 of respondents reported they have had family come to stay with them when family have left Tonga to live overseas. 4% chose not to say either way. Again, recognising there are sample size limitations (particularly from other countries), it appears that family in New Zealand host family from Tonga when they leave for overseas more commonly than other countries (as could be expected, given New Zealand is a destination preference based on both historic migration data and Survey One outcomes).



When looking at whether there could be links between feelings of 'ofa for family and likelihood that someone has hosted family that have left Tonga, while noting limitations of sample size, there could be some connection seen through the data in Tonga (~60% of those reporting 'yes' also reported 'very strong' feelings of 'ofa for family). Note, for response comparisons, data is shown in absolute figures to ensure transparency regarding sample size.



~80% of survey respondents reported that they give family in Tonga money at least once per year. Quite different to the results seen in Samoa, half of respondents also reported sending family food, and one quarter reported providing/ sending building materials/household equipment or appliances to family in Tonga.

Only 10% of those surveyed reported they don't send anything at least once per year to family in Tonga suggesting a highly interactive (and practically supportive) diaspora. Does the Tongan government contact you as a Tongan living outside of Tonga to give you information that might be of interest e.g., things happening in Tonga, recent decisions that have been made, to ask for your support with projects or similar? If not, would you like them to?



None of the Tongan diaspora reported being contacted by the Tongan government, and 2/3 said they would like to be contacted by the Tongan government to hear about developments in the country, options to support etc.

POSSIBLE FUTURE ROLE OF THE TONGAN DIASPORA – SURVEY RESPONSES

The Tongan diaspora surveyed were asked to consider their potential or preferred future role in the context of climate change mobility. They were encouraged to be creative but also consider what they personally would be prepared to do in a situation where more people from Tonga had to move within Tonga or out of Tonga because of climate change. The following themes and specific examples were shared.

Most commonly raised:

- Support public awareness programs for those in Tonga, as well as for the diaspora who may be unaware of climate impacts on Tonga
- Donations/aid/fundraising events, including to help with initial mobility as well as setting up in a new location
- Housing family and supporting them into their own accommodation e.g., "help them find a house so they can start to build their little family"/ "Supporting with paperwork especially to help with housing and income"
- Help get the children of family from Tonga into education (school, tertiary)
- Facilitate connections to work opportunities/help secure work
- Help with preparation for moving practical, emotional, cultural e.g., information and advice to support with cultural adaptation to a new environment (what cultural and social differences to expect, relevant laws, what services are available etc.)
- Support connection/s with relevant groups, services and otherwise once within a new destinations "[diaspora could support a] socio-cultural acclimatisation programme including an introduction to public resources, social supports i.e., free language classes, social clubs, free night classes, Citizen's Advice Bureau, public transport, healthcare, Gold Card, superannuation migration, networking events for interest groups e.g., via the Pacific Business Trust."

Other themes that came through:

Government engagement and lobbying

- As diaspora, gather like-minded people to engage governments on how to support relocated communities
- Contact or lobby government to help those moving, e.g., lobbying for a migration scheme between Tonga and New Zealand or Australia and look at what ways [those in the diaspora] can make that accessible to anyone in Tonga
- Mobilise unions "Pacific peoples are highly unionised, we should use that"
- · Act as advisors or intermediaries between central government, council and the community

Help the church/churches to help those who have had to leave Tonga

 Support community integration, including connecting people with local churches who can help on a practical, social (housing, food) and spiritual/emotional level and provide some continuance of familiar day-to-day/weekly structures

Facilitate or help directly with remote skills training (prior to departure or on arrival)

Land access and acquisition (in Tonga and abroad), access to opportunities for enterprise and self-sufficiency, and a possible role for churches

- "I will offer my piece of land (in Tonga) if needed"
- "Tongans, partners and the government need to be proactive in securing new "homeland" land (large parcels of land for residential and business development) and business opportunities for the mobilised Tongan community. New Zealand Tongan Church communities could begin planning to pool resources and consider land and businesses and opportunities for an expanding Tongan community."

Shared funds at a village level, and integration support

- "Start special funds for the relocation of Tongan families. Group this by village and then by church because that would make the funds more centred and organised. If the families relocate to where you live, [there could be] a pool of donated goods (e.g., clothing, furniture) to help them from the start."
- "Have programs that assist with relocated families e.g., CV writing, bank account set up, job hunting/interview training etc".
- "Tongans overseas could have a group whose role is to inform the Tongan community about what is happening
 and the best way we can support, e.g. this particular group could connect with the kalapu (clubs, e.g., kava, youth,
 church, cultural) of the specific villages that are being affected and work together to raise funds to support [them].
 Whether that's sending an amount of money or purchasing and sending materials that are needed. The rest of the
 Tongans from other villages would support through the kalapu network and therefore will become a collective
 effort rather than just the families who are from the village(s) affected. The initiative would start with them but
 others would join and show their support by attending/contributing to the fund-raiser."

