

LIFE COURSE CENTRE WORKING PAPER SERIES

Understanding *Pasifika* Migrant Behaviour and Perspectives of Well-Being in Auckland and Brisbane through Material Cultural Adaptations

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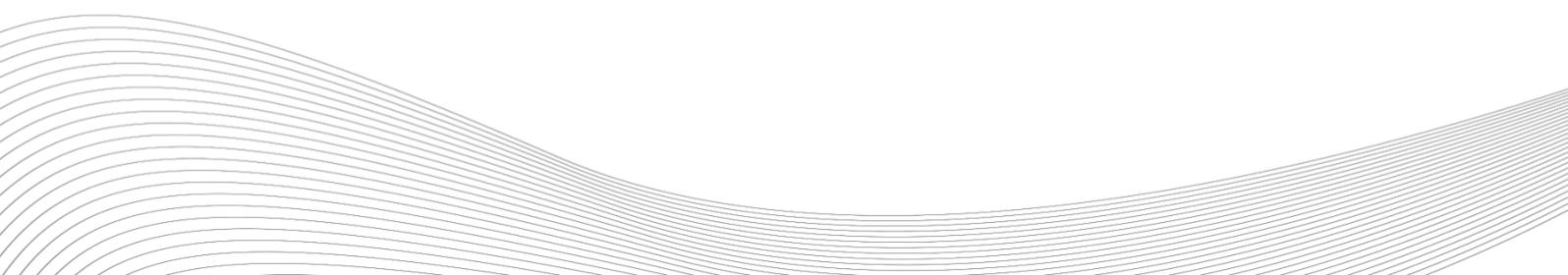
No. 2019-10

May 2019

NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

This paper presents the many ways that *Pasifika* living in, and migrating between, Auckland and Brisbane diaspora contexts express their collective, spiritual and cultural well-being perspectives. Their desire as Samoan and Tongan migrants is to maintain an aspect of their cultural traditions, whether in materials used, templates adopted, or meanings carried from their homelands.

The forms of material cultural adaptation used within diaspora contexts can be seen in two opposing ways; firstly, the adaptation of materials can lead to a loss of traditional templates and meanings, and secondly, the adaptation of materials provides a freedom to express and redefine cultural identity. According to some theories, there is a general movement away from traditional materials and templates within diaspora. This paper adds to this discussion by suggesting that *Pasifika* material cultural adaptations are not a total movement towards non-traditional materials, templates and meanings. This paper presents an analysis of six types of material cultural adaptations and spatial behaviour observed in these communities that show links to their collective well-being perspectives.

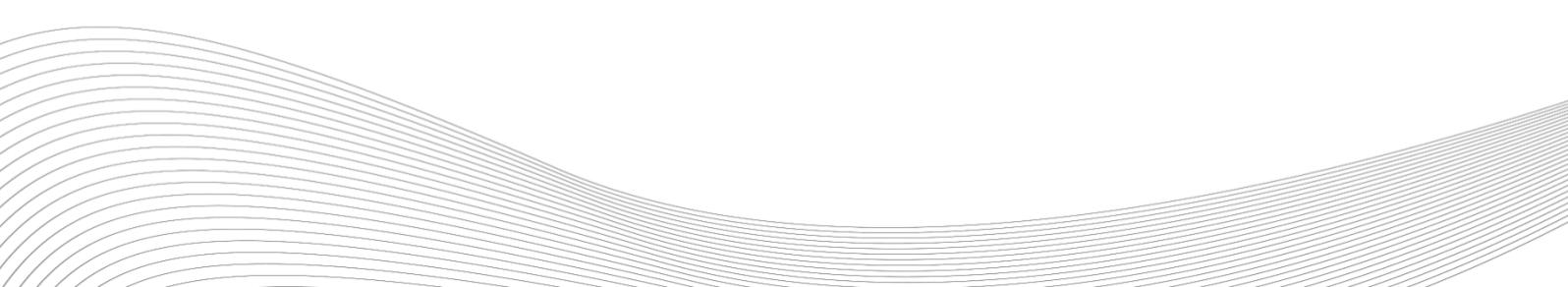


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Acknowledgments: *‘Oku ou tōmu‘a tuku a e fakafeta‘i kihe ‘Eiki; ke langilangi‘ia pe ia! Fakamālo atu kihe ‘eku ‘ofa‘anga: Thom, Israel, Sh’Kinah, Nehemiah, Lydiah mo Naomi. Fakamālo atu kihe‘eku ongo mātu‘a, Faifekau ‘Ahoia mo Faifekau Lose ‘Ilaiū. Fakamālo lahi atu kihe kāinga Tonga mo ‘āiga Samoa kotoape na‘e tokoni‘i eku fekumi.* I also acknowledge Prof. Paul Memmott and Dr. Kelly Greenop, of the Aboriginal Environments Research Centre, as well as Prof. Mark Western and Dr. Denise Clague, of the Institute for Social Science Research at the University of Queensland (UQ). Funding from the UQ School of Architecture, UQ Graduate School and Life Course Centre, Brisbane, has supported my research during 2016-2019.

