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**MIGRATION, REMITTANCE AND DEVELOPMENT
TONGA**

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ATR	Agreement to Recruit
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSFT	Civil Society Forum of Tonga
DAC	District Agriculture Committee
DSAP	Development of Sustainable Agriculture Program
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FSSLP	Food Security and Sustainable Livelihood Program
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HOD	Head of Divisions
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development
LDS	Letter Days Saints
MAFFF	Ministries of Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Food
MLCI	Ministry of Labour, Commerce and Industries
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMTPF	National Medium Term Priority Framework
PSWPS	Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme
RSE	Recognised Seasonal Employer
SDP8	Strategic Development Plan number 8
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
SWS	Seasonal Migration Workers Schemes
TCDT	Tonga Community Development Trust
TCP	Technical Cooperation Programme
TOP	Tongan Pa'anga (\$)
TOR	Terms of Reference
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar

1. Introduction

Poverty in rural and island life are push factors that triggered internal migration in Pacific countries including Tonga. Economic opportunities and access to better services elsewhere were the main pull factors that attracted early migrants to urban centres initially, then later on to more attractive destinations overseas. Disparities in economic development and social conditions between Pacific countries and neighbouring developed countries have contributed to substantial international migration.

Large scale migration commenced from Tonga in the 1960s, initially to the main island of Tongatapu and later to overseas countries, Cities such as Auckland, Sydney, Brisbane, Honolulu, San Francisco, Salt Lake and some others, have established strong communities of Tongans. These communities play host to new migrants, fuelling chain migration that lead to more migration. It was reported in 2004 that half of the estimated 216,000 Tongans in the world live in overseas countries (Small and Dixon 2004). Already there are second and third generations of Tongans overseas for whom “home” is sometimes an uncertain and ambivalent concept. Permanent overseas migration from Tonga peaked in the 1980s when 1,900 persons left the country every year. This number reduced to about 1,800 people annually between the national censuses of 1996 and 2006.

The number of reasons put forward to explain migration sometimes seem interminable and with considerable generalisation. Cornell (2001) stated that apart from migration as a result of natural disasters the major influences are economic related, even where social changes are also significant. Migration is primarily a response to real and perceived inequalities in services including education and socio-economic opportunities that are themselves a result of dependant and/or uneven sectoral and regional development. Migration has changed Tonga, the modern patterns of migration have diversified and the demographic structure has changed and the economic development pattern and especially the welfare of many households has become strongly dependant on the economy of migrant relatives and their host countries. The remittances from migrant relatives overseas play important roles not only to household welfare but also to the economy of the country, contributing 39 percent of GDP in 2007, making Tonga the world’s second highest recipient of remittance flows relative to the size of its economy (World Bank, 2009).

The growing importance of migration and remittances is changing the socio-economic scenario of the agro-rural sector in most developing countries. In particular, labour movement and corresponding changes in relative wages due to migration, and remittance in-flows for family support and other purposes are affecting agricultural production; relative competitiveness of agriculture; as well as social safety net issues which are critical components of FAO’s ‘*twin track*’ approach to increase productivity and broaden direct access to food, for sustainable food security, poverty reduction, agriculture and rural development. Investment decisions of migrant’s remittances are often guided by the need for: (i) generating livelihood for the dependents of migrants, so that he/she does not have to continue sending money; and (ii) for generation of livelihood for himself/herself, should he/she return. With regards to this connection, FAO has initiated analytical work

and current country case studies to better contribute towards the creation of an “enabling environment” to encourage investment of remittances to the agro-rural sector and minimize the negative impact of out migration on production, social stress and equity affecting poverty and food security.

Various studies have been conducted on migration, remittances and their impacts on Tonga (de Bres, 1974; Bertram and Watters 1985; Small and Dixon 2004; McKenzie and Gibson, 2010), however none of these studies look specifically at impacts on development of agriculture and the rural sector. This case study seeks to consider these aspects of the migration discussion. It was designed to collect information and data on migration: including the current seasonal worker schemes such as the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS); and the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) agreements between Tonga and Australia, and between Tonga and New Zealand respectively; impacts on demographic structures and labour dynamics and trends; and impacts on agriculture and rural development. The study includes remittances, its contribution to household wellbeing and the national economy; its distribution and use at the household level in relation to agriculture and rural development and food security. Information and data were collected through a questionnaire and direct interview of individuals from households receiving remittances from members and relatives resident in overseas countries, also from officials directly involved in migration, statistics, agriculture and rural development and employer agents. In many cases, interviewees were recently returned migrants who went on the seasonal worker schemes. A total of 120 people from the main islands of Vava’u, Ha’apai, Tongatapu and ‘Eua were interviewed.

2. General overview of migration in Tonga and its impact on the agricultural sector, poverty and rural development.

Generally migration is considered as having a positive impact on development at the household, community, local and national levels. Migration is considered to be a household strategy whereby economic and social links between the migrant and their household and community are maintained (IFAD and FAO 2008). Resultant remittances play an important role in strengthening food security and economic status of many rural/island poor. The negative side of migration emphasizes the impact of labour loss from migrant-source communities and its disruptive effects on local economy and the social fabrics of family units.

The impacts of migration and remittances on agriculture and rural development and employment depend directly on the relative number of migrants and the volume of remittances both financial and in-kind. It also is affected by the patterns of expenditure, investments and labour allocation of migrant households and indirectly on the multiplier effects of remittances and changes in the labour, good and services markets (IFAD and FAO 2008).

2.1 A general overview of migration

In Tonga, migration occurred traditionally internally. Youths, young adults as well as whole families relocated from outer islands to the main island of Tongatapu where the capital Nuku'alofa is located. During the 1930s, less than half the total population lived in Tongatapu with only 10 percent resident in Nuku'alofa. In the last census of 2006, 71 percent lived in Tongatapu with 23 percent resident in Nuku'alofa (Statistics Dept. 2011). Serious internal migration commenced after the cyclone of 1961 that devastated Vava'u and Ha'apai. A subsequent cyclone hit in 1963. These were the first natural disaster experienced in the outer islands since 1918. Whole families relocated to predominantly Tongatapu. Settlements such as Fanga, 'Isileli, Halaovave and Houmakelikao along the swampy fringes of Nuku'alofa developed. Although early migration occurred internally, it was recognized that more socio-economic opportunities were overseas, particularly for employment and education. In Tonga with limited resources, there are few opportunities for socioeconomic advancement, and migration is perceived as the only solution (Small and Dixon 2004). In contemporary times this desire to migrate overseas is considered commonplace. While rural/island-urban migration produces remittances, international migration produces substantially greater flows and is therefore considerably more attractive.

Religious missionaries encouraged the early overseas migration of Tongans. Methodist missionaries from Australia sent students to be trained as pastors, teachers and nurses in Victoria in the 1930s and 40s. The Victorian census of 1947 recorded 31 Tonga-born Victorians (Museum Victoria Australia 2006). This number increased to 80 by 1971, 300 by 1981, and 800 by 1991 and by 2006 there were 1190 Victorians who had been born in Tonga (Museum Victoria Australia 2006). Many of the earliest Tongan emigrants to the US were converts to Mormonism (LDS). The LDS church provided new converts with a plane ticket to the United States, a fact which greatly encouraged conversion. The policy resulted in the establishment of some of the first Tongan-American communities in the US in Salt Lake City, Utah and Oahu, Hawaii (Small and Dixon 2004).

Overseas migration from Tonga to the US increased after 1965, when the US relaxed migration policies for non-Europeans. Migration to other countries such as Australia and New Zealand also showed an upward swing and burgeoned during the 1970s and 1980s, reaching migration rates of more than two percent annually (Small and Dixon 2004; Statistics Dept. Census 2006). By the mid-1980s, more than 1,900 Tongans were leaving Tonga annually, slowing the natural population growth rate of 2.3 percent annually to only 0.3 by the census year 1996. Although population estimates suggest that recent overseas migration figures may have slowed down, the net migration during the intercensal period 1996-2006 was on average 1800 persons annually, which amounts to 150 people each month (Statistics Dept. Census 2006). Small and Dixon (2004) reported half of the estimated 216,000 Tongans in the world reside abroad, and almost every household has a relative who is resident in another country. About two in ten of Tonga's expatriates are resident in Australia, while four out of every ten expatriate Tongans reside in the US, and a further four out of ten reside in New Zealand. The CIA World Factbook (2010) estimated 55 percent of migrant Tongans are residing in New Zealand and

Australia, 36 percent in North America, 5 percent in Asia, 2 percent in Europe and 1 percent each in Africa and Latin America and Caribbean.

A recent development in migration patterns was highlighted by the agreement signed between Tonga and New Zealand in 2007 and between Tonga and Australia in November 2008. From this agreement, Tonga as well as some other Pacific Island nations can access job markets in New Zealand and Australia through their respective labour mobility programs. New Zealand's 'Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE)' scheme and Australia's 'Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS)' has targeted domestic labour shortages in the horticulture and verticulture industries whilst also assisting the small neighbouring countries. These programs are important first steps towards greater integration of labour markets within the region.

Overseas migration has contributed remittances of cash and goods from expatriate Tongans, which has made a considerable impact on Tonga's economy. Tonga has become increasingly reliant on overseas remittances which contribute significantly to the country's foreign exchange earnings. In 2007, remittances in Tonga were equivalent to 39 percent of GDP, making Tonga the world's second highest recipient of remittance flows relative to the size of its economy (World Bank, 2009; McKenzie and Gibson, 2010).

