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Well-Being and Labour Mobility Experiences of Pasifika Trans-Tasman Migrants in Auckland and Brisbane

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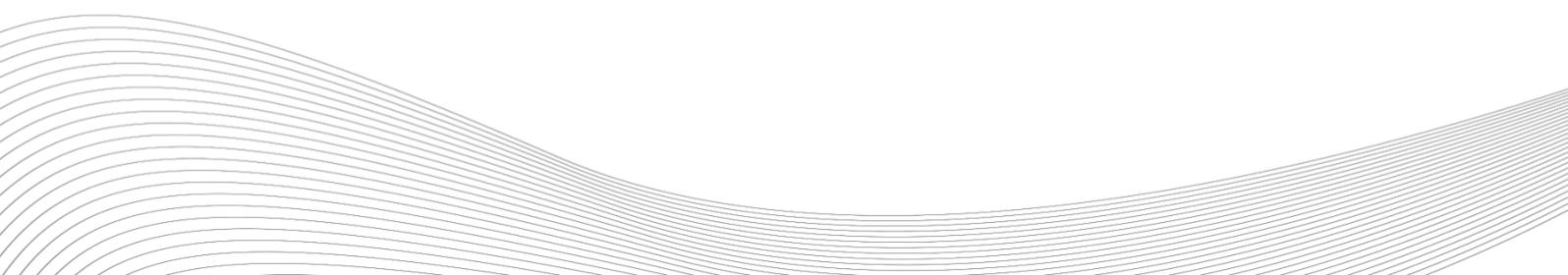
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NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

My PhD study focuses on the well-being of Samoan and Tongan groups living in, and moving between, Auckland and Brisbane. This research seeks to capture the voices, perceptions and experiences of these migrants using a mixed methods approach (both qualitative and quantitative data) that incorporates indigenous research methods (Pacific Island frameworks based on cultural knowledge and protocols). This working paper presents a viewpoint on the labour mobility experiences of Pasifika diaspora in Auckland and Brisbane. This discussion was initially presented at the AAPS 'Tides of Transformation' conference held in Cairns (1-3 April 2016) to a panel: 'Mobile Labour, Mobile Lives.' The paper was further developed and presented at a workshop symposium: 'Labour Lines: Indigenous and Pacific Islander Experiences of Labour Mobility in Australia,' hosted by Deakin University in Melbourne (22-23 June 2017).

This paper discusses the Pasifika notions of well-being that have influenced their decisions on where, and how, they will participate in the labour market. This discussion contributes to the current advocacy for a more contextualised and holistic consideration of well-being within well-being literature. This paper offers a conceptualisation of well-being that has been defined by *Pasifika* themselves. This definition of well-being relates to the Tongan concept of *moui 'oku lelei* and the Samoan concept of *ola magaia*; both holistic notions of 'a good and happy life.' This is an important acknowledgement of indigenous knowledges within the well-being dialogue. This paper further highlights the importance of familial connections across *Pasifika* diaspora communities in Australia and New Zealand.

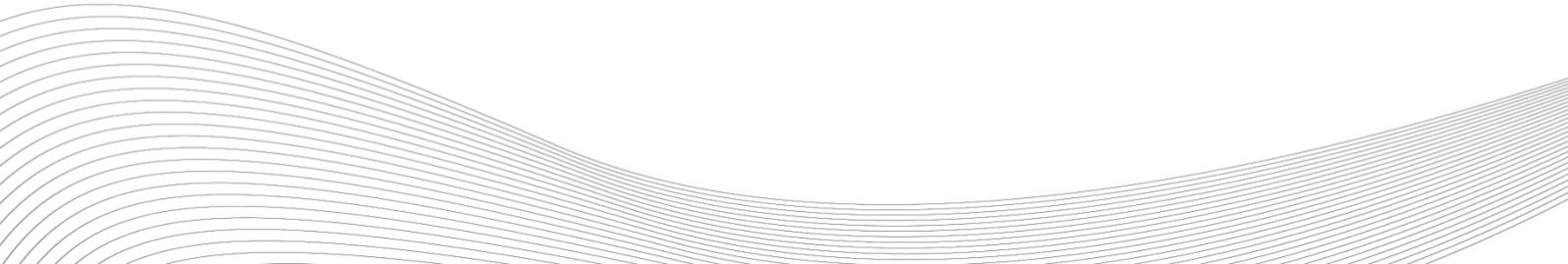


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Ruth (Lute) Faleolo is a PhD candidate with the Aboriginal Environments Research Centre (AERC), and Institute for Social Science Research (ISSR) - Life Course Centre (LCC), at the University of Queensland. As a New Zealand-born Tongan and Pasifika academic, Ruth has a passion for the empowerment of indigenous and migrant communities through social, economic and cultural development. Ruth's research seeks to accurately record Pasifika voices on well-being and migration; to analyse the salient links between well-being perspectives, experiences and Trans-Tasman migration. Email: ruth.faleolo@uqconnect.edu.au

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ABSTRACT

There is an ever-growing number of Pasifika migrants, leaving New Zealand and choosing to live and work in Australia, particularly in Queensland and more specifically Brisbane. However, there is little in-depth documentation of the underlying reasons for this movement and even less understanding of their Pasifika labour mobility experiences, although many newspaper articles allude to the fact that Australian-bound New Zealanders, including Pasifika, are leaving for employment reasons. I would suggest that we can gain a more accurate understanding of Pasifika Trans-Tasman migration by capturing their migration and well-being narratives. This paper will present preliminary findings from 40 interviews conducted in 2015 with first, second and third generation Pasifika migrants of Samoan and Tongan descent who were engaged in Trans-Tasman migration, between Auckland and Brisbane. Furthermore, this paper will provide results drawn from a survey of Pasifika well-being collected in 2016, from 670 Pasifika of Samoan and Tongan descent, living in Auckland and Brisbane.