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ABSTRACT

We can better understand *Pasifika* migrant spatial behaviour and their well-being perspectives by observing their use of material culture within their diaspora contexts. Material cultural adaptations in Auckland and Brisbane are reinforced by the urban landscapes and sociocultural interactions taking place within these landscapes. *Pasifika* spatial behaviour displays the way *Pasifika* material culture is valued in building or maintaining meaningful relationships between people, families and communities within private and public spaces. In order to understand the significant links between these material cultural adaptations, spatial behaviour and *Pasifika* well-being, we must also consider the underpinnings of the materials and templates used within each context. Preliminary qualitative findings have been drawn from a wider-scale research project that has explored *Pasifika* Trans-Tasman migrants' perceptions and experiences of well-being during 2015-2018, with a specific focus on Samoan and Tongan diaspora in Auckland and Brisbane.

Keywords: diaspora; cultural; *Pasifika*; tradition; well-being

Suggested citation: Faleolo, R.L. (2019). 'Understanding *Pasifika* Migrant Behaviour and Perspectives of Well-Being in Auckland and Brisbane through Material Cultural Adaptations'. *Life Course Centre Working Paper Series*, 2019-10. Institute for Social Science Research, The University of Queensland.

Introduction

The *Pasifika* diaspora groups of Samoa and Tonga, the focus of this paper, are found in vast interconnected communities in Auckland and Brisbane. They are a part of a larger *Pasifika* collective, still calling their Pacific Islands ‘home’ but living across dispersed settlements within the rim nations of Australia, New Zealand and the United States (Ka‘ili, 2017, pp.21, 52-53,94; Scull, 2004, pp. 53-56). Gershon (2012), elaborates on the significant *Pasifika* family webs that interconnect people in island homelands and diasporas, allowing for the continued exchange and circulation of cultural knowledge and resources (Gershon 2012, pp.39-47). Furthermore, Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009), states that the migration of *Pasifika* from Samoa ‘does not separate ‘āiga [families], but only provides further interconnecting social pathways... social connections, rather than geographic boundaries...are central to Samoan conceptions of movement’ (Lilomaiava-Doktor 2009, p.22).

In this discussion we will consider the important links between *Pasifika* perspectives of well-being and their spatial behaviour that are regularly displayed through material culture and cultural adaptations in diaspora contexts. Abbottⁱ (2013), explores the use of material culture as a fundamental form of ‘cultural expression’ that reflects important societal values and beliefs of those who produce and use the cultural objects created (Abbott 2013, p. 3-4). Van der Grijp (2011, p.277) expands on this notion of material culture by promoting a freedom of expression, affording Tongan creators and artists a flexibility in their identity as *Pasifika*, to redefine their own meanings behind material culture they choose to use. Memmott (2011), in his consideration of the Oceanic cultures, lists a continuum of changes that occur when cultural traditions are reconstructed by *Pasifika*; their traditions and material culture are adapted from both local materials and cultural artefacts based on outlook, cultural interactions, agency and power (Memmott 2011, pp.39-41, 50-51). For the purpose of this discussion, the significance of *Pasifika* material cultural adaptations within the diaspora contexts of Auckland and Brisbane is also viewed on a continuum that both maintains and redefines *Pasifika* material culture; keeping traditional materials, templates and meanings from the Pacific homelands as well as adapting materials, templates and meanings within their diaspora contexts.

The following three sections will provide relevant background, an outline of the methodology used and the preliminary findings. The findings are listed by the types of material culture observed in both Auckland and Brisbane diaspora contexts, presented in six sections. A brief analysis will be provided in each of the sections and a final summary of this discussion is presented in the concluding statements. The aim of this paper is to discuss how *Pasifika* material

culture and spatial behaviour in Auckland and Brisbane are linked to important well-being perspectives that influence how *Pasifika* utilise space and materials in culturally meaningful ways.

Background

Pasifika -- Trans-Tasman migrants

Pasifika is a pan-Pacific identity shared and used by community groups from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Hawai'i, Kiribati, New Zealand, Niue, Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and Tuvalu (McGavin 2014, pp.128-134). Thus, the collective term *Pasifika* is used in this paper to refer to the Samoan and Tongan groups, that the study focuses on, who collectively use this term as a shared identity within the contexts of Auckland and Brisbane. The *Pasifika* Trans-Tasman migration concept used in this paper refers specifically to the movement of *Pasifika* across the Tasman Sea, between Auckland and Brisbane. This movement is a part of a greater Trans-Tasman migration flow of New Zealanders (Green, Power, and Jang 2008, p.35; Poot 2010, pp.319-320). For some of the informants in the study, their movements as *Pasifika* Trans-Tasman migrants, began with the initial migration from Samoa or Tonga, to New Zealand, before further migrating to Australia. From my observations, *Pasifika* movements are neither linear nor mono-directional, rather their migration is continual and circular in some familial and communal groups; some travel regularly to attend important family events, community meetings, church or village-based events in their island homelands or in other diaspora locations (in Australia, New Zealand or the United States of America). This is also asserted by Poot (2010, pp.319-320).