Social impacts of migration however, are also significant, with resultant changes in social structures evidenced through changing patterns of work, urbanization and gender roles. The traditional economies and social systems of rural villages and islands are being challenged and the current seasonal work schemes could exacerbate some of the issues that have developed with the migration patterns such as:

- Cases of family break-up, infidelity and new relationships forming, particularly with one spouse working overseas for lengthy periods. There are reports of people who had married overseas to obtain residency rights, even though they had a spouse and family at home.
- There are concerns regarding the effect of migration on gender roles in rural villages including farming.
- There is a growing ageing population in rural areas as young people migrate to urban centres or overseas, may impact on agricultural production.
- There are particular burdens on ageing women who are reliant on financial support from working children. There is often an added burden imposed on older women as they carry out unpaid childcare and housekeeping as their children especially daughters enter the workforce or even migrate.
- Women's groups have reaffirmed concern over a range of impacts on women, on family life, and on children. Such concerns as sexual harassment in the workplace can be exacerbated if women work overseas as seasonal agricultural workers, unless there is close regulation and support to prevent workplace harassment and bullying.

- Youth crises can be partially connected to the absence of parents and relatives. While extended families often play supporting systems, they also provide older relatives to whom young people could consult about their problems. With family members working overseas, traditional family reconciliation mechanisms are not working as effectively.
- In some cases, remittances from migrants formed the basis of economic support for families in the home community. Loss of employment due to illness or injury can have significant effects on the economic circumstances of those affected households.
- There are often difficulties maintaining contact with overseas family workers, which can result in stress and depression. This is worthy of mention as depression is not considered a real “health problem” in the Tongan culture.
- Some spouses and children face difficulties resuming relationships with returning migrant parent.
- There are complex gender and childhood development issues, when parents communicate largely with their spouse rather than their children while overseas.

The impacts of migration on agriculture have both positive and negative outcomes. The loss of farm labour from food production is partly compensated for by the increased income for other household expenses. According to town officers of Mu’a and Sapa’ata villages in ‘Eua, the loss of labour due to migration has had a significant impact on the food supply to the villages. Households from which male members left to work in the RSE program rely on relatives for farm foods. Generally the village food supply is reduced due to the seasonal migration of able males. The seasonal migration arrangements whereby migrants work overseas for 7 months of the year leave only 5 months at home to continue subsistence farm operations. This 5 months is too short for the crop cycle of any of the main food crops in Tonga, in particular the longer term root crops.

Average investment of remittances in agriculture is high in ‘Eua at 19 percent, whereas it was 6 percent in Vava’u and the national average was 13 percent (Table 2.8). ‘Eua’s proximity and easy access to the Nuku’alofa market accounts for the higher investment of remittances on agriculture. Farmers in ‘Eua tend to be more commercialised and market their fresh produce in Nuku’alofa, which is a 2 hour boat trip away. Vava’u on the other hand is a 24 hour boat trip away and the high freight cost limits the sale of their fresh produce at the Nuku’alofa market, thus a lower investment of remittances in agriculture. Remittance spending on agriculture is mainly for hire of machinery for land preparation (average 44 %) and is the highest in Tongatapu at 52 percent. Mechanized land preparation has been extensively adopted as a labour saving cost, essential for crop production in Tonga. Spending to hire labour was lower at 20 percent (Table 2.4).

2.2 Various types of migration

In the smaller Pacific island countries including Tonga, projections for economic growth are limited compared to neighbouring developed nations. Consequently, the disparities in economic development and welfare have encouraged not only substantial migration but also increased pressures for further migration. Although Pacific migration largely began after the Second World War, the large-scale international migration has really soared since the late 1960s. It has become so extensive that some of the greatest concentrations of Pacific islanders are in cities such as Auckland, Sydney, Honolulu, and Los Angeles rather than in the islands (Connell 2001).

Changes have occurred in peoples perceptions of satisfactory standards of living, preferred occupations, and adequate services and amenities and this in turn has encouraged migration. Aspirations have almost always included imported food and other goods (such as clothes and vehicles) and access to schools, hospitals, and modern entertainment, all of which demand some cash income (Bedford 1980). At the same time, agricultural work throughout the Pacific has been losing prestige, and young men have been less willing to participate in this sector. These changing aspirations have not only been the province of young men. Often parents and elders advise children not to follow in their footsteps into the hard toil of farming, but to earn their livelihood doing something else or somewhere better; “*oo ki muli ‘o kumi ai ha’amou mo’ui* (go overseas and find a living there)”.

The initial flood of internal migration in the 1960s were the result of push factors as people were desperate to move following a series of severe cyclones that hit the Ongo Niua, Vava’u and Ha’apai Groups in 1961, 1963 and 1969. However, the pull factor appears to be stronger for international migration which peaked in the 1980s. A combination of reasons, including recognition of substantial income differentials between Tonga and metropolitan countries such as Australia, New Zealand and the United States; increased peoples expectations of superior education and health services; improved transport links (especially air transport); a relative reduction in transport costs; and growing population pressure on domestic resources, all stimulated mobility. In the early 1980s, migration to New Zealand slowed due to adverse economic conditions and subsequently migration streams increasingly shifted towards the United States (Connell 2001).

Internal migration is calculated based on comparison of place of residence during the 2006 census to the region of birth and is shown in Table 2.1 as lifetime migration. Tongatapu had a net gain of 9,342 people, mainly from Ha’apai. The only other region that had a net gain of people was ‘Eua with 501 persons, mainly from Tongatapu. While most migrants headed towards Tongatapu, ‘Eua’s close proximity to Tongatapu (only 2 hours by boat) may have meant that more ‘Eua babies were born in Tongatapu where maternal facilities are better at the main hospital. National Census 2006, showed that only 61 percent of the 2006 residents of ‘Eua were also born in ‘Eua, compared to 75 percent on Tongatapu and 83 percent on Vava’u.

Table 2.1: Interregional lifetime migration, Tonga: 2006

Region	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Net Migrants
Tongatapu	13,326	3,984	9,342
Vava'u	2,132	6,099	-3,967
Ha'apai	1,561	6,147	-4,586
'Eua	1,914	1,413	501
Ongo Niua	414	1,704	-1,290
Tonga	19,347	19,347	0

Source: Statistics Dept. Census 2006.

International migration from Tonga since the 1960s largely resulted in overseas settlers, rather than temporary migrants. However these migrants tend to express intentions to return home. When talking to migrants including permanent migrants in their host countries, most will say that one day they will return to retire in Tonga. While they could still work they rather stay and earn where they are paid higher wages. It is not unusual to find elderly Tongans who spent many years working overseas, returning to Tonga either permanently or on regular extended holidays of many months, returning only to their adopted country for medical reasons and to update residential status and relevant documents as necessary. The migration for settlers although ongoing, peaked in the mid 1980s with an estimated 1,900 Tongans leaving annually for overseas countries (Stats. Dept.2006). Currently, the number of migrants leaving Tonga is estimated to be 1,800 annually between the intercensal period 1996-2006 (Statistics Dept 2011). There are also mounting demands for short-term contract labour migration to work in the horticulture and viticulture industries in Australia and New Zealand and Tonga has signed up to this program and has started sending seasonal workers to these countries. The Australian Pacific Seasonal Workers Pilot Scheme (PSWPS) was announced at the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in August 2008, noting that four Pacific Island Countries including Tonga had been selected to be involved in the pilot program. Australia stated 2,400 visas will be issued over the 3 year pilot stage. The first batch included 50 workers from Tonga that arrived in February 2009, with 6 workers from Vanuatu arriving soon thereafter (Ball 2010). The New Zealand RSE policy was launched in April 2007. Initially the number of workers required was up to 5,000 seasonal workers (this cap was later raised to 8,000) to travel to New Zealand for a maximum of 7 months over each 11 month period to work in the horticulture and viticulture industries. Preference is given to workers from Pacific Island Forum countries with Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga Tuvalu and Vanuatu initially selected for the scheme. Tonga supplied 1972 workers under the RSE scheme in the first 2 seasons (McKenzie and Gibson 2010). Table 2.2 shows the number of migrant workers that have gone on the scheme since 2007. About 12 percent of seasonal workers were women.