Keywords: Auckland; Brisbane; labour mobility; Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants; well-being perspectives

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Introduction

With an increasing number of Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants moving from New Zealand to settle long-term in Australia,ⁱ particularly related to labour mobility,ⁱⁱ it is important that we consider the perspectives and experiences of the Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants themselves. Their well-being perspectives influence their decisions on where and how they will participate in the labour market, whether in New Zealand or Australia. The narratives documented in this paper reveal the advantages and disadvantages experienced in Auckland and Brisbane that have influenced the relocation of several Pasifika from Auckland to Brisbane. This paper will present preliminary findings from a larger study that carried out 40 interviews in 2015 with first, second and third generation Pasifika migrants of Samoan and Tongan descent who were engaged in Trans-Tasman migration, between Auckland and Brisbane. Furthermore, this paper will provide results on a survey of Pasifika well-being collected in 2016, from 670 Pasifika of Samoan and Tongan descent, living in Auckland and Brisbane.

New Zealand historian Hamer acknowledges that ‘...the perspectives of Pacific people who have migrated to Australia from New Zealand...need[s] to be recorded on this subject...’ (2014: 94). Furthermore, Australian social scientist Ravulo, points out that there is ‘...limited research on Pacific communities within an Australia[n] context...’ (2015:6). Therefore, in response to the cue from Hamer and Ravulo, this paper aims to fill the void by presenting the voices of first, second and third generationⁱⁱⁱ Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants. This paper will also provide a socio-cultural explanation of the contemporary Trans-Tasman migration of Pasifika people between the labour markets of Australia and New Zealand.

Background

According to Mila-Schaaf (2010: 22-23), the word *Pasifika* is the transliteration of the word Pacific which has developed in a localised Aotearoa context, coined by New Zealand-born Pacific Islanders. Pasifika is a pan-Pacific Islander 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: 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 Pasifika as a shared identity of belonging to the Pacific Island nations.

The Pasifika Trans-Tasman migration concept in this paper refers specifically to the process of movement of Pasifika across the Tasman Sea, between Auckland and Brisbane. This movement is a part of a greater Trans-Tasman migration flow that is discussed in depth by

several studies (Green, Power & Jang 2008, Poot 2010). According to Poot, since the late 1960s, there has been a consistent increase in Trans-Tasman migration whereby in 2009 it was recorded that 35,400 New Zealanders were living in Australia (2010: 320). Green, et al. explains that due to New Zealand and Australia's close proximity, both in location and in cultural connections, New Zealanders 'sometimes become migrants by default' when they choose to remain in Australia after a temporary visit (2008: 35).

According to Hamer^{iv}, since the mid-1990s, the number of New Zealand-born Pasifika arriving in Australia has exceeded the arrival numbers of Pasifika born in the Pacific Islands (2014: 113). Similarly, the number of New Zealand-born Pasifika arriving in Brisbane continues to add to the high numbers of Pasifika dwelling in this region (Ravulo 2015: 4-5). A New Zealand documentary series 'Second Migration of Pacific People' by Tagata Pasifika identifies Queensland as the new 'land of milk and honey' for New Zealand Pasifika seeking improved lifestyles in Australia. Currently, Queensland^v is home to the largest cluster of Pasifika in Australia, with a total of 102, 320 Pasifika living there.

The phenomena of Pasifika people migrating away from their Pacific homelands, in search of new opportunities and resources, has been happening for centuries (Keck & Schieder 2015:116). Pasifika movements during 1950s –1990s from the Pacific Islands directly to Pacific Rim countries like New Zealand and Australia have been well-documented although mostly from a political and economic angle (Ahlburg & Brown 1998, Bedford 2007, Brown & Walker 1995). The contemporary interaction of New Zealanders within their Trans-Tasman migration, with Indigenous Australia has also been considered by various studies (George 2014, Hamer, 2009, Henare-Solomona 2012). The more recent occurrences seen in the 1990s onwards, of Pasifika migrating across the Tasman Sea from New Zealand to Australia, is a continuation of the journey taken by Pasifika that began with their initial movements from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand (Bedford 2007, Bedford 2009, Vause 2010).

Countries like New Zealand and Australia beckon those Pasifika in search of opportunities. According Haig (2010) the numbers of New Zealanders working in Australia since the 1960s indicates that migration flows between the two countries have moved strongly in Australia's favour. Haig explains that the relative economic conditions between the two countries over the past forty years have been the main cause of a high net migration loss to Australia. The strong pull of employment opportunities paired with proximity between New Zealand and Australia encourages New Zealanders (including Pasifika) to move across with

ease.