Tradition -- Anga faka-Tonga and Fa'a-Sāmoa

Anga faka-Tonga (the 'Tongan way of life') and *fa'a-Sāmoa* (the 'Samoan way of life') are the combined output or living out of cultural identity and socially accepted norms or traditions (Faleolo 2012, p.8; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2009, p.7). It must be noted that these concepts of 'tradition' are subjectively defined by *Pasifika* who use these concepts of *anga faka-Tonga* and *fa'a-Sāmoa* within a diaspora context (Mila-Schaaf, 2010, pp.246-247, 260-262). This point is discussed further below. Therefore, the use of the term 'traditional' in the discussion of material cultural adaptations will be applied with the understanding that the concept is highly contested. However, it must be stated here that the core 'values' of respect for God and love for family are aspects of both *anga faka-Tonga* and *fa'a-Sāmoa* that are generally accepted by *Pasifika* as 'traditional.'

Methodology

Preliminary qualitative findings have been drawn from a wider-scale research project that has explored *Pasifika* Trans-Tasman migrants' perceptions and experiences of well-being, during 2015-2018, with a specific focus on Samoan and Tongan diaspora in Auckland and Brisbane. This inquiry process has extracted evidence of material cultural adaptations and spatial behaviour that has been observed in both Samoan and Tongan diaspora communities in Auckland and Brisbane.

Recruitment

Key informants from Samoan and Tongan groups were identified from within their '*āiga*,ⁱⁱ *kāinga*,ⁱⁱⁱ or *famili*'^{iv} (nuclear and extended family) and from their public leadership (church leaders, other community group leaders, pastoral and academic leaders in local schools). These key informants helped to initiate a snow ball recruitment of informants for the interviews in 2015 that this paper draws on. From these contacts, 40 interviews were conducted; and from this initial 40, a further 20 were identified for follow-up and in-depth interviews during 2016 and 2017.

Generations of Pasifika migrants

Three migrant generations came to the fore in the interviews undertaken. For the purpose of this study, a first-generation *Pasifika* is defined as a migrant of *Pasifika* descent born in either Samoa or Tonga before migrating abroad. A second-generation *Pasifika* is a migrant born in either New Zealand, Australia or abroad to a first-generation *Pasifika* parent. A third-generation *Pasifika* migrant is defined as a migrant born in either New Zealand, Australia or abroad to a second-generation *Pasifika* migrant parent. The informants referred to as *Pasifika* Trans-Tasman migrants are either first, second or third generation *Pasifika* migrants.

Talanoa and e-Talanoa: an indigenous method of interviewing

In order to capture *Pasifika* voices on their own experiences and perceptions of well-being within the contexts of Auckland and Brisbane, it was important to record their narratives of migration in a culturally responsive way. According to Vaioleti (2006), the two-way interviewing process of *talanoa* (a Tongan method of conversation) is an effective method to use in *Pasifika* contexts (Vaioleti 2006, pp.22-26). *Talanoa* is defined as a form of interaction without a rigid framework (Vaioleti 2016, pp.1-6). Havea (2010, p.14), claims that *talanoa* 'opens sacred texts and traditional values... inviting and permissive... to all participants who

engage one another.’ Thus, *talanoa* is well-suited to this study with *Pasifika* migrants and has been widely accepted as way of gathering in-depth qualitative data across a range of disciplines (Fa’avae, Jones, and Manu’atu 2016, pp.141-143; Halapua 2007, p. 3; Prescott 2008, p.128).

In June to August 2015, 40^v interviews with *Pasifika* Trans-Tasman migrants were carried out using two qualitative approaches: traditional face to face *talanoa* and *e-talanoa*, a unique form of *talanoa* using online forums that removed the inconvenience of time and location. What I term *e-talanoa* was in direct response to the request of the informants. This methodological development provided the flexibility and ease for informants to participate in interviews around their schedules. The *e-talanoa* interviews and online private messenger dialogue occurred over dispersed hours, or several days by email ‘volley’ conversation.^{vi}

Participant-observation in Auckland and Brisbane

Alongside the interviews, participant-observations during 2015-2018 provided a rich collection of photographs and field notes. Participant-observation is a method of data collection that allowed me as the researcher to actively observe and to participate in the daily activities of those under study (Singleton & Straits 2010, p.365). My participant-observations in Auckland and Brisbane took place during 2015-2018. I participated in family events, including a baby shower, funerals, graduation events, birthdays, family barbeques, and family meetings; as well as church events including weekend services, bible study groups and connect group meetings; and an array of community events, including cultural celebrations, sporting events, community forums, and academic celebrations. These events were either organised by *Pasifika* or involved key informants from the study. The Facebook forum and Private Messenger were invaluable platforms used for my virtual participant-observation in family and community discussions, during 2015-2018.