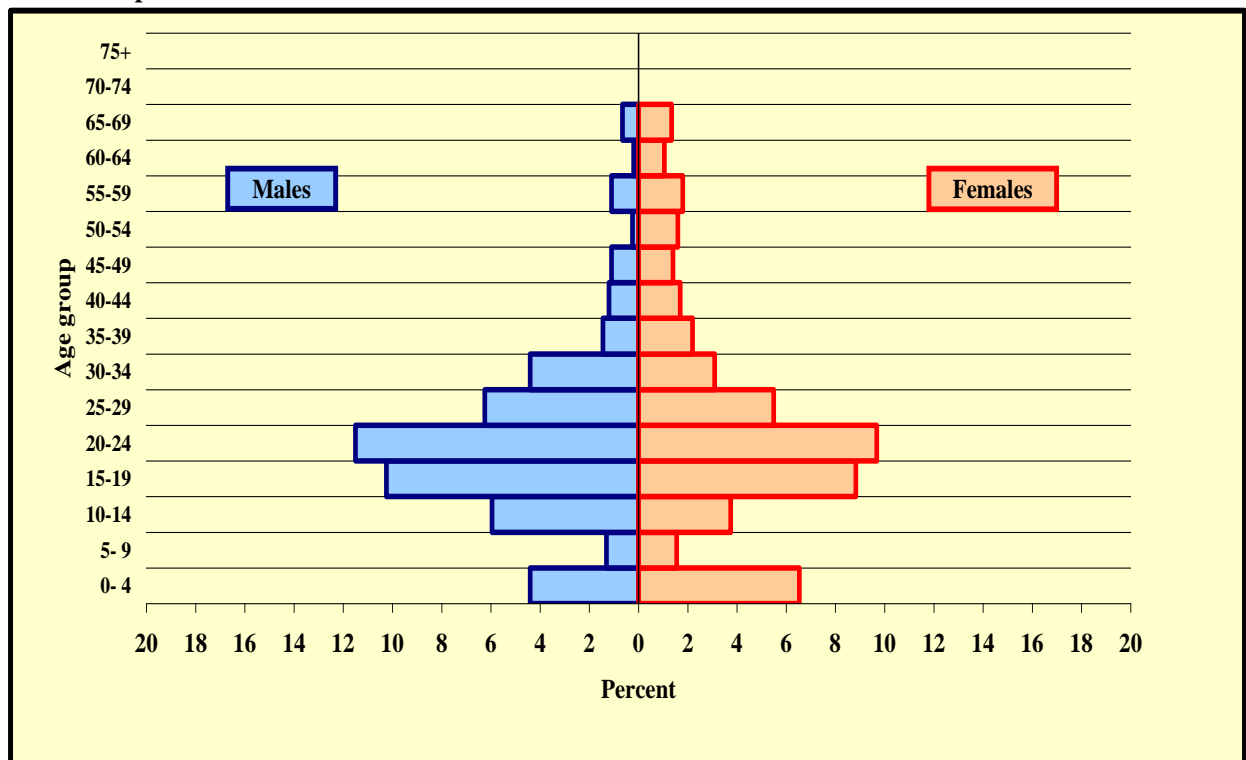
Table 2.2: Number of Seasonal Workers and their monetary contribution to the country

Year	Number of migrant workers	Amount before tax and expenses TOP\$(millions)	Cleared amount to workers TOP\$(millions)
2007/2008	610		4.78
2008/2009	1,362	21.91	9.20
2009/2010	1,220	18.65	6.93

Source: MLCI 2010

The profile of international migrants estimated through comparing the 1996 and 2006 census populations (by five-year cohorts and taking the estimated birth and death rates into account), showed that it was largely the 15-24 year-old age group that left Tonga (Figure 2.1). About 60 percent of all migrants were between 15 and 34 years old and almost 25 percent comprised children aged 0-14 years. The 15-19-year-olds comprise of either students undergoing or just completing high school and seeking further education or employment opportunities overseas. Those people 20 years and older include many parents moving with their young children (0-14 years of age), highlighting the significance of family migration. During the intercensal period 1996-2006 there were nearly equal numbers of male and female migrants leaving Tonga (Figure 2.1). The current study recorded that of the migrants on the seasonal work schemes, 88 percent were male and 12 percent were female. This corresponds well to report of 87 to 13 percent ratio of males to females in the first season (2008) of the RSE scheme (McKenzie and Gibson, 2010).

Figure 2.1: Estimated age distribution of net migrants (in % of total number of migrants) of the intercensal period 1996-2006



Source: Statistics. Dept. Census 2006.

2.3 The length of stay of migrants overseas.

The average length of stay overseas of migrants is 4.7 months and ranged from 2-3 months at the lower end for those whom travelled on a visitor's visa to about 6-7 months for the seasonal migrant workers that travelled through the RSE scheme to New Zealand.

Timing of travel is flexible for those on a visitor's visa; however those with the RSE scheme have to match the employers' labour needs across operational peak seasons, usually from late January to August. Fruit-picking and packing during the harvesting season in New Zealand and Australia are the main activities that require extra labour in these host countries. Pruning and general tidying up of orchards after the harvest is usually carried out by migrant workers.

After 7 months overseas, migrant workers return to Tonga for around 4-5 months before returning for the subsequent harvest. The 5 months home break does not allow much time for farming activities as other home chores such as house maintenance and building may also need doing and take priority, leaving little time for planting crops. Those that are able to plant crops will have to rely on others to look after these crops while they are overseas. Anecdotal evidence suggests that overseas employers, mostly farmers have a strong preference for Tongan farmers due to their dedication and hard working ethics. Unfortunately, this has negative implications for farming and agriculture in Tonga, especially as their selection as migrant workers has been based on them being strong dedicated farmers. Most of these seasonal workers have gained the confidence of their employers and are subsequently asked to return the following season. Many of those that started with the scheme in 2007 and 2008 have returned for their 3rd and 4th trip in January/February 2011. Most of those involved in the seasonal worker program were farmers, 63 percent of migrants interviewed during the current study are farmers, and another 30 percent consider they are part-time farmers. This high percentage of selection of farmers indicates a biased preferential selection of farmers as seasonal workers which is a significant loss from the farming population. However the sample interviewed in this study is only a small fraction of the total number of farmers in the country. Despite what appears to be the downside of losing these farmers from the agriculture sector in Tonga, they as individuals perceive a benefit and have made the choice, preferring to work for money overseas for 7 months and farm in Tonga for the remaining 5 months of the year.

2.4 Areas originating migration flows

There is a high rate of migration amongst the population of Tonga both internally between the island groups or Divisions and internationally to other countries. The national census 2006, reported that 4 percent (3,661 people) of the total population one year and older lived in other Divisions of the country while 2,847 people (3%) said they were overseas one year before the November 2006 census. Five years before the census, and based on the question regarding place of residence in 2001 (5 years before the census), 7 percent (5,875 people) of the total population five years and older, said that they lived in Divisions elsewhere in Tonga, and 4,057 people (5%) said that they were overseas (Statistics Dept. Census 2006). One year before the Census, there was positive migration to Tongatapu, Ha'apai and 'Eua, where, as for the 5 years before Census, only Tongatapu had significant positive increase migration while Vava'u, Ha'apai and the Ongo Niua showed negative migration. This indicated that people were moving from the outer islands to Tongatapu (Table 2.3). While the national average population changes for the periods 1986 to 1996 and from 1996 to 2006 were 3.3 percent and 4.3 percent

respectively, some villages had high negative growth during both periods. The island of Uiha in Ha'apai had a negative growth rate of minus 27 percent and minus 15 percent for the same intercensal periods respectively. This high rate of depopulation as seen in Uiha is expected to have resulted in significant negative impacts on agriculture activities on the island.

Table 2.3 Interregional migration during 1 year and 5 years before the 2006 census.

Division	Migration 1 year before 2006 census			Migration 5 years before 2006 census		
	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Net-Migrants	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Net-Migrants
Tongatapu	1,744	1,588	156	3,263	2,070	1,193
Vava'u	633	825	-192	878	1,552	-674
Ha'apai	696	662	34	854	1,195	-341
'Eua	404	338	66	607	606	1
Ongo Niua	184	248	-64	273	452	-179
Tonga	3,661	3,661	0	5,875	5,875	0

Source: Adapted from Statistics Dept. Census 2006.

International migration is described in Section 2.2; however, there are no available data on the areas from where migration originated in Tonga. The Statistics Dept. Census 2006 reported that data on arrivals and departures provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Immigration remain incomplete and are unusable for detailed migration analysis. International migration in Tonga originates from all areas of the country, including urban Nuku'alofa to every rural village and outer island. Although it is known that certain villages have higher rates of migration than others, every village has some migrant members residing overseas. The island of Uiha as described above, was one of the earliest islands to get into migration overseas in 1960s, and through chain migration, there are relatively large communities of people from 'Uiha in cities like Salt Lake and Honolulu in the US and in Auckland, New Zealand. There are a number of villages and islands with a similar migratory path to Uiha. There had been a significant flow of remittances to these villages and big houses were built, but there are not many people left in those villages. As these village communities are mostly subsistence, the received remittances have little impact on activities at the village level except perhaps for increasing local buying power and level of consumption of imported goods including food.

2.5 Families cope with losing labour through migration

Tonga has 77 percent of its population resident in rural/island areas. Tongatapu itself has 71 percent of the total population which include the urban population of 23 percent. The outer boundaries of Tongatapu are all within an hours drive from the capital Nuku'alofa, thus people who are considered rural, all have easy access to jobs and amenities in town. Interregional migration from outer islands to Tongatapu is considered permanent as people seek jobs and other opportunities on the main island.

Loss of labour through migration occurs with seasonal workers on both the RSE and PSWPS schemes. However, as most farming is subsistence, the extended family network fills the gaps, not through working the farms of absent owners, but mainly by providing food for the migrant's family. The extended family on the other hand will benefit from

remittances from migrant workers. There is a high percentage (62%) of the workforce (15 year old and above) who work in farming and handicraft making (Census 2006). These workers in most cases are underemployed, thus their labour is elastic enough to absorb fluctuation in the farm labour supply and demand. Table 2.4 shows on average, 20 percent of all farming expenses are spent on hiring labour, while 13 percent of remittances are spent on farming (Table 2.8), thus it is estimated that 2.6 percent of remittances are spent on hiring labour for farming.

Table 2.4: Details of how farm expenses are spent

Division	Land lease	Machinery hire	Labour hire	Livestock expenses	Handicraft making	Transport/marketing	Total %
Tongatapu	0	51.8	12.4	0	27	8.9	100
Vava'u	0.39	46.2	23.6	3.5	20	6.4	100
Ha'apai	1.5	49.2	19.4	0	26	3.8	100
'Eua	0	29.7	26.3	0	17.2	26.8	100
Average	0.47	44.2	20.4	0.9	22.6	11.5	100

2.6 Migration and remittances affect land tenure and access to land

With a high average national population density of 157 persons per km² and 277 persons per km² on the main island of Tongatapu (Table 2.5), with this high population density, land is a precious commodity. The land tenure system is hereditary and passed down from father to his eldest male child. It does not allow for land to be sold and land can only be leased, with town or residential plots able to be leased for a maximum 99 years whereas tax-allotment or farm land can be leased for a maximum 20 years. With this land tenure system, remittances will have little impact on land ownership. Table 2.4 shows that only 0.47 percent of the 13 percent of remittances spent on farming were used to lease land. Remittances thus have no direct impact on land tenure in this context. Permanent migration however has a direct affect whereby the migrant landowner together with his heir may agree to legally transfer ownership to relatives residing at home. Informal tenancy and use of the land is the more common arrangement. A proposed legislation that sought to remove ownership of land from Tongans residing permanently overseas was quashed by the king, who is constitutionally the owner of all lands in Tonga.

Table 2.5: Population density (persons/km²) by division in 1986, 1996 and 2006

Division	land area (km ²)	Population density		
		1986	1996	2006
TONGA	650	146	150	157
Tongatapu	260	245	257	277
Vava'u	121	125	130	128
Ha'apai	109	82	74	69
'Eua	87	50	56	60
Ongo Niua	72	33	28	23

Source: Statistics Dept. Census 2006

2.7 Means of remittance transfer

Channels for transfer of funds evolved over time with the increasing importance of remittances. During the 1970s to early 1980s couriers, which normally were returning migrants or visitors were the main mean of transfer funds back to Tonga. Postal services including registered and unregistered mail provided the favourite channel. This method was plagued with problems concerning lost mail with a number of postal workers jailed for opening other people's mail. The increasing volume of remittances led to development of more formal channels. Migrants these days have a number of options for transferring money: money transfer companies such as Western Union, MoneyGram and Melie mei Langi, as well as bank transfers.

Access to the service was considered more important than cost when deciding the means of transfer. Different batches of migrants comprised of people from a particular island group. Thus migrants from Vava'u were mostly sent to the South Island of New Zealand, where Western Union was better located and easier to access than Melie mei Langi. The opposite is true to groups from Tongatapu who were sent to locations in Australia with easier access to Melie mei Langi. Table 2.6 shows that half the migrants used Western Union while 41 percent used Melie mei Langi and 8 percent used Bank services which include MoneyGram represented in Tonga by Westpac Bank of Tonga. This result shows that about 90 percent of remittances were sent through Western Union and Melie mei Langi. The same result was reported by McKenzie and Gibson (2010). Melie mei Langi also provide an additional service where migrants overseas pay for goods, mostly supermarket supplies whereby recipients collect the goods from local Melie mei Langi stores in Tonga.

Table 2.6: Means of remittance transfer

Divisions	Number using the service				Total
	Western Union	Melie mei Langi	Banks	Self-carry	
Vava'u	19	10	6	0	35
Tongatapu	10	17	2	1	30
Ha'apai	23	6	0	1	30
'Eua	8	16	2	0	26
Total	60	49	10	2	121
Percentage	49.6	40.5	8.3	1.6	100

The average cost of transferring remittances globally was about 12 percent of their value in 2004 (World Bank 2006). The current study show that cost of sending money to Tonga ranged from 5 percent from the USA to about 21 percent from Australia. Table 2.7, shows the cost of transferring the equivalent of US\$200 from Australia which varied from 14-21 percent and from New Zealand which was 13-16 percent of their value during the third quarter of 2010. These costs featured a significant reduction in March 2011; the cost of sending remittances from Australia has reduced to 6-10 percent, from New Zealand 8-10 percent and from the USA at 5 percent (<http://remittanceprices.worldbank.org>).

Table 2. 7: Costs in USD of remitting US\$200 or its equivalent to Tonga

	Third quarter 2010	As on 14 th March, 2011

Money transfer companies	From Australia US\$	From NZ US\$	From Aust US\$	From NZ US\$	From USA US\$
Melie mei Langi	27.51	26.21		5.88	10
MoneyGram	28.71	31.41	12	16	10
Western Union	30.68	25.61	20	10.28	10
Westpac	41.59	27.68			
ANZ Bank	42.94	26.81			

Note: values for third quarter 2010 converted to USD using exchange rates 14/3/2011)

Source: <http://remittanceprices.worldbank.org> accessed 14 March, 2011

2.8 Remittances consumed or invested

Most migrants involved in the seasonal work schemes (RSE) are from subsistence households and are poorer than non-RSE households, thus investment scores low among their list of priorities. Similar findings were reported by McKenzie and Gibson (2010) who stated none of the household's surveyed mentioned investment in a business as a main use of the money earned in the RSE, and they did not observe any individuals in RSE households starting a new business over the two years of their study. Amongst criteria for selection of RSE workers were those from low-income families and also 60 percent selected from the outer islands (MLCI 2010). These households were poorer thus investment is not a priority. McKenzie and Gibson (2010) reported that the Tongan RSE participated households tend to be larger and poorer, having an semi-annual per capita income of TOP\$979 compare to TOP\$1342 for the average non-RSE household.

Table 2.8 shows the largest spending is on home consumption (23%) which includes food, petrol for vehicles, electricity, water and telephones. These are recurrent expenses including utilities which have become part of daily rural life. Spending for the church is high at 18 percent. The National Reserve Bank of Tonga (2011) estimated the same percentage of private remittances go to non-profit organizations such as churches and sports unions. Most Tongans are dedicated Christians and generously support the operation of their churches, contributing both in kind and financial donations. The annual church contribution '*misinale*' is an event that many people will contribute any savings they have. The older people in particular will save money in-between '*misinale*' just for the event. Family expenses (16%) include cultural and other obligations to relatives and others, and also include feasts, weddings, funerals, and birthdays etc which are important parts of life in Tonga. Spending on agriculture is 13 percent and discussed under section 2.5. Spending on housing and vehicles (11%) refer to building of new dwellings and purchase of new vehicles; spending on petrol for vehicles and maintenance are included under home consumption. Spending on schooling for children averaged 11 percent with 'Eua paying the highest at about 18 percent of remittances. The portion spent on loan repayment was highest in Ha'apai at 20 percent and a national average of about 9 percent.

Table 2.8: Average in percentage of main uses of remittance in Tonga

Divisions	Home Consumption	Housing/ Vehicle	School expenses	Loan payment	farm expenses	family expenses	Church expenses	Total %
Vava'u	18.3	23	8.3	6.1	5.7	11.3	27.4	100.1
Tongatapu	31.5	12.3	9.3	1.5	13.7	17.8	13.9	100

Ha'apai	28.7	2.2	7.4	20.3	13.6	15.1	12.7	100
'Eua	15	5.8	18	6.1	19.1	19.3	16.7	100
Average	23	10.9	10.7	8.5	13	15.9	17.7	100

2.9 Extent that women retain control over remittances

Table 2.9 shows the average level of remittances sent to Tonga particularly from seasonal workers is approximately TOP\$ 607 per month and based on the 4.7 months average length of contract, amounts to about TOP\$2,850 from each seasonal migrant worker. This amount accounts for approximately 30 percent of the total remittances sent home to the spouse. In approximately 87 percent of cases this would be the wife or mother. The bulk of remittances (70%) from seasonal workers are taken home with the migrant upon their return. Remittances sent home from other migrants, including children and relatives are normally sent to mothers or female relatives, who would also control its dispensation. This does not improve women's access to land: firstly farming is a male responsibility, and secondly the tenure system does not allow women to own land although they can lease land as discussed under section 2.6. Unlike Melanesians, Tongans are Polynesians where farming is undertaken by males, who also head the household, and normally control the use of resources including remittances.

Table 2.9: Number of migrants transfer remittance and frequency, and average monthly transfer and take-home at end of trip amounts.

Division	Transfer frequency in numbers					Average transfer amount	
	weekly	biweekly	monthly	on occasions	return with	Monthly TOP	Return with at end. TOP
Vava'u	7	16	4	3	1	790	7,436
Tongatapu	19	7	1	2	1	357	4,500
Ha'apai	11	15	1	2	1	691	8,283
'Eua	7	10	3	1	0	590	6,905
Totals	44	48	9	8	3		
Percentage	39.3	42.9	8	7.1	2.7		
Average						607	6,781

2.10 Impacts of migration and remittances on poverty, food security and agriculture and rural development

Migration and remittances in Tonga have significant positive impacts at all levels from the household through to the nation's economy. McKenzie and Gibson (2010) estimated that semi-annual household income per capita increased from a baseline of 979 pa'anga by 300-325 pa'anga for RSE participating households. The National Reserve Bank of Tonga in a press release in February 2011 stated more than 50 percent of remittances are received from the USA. It also predicted that private remittances are unlikely to recover to the high level they reached in 2008. The impact of this reduction highlights the heavy reliance of families and the country in remittances from Tongans overseas.

This study estimated 23 percent of remittances are spent on household consumption which would be mainly comprise of food, 16 percent is spent on family expenses, 11

percent on housing and vehicle, and 13 percent on farming expenses (Table 2.8). All the spending reflects improvements on the household economic status, agriculture and food security, rural development and the household's social status. There was no significant spending or investment of remittances on fishing reported during the current study. Fishing and collection of marine food is a subsistence activity needing none or minimum financial input at the coastal/island household level.

Spending on schooling is estimated at 11 percent of remittances reflecting an investment on children's education. Parents often claim that, to build a house is dead investment, but to pay school fees are likely to result in better dividends as educated children could in future build a bigger and better house. Schooling is compulsory and free between ages 6 and 15, and there is near universal school enrolment at these age levels. The high literacy level of 98.4 percent which is sustained amongst the 15-24 year old population (Statistics Dept. Census 2006) is testimony to this investment which makes Tonga one of the most literate countries in the world.

2.11 Possible role of associations of migrants in originating communities

RSE migrants were selected by community leaders from amongst their members according to certain predetermined criteria. These migrants would normally be active members of their communities with its various committees. There seemed to be no interest on forming associations of migrants in originating communities; unlike Tongan migrants at overseas destinations where various groupings are formed. Those interviewed in this study, on average had been overseas 2.5 times. Thus returned migrants are not considered a special group as most members of the community apart from older women, children and some youths had been overseas at one time or another. However, in the host countries overseas, there well established groups including 'village of origin groups' amongst the Tongan communities (refer to Section 4.1.vii).

2.12 Impact of migration on acquired skills

Migrants bring back new skills and styles in all fields which are evident in the building industry. For example, big overseas style houses are built everywhere and unmistakably, when asked for the owner, the answer will be, "it is so and so who returned from overseas and built it". Masonry is another example, rock fences often referred to as Hawaiian style fences, began to appear in Tonga in the 1980s. These are found throughout Tonga and have been built by returned migrants.

On the down side, a substantial brain drain can occur when policies of host countries target migrants with specific skills such as nurses, doctors, and teachers. The program normally broadly targets those with university qualifications and younger people to ensure many years of service. This is a gain for the host country and a loss to Tonga. There are also unwanted skills brought back by deported migrants from host countries. Those who were involved in serious criminal activities in overseas countries are deported back home. Some criminals teach these negative attitudes and actions to the local youth

who may also be involved in small time criminal activities. The first arm holdups and drug trafficking offences in Tonga were conducted by deportees.

3. General overview of national agricultural, rural development and food security policies dealing referring to migration and identification of trends

Despite the importance of international migration and related remittances to the reduction of population pressure and the economy of the country, the government lacks clear strategies and defined policy framework dealing with migration and remittances. The National Strategic Planning Framework makes no specific reference to remittances and migration is mentioned only once as a demographic factor in its current 5-10 year strategic development policy started 2009. With regards to food security, despite the importance of remittances to the national economy, and Tonga's endorsement of the Framework for Action on Food Security in the Pacific during the Pacific Food Summit in Port Vila, Vanuatu in 2010, the Ministry of Agriculture continues to lack a clear national Policy Framework for food security regarding migrants and remittances. The Ministry's Corporate Plan 2011-2014, stated as its first objective – to expand export and to ensure food security; and objective number 7, - to improve livestock for import substitution. Objective number 7 is defined as specifically to reduce reliance on imported meat and thus to improve food security. Regional organizations such as FAO and SPC studies stated some food security policies for Tonga without reference to migration (FAO 2008: FSSLP Mapping Study; FAO 2009: NMTPE; SPC 2008: DSAP Final Report).

3.1 Migration in government strategies and policies

The establishment of the Seasonal Migration Workers Schemes (SWS) by the Pacific Forum Countries with Australia and New Zealand is welcomed in Tonga as a positive step to assist poor rural and island communities which will also help the economy of the country. Tonga was selected as one of the Pacific countries for the pilot of the RSE scheme with New Zealand, and also for the PSWPS scheme with Australia.

The government's main aim in signing the SWS and the PSWPS is to secure employment for the unemployed and the underemployed population, which will in turn alongside remittance payments contribute to the dire status of the country's economy. As stated in the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for the RSE and PSWPS, Tonga enters into the agreements with a view to achieving the following outcomes, notably:

- Tonga maintains the integrity of the RSE and PSWPS Policy
- Tonga establishes a reputation for providing a reliable labour force for New Zealand's and Australia's horticulture and viticulture industries, and other industries as may be determined to fall under the schemes.
- Tonga's labour force complies with all relevant laws and rules of the 'Programs'

- Tonga secures a satisfactory portion of the seasonal work opportunities available under these Policies, and
- Tonga's workers acquire sufficient savings and appropriate work skills and experience which may contribute to their own personal and their home communities' development and to contribute to the development of Tonga.

The following identifies some government policies related to migration and remittances:

- i. ***Citizenship of permanent migrants.*** Tongans wishing to become citizens overseas may retain their Tongan citizenship. This topic had been debated for many years, and following the year 2003 Royal degree that migrant Tongans could retain ownership of their land; their citizenship status was also, later confirmed. The policy is welcomed by all Tongans especially migrants. Many permanent migrants were reluctant to change citizenship for various reasons such as: fear of losing their land; fear of losing their identity as Tongans; some cannot bear the idea of being treated as visitors and given only a one month visa on arrival to the country they consider is their home. Those who did not take up citizenship in their host country were not entitled to benefits which are only available to citizens. Tongans who changed their overseas citizenship status after the Act was passed could also maintain their full Tongan citizenship. Currently the status of citizenship of Tongans who changed prior to the Act is unclear and is in need of clarification,

- ii. ***Land ownership.*** The King in 2003, quashed legislation to remove land rights of permanent migrants who have taken up citizenship in other countries. This move was misinterpreted by some foreign writers as being a move made out of fear that such law would anger overseas Tongans and diminished remittances (Small and Dixon 2004). Contrary to this view, it was however the traditional custom way of kinship '*nofo a kainga*' having no geographical, status, time and space dimensional barriers separating relatives. In the same token, while migrant Tongans are overseas, the relatives back at home not only receive remittances from them but also have the full use of their land, houses etc back in the village. The relatives' access and use of migrants land, has important positive impacts on food security and agriculture development. In some cases, these lands are better for farming, have better road access and because of the owner's better financial status, are sometimes properly fenced and protected from such pests as roaming pigs and cattle.

- iii. ***Seasonal migration programs targets rural/islands poor.*** Tonga is one of the first two countries in the region that signed an agreement with New Zealand for seasonal work program. The RSE scheme is the first formal labour market arrangement the Tongan Government has managed. It is implemented by the Ministry of Labour, Commerce and Industries (MLCI) which treats the scheme as a business venture. Tongan officials describe it as an opportunity to send workers to earn wages overseas and also to develop and strengthen the country's reputation as a reliable supplier of labour. MLCI staff involved town officers, church leaders and community leaders in the selection phase as well as in training

both physically and mentally of workers prior to their departure. Despite the noble intention of targeting the rural/islands poor for involvement in the schemes, many rural and remote island communities such as in the Ha'apai group are yet to be included in the selection. There are rumours of favouritism and politics within the selection process; however, there is no supporting data to justify this.

For the selection process, the MLCI indicated that 60 percent should come from the outer islands and that community leaders carry out the pre-selection. The main attributes used by village committees for this pre-selection were from low income family, honest, responsible, healthy and hard-working, those who speak reasonable English and do not drink alcohol excessively. The pre-selected workers are then put into a pool of workers and from this work-ready pool; employers will do their own selection. As stated, one of the most important attributes for pre-selection is those from low income households. McKenzie and Gibson (2010) showed that RSE households were larger and poorer than the average non-RSE households. Some recruitment difficulties experienced after the first season of RSE were due to the different aims of employers and Pacific states. Employers wanted to build a team of trained and experienced workers who returned each year and constituted a stable work force. Many preferred to recruit workers who have an established work history and are therefore considered 'work ready'. Pacific states wanted to give as many of their citizens as possible an opportunity to participate in the scheme. Most Pacific states give priority to poorer citizens and those living in rural communities, many of whom have had no formal work experience (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2008).

3.2 Evaluate change in policies and institutions for land reclamation and titling

There is no major land reclamation in Tonga apart from small plots along coastal areas for settlement or government amenities. Land in Tonga cannot be bought and leasing is the only way to change titles unless it's hereditary passed down from father to eldest son. Residential land could be leased for a maximum 99 years, whereas agriculture land is to a maximum of 20 years. A different arrangement applies to churches, schools and such social institutions. Currently, there are moves from the business sector to extend the terms of lease on agricultural lands which will encourage longer term investment on leased land. There are also some dubious means of acquiring land, but this is beyond the scope of this study.

Government should relook at policies regarding mortgage of agrarian land for bank loans which were passed in the 1980s. During the peak years of exporting squash pumpkins to Japan (1991–2004), land was mortgaged to cover the high costs of inputs needed to grow squash. Migrant Tongans returned either to plant squash or just to lease out their land to others. The failure of the industry in the early 2000s due to market fluctuations and at times total market failure resulted in more than just the loss of a season's crop for some families, including those migrants. It also resulted in the loss of their land due to accumulation of unpaid loan repayments. The former promising industry turned a

nightmare for many families. There are currently families who have lost their land through these issues and are been left with no land to carry out their subsistence cropping. The squash industry was also responsible for a more than 200 percent increase on prices (lease) of agriculture land. Prior to the squash industry, a tax-allotment of 8.25 acres could be leased for between 200-400 pa'anga per annum; the industry inflated this to around 1,000 pa'anga which has not come back down.

3.3 Identify focus areas for government policies.

Market access - This is considered an area related to agriculture development which could make the biggest impact (FAO 2010). The high spending of remittances on transportation of agricultural produce in 'Eua at 27 percent compared to a national average of 12 percent of all spending on agriculture (Table 2.3) is due to sending of their produce to Tongatapu, either for the main food market or onwards to overseas markets. Tonga has good fertile soil and thus is able to produce considerable quantities of any major tropical food crops. The production capability of Tonga is evidenced by the offer of a market for squash in Japan in late 1980s to early 2000s. Tonga was able to produce and export squash annually, in excess of the demand of the Japanese market. The same will be seen where there is an assured market for most crop. Production is not a problem, whereas marketing poses a challenge. The large population of migrant Tongans as well as other Islanders in cities such as Auckland, Sydney, Melbourne, Honolulu, LA and San Francisco offers opportunities for marketing of traditional foods from the homeland. The idea is not new but organisation has always been a weak point. Government policies and investment on market research, information and organisation into this opportunity will pay good dividends.

An FAO (2010) Growth Concept Case Study of food crops in Tonga stated the main factors constraining growth in the agricultural sector; and policies are needed to address these issues. Identified problems are as follows:

- Limited capacity for market research and promotion
- Inconsistent quality standard control
- Relatively high agriculture labour cost and low productivity
- Relatively high costs of agricultural inputs (principally agro-chemicals)
- Relatively high costs of agricultural finance
- Relatively high costs of packaging materials
- High costs of transportation.

Policies for marketing of agricultural commodities and provision of market information are functions of Tonga Trade under the Ministry of Labour Commerce and Industries. Production, quarantine protocols and quarantine are mandated to the Ministry of Agriculture, while actual overseas marketing of produce is largely managed by the private sector. Close cooperation between these bodies are essential for successful trade of commodities. Farmers who produce the goods are usually suspicious of traders and traders are rarely supported by government. Market information is rarely available or obsolete and agricultural and quarantine advice on many occasions has been wrong and

costly. Unfortunately, the poor farmer in most cases is the last to get paid and is often left holding the ball at the end of the queue. Clear policies are needed in these areas to share both benefits as well as risks amongst all concerned. When farmers feel they are fairly treated, they will invest more into agriculture.

Food security and export expansion – Government indicates the need to develop policies to ensure food security and to diversify and expand export of agriculture products, focussing on the followings:

- Facilitate sustainable expansion in food production to ensure food security
- Develop and expand the production of traditional food crops and existing food crops.
- Identify and develop new cash crops including fruit trees for domestic consumption and for export.
- Provide appropriate infrastructure including post-harvest and processing facilities.
- Conduct appropriate agricultural research on production and post-harvest technology.
- Develop a disaster management plan for quick recovery from natural disasters.

Food security and import substitution – This report suggest that focus should shift from export expansion to import substitution. The country's total food import in 2008 was 23 percent (USD 37million) of total merchandise import, while food export for the same year was USD 4million (World Bank 2009). These figures indicate bigger potential for development if efforts are focused on import substitution.

Rural and farm roads - Conditions of farm roads are a major problem in rural development. These have been neglected for a long time and with the increasing number of vehicles bought during the peak days of squash export and through remittances from migrants, some rural roads have become impassable even during the dry weather. In all outer islands, Vava'u, Ha'apai and 'Eua, some roads are accessible only by four-wheel drive vehicles and only during dry periods, whereas other roads, in wet or dry seasons are reserved only for tractors. The government has started on a major road upgrading program with donor funding in 2009, unfortunately to date this has been concentrated in Tongatapu. Any potential rural and agriculture development in Tonga must recognise that rural roads are a key priority and assistance must extend to outer islands.

4. Review of actors in the domain of migration in general and in the agricultural and rural development sector

Migration from Tonga and its linkage to remittances, for the purpose of this study, may be grouped into four types:

- (i) Those who migrate to take up residency or citizenship in other countries. The number who migrated permanently was estimated to peak in 1980s at 1,900, currently it is 1,800 annually.
- (ii) Those travellers who travel on short visits of a few days up to one year normally as visitors and are not allowed to take employment in the host country are estimated at 21,000 in 2009. Collection of this data commenced in the beginning of 2011.
- (iii) Those who travel on work permits normally for about 6-9 months. This includes the seasonal workers under the RSE and PSWPS arrangements with New Zealand and Australia respectively. An annual average of 1,290 travelled on this group in 2009 and 2010. It is expected this number will increase significantly in 2011.
- (iv) Those who travel on short visits of up to 3 months and usually in a group ranging from a few to about 50 with the purpose to raise funds for a particular project. The numbers that travel in this group are estimated at around 1,000 annually. Although this estimate may be small, the remittances they collect and bring home are significant. All major projects, whether a community hall, a village water system or street lighting or a church building, some members would have travelled overseas to raise funds. There is no church building in Tonga that was built since 1970s that did not involve a team from Tonga collecting funds from overseas. There is no available data on this part of remittances.

4.1 Main actors in migration, their role and the services they provide.

- i. The would be migrant and relatives (sponsors) overseas.* The government of Tonga lacks a clear policy regarding migration and migrants apart from the regular immigration requirements. Tonga's migration has been termed as 'chain migration', where those already overseas sponsor other relatives and friends to join them. The decision to migrate therefore is by the migrant him/herself, the family in Tonga and relatives and friends overseas who would sponsor the migrant. The burden of sponsorship normally falls on the relatives and friends overseas and is required for both permanent migrants and most of the short term visitors. This is a requirement of the host country needed for certain categories of migration to ensure the welfare of the migrants when they first arrive at the host country. There are also migration categories that do not need sponsorship. This includes for example those with specific skills that are needed in the host country, and business people with proven track records and funds to start up businesses.
- ii. Host country.* The host country of course will have the final say whether there will be migration or not. This will depend on government policies and the requirements of the host country. Policies including those on migration change depending on who is in the decision making seat. Priorities of the country influence government policies; for example, when a host country needs doctors, they open migration paths for

migrant doctors. When the horticulture and viticulture industries need help, they open up the gate for labourers from poor neighbouring countries.

iii. Home Government. The Immigration Service of the home government facilitates overseas travel with issuance of passports. Other government departments provide other necessary documents such as Health Clearance and Police Records needed for permanent migration and seasonal workers. Testimonials and references are often needed by host countries, including for farmers from the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Ministry of Labour Commerce and Industry (MLCI) plays an important role as party to the seasonal workers agreements with Australia (PSWPS) and New Zealand (RSE) representing the Government of Tonga. MLCI is therefore responsible for all matters related to the seasonal migration schemes including the following:

- Selection of workers: Arrange with District and Town Officers, Community and Church leaders and village committees to select suitable members for the “work-ready” pool from which employers from Australia and New Zealand could select their workers.
- Link employers to those in the “work-ready” pool.
- Assistance on training and preparation of workers
- Advice to workers and employer agents regarding travel arrangements.
- Follow up visits to workers in the field
- Assistance to interested parties regarding the monitoring and evaluation of the program
- Monitoring and evaluation of the program for the Government of Tonga.
- Playing a linkage role to the Governments of Australia and New Zealand.

iv. Employer. On the seasonal migration programs, the employer in this case, normally a farmer decides if he needs some extra labour, will then try to get the followings as stated in the RSE, MOU:

- *Employer recognition:* Those who wish to participate in the RSE policy must first gain recognition by complying with good employer and other requirements. Once they have achieved RSE status, the employer applies for an agreement to recruit (ATR) a specified number of workers (for a specific timeframe, location and work tasks).
- *New Zealanders first principle:* ATRs are approved only upon confirmation that no New Zealand workers are available.
- *Employer driven:* The selection of workers and re-employment of return workers are determined by employers based on their requirements.
- *Short term migration:* Worker applicants who have an offer of employment from a RSE employer and who meet the RSE worker criteria are granted a seven month Limited Purpose Entry visa in any 11 month period.
- *Circular migration:* The policy provides for the return of trained workers (who have an offer of employment) in future seasons.
- *Pastoral care:* The RSE employer is responsible for the pastoral care of workers.

- v. **Employer Agents.** Some overseas employers prefer going directly to the community and select their own workers. These employers have their own agents in Tonga who play some of the relevant roles described for MLCI above and especially in selection and training of workers. In some cases, this particular arrangement targets specific villages or areas where they select their workers, thus a good relationship is established with these communities.
- vi. **Financial institutions and churches.** The initial seed money for payment of preparatory expenses, such as for passports, medical tests, police records, some essential clothing, airfares etc. are usually a problem for the seasonal workers. It is not easy for them to get loans from banks due to lack of suitable collateral, and the local money lenders are too expensive. Many tend to borrow from their local church and either start repayment while they work overseas or upon their return.
- vii. **Tongan community in host country local area.** The Tongan community plays an important role especially with the settling in phase of each new arrival. The community provides support at times including finance, furniture, and venues providing a place that migrants can stay, relax or visit. Migrants join their church, their “kava circle”, their social and other community functions; the community thus provide a family and a home away from home.

The Tongan communities in host countries are comprised of various groups in each locale. There are churches groups for each of the various denominations, villages of origin groups, ex-students associations, kava groups etc. Each of these groups is affiliated to a mother organisation in Tonga with branches in most overseas countries where there are Tongans. Most Tongans overseas belong to at least one or more of these various groups. The groups play an important role not only in the orientation and settling in of new migrants, but more importantly on their financial and other contributions to various development initiatives back in Tonga as described earlier (Section 4 (iv)). The groups are the main contact and focal point for visiting affiliated groups whether from Tonga or from other countries.

4.2. Main actors in Agriculture and Rural Development and their functions.

- i. **Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Food (MAFFF).** The ministry is now considered a super-ministry, consisting of what were previously three ministries; including the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Forestry and Ministry of Fisheries. MAFFF functions under its own Cabinet Minister, and is responsible for Policy development and other services covering its sectors. The major service functions include research, extension/advice, vet services, replanting, conservation, quarantine/biosecurity, legislation etc. Policy development and major ministry decisions are passed through the Head of Divisions Meeting (HOD) chaired by the Director of the Ministry. MAFFF has offices and staff in all regions of the country and plays the lead role in food security and rural development.

- ii. MAFFF Advisory Committee.** This is a high-level committee with its prime function to advise the Ministry through the Director and HOD meeting. Its membership includes representatives of the following bodies:
- Tonga Growers Federation
 - Tonga Farmers Association
 - Civil Society Forum of Tonga (CSFT)
 - Private Sector
 - Farmers' representatives
- iii. District Agriculture Committee (DAC).** This committee was setup by MAFFF in the 1980s in particular to link its Extension service to farmers at the district and village levels. It is now a body used by all government departments and others like political groups and NGOs for contacts at the district/village levels. This committee plays a pivotal role in the first of the seven government's strategic development objectives, namely -to facilitate community development by involving district/village communities in meeting their service needs (National Strategic Planning Framework, 2009). The government pledged to commit a minimum of 15 million pa'anga from its budget annually for these village directed developments. The chair of DAC is elected annually and normally it is the District Officer. Membership is made up of town officers, community and church leaders and representatives including the following groups:
- Farmers groups
 - Various village groups including women's groups
 - Church groups
 - *Kavatonga* or kava drinking groups
 - Youth groups
 - *Toungaue* or farmers labour sharing groups
 - NGOs
- iv. Other Government Ministries.** Other ministries and departments play important roles in rural development regarding their respective mandate. Active in rural issues and development includes: the Ministry of Health, which has clinics built, equipped and manned in strategic locations in major rural/island centres throughout the country; The Ministry of Education has a primary school in just about every village and island throughout the group. In villages without schools, the children still have access to a school in the next village. Primary education is provided by government and is compulsory for children between the ages 6 and 14.
- v. Private sector.** The private sector plays a pivotal role in agriculture and rural development of the country. Of particular importance is the facilitation of export of agricultural commodities, and the supply of agricultural inputs. The sector has on occasion provided financial support in the form of loans to finance specific crop ventures for export. In terms of the private sector, the National Strategic Planning Framework 2009 makes the following statement: 'Raising the long-term sustainable growth rate of the Tonga's economy is the Government's top priority'. It is only through economic growth that sustainable poverty alleviation can be achieved.

Increasing the economic growth rate will be driven by the private sector and secured through sustained increases in Tonga's competitiveness in international and domestic markets. Government policy, commercial laws, regulations and creating an environment that facilitates investment will be key factors that underpin private sector led growth. The key economic sectors remains as for Strategic Development Plan 8 (SDP8), being agriculture, fisheries, and tourism. The SDP8 stated the following strategies for the Economic Sectors:

- 1: Continue to improve the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Forests and Fisheries' core services delivery to client groups throughout the country (farmers, district and village agriculture committees, growers' organizations, women's groups and NGOs).
- 2: Accelerate trials on domestic production of various types of vegetables for export markets and to substitute the importation of fatty mutton flaps.
- 3: Improve infrastructure that supports agricultural development (roads, ports, air and sea transport).
4. Review and improve the agricultural policy environment in order to promote small and medium-sized agricultural enterprises.
- 5: Examine the feasibility of an export credit guarantee scheme as a means of encouraging agricultural production for export.

vi. ***Non Government Organizations (NGOs)***. NGOs play significant roles in community development, and especially in the socioeconomic and health issues and food security in rural communities. In many cases, they partner with the MAFFF Extension Services to implement some community development projects. One such NGO is the Tonga Community Development Trust (TCDT) or simply Tonga Trust. The Tonga Trust mandate focuses on alleviation of poverty in Tongan families and communities and fostering self reliance and sustainable community development. Their roles are listed as follows:

- To work with poor and disadvantaged families and communities to improve their living standard
- To build the capacity and confidence of families and communities, especially women through technical training in specific skills that are relevant and useful for home and community development
- To provide linkages and pathways between families and communities with other development sources of assistance, such as government, local and foreign donors
- To increase people's understanding of their basic rights
- To facilitate and empower communities governance structure as a strong foundation for charging their own development and self-reliance

5 Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Develop migrant capacity and maximize benefits

Migrants should be well prepared to note that temporary and permanent migrants need to become well versed in the requirements and limitations of seasonal work schemes, as well as develop an understanding of the different working and social environment in their host country. Tonga should establish itself as a reliable source of dependable workers who meet specific criteria within this scheme. Apart from individuals who migrate under specific skill categories of the host country, most other migrants are usually untrained and unprepared for life and employment in the host country especially those under the seasonal work schemes. Well prepared migrants will directly optimise available benefits which can be extended to include a wider range of beneficiaries including the migrant and his family, the country of origin as well as the host country.

1.1 Training

Migrants training should include not only on what is expected for the job but also on matters such as financial, social and cultural aspects and generally on how to live in the host country. They should also understand their rights and privileges as well as any limits on them as guests of their host countries.

For many within a migrant household, especially of those under the seasonal migration schemes, the financial benefit may be the first regular income they have received even though it may only for the duration of the migrant's contract. Migrant's spouse and family will greatly benefit from financial training including: how to handle money, budgeting and investment opportunities.

Tongan migration officials need to develop keen negotiation skills which enable them to interact with individual migrants, migrant groups and agents, employers and employers agents, intra-government levels and at times with host countries officials.

Migration officials also need to develop capacity for monitoring and evaluating these programs through such activities as data collection, analysis, information dissemination and providing a sound input into ongoing policy development

1.2 Sharing information

Sharing of information and good practices amongst national migration groups and with other labour source countries as well as host countries such as those involved in the Seasonal Worker Schemes will be beneficial in developing migration management systems and policies.

1.3 Develop reliable 'work-ready' pool of workers

Strict selection criteria must be developed and adhered to during selection of potential workers for the Seasonal Worker Schemes. Overstaying of work permits

has become an issue with Tongan workers, thus employers tend to hire from countries other than Tonga. The problem of overstaying could be traced to a lax selection process as a contributing factor. Policies must be designed to minimise overstaying as it will discourage the host from continuing with the scheme. Tongans are known as good workers particularly in the agriculture and horticultural sectors and are praised for this in the seasonal worker schemes. Whilst this needs to be lauded in the scheme, Tonga should also be recognised for providing a reliable source of dependable workers who keep the conditions of their agreement and contracts.

1.4 Government increase incentives for investment in Agriculture

Incentives which support the investment and development of entrepreneurial enterprises based on remittances will encourage further and more sustainable benefits from the migration practices. For example, through increasing Government assistance to agriculture development in areas such as improved marketing opportunities, rural roads and availability of rural and micro-credits, this will encourage migrants' investment in the sector. In turn this will support efforts to increase food security and improve rural livelihood opportunities. More than 80% of migrants under the Seasonal Work Schemes are farmers, thus investment of remittances into the agriculture sector will significantly increase if a favourable working environment exists which offer clear opportunities.

Recommendation 2: Build Migration and Management Capacity

Migration is normally not developed or managed nationally and is totally up to the individuals who wish to migrate, whether temporary or permanent. Controlled migration schemes largely only operate on the Seasonal Worker Schemes. Effective migration management needs trained officials with access to accurate migration data, including links between local realities and destination awareness. Reliable migration data is essential for amongst others, government strategic planning and industries and private sector development. As the unemployment rate is high in Tonga, migration both temporary and permanent can ease unemployment pressures.

2.1 Improve Migration and Remittance Data

Gaps in migration related data include: departures of residents for short visits, employment related and permanent migration; data on remittances carried in person by returning migrants; the in-kind components of remittances; and remittances collected by fundraising groups. Limited migration data is currently collected and some is available in the public domain from the Immigration Department, Statistics Departments, Visitors Bureau and Ministry of Labour Commerce and Industries; whereas limited data on remittances is available from the National Bank, Visitors Bureau and Ministry of Labour Commerce and Industries. These data sources have significant gaps in a range of areas including: availability; reliability; consistency; collection methods and rigour and terminology. Relevant data collection on migration and remittances must be improved through centralising collection and ensuring reliability and consistency.

The Statistics Department could provide a reliable data collection, storage and dissemination agency.

2.2 Train Competent Migration Officials

The Statistics Department with expertise on data collection, analysis and dissemination have minimal involvement in collection and analysis of migration statistics. The only migration data they collect and statistically analyse is the national population census conducted at 10 year intervals. Migration data is collected by those listed under recommendation 2.1 and data is presented quantitatively with limited analysis. Expert analysis and interpretation of migration data is essential for policy development.

2.3 Build Migration capacity

Tonga should make decisive moves towards preparing a targeted workforce for employment as migrant workers in neighbouring developed countries, focusing on such areas as domestic workers and aged carers, low-skilled manufacturing and service sector roles. Although the implications and longer term sustainability of migratory practices and seasonal employment is questionable, migration with its resultant remittances have become an important part of the country's economy. The negative impacts, such as 'brain drain' and social issues are usually ignored. The current RSE and PSWPS schemes with New Zealand and Australia respectively are considered mutually beneficial for Tonga as well as the host countries. To acquire a more substantial share of the seasonal migration market, a reliable 'work-ready' pool of trained workers should be developed. Government should actively develop and pursue opportunities in industries other than just the seasonal fruit picking industry which is passively dependent, catering largely for the labour requirements of the host countries. Negotiations to open up other areas for short term employment will require the cooperation of all regional labour supplying countries as well as host countries. The Pacific Forum Countries platform offers a forum to discuss such potential initiatives.

Recommendation 3: Mainstream Migration into Development Policies

Streamlining of migration into national development and strategic policies could increase its contribution towards the achievement of development goals through ensuring the maximisation of benefits and reducing the social, cultural and economic costs of migration. The international migration of highly trained people to the more developed countries is well planned targeting specific skills and effectively integrated through encouragement and selectivity of such migration into the host countries' development through enabling immigration policies. Tonga should pay attention into relevant policies with regards to the siphoning off of the well trained. Policies should be developed to prevent exploitation of migrants and depletion of human resources, although it should seek to enhance individual freedoms without damaging collective wellbeing. The region may consider adopting what is done in Europe and most of the world – let people cross borders back and forth for work whilst encouraging them to develop a competitive private sector in their home country.

3.1 Link migration and development policies

Migration affects everyone, from the family, community, and village and through to the national level and beyond. Whilst it affects all sectors of government no agency takes ownership and responsibility. The lack of collaboration and cooperation amongst relevant agencies at local, national and international levels is a critical issue facing migration policy. Migration is an integral part of the country's development, thus relevant bureaucracies should cooperate to mainstream migration into development strategies and to develop an enabling national environment for those seeking seasonal migration opportunities.

3.2 Improve relationship with visiting migrants.

Tongan migrants who have taken citizenship in other countries should be able to maintain their residency rights in Tonga. Despite the recognition of the significant contributions made by migrants toward the development of Tonga, visiting Tongans who have overseas citizenship can often feel alienated when visiting Tonga as they are subjected to the same restrictions as any other visitor. While current legislation allows dual citizenship, those who gave up their Tongan citizenship prior to the passing of this law must undergo an expensive process to reclaim their national identity. Those who for various reasons cannot reapply for Tongan citizenship should be readily considered for residency status. Policies need to be developed which facilitate an enabling process to reclaim the national identity of migrant Tongans.

3.3 Negotiate migrants' rights and workplace standards

Inter-governmental mechanisms and channels should be effectively and assertively utilised to negotiate for the same rights and conditions accorded to host country workers, In particular this should apply to such short term work permits as those developed under the Seasonal Worker Schemes. For example, those individuals who are employed under these work schemes pay income tax in host countries, yet they are not allowed to file claims for rebates like the local workers. Furthermore common concerns raised by seasonal workers relate to workplace safety and accommodation standards.

3.4 Compensate "Brain Drain" through cost sharing in training.

The movement of well trained individuals from the least developed and developing to developed countries remains the subject of considerable discussion and concern within developing countries. The costs of training these individuals are usually borne by the country of origin. Destination countries which benefit from this "brain drain" may consider sharing the costs of training this potential human resource pool through initiatives such as allowing education visa recipients to work to help pay the costs of their education. This will enable those who otherwise could not afford higher education receive training. A three-way sustainable win-win situation can occur when individuals are trained and shared between home and host countries; and also those individuals from a poor

background are given an opportunity to better themselves, their families, their home country as well as their adopted country.

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7. Appendix

Appendix 1. A matrix of Recommendations with main sectors' objectives, government interventions, identified partners' support, gaps and possible FAO support actions.

Main sectors	Objectives	Govt Actions: existing and future	Activities by partners in support of Govt: existing and future	Areas needing more in depth analysis	Actions by FAO
Agriculture	<p>to increase youths' engagement in agricultural activities</p> <p>Farming is interesting and seen as a rewarding occupation</p> <p>reduce migration through labour and employment policies and programmes</p> <p>Support livelihood strategies of migrants</p>	<p>Promotion of Agriculture as an industry of choice and opportunity</p> <p>Formal agriculture training for youths</p> <p>Started repairing farm roads but must extend to outer islands</p> <p>All government development programs must extend to outer islands</p> <p>Negotiate for maximum share of the seasonal workers requirement</p>	<p>Formal training programs in agriculture</p> <p>Vocational training including agriculture</p> <p>Assist and collaborate in market access, research and information</p> <p>Assist with marketing and postharvest equipments</p> <p>Assist with infrastructure eg agricultural roads</p> <p>Credits be made available and affordable to rural communities and youths for farming</p>	<p>Understanding youth motivators and recognise incentives to retain youths</p> <p>Farming must somehow be linked to youths' contemporary styles eg. their music, sports and mobile phones</p> <p>Farming must make money in order to attract and to keep youths in agriculture</p> <p>Market and postharvest research and information</p> <p>Outer islands communities must have means of earning money</p>	<p>Development of interesting youth orientated agricultural projects</p> <p>Youth groups competitions in agriculture</p> <p>Capacity building projects for youths</p> <p>Study tours as part of capacity building and to strengthen interest</p> <p>More rural/ island focused development projects</p>

Agriculture	<p>Maximize remittances investments for food security and rural development</p> <p>Co-development projects funded by migrants should be supported by government and development partners</p>	<p>Develop relevant policies</p> <p>Develop consultative program with expatriate Tongans which promotes agricultural development as a vital investment focus</p> <p>Infrastructure like farm roads and water supply are examples of govt responsibilities often taken up by migrant funded community projects.</p>	<p>Funding and technical assistance</p> <p>Government and development partners should support</p>	<p>Training on budgeting and investment</p> <p>Development of friendly policies and environment for investment</p> <p>Long term impacts on food security in relation to nutrition as migration and remittances increase buying and consumption of imported foods compared to more nutritious local foods</p>	<p>Funding and technical assistance</p>

<p>Labour and migrants</p>	<p>Facilitate selection of a 'work-ready' pool of workers</p> <p>Training and preparation of workers for the field</p> <p>Migrant and spouse are trained on budgeting and investment</p> <p>Workers are better informed on living and working in overseas countries</p> <p>Migrants, especially seasonal workers are able to claim on income taxes.</p> <p>Tonga to be recognized as a reliable supplier of good workers</p> <p>More people are recruited under seasonal worker schemes</p> <p>The scheme to be successful and a sustainable mean of employment many Tongans in years to come</p>	<p>Involved community leaders in selection</p> <p>Training conducted, but more focus training needed eg. budgeting and investment</p> <p>Physical and mental training of workers to meet challenges of this competitive market</p> <p>Should negotiate seasonal workers income tax with host countries.</p> <p>Advertising to farmers and orchardists in NZ and Australia</p> <p>Close monitoring of workers in the field</p> <p>Field visits by senior officials from Tonga</p> <p>Increase selection of workers from rural and remote island communities</p> <p>Set up a credit scheme where workers could borrow for initial costs.</p>	<p>Assist on training</p> <p>Funding and preparation of a brochure for 'living and working overseas' including eg. the DOs and DON'Ts</p> <p>Negotiate to allow for dialogues on income taxes paid by seasonal workers</p> <p>Funding for advertising and training</p> <p>Support through funding the position of welfare/counsellor to assist seasonal workers in the field</p> <p>Host countries should consider permanent residency status for good workers through the scheme.</p>	<p>Selection of workers and distribution of opportunities to communities</p> <p>Evaluation of effectiveness of all trainings</p> <p>Merits of using migrant Tongans as welfare agents for seasonal workers</p> <p>Migrant workers pay income tax in Australia and NZ, should be allowed to claim on this as most live below those countries' poverty line.</p> <p>Better preparation of workers before travel overseas.</p> <p>Monitor and assist returned worker and families with issues arise from long separation</p> <p>Analysis of the true costs and impacts of sending remittances to Tonga on the migrant families overseas</p>	<p>Training on budgeting and investment</p>
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<p>Statistics and information</p>	<p>Analyse 2006 Census to show demographic trends, patterns and levels.</p> <p>Identify gaps in information migration issues</p> <p>Collect more essential data on migration and migrants</p> <p>Collect good data on remittances including carry home amounts and in-kind component</p>	<p>10 year census conducted 2006; and the next census in 2016</p> <p>Some data has been collected.</p> <p>Immigration Dept should collect good data on migration departure and arrivals including of foreigners to Tonga</p>	<p>Technical assistance and funding</p>	<p>More data on migration eg. on departures of residents on short visits</p> <p>Information and data on problems and issues faced overseas by migrants and seasonal workers</p> <p>Data on remittances carried in person by returning migrants</p> <p>Collect data on in-kind component of remittances</p> <p>Data on remittances collected by fundraising groups.</p>	<p>Funding and technical assistance for the next Agricultural Census</p>