There has also been a broadening of Australia's immigration policies since the mid-1970s that allowed for new groups of migrants arriving from all parts of the world, including the noticeable increase in the numbers of Pasifika arriving from New Zealand since the 1990s. Both the Australian Bureau of Statistics and Statistics New Zealand department report high concentrations of Pasifika peoples residing in Auckland and Brisbane. In fact, Auckland is home to 194,958 Pasifika, which is 66% of New Zealand's total Pasifika population (Statistics NZ^{vi}). Similarly, Queensland is home to the largest cluster of Pasifika in Australia, with a total of 102,320 Pasifika residing in the state, and 61% of this Pasifika population concentrated in the Brisbane area (ABS 2016). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2015) recorded an increased growth rate in Brisbane's population compared to other capital cities in Australia. Between 2012 and 2013, the population of Greater Brisbane increased by 45,100 people, which is more than half of the overall increase in population in Queensland during this time. The research acknowledges that historically the greatest concentration of Samoan and Tongan Pasifika groups in Australia are in the state of New South Wales (Ravulo 2015:5), however, the decision to study the Samoan and Tongan Pasifika groups migrating to the state of Queensland was based on the observations of key informants of the increased influx of Samoan and Tongan families from other states in Australia, including New South Wales, into Queensland. Further to this, the New Zealand based documentary series 'Second Migration of Pacific People' by Tagata Pasifika identifies Brisbane, Queensland as the new "land of milk and honey" for Auckland Pasifika seeking improved lifestyles across the Tasman Sea in Australia.

There is a wealth of literature outlining the political and economic views behind the Trans-Tasman movement of Pasifika. Haig (2010) provides an economic focused report of the New Zealand diaspora (including Pasifika) working across the 'ditch' in Australia since the 1970s (Bedford 2004), and Ho, Hugo and Bedford (2003) have carried out quantitative work based on the movements of New Zealanders (including Pasifika) to Australia before and after Australia's social security policy in 2001. Hamer (2014) examines the history of policy changes in both New Zealand and Australia towards the Pasifika people and the challenges placed on their migratory movements across the Tasman. These changes in policy are linked to the public and media concern for the increased immigration of Pasifika (Bedford 2004). Bedford (2009) emphasises the negative stereotyping of Pasifika in New Zealand contexts, with the usual focus on social and economic disparity; Ravulo (2015) equally acknowledges that previous research on Pasifika in Australian contexts is often limited to a focus on Pasifika over-representation in

anti-social behaviour and crime. In both New Zealand and Australia, there are debates about Pasifika participation in the national sports arena, namely rugby union and rugby league (Lakisa, Adair & Taylor 2014, Kanemasu & Molnar 2012). Surveys have been carried out in New South Wales in the 1990s considering the economic behaviour of Tongan and Samoan households, including the remittance of goods and money to their Pacific Island nations of Tonga and Samoa (Brown & Walker 1995). Overall, the literature continues to analyse Pasifika without considering their underlying reasons for their economic behaviour or their perspectives on the Trans-Tasman migration from New Zealand to Australia.

Before I proceed with the paper, it is important to ‘situate myself’ in the research that I am carrying out as this will in some ways influence the way the findings will be analysed and presented here. Smith (2012) urges us as researchers to ‘situate’ ourselves within the indigenous research contexts that we study. Smith advocates for the importance of being ‘visible’ in our positioning ‘relative to our research’ (2012: 12-16). As a Pasifika researcher, I agree with this notion. I am of Tongan descent, born and raised in New Zealand and I am married to a Samoan, also born and raised in New Zealand. Our family (including five children of Samoan and Tongan descent all born in New Zealand) would identify ourselves as Pasifika.

The interest I have in the links between the well-being and migration of Pasifika has grown over time, while living in Auckland, from personal observations to research inquiry. From 2003 to 2015, in my role as a secondary school Geography teacher in South Auckland, I have observed the significant links between the well-being of my Pasifika students, their families and the transient nature of the Pasifika community in South Auckland. While working closely with families and students over these years, as a pastoral care leader in the school, I gained further insight into the familial networks that existed across the Tasman Sea, for many families. Over the years I witnessed the departure of several Pasifika students and their families from South Auckland to the urban areas of Australia (mainly Brisbane and Sydney) either on a temporary basis or permanently. My follow-up work with these families revealed that most had found success in gaining employment and opportunities, in Australia, that had been otherwise difficult to achieve in South Auckland.

More recently my own journey has bolstered this interest in understanding the Trans-Tasman migration process and its links to my own family’s well-being. In December 2015 my family and I made the ‘big move’ from Auckland to Brisbane; my family’s story of migration forms part of my research observation as an ‘insider’ Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrant.