Preliminary Findings

Pasifika perspectives of well-being

Essentially, *Pasifika* are not stand-alone-individuals, but rather an important member of a greater collective that usually form along lines of kinship and genealogy, as well as other sociocultural connections (Ka ‘ili, 2017, pp.52-55; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009, pp.73-77) between their Pacific homelands and diaspora contexts. According to Makasiale (2013), these connections are also spiritual (pp. 277-278). As a result of these connections, *Pasifika*

sociocultural elements have been carried across from Pacific homelands to their diaspora settlements, and then back again in a circular way.

What surfaces in the research is the ‘holistic’ notion of *Pasifika* well-being that has been circulated within the movements and settlements of *Pasifika* diaspora, further adjoining their way of life and worldviews to their homelands. This *Pasifika* notion of ‘a good life’ inspires the spatial behaviour and material cultural adaptations observed within urban spaces used by *Pasifika* in Auckland and Brisbane. *Pasifika* view their ‘well-being’ as more than tangible outcomes or improvements in the life of an individual. What an onlooker may view from the ‘outside’ of Samoan and Tongan worldviews is not always going to match the Western ideologies of ‘a good life.’ The Tongan concept ‘*moui ‘oku lelei*’ and Samoan concept *ola magaia*’ literally translate to the phrase ‘a good and happy life’ but these concepts do not exactly translate to what is ‘good’ and ‘happy’ to those not living with the values systems that drive this *Pasifika* well-being perspective. This notion of a good life, for *Pasifika*, embraces many dimensions of life that are integral to how *Pasifika* people live daily (Faleolo 2016, p.68). *Pasifika* migrants define well-being beyond just a state of physical or emotional health and include important familial and spiritual dimensions that connect them as *Pasifika* people to their extended family networks, their village or church community and further provide avenues for the continuation of cultural ways of living. The following two excerpts reveal these holistic notions of *Pasifika* well-being:

Sione,^{vii} a second-generation Tongan (38 years), in transit between Auckland and Brisbane, based in a Perth mine, explains his understanding of *moui ‘oku lelei*: ‘Being physically and mentally healthy...being able to have quality time and being content with [a] lifestyle that is healthy...happy with family life. Spending time with my family. Staying true to God and my family. Being able to spend my time doing what really matters to me. To be around to meet my grandchildren and to be able to retire from working full-time before I turn 50.’^{viii}

‘Ina,^{ix} a second-generation Samoan (35 years), moved to Brisbane from Auckland in 2015, shares her understanding of *ola magaia*:

‘...having the simple necessities in life to at least be comfortable. Healthy family relationships, being well connected to family. Being physically healthy, able to still do physical activity to feel good and eating well. Being spiritually healthy too,

having that intimate relationship with God. Mentally stable too which I guess ties in with the other three. If one area is lacking, it can affect the others.’

Spiritual well-being: God and church

For many *Pasifika* in Auckland and Brisbane, attending church is not only a spiritual experience but a social experience where weekly church meetings and programs allow families and village members to connect and nurture their cultural way of living based on a shared faith and Christian values system. During field observations it was apparent that the adornment of the church meeting space (whether in an actual dedicated church building, a community hall, a converted carport or hired classroom space) reflected *Pasifika* migrants living out a sacrificial commitment to God. The use of *Pasifika* fine mats and traditional materials that would cost hundreds and sometimes thousands of dollars (within the church setting in Auckland and Brisbane) is an indicator of the high significance that *Pasifika* place on their spiritual well-being. Giving their best items and best efforts to the church, to the pastors or ministers, and to the functions and duties performed within the church meeting spaces reflect what is of important to *Pasifika* migrants who attend churches within Auckland and Brisbane. Makasiale (2013), advocates that ‘spirituality...is a dynamic, guiding light in all aspects of life for the Pacific person’ (Makasiale 2013, p.277).

Familial well-being: nuclear and extended families

Pasifika well-being can be better understood when seen from a point of solidarity; the collective aspect of a *Pasifika* worldview anchors their well-being behaviours. Auckland-based and Brisbane-based *Pasifika* prioritise the family -- *famili/kāinga* (Tongan term for family and extended family circle) or ‘*āiga* (Samoan term for family including extended family). For many of the informants in the study, their references to family included the nuclear as well as extended under the term *famili* and ‘*āiga*. The progress of *famili* and ‘*āiga* are important considerations that sit at the core of *Pasifika* decision-making. What is highlighted in the research is that well-being aims such as ‘getting better’ or ‘better job opportunities,’ although seemingly individualistic well-being aims, are means to providing for and maintaining ‘familial’ connections that are very important to the well-being of *Pasifika* migrants in Auckland and Brisbane.