Diaspora didn't just share their proposed or preferred roles in a future of higher climate mobility but also highlighted priority concerns. These included:

- Having appropriate mental health support in place e.g., "with the strong decline in mental health, I strongly feel
 that support/services in this area should also be provided to help them cope with these changes."/ "I think the
 hardest thing is helping them understand the western world but encouraging them to still be themselves. Often
 they move and find themselves lost. Identity crisis occurs. And I know that materials will be important, such as
 food, water, clothing, community... but let's not forget the mental challenges of making a big move... our people
 need that support too."
- Ensuring that there are plenty of opportunities and that these opportunities are readily accessible to those possibly
 relocating in future so that people can be self-sufficient and realise their potential (for the good of all) "Tongans
 entering New Zealand (for example) need to enter not as refugees or 'problems of the state' but empowered and
 enabled to build their future with dignity and resources to prosper."

One member of the diaspora simply wrote "The life of my people is the most important."



SURVEY RESULTS - SAMOAN DIASPORA

The following provides the results of the diaspora survey for those within the Samoan diaspora. The graphs show the results of the questions asked, as well as a few additional pieces of analysis done to compare responses to two different questions in order to reveal possible connections. As before, 56 members of the Samoan diaspora took part in the survey. Approximately 60% of those completing the survey were female.



2/3 of survey respondents lived in New Zealand, with a stronger showing of Australia-based Samoans than Australia-based Tongans.



If you were born in Samoa, what was the main reason you left Samoa?



About 1/3 of survey respondents were born in Samoa.

Like the results seen for Tonga, the most common reasons people reportedly left Samoa was for education and work opportunities. Unlike Tonga, no one reported leaving Samoa due to land access or availability issues.

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Those surveyed reported relatively high incomes, and were certainly higher than the median income of Samoans living in New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2018).



Along a similar vein, there was a high representation of those in professional and government positions sampled in the survey (~60%).



About 1/3 reported seeing family that live in Samoa at least once per year (either visiting them in Samoa or family in Samoa travelling overseas). This appeared a slightly lower frequency than what was seen in the results from Tongan diaspora.



Over half of participants reported 'very strong' feelings of alofa towards family in Samoa, with ~90% reporting either 'very strong' or 'strong' feelings of alofa towards family.

When comparing responses of those born in Samoa and those not, those born in Samoa responded 'very strong' at a much higher rate regarding their feelings of alofa for family.

Overall, half of survey respondents reported 'very strong' feelings of alofa towards all people in Samoa (not just family).

When asked about the reasons for this strength of feeling, common responses included:

Ongoing connections through family and friends still in Samoa/late parents or grandparents buried in Samoa

Ancestry, heritage, connections between Samoa and identity, with many referring to an inextricability between self and Samoa as well as the people of Samoa, with common references to one's blood. "They are part of me". "I am who I am today because of my ancestors", "Samoa is motherland of my Mother", "it is my blood, "my ancestry and blood are embedded in Samoa"

- Some shared that the strength of connection is through feeling that it is their original or rightful home "it is a place I can call home", "I am an extension of my family who live there", "Samoa is my second home".
- The teachings of family, particularly grandparents (and particularly grandmothers) who encouraged them to know where they
 come from, and passed down stories they were told as children which helped form a connection to whakapapa, "faamalo le osi
 aiga, faafetai le tausi aiga", and an encouragement to love Samoa, the land and it's people "[I have] a deep connection to the land
 taught from a young age... respect and love for my people goes a long way back"
- Being raised with the values and the Samoan language strengthened connection, and for some born in Samoa, they reported that being bought up in an island environment they were taught the 'island morals' and values in life. Some shared that as they have gotten older their alofa for family and people in Samoa generally has gotten stronger.
- Some reported that being able to travel to Samoa facilitated this strong connection "[I have] a deep emotional and spiritual bond with Samoa fostered through multiple visits"
- Connections to land e.g., "I have very strong ties via land and family in Lalomanu."
- A couple of respondents shared their sense of responsibility to those back in Samoa who are maintaining and living the culture, and to generally keeping the culture strong strengthens their connection "we are all responsible whether we live in Samoa or not to keep our culture alive wherever we are in life". "[Those back in Samoa] are the caretakers and guardians of our homeland and customs/they are looking after our land for all of us". Another shared that their chiefly title adds to the strength of connection "my chiefly title is from my mother's father's village and so I have a responsibility towards Avao, Savaii."
- Pride, and being a proud people was raised by a few people in the survey, as well as some feeling like being a minority overseas adds to this pride.
- Finally, having alofa and an empathy for the challenges that many face in Samoa was given as a reason for their sense of connection "my people living in poor conditions in [a] hot climate with poor education and poor in general not enough to support [themselves]", "because I know it can be hard over in the islands and I always think of my loved ones and everyone else."