Methodology

In June to July 2015, 40 *talanoa*^{vii} (narrative-style interviews) with Pasifika based in Auckland and Brisbane 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 Pasifika informants in both Auckland and Brisbane; e-Talanoa is more suitable to their normal way of communicating online with their family and friends. According to Latu (2009) it is important to base talanoa in an environment which is conducive to good discussions, as talanoa is aided by an environment where the participants feel comfortable. This methodological development provided the flexibility and ease for informants to participate; the benefit of e-Talanoa is that the research took place in and around the ‘realities’ and daily lives of the informants. Several of the e-Talanoa took place with informants while they tended to their chores or while waiting for a train. In essence the informants were in control of their time to respond to prompts throughout the interviews. Although a handful of face-to-face meetings were carried out with informants who preferred this mode of communication, several of the interviews occurred over dispersed hours, or a number of days, online via Facebook private message conversation or by email ‘volley’ conversation. Both modes of Talanoa and e-Talanoa interviewing provided valuable insight into the views held by Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants about their well-being and experiences of well-being in Auckland and/or Brisbane. However, e-Talanoa gave informants more time to contemplate their response before having to write it (in messenger or email).

The initial interviews focused on the Samoan and Tongan migrant populations that had migrated from Auckland to Brisbane^{viii}. However, within the initial stages of talanoa and e-Talanoa, it became evident that there were variations in the stages of migration from Auckland to Brisbane that the study needed to take into consideration. Therefore, four categorical movements belonging to the Pasifika Trans-Tasman groups of migrants in the study have been identified. These four groups experienced varying levels of labour mobility: ‘A’ category informants were those (at the time of interview) planning to migrate to Brisbane from Auckland (today, some of these are still pending), ‘B’ category informants were those that had already migrated to Brisbane from Auckland, ‘C’ category informants were those that (at the time of the interview) were ‘in transit’ between Auckland and Brisbane via another city in New Zealand or Australia, and ‘D’ category informants were those that had decided to return to Auckland from Brisbane. These interviews highlighted the importance of hearing the stories behind the

Pasifika Trans-Tasman migration process, and hearing ‘their’ interpretation of what migration meant for them and their families’ well-being and progress. When we have a better understanding of the Pasifika terminology like ‘well-being’ and ‘progress’ used by the Pasifika migrants to discuss Trans-Tasman migration, we gain a better understanding of the underlying values that drive migration between New Zealand and Australia.

In 2016, 409 Auckland-based surveys were conducted in the months of March-April 2016 and 285 Brisbane-based surveys were conducted in the months of August-October 2016^{ix}. These surveys were carried out with Samoan and Tongan migrants either residing in Auckland at the time of data collection, or in Brisbane at the time of data collection. The purpose of these surveys was to gather both quantitative and qualitative information about Pasifika perceptions of well-being and Pasifika experiences of well-being. The Auckland-based participants in the survey data collection did not necessarily need to be considering transit, nor did the Brisbane-based participants in the survey data collection need to have made the transit, between Auckland and Brisbane. The reason for ‘throwing the net wide’ in this instance of the data collection was to obtain a better understanding of what Pasifika are thinking about well-being and whether the experiences of well-being in Auckland or Brisbane have any links to the transit of Pasifika across the Tasman Sea or not. In particular, the study examined the relationship between Pasifika people’s well-being concepts, their motivation to migrate (or not migrate) and their expectations of well-being fulfilment in Australia.

Preliminary Findings Discussed

What has emerged from the interviews and surveys is a shared Pasifika view that ‘well-being’ means more than tangible outcomes or improvements in the life of an individual. The Tongan concept *moui ‘oku lelei* and Samoan concept of *ola magaia* literally translates to the phrase ‘a good and happy life’ but these concepts embrace many dimensions of life that are integral to how Pasifika people live on a daily basis. Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants define well-being beyond just a state of physical or emotional health and include important familial and spiritual dimensions. The following two excerpts reveal these holistic notions of Pasifika well-being:

Sione^x, second-generation Tongan (38 years), in transit between Auckland and Brisbane, based in a Perth mine^{xi}, 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.’

‘Ina^{xii}, 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.’

For the purpose of this paper, we will focus on how Pasifika prioritise the core dimension of ‘family’ -- *fāмили* (Tongan) and ‘*āiga* (Samoan) – in Pasifika well-being influences their decision-making to migrate. The progress of *fāмили* and ‘*āiga* are important considerations that sit at the core of Pasifika when they plan to migrate; the desire of Pasifika to improve *fāмили* or ‘*āiga* through processes like Trans-Tasman migration. The following excerpts show that the desired outcome of further opportunities obtained through migration is the improved well-being of a family:

‘Alisi^{xiii} is a first-generation Tongan (48 years), who had just started up a family courier (delivery) franchise while studying part-time towards a Business Diploma in Brisbane. ‘Alisi share her hopes for *mou i ‘oku lelei*:

‘My goal is to carry on with my education here in Brisbane. I believe that a better education will help me to reach my goals for a good life here with my family...I’ve been in the factory all my life, and I have to struggle with it...when I reach a higher education, I will achieve higher goals, because the higher I go, the better it will be for my family and a happy life for us, *mou i ‘oku lelei*...yeah, I’ve been working in the factory all my life, but when I get to a level 3 certificate in my business studies, I can get a better job, so I know that if I keep on studying I will get a better job...’