Material cultural adaptations in Auckland and Brisbane

The adaptation of material culture^x in Auckland and Brisbane reflects the desire of most *Pasifika* migrants to either maintain ‘traditional’ templates, materials or meanings alongside an improved well-being in their newfound homes in diaspora contexts. There were six types of material cultural adaptation and spatial behaviour observed in both the Samoan and Tongan diaspora communities of Auckland and Brisbane. These were:

1. Traditional materials used in traditional spaces with traditional meanings
2. Traditional materials used in adapted spaces with traditional meanings
3. Traditional materials used in adapted spaces with redefined meanings
4. Adapted materials using traditional templates with traditional meanings
5. Adapted materials using adapted templates with traditional meanings
6. Adapted spaces using traditional templates with redefined meanings

Evidence of traditional materials used in traditional spaces with traditional meanings.

Figure 2 shows the use of *ta’ovala* (Tongan mats; woven from *lou’akau*, also known as pandanus leaves, or hibiscus *tiliceus*^{xi} plant material; worn around the waist as sign of cultural respect in daily work life, required especially at public formal events) and *ngatu* (Tongan bark-cloth made from mulberry tree material, used for traditional daily use, including ceremonies) at a Tongan funeral in Auckland. The traditional materials are both worn and placed on the floor for those attending the funeral to sit on. The woman seated on the chair is known as the *fahu* (eldest sister of the deceased) and is the most important member attending this event, other than the pastors of the church that the deceased belongs to. The *ta’ovala* worn by those in mourning shows respect to the family and to the deceased family member. Whilst the use of a mat on the floor is a gesture of cultural hospitality given by the family hosting the funeral in their home.

Figure 2. Photo of traditional materials used in a funeral in Auckland.^{xii}



Figure 3 shows the traditional use of fine mats, in this context known as *ta'ovala*, and adornments in the *teunga* (dance costumes) of Tongan dancers and clothing worn by Tongan women in Brisbane. The Tongan traditional *tauolunga*^{xiii} (a celebratory dance strictly performed by unmarried Tongan women or virgins) presented in this photo, shows the main female dancer at the front of the group, wearing a wrap-around *kie tonga* (Tongan fine mat made from the kie pandanus leaves in single weave) of the highest quality. She is supported by male dancers who stand behind, also adorned in *teunga* of wrap-around *ngatu*. The married folk freely encircle these young performers in dance, merriment and singing. This dance was performed as a gesture of gratitude to members of the community attending the *misinale* (annual thanksgiving event and church fundraising for the costs of managing the church building and programmes).

Figure 3. Photo of traditional materials used in Tongan dance and church event in Brisbane.^{xiv}



Evidence of traditional materials used in adapted spaces with traditional meanings.

Figure 4 shows the use of traditional *'ie lavalava* (an article of clothing traditionally worn by Samoan people) in the setting of a school assembly celebrating Samoan culture in Auckland. This school is unique in that they have a Samoan bi-lingual learning programme that both supports the embrace of *faa-Sāmoa* and nurturing of *Gagana Sāmoa* (Samoan Language) in the curriculum, alongside the use of New Zealand English language.

Figure 5 shows the use of *kie tonga* and *ngatu* used as *pale* (rewards or gifts) for important guests attending a family celebration in Brisbane. This celebration marked the completion and award of a doctoral degree for a graduate and member of this multicultural family (Fijian, Samoan, Tongan) event. The *pale* was gifted to the family *fahu* and academic advisory team that supervised the graduate's thesis work, from the university. These traditional Tongan gifts were presented during the celebration held in a Brisbane hotel and restaurant space that was booked for the event.

Figure 4. Photo of traditional materials used in a school assembly in Auckland.^{xv}



Figure 5. Photo of traditional materials used in a family graduation celebration in Brisbane.^{xvi}



Evidence of traditional materials used in adapted spaces with redefined meanings.

Figure 6 shows the use of traditional *ta'ovala* as part of the Tongan teunga used by students and traditional Tongan attire worn by family and school community members during this event in Auckland. The purpose of these students performing is both to represent their cultural heritage in a diaspora context, as well as to represent their school in a highly acclaimed event. The school competition is held on an annual basis in Auckland at the council grounds and is sponsored by corporate bodies, including the schools that are represented each year. In 2018, during this event shown, a total of 87 groups performed representing 26 different cultures.

Figure 6. Photo of traditional materials used by Auckland students in school competition.^{xvii}



Figure 7 shows the use of traditional *kie tonga* and *ngatu* as part of a backdrop used for photographs taken to celebrate the milestone achieved by a Tongan high school graduate in Brisbane. The formal graduation event is highly celebrated by Brisbane diaspora. This is not a traditional event celebrated in Tonga, although the accomplishment of a formal education in Tonga is highly esteemed by families and villages alike. So, it is with this intent that the

edification of this young woman, pictured beside her chaperone to the school graduation formal event, has been honoured in a culturally meaningful way.

Figure 7. Photo of the use of ngatu and kie tonga in a Brisbane graduation event.^{xviii}



Evidence of adapted materials using traditional templates with traditional meanings.

Figure 8 shows the use of adapted textiles in traditional *ta'ovala* style clothing used in Auckland as well as the adapted types of clothing used in a multicultural diaspora context. This image shows the solidarity between a Samoan and a Tongan member of the community whilst attending a memorial service held at the local high school. Although it is traditional for Samoans to wear white at their funeral events, the Samoan woman on the left chose to wear a black dress to show respect in this setting. Similarly, the Tongan woman on the right is wearing a new style of *ta'ovala* with traditional black clothing; a sign of her respect for the occasion. The availability of *ta'ovala* made from adapted materials, sold in local textile stores in Auckland, has created a fashionable trend amongst Tongan diaspora.

Figure 8. Photo of the use of adapted materials in paying of respects to deceased in an Auckland school memorial service.^{xix}



Figure 9 shows the use of adapted materials to present cultural designs commonly used in body tattoos and *ngatu* or *siapo* (Samoan tapa-cloth made from mulberry bark) designs. This Pacific-style artwork is displayed in a Samoan home in Brisbane. The designs borrowed from cultural traditions used by Samoan *tatau* (tattoos) artists are used in this three-piece artwork. What is unique about this artwork is the evident influence of the diaspora context on her designs borrowed from Tongan and Fijian traditional patterns. The artwork produced by this artist is sold to an online multicultural customer base, with high demand for merged Pacific designs; especially popular in the *Pasifika* diaspora communities in New Zealand, United States as well as Australia.

Figure 9. Photo of the use of adapted materials in Samoan artwork displayed in a Brisbane home.^{xx}



Evidence of adapted materials using adapted templates with traditional meanings.

Figure 10 shows the adapted use of *tatau* designs on a community sculpture in an Auckland shopping mall. The Samoan artist contributed these designs to a shared collective mural displaying other *Pasifika* and Maori artwork. The significance of this mural and sculpture is that it signifies a shared pan-Pacific identity in the diaspora context of Auckland. It also conveys the continued cultural values of *vā* (relational social space between two or more people) and relational respect for each person being a part of the whole community. The traditional uses of the Samoan *tatau* design are displays of heritage and identity in a bodily form. However, this adapted use of the designs, seen in this image, portrays a desire from the artist to share this heritage and identity with the community, on a public sculptural platform; that speaks of the essence of this multicultural community which embraces all types of peoples with all forms of cultural representation. As this sculptural project was funded by the city council, this creative representation of Samoan culture in this Auckland community speaks volumes of the positive embrace and outlook of New Zealand society on multiculturalism that includes Pacific peoples.

Figure 10. Photo showing the use of *tatau* designs on a community sculpture in Auckland.^{xxi}

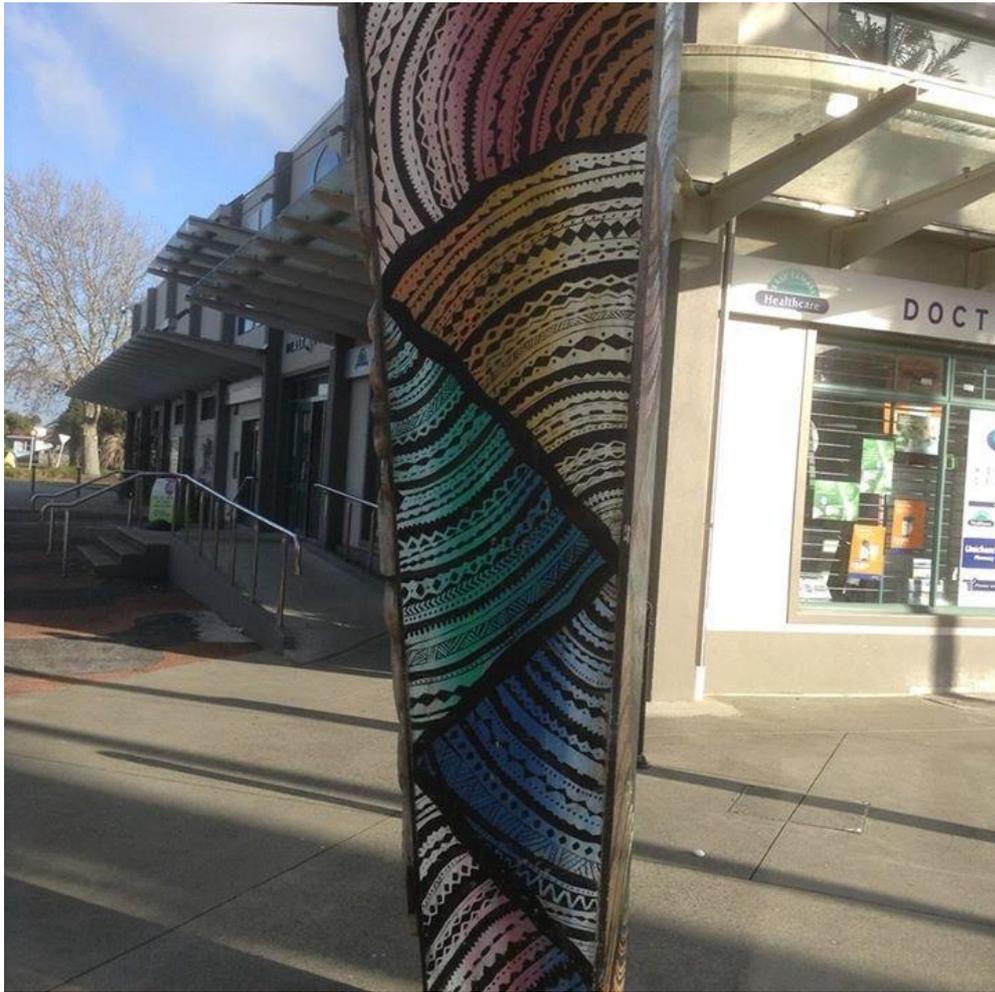


Figure 11 shows the use of *Pasifika* designs, like the Fijian, Tongan and Samoan *tatau* designs, the t-shirts represent a cultural heritage that is carried by the students wearing their cultural group t-shirts with their school and community in Brisbane. The t-shirts are promoted as part of the school cultural group affiliation and is worn by students of Maori and *Pasifika* heritage at the school. This image was taken during the attendance of students at an annual cultural event celebrating cultures in the city, organised by community youth leaders and hosted at the council events centre.

Figure 11. Photo showing use of tatau design on t-shirts worn by Pasifika and Maori students in Brisbane.^{xxii}



Evidence of adapted spaces using traditional templates with redefined meanings.

Figure 12 shows the use of tarpaulin and scaffolding to create extended seating areas at the home of the deceased. The Tongan women in the photograph are singing from a shared Tongan hymn book. This singing will be carried through the night until day, often repeated for several days, by *famili* or *kainga* attending round the clock vigils. Therefore, this yard space will be used in this way an extended amount of time, both before and after the burial (family prayer week after the burial). Note that this event took place during winter months in New Zealand, therefore, it was important to provide enclosed spaces for those attending the funeral.

Figure 12. Photo shows the adapted use of a home in Auckland for a Tongan family funeral.^{xxiii}



Figure 13. Photo shows the conversion of a backyard space of a Brisbane family home, for the extension of covered areas used in a family event.^{xxiv}



Figure 13 shows the conversion of a backyard space in a Brisbane home re-purposed for a Tongan family celebration. It provided guests attending the event with plenty of room to sit, eat

and talk. This converted space was also used after the event by extended family visiting from New Zealand as extra living areas during the day. Providing *famili* or *kainga* with a place to stay during their visits from overseas is expected in *anga faka-Tonga*. This is part of a reciprocity in the cultural way of giving and receiving. The favour is always returned when the one travels to visit the other. Like the Samoan collective way of living, *fa'a-Sāmoa*, the Tongan families nurture their familial relationships by providing for the needs of others when they can.

Conclusions

This paper has presented the many ways that *Pasifika* living in, and migrating between, Auckland and Brisbane diaspora contexts express their collective, spiritual and cultural well-being perspectives. Their desire as Samoan and Tongan migrants is to maintain an aspect of their cultural traditions, whether in materials used, templates adopted, or meanings carried from their homelands.

The significance of the evidence presented in this discussion is that although material cultural adaptations are made within adapted spaces, and often redefined meanings; these processes draw upon values systems that guide *Pasifika* peoples towards a state of equilibrium within diaspora contexts. They do this by utilising the available resources within these contexts, as well as drawing upon their own resources from traditional homelands. The continued use of traditional materials, ideas and methods are part and parcel of *Pasifika* cultural, familial, social and spiritual well-being within the diaspora contexts of Auckland and Brisbane. The Samoan and Tongan material cultural adaptations and spatial behaviour observed and recorded within the Auckland and Brisbane diaspora are underpinned by their well-being perspectives that are founded on age-old traditional guidelines of *anga faka-Tonga* and *fa'a-Sāmoa*. How a *Pasifika* perceives and references these sets of values and beliefs within their heart and mind, determines the way they select and interweave materials, templates and meanings of material culture and social spaces. These adaptations are usually formed with the desire to maintain meaningful, collective progress.

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Endnotes

ⁱ Refer also to Schlereth (1989) as cited in Abbott (2013, 3-4).

ⁱⁱ 'āiga is a Samoan term that is used to refer to the extended family or community within a social context, e.g. school, church, village, online global community etc.

ⁱⁱⁱ kāinga is a Tongan term that is used to refer to the extended family or community within a social context, e.g. school, church, village, online global community etc.

^{iv} famili is a Tongan term that is used widely to refer to family; a reference to family circle that is usually inclusive of nuclear and extended family groups.

^v 40 initial interviews were collected in 2015. These interviews led to follow-up, and in some cases more-in-depth, talanoa and e-talanoa during 2015-2018. At the start of the interviews in 2015, most informants were already living in Brisbane with the remaining interviews conducted with informants yet to have made the move but were planning to do so at the time. By 2016, five of the Auckland-based informants and one based in-transit from Perth were in Brisbane.

^{vi} I have termed this email 'volley' to describe the 'to' and 'fro' pattern of conversation that was happening over the internet during the e-talanoa sessions that would often take several days between questions and answers, responses and feedback. Note that during both emails and private messenger conversations, as well as during face-to-face talanoa, the informant would ask me (researcher) questions that I would then respond to in order to continue the dialogue. I was always open to allowing informants ask questions of me. Informants were given the control during part of the conversation in order to create a *vā* of mutual respect and understanding. Often their questions were asked in order to find out more about me as the researcher or to double-check that I had understood them. This 'to' and 'fro' and 'volley' process of e-talanoa has allowed for a more in-depth dialogue between my informants and me.

^{vii} Sione, is a second-generation Pasifika migrant; a man of Tongan descent (aged 38 years at the time of initial interview), who was in transit between Auckland and Brisbane, and was based in Perth at the time of the e-talanoa. He had moved there with his family from Auckland for a job in the mines.

^{viii} At the time of writing this paper, on follow-up talanoa with Sione, he and his family had successfully migrated to Brisbane after purchasing a family home. Sione continues to fly out to the mines and makes plans to leave this form of employment in exchange for a family business based in Brisbane.

^{ix} 'Ina is a second-generation Pasifika migrant; a woman of Samoan descent (aged 35 years at the time of initial interview), who was based in Brisbane, recently moved from Auckland. At the time of e-talanoa, 'Ina had been living in Brisbane less than 12 months. This excerpt was taken from the e-talanoa carried out on the Facebook Private Messenger forum and was her response to the prompt concerning her understanding of a 'good and happy life,' *ola magaia*.

^x Due to the lack of access to fine mats, tapa cloths and traditional materials used to create crafts traditionally used, these items can often cost double or triple the price of purchase in Brisbane compared to the price of purchase

in the island homelands. For instance, a fine mat that would cost \$300 in Tonga could be purchased in Australia for \$1000 depending on how decorative the piece becomes after being transferred from the original weaver (village-based entrepreneur) through the networks of Pasifika diaspora that use, adorn and pass on the mat. By the time a mat has arrived in Australia through the process of gift exchange (usually at birthdays, weddings and funerals) the mat may have been further adorned with decorative feathers and newly woven *kulasi* (coloured yarn), and this would increase the value of a fine mat dramatically from the time it was first woven. Not to mention this item is in high demand in diaspora communities because of the lack of it and the high expense of transporting the weighty materials from the homelands.

- ^{xi} Made in Tonga, para.13 < <http://www.madeintonga.com/products/c/82/Weaving> > accessed 22/04/2019
- ^{xii} Figure 2: Fahu at Tongan Funeral in Auckland. Photo by Hangale Tuifua, 29/06/2018.
- ^{xiii} Similar to the Samoan *siva taualuga* (celebratory dance at the completion of a building or at the end of a great event, usually performed by virgins or women of high rank).
- ^{xiv} Figure 3: Tongan dancers and church women wear traditional attire in Brisbane. Photo by Ruth Faleolo, 29/10/2016.
- ^{xv} Figure 4: Photo of Samoan students performing in traditional dance attire at school assembly. Photo by Hellen Seiuli, 08/06/2015.
- ^{xvi} Figure 5: A family graduation celebration in Brisbane using Tongan mats. Photo by Hangale Tuifua, 11/12/2016.
- ^{xvii} Figure 6: Auckland Tongan dancers at school competition. Photo by Iunisi Paea, 21/03/2018.
- ^{xviii} Figure 7: Photo of Brisbane Graduates' Ball event. Photo by Evelini Mele Ueseleumu Mafile'o, 14/11/2018.
- ^{xix} Figure 8: Photo of Samoan and Tongan community members attending a memorial service in solidarity in Auckland. Photo by Hellen Seiuli, 17/06/2016.
- ^{xx} Figure 9: Photo showing Samoan Artwork in a Brisbane home. Photo by Teleise Lesa Neemia, 23/11/2018.
- ^{xxi} Figure 10: Photo of sculpture covered in Samoan tatau designs painted by Samoan artist as community mural contribution. Photo by Israel Tuimanu'a Viliami Faleolo, 08/07/2015.
- ^{xxii} Figure 11: Photo showing students wearing cultural group t-shirts provided by the school as a way of identifying their cultural affiliation. Photo by Ruth Faleolo, 16/10/2017.
- ^{xxiii} Figure 12: Photo shows the use of tarpaulin and scaffolding to create an extended covered space for those attending a family funeral in Auckland. Photo by Hangale Tuifua, 29/06/2018.
- ^{xxiv} Figure 13: Photo shows the use of a backyard to provide spaces for guests attending a family event in Brisbane. Photo by Ruth Faleolo, 10/04/2016.