When looking at responses between those born in Samoa and those not, interestingly, those not born in Samoa reported stronger feelings of alofa for 'all' than those born in Samoa.



Just under half of all Samoan diaspora surveyed reported they have provided support (in the form of money, equipment or other) at a community level in Samoa. There was no clear connection seen in the data between reports of strength of alofa for 'all' in Samoa, and those providing community-level support in Samoa.



There did not appear to be a clear connection for survey respondents between reported strength of alofa and the provision of community support. Note, for response comparisons like these, data is shown in absolute figures to ensure transparency regarding sample size.



Back at a family level, and more specific to climate change, just over 1/4 reported providing support of some kind (mostly financial) to help family in Samoa deal with the impacts of climate change.

For the Samoan diaspora, there didn't appear to be a gender difference in who provided climate relevant support and who did not. There was not a material difference seen between those who provided climate change support to family and those who were born in Samoa and who were not. Note, for Samoan diaspora surveyed, there also did not appear to be a connection between the strength of feeling of alofa for 'all' and the provision of climate change support at a village or island level (recognising limitations of sample size, particularly as low numbers of the Samoan diaspora surveyed reported providing village/island level climate change support).



When providing support to family specifically to deal with the effects of climate change, most commonly that support in Samoa went to rebuilding a family home or business after e.g., flooding or a strong storm. Note, many people in Samoa, as well as some diaspora mentioned receiving/ shipping building materials (like sawn timber) to Samoa to support rebuilding efforts. A number also raised concerns and frustrations about the inordinate, and often prohibitive costs of sending (re)building materials to Samoa, with one survey participant sharing in comments "if shipping to the Pacific islands was cost effective from the United States, we would help more often, but the high shipping charges do not make it feasible to do so".

The next most common application of support was to relocate family burial sites away from the coast or other atrisk areas (seemingly more common than for Tonga). Those who responded 'other' stated 'financial' and 'send money if I can'. Note, survey respondents were able to select more than one application type hence percentages not totalling 100.



~ 10% of the Samoan diaspora surveyed reported they have also provided support at a village or island level to support with climate change impacts. This was quite a bit lower than what was seen in the sample of Tongan diaspora (recognising the limitations of small sample sizes).



Half of the Samoan diaspora surveyed reported they had participated in discussions regarding family leaving Samoa to live overseas. Of these:

There did not appear to be a gender difference in reported decision-making participation.

The most common reported role in decision making was providing information and financial support to help with the move, but not making the final decision. More of the Samoan (versus Tongan) diaspora reported initiating the conversation about the possibility of a family member moving.



1/4 strongly agreed, and ~70% strongly agreed or agreed that family in Samoa will need to leave home at some point in the future because of the impacts of climate change.

Interestingly, these figures are quite a bit higher than what was seen in the responses for Survey One of those living in Samoa (where just 9% responded 'strongly agree' and 41% responded 'agree' to the statement "climate change means me/my family will have to leave our home at some point in the future").



Just over half of respondents reported they have had family come to stay with them when family have left Samoa to live overseas (slightly lower than what was seen in the results with Tongan diaspora).



There did not appear to be a connection between reported strength of alofa for family and the likelihood that the Samoan diaspora surveyed had hosted family that left Samoa.



3/4 of survey respondents reported that they give family in Samoa money at least once per year. Few reported sending food or things to sell for family in Samoa, quite different to the results seen for the Tongan diaspora.

Only a small proportion of the Samoan diaspora surveyed (13%) reported not sending anything to family annually indicating a highly interactive (and practically supportive) surveyed diaspora population.

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Only one of the Samoan diaspora reported being contacted by the Samoan government, and nearly 2/3 said they would like to be contacted by the Samoan government to hear about recent decisions, developments in the country, options to support etc.

POSSIBLE FUTURE ROLE OF THE SAMOAN DIASPORA – SURVEY RESPONSES

Regarding their potential or preferred future role in the context of climate change mobility, the Samoan diaspora shared the following. One member of the diaspora simply wrote "I'd be prepared to help in any way possible":

Financial support

Examples included sending money to family directly, crowd-funding (if at a village level), and undertaking fundraising, with comments such as "there is not much money in Samoa". One stated that any money sent should be used in a way that the receivers see fit "send money and let them decide what is appropriate for them". Others shared they would provide financial support for family or other Samoans to move inland or overseas to stay with them, provide housing/ accommodation "I would offer my home for them to stay", "[I would] take them in until they are able to live on their own", "[we should] open up churches for initial accommodation." One mentioned that they would provide goods to help those moving to 'start over'.