Sinamoni^{xiv}, second-generation Tongan (31 years) migrated from New Zealand in 2011, describes her experience of *mou i ‘oku lelei*:

‘I like my life here in Brisbane, I wanted to be in Brisbane for education and work experience because it is a great stepping stone to the global places like America...I like that you can make out of life what you want here in Brisbane, it’s like a blank piece of paper, it’s a freedom that I get being in a place of opportunities, just make what you want of it. Money is good here, better than in Auckland...and there is a greater margin of savings here... I think that people are more fulfilled here because they’ve come here, and they are being creative. It makes me and my husband feel alive to set financial goals, achieve them and then plan the next goal, it builds our self-esteem as a family. There is a faith we have here in this country that “you can do it”, we have a greater chance of achieving our goals here as a family.’

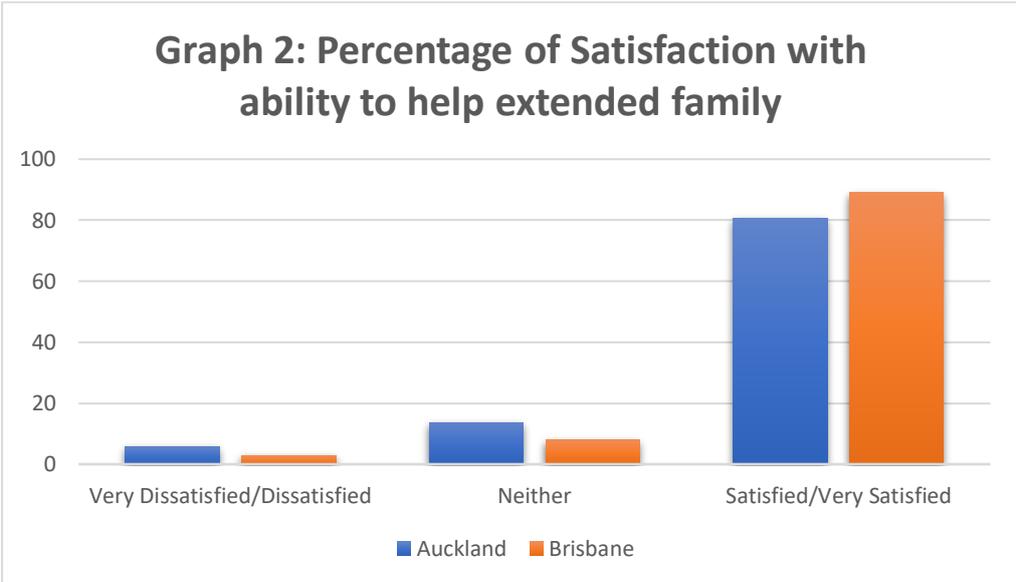
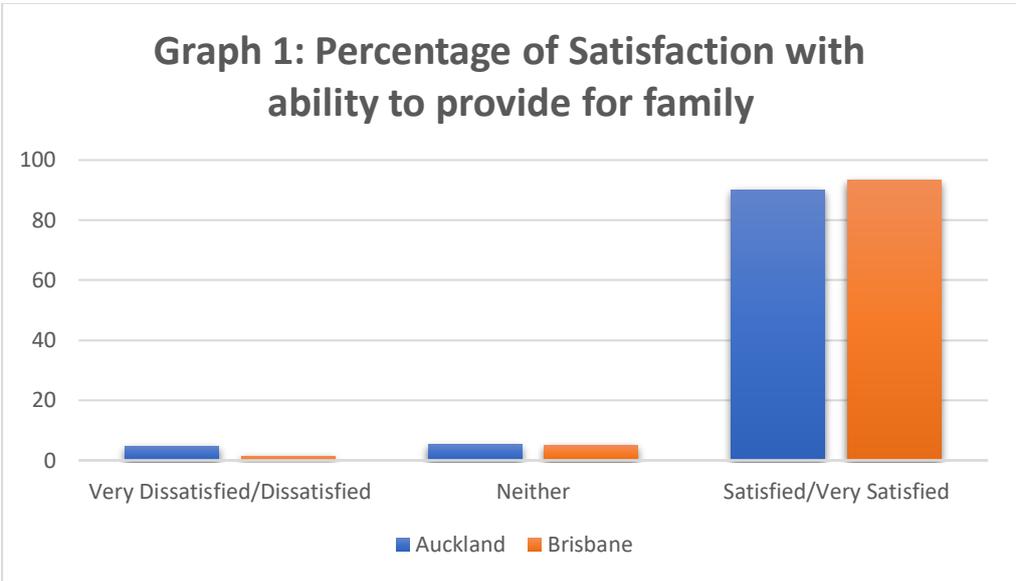
What is highlighted in the research is that well-being aims such as ‘getting a better pay’ or ‘better job opportunities’, although seemingly individualistic well-being aims for migration,

are means to providing for and maintaining ‘familial’ connections that are very important to the well-being of Pasifika Trans-Tasman migrants in both Auckland and Brisbane.

‘Alisi shares her desire to maintain fāmili well-being in Brisbane:

‘We moved here because I wanted to be closer to my parents who live in Inala, and the lifestyle here is better for my children... plus, when I go to send money to my [extended] family back in Tonga, the exchange rate is better here than in New Zealand.’

The surveys revealed that Pasifika in Brisbane are more satisfied with their ability to provide for the nuclear and help their extended family, in comparison to Pasifika satisfaction to do likewise in Auckland.



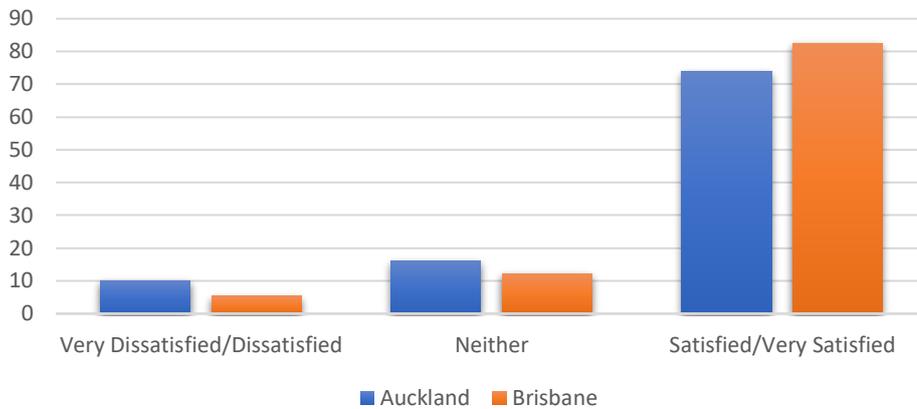
When informants were asked to consider their experiences of well-being in Auckland and Brisbane, they listed advantages and disadvantages experienced. Views were that Auckland lacked job opportunities and had expensive living costs, particularly a higher cost of housing in Auckland were repeated across the interviews and surveys in both Auckland and Brisbane.

Lupe,^{xv} third-generation Tongan (37 years) migrated from New Zealand in 2014, lists the advantages/disadvantages affecting her moui 'oku lelei:

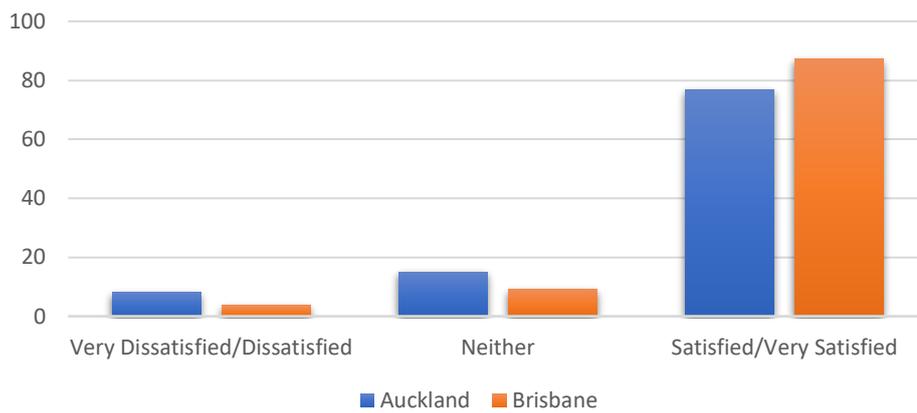
'First of all, Brisbane has been better for the children. My older boys were getting into a lot of trouble back in Auckland, we just moved here last year; they were 15 and 16, that's one. Second, it's also the work life here and the economy, I just saw in New Zealand that the economy was going down, with no or little government assistance for people like us who were doing small business, not just us but that middle tier, not the low ones coz they get assistance but it is that mid-tier...my husband and I were both working but were just making ends meet, there were a lot of sacrifices in New Zealand. Third, my husband, he is a painter by trade and because Auckland is small in comparison to Brisbane, he could go without work for 2-3 weeks, whereas here it is constant work, a lot more work for him here. We don't really benefit from government assistance here because we are not permanent residents but we are lucky to have family tax benefits for our big family of 9 children...but over there in Auckland it was such a struggle over there...that was the other thing, the cost of houses...the prices were just crazy compared to what we could get for less money here. Another thing, before we even moved, we came here for a visit ...the cost of food and petrol was even more cheaper here...everything here was just right for our family, there are spaces in the local areas here that are just so awesome for raising kids...I mean, every town has a park with a barbeque facility in Logan! Back in Auckland, we had to drive so far to find something like that, here every suburb has one. We love it here. We get a better quality of life as a family here... I am on a good phone plan here, so I call home free...so I call my mum every day; it's like she's here...I miss my family back in NZ but it's good that we're here. If anything, I miss about Auckland, it's my family back home, but because I get to talk to them on the phone, I can handle being apart from them.'

What Auckland provides in family and Pasifika community support cannot be matched in Brisbane. However, what Brisbane does provide is the fulfilment of Trans-Tasman migration aims for better job opportunities, more money to improve living standards for the family (both nuclear and extended), and a lifestyle that provides more quality time with the family. The following responses given in the surveys (see graphs 3, 4, 5 & 6) showed a higher level of Pasifika satisfaction in job security, career prospects, income and home ownership in Brisbane compared to Auckland.

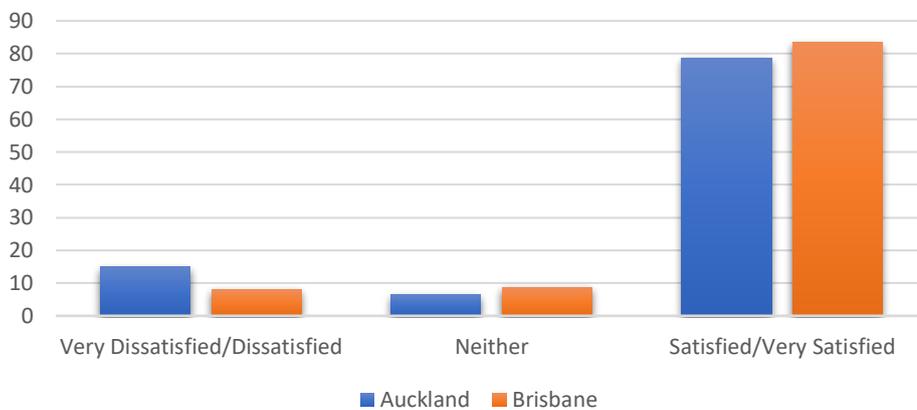
Graph 3: Percentage of Satisfaction with secure employment

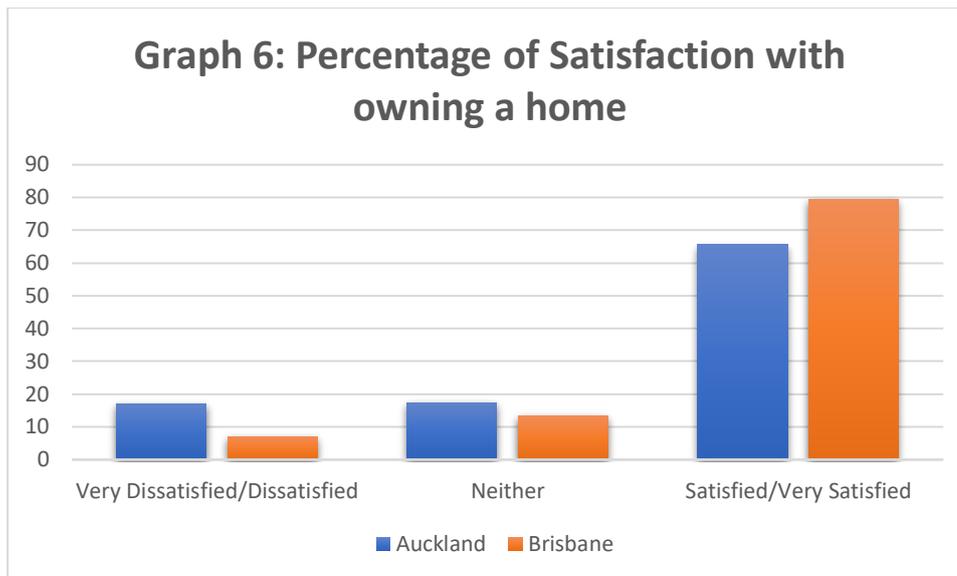


Graph 4: Percentage of Satisfaction with good career prospects



Graph 5: Percentage of Satisfaction with enough money for bills and to live well





An interesting finding in the Brisbane-based interviews with informants, who had moved to Brisbane in the last five to ten years, was their ownership of a home. As shown in the figures retrieved from surveys collected in Auckland and Brisbane, there is greater opportunity and satisfaction for Pasifika to own a home in Brisbane. This prospect of home ownership relates to the greater margin of savings that is possible in Brisbane with higher income and less living expenses as experienced by Brisbane-based Pasifika. For these informants, owning a home and having the income to afford this asset as well as a better lifestyle, has helped them to achieve well-being for their whole family, not just themselves.

Conclusion

This discussion has shown how the Pasifika notions of well-being have influenced their decisions on where and how they will participate in the labour market. The advantages and disadvantages experienced in Auckland and Brisbane are seen through the lens of moui ‘oku lelei, ola magaia that has further encouraged the permanent relocation of Pasifika in Australia.

The Tongan concept moui ‘oku lelei and Samoan concept of ola magaia are holistic notions of ‘a good and happy life’ that Pasifika embrace in their trans-Tasman migration in order to attain a complete state of physical, emotional, spiritual and familial wellness and progress. This paper has presented a focus on the familial dimension that has influenced the contemporary trans-Tasman migration of Pasifika. Individual Pasifika well-being is interlinked

with the well-being of their fāмили or ‘āiga. Thus, decisions to migrate are often motivated by the needs of fāмили or ‘āiga. For Pasifika Trans-Tasman, the act of attaining employment, a better lifestyle and home ownership in Brisbane is an act of achieving and maintaining a complete state of well-being for their families.

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ⁱ Both Bedford (2009) and Ravulo (2015) detail the growing trend of New Zealanders, and *Pasifika* New Zealanders, moving to Australia.

ⁱⁱ Labour mobility is the geographical and occupational movement of workers within an economy and between different economies. In the case of this paper, labour mobility refers specifically to the movements of *Pasifika* between Auckland and Brisbane's workforce as a result of the labour market conditions in these two places and governing policies that either benefit or limit their migration between Australia and New Zealand.

ⁱⁱⁱ For the purposes of this paper and related research, first generation *Pasifika* are those born in the Pacific Islands, second generation *Pasifika* are those born away from their Pacific homelands (e.g. New Zealand, Australia or another overseas location during migration away from their Pacific homelands), and third generation *Pasifika* are those born to second generation parents/s.

^{iv} Hamer (2014) reports (based on the Australian census figures available for 2011) that *Pasifika* of Samoan ancestry born in New Zealand outnumbered those born in Samoa for each year of arrival since 1995. This was similar for *Pasifika* of Tongan descent born in New Zealand who outnumbered those born in Tonga. Hamer notes that the data is entirely accurate based on year-of-arrival data as it does not account for the mortality or emigration of *Pasifika* (2014: 113).

^v Ravulo (2015) recorded that the "majority of Pacific communities reside along the east coast of Australia... with largest cohort living in Queensland, followed by New South Wales and Victoria." (2015:4)
The 5 largest Pacific people groups in Australia are Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Maori and Cook Islanders residing in New South Wales and Queensland. As recorded by Ravulo, based on the 2011 Census figures (Australian Bureau of Statistics), the total *Pasifika* population in Queensland is 102,320, followed by New South Wales with 92,028. The total *Pasifika* population in Australian states and territories is 279,228.

^{vi} Figures based on the 2013 Census QuickStats about Pacific peoples ethnic group (accessed 30/05/2017)
<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/pacific-peoples.aspx>

^{vii} Vaioleti (2003) defines talanoa as a 'conversation, a talk, an exchange of ideas or thinking, whether formal or informal...and interacting without a rigid framework' (2003:16). According to Havea (2010) talanoa 'opens sacred texts and traditional values...is inviting and permissive, not just to the learned readers but also to all participants who engage one another' (2010:14). Latu (2009) suggests that the only way we can 'dig deep' into the 'warehouses' and 'libraries' of understanding that is within the hearts and minds of *Pasifika* people is through talanoa. Thus, talanoa is an approach that is well-suited to this study with *Pasifika* migrants. Talanoa has been widely accepted as an approach of gathering in-depth qualitative data across a range of disciplines within several Melanesian and Polynesian academic circles (Fa'avae, Jones & Manu'atu 2016, Halapua 2007, Latu 2009, Otsuka 2006, Prescott 2008, Vaioleti 2003, Vaka'uta 2009).

^{viii} The research acknowledges that historically the greatest concentration of Samoan and Tongan *Pasifika* groups in Australia are in the state of New South Wales (Ravulo 2015:5), however, the decision to study the Samoan and Tongan *Pasifika* groups migrating to the state of Queensland was based on the observations of key informants of the increased influx of Samoan and Tongan families from other states in Australia, including New South Wales, into Queensland.

^{ix} Note that after the total of 694 surveys were collected, initial analysis identified surveys that were unable to be counted due to participants' ages under the approved 18-60+ cohorts of the inquiry; remainder of 670 surveys used in further statistical analysis after the removal of ethically non-compliant survey data. Possible explanations for the entry of the details of a younger member of the family were these surveyed participants had been asked by an older member (without the English language capability) to complete the survey, possibly on their behalf, but these reasons are unconfirmed at this stage of the study.

^x *Sione* is a second-generation *Pasifika* man of Tongan descent (aged 38 years), 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^x. This excerpt was taken from the *e-Talanoa* carried out on the Facebook

private messenger forum and was *Sione's* response to the prompt concerning his understanding of a 'good and happy life'; *moui 'oku lelei*.

^{xi} 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 in Ipswich. *Sione* continues to fly out to the mines in Perth for work, although makes plans to leave this form of employment in exchange for a family business in Ipswich.

^{xii} *Ina* is a second-generation *Pasifika* woman of Samoan descent (aged 35 years), who was Brisbane-based having moved from Auckland in 2015. At the time, of the 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 *Ina's* response to the prompt concerning her understanding of a 'good and happy life'; *ola magaia*.

^{xiii} *Alisi* is a first-generation *Pasifika* woman of Tongan descent (aged 48 years), who is Brisbane-based having migrated from Tonga to New Zealand in 1981, and then further migrated from Auckland in 2011. At the time, of the face-to-face *talanoa*, *Alisi* had just started up a family courier (delivery) franchise while she was studying part-time towards a Business Diploma. This excerpt was *Alisi's* response to the prompt concerning her hopes for 'a good and happy life'; *moui 'oku lelei*.

^{xiv} *Sinamoni* is a second-generation *Pasifika* woman of Tongan descent (aged 31 years), who is Brisbane-based having migrated from New Zealand in 2011. At the time, of the face-to-face *talanoa*, *Sinamoni* was in her final year of studying towards a higher degree in her profession. She was also working part-time as part of her career development. This excerpt was *Sinamoni's* response to the prompt concerning her experiences of *moui 'oku lelei* in Brisbane.

^{xv} *Lupe* is a third-generation *Pasifika* woman of Tongan descent (aged 37 years), who is Brisbane-based having migrated from New Zealand in 2014. At the time, of the face-to-face *talanoa*, *Lupe* was helping her husband with administration of their family business (painting contractors), as well as running a family day-care centre in their family home in Waterford. This excerpt was *Lupe's* response to the prompt concerning advantages and disadvantages experienced in Auckland and Brisbane affecting her *moui 'oku lelei*.