A few mentioned motivations to provide professional support on the ground, with one example given to 'support climate litigation'. Another believed the diaspora could or should help engage relevant experts to support those in Samoa and better plan or organise the mobility approach, saying "[we should] engage experts from nations facing similar challenges to get ideas and solutions."

Some spoke about going in-person to Samoa "go [to Samoa] to listen to them", "travel to support them practically with the impacts of climate change" through e.g., rebuilding support.

Some believed a critical role would simply be to support those making the decision to move "support them in their choices (to move) if it's for safety, work or education", "help them adapt, to thrive in a new environment... we don't need to stay in Samoa to be Samoan".

Government engagement

Many mentioned support interfacing or lobbying local governments to prioritise support for those from Samoa. Examples shared included "lobby our government in whatever country we are in to support Samoa, to help people relocate within Samoa (e.g., providing financial support), or set up policies to allow Samoans to relocate overseas ("especially countries that are or have been big polluters")

A few gave examples of organising groups or initiatives by place to support future resettlement efforts for Samoans e.g., "In Melbourne – [we could] get together and create starter packs for families with all the necessities to start life in a new country – information and support for employment, housing, supplies, services etc.". Another wrote "[we could] set up support and networking groups in receiving nations."

A number of people mentioned facilitating employment or connection to work and one believed and important role would be to help raise (climate, risk) awareness of those back in Samoa.

One respondent shared their perspective that there are things that can and should be done now, including fostering a stronger foundation for those to arrive in future "in New Zealand especially in Auckland is prepare for the inevitable through infrastructure planning, as Pacific Islanders we are strong unionists, continue building the foundation to ensure there is fair pay and safe working conditions.....there are things we can do in our normal lives currently that won't cost in terms of monetary but that we can contribute to with our time, knowledge and skill to hopefully get better outcomes not only for those Samoans in New Zealand but also any future migrant/refugee generations to come"

One person said they were 'really not sure' what their role could be. Another shared the following belief about relocation and obligation to ancestors in Samoa: "Moving people out of Samoa and within Samoa will be disrespectful to the older generations that have gone before us today that have paved the way for those families who have lived their best lives in their villages."

Beyond proposed future roles for diaspora, a number of respondents shared their beliefs about future climate mobility priorities, including:

- A belief that it is an imperative to start investing in land overseas (not necessarily led or funded by diaspora, but supported by).
- Find or promote more [regional or global] non-profit organizations that are willing to connect and provide support to Pacific islanders whose way of life is jeopardized by climate change [impacts].
- Support for freight/shipping costs for climate resilience-relevant materials (e.g., for rebuilding or redesigning homes) "if shipping to the Pacific islands was cost effective from the United States, we would help more often, but the high shipping charges do not make it feasible to do so. Finding inexpensive resources or innovative ideas to build weatherproof homes or promote a lifestyle change that dealt with weather changes can also be helpful."

BRIEF REFLECTION AND NEXT STEPS

As highlighted a number of times, this product provides an introduction to some insights about the large, growing and influential Tongan and Samoan diaspora – a group that will unavoidably play a critical role in possible future climate mobility, including in Aotearoa New Zealand where Samoans and Tongans represent the largest and second largest Pacific populations respectively (NZ Stats, 2018).

The results of the survey and the one-on-one and small group talanoa add further evidence to existing knowledge on the active commitment and contributions of the diaspora to the resilience of those in Tonga and Samoa. More specifically, the outcomes of this work show that the diaspora often play a key role in mobility decision making, are already providing specific support to both family and the broader community in Tonga and Samoa to temper the impacts of climate change and see themselves playing an important role in future in the context of climate mobility.

Those engaged for this work demonstrated that the diaspora not only represents a group with a large relative financial capacity and a depth of generosity informed by deep-set values (see the section on motivations for an introductory overview to 'ofa/alofa and fatongia/tuatua in the context of diaspora connection and giving), but they also are a group with great energy, passion, insight, experience and consideration that needs to be further understood, supported and fostered for broader-reaching impacts in a climate changing future.

The survey run was short and there is an opportunity to extend a follow up survey (or series of) to better understand the connections, influences and understandings of the diaspora as they continue to grow in multiple global centres, including Aotearoa New Zealand. There is also great opportunity to explore the ideas of many of the diaspora in terms of building resilience in the Tongan and Samoan communities, strengthening social and economic foundations and better targeting support to initiatives that would secure better future climate mobility outcomes.

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WAIKATO Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato