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T H E T O N G A N G R A D U A T E

- a descriptive study

A thesis presented to Massey
University in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts and
Honours in Education.

Tupou 'Ulu'ave Taufa

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A B S T R A C T

Tonga's graduates number less than two hundred among a population in excess of 90,000. Tonga remains today a closeknit, traditional and socially stratified, monocultural society yet the graduate group has lived in a foreign culture and studied at an overseas university for at least three years. How has this overseas experience in a country very different from that of the Kingdom of Tonga, influenced the lives of Tonga's graduates?

After a discussion of relevant background issues and a description of the sample and the methodology of this research, the home situation and university career of the typical graduate is outlined. The conditions of the graduate's return home are investigated with particular emphasis on employment and social factors affecting readaptation to life in Tonga. The major findings of this research are drawn together in the final chapter and a series of recommendations are made suggesting changes in policy towards this particular sector of Tonga's populace.

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Chapter 1

GENERAL BACKGROUND - theoretical issues

Human Capital Theory

In the early 1960's it was assumed that "investment, education and modern management would be sufficient" for the economic growth of the Third World Countries. (Lakshmana Rao, 1976, p.1) Human Capital Theory (Karabel & Halsey, 1977) proposes the concept of investment in people. With more education people can enlarge their range of choice. Investment in human capital not only increases individual productivity, but, in so doing, also lays the technical base for the type of labour force necessary for rapid economic growth. The theory appealed to most sectors on the community. Businessmen saw education as investment; teachers and researchers found theoretical justification for the expansion of their activities; politicians supported the democratization of access to education; and finally, the consumers of education perceived the validity of opportunities to acquire well-paid employment.

Since education involved a great magnitude of finance, a clear-cut demonstration of the value of this investment was needed. Technological functionalists favoured human capital theory as it stressed the technical function of education in emphasizing the efficient use of human resources. The greater rewards accruing to the educated were seen as incentives necessary to encourage extended study. Thus Davis & Moore (1945) contended that "a medical education is so burdensome and expensive that virtually none would undertake it if the M.D. did not carry a reward commensurate with the sacrifice." (p.244)

Human capital theory had its direct appeal to pro-capitalist ideological sentiment in its insistence that the worker is a holder of capital (embodied in his skills and knowledge) and that he had the capacity to invest (in himself). The theory assumes that the perfect competition prevailing in labour markets ensures that greater earnings reflect greater productivity. However, in the real world, wages are not entirely determined thus.

Applicability to the Third World

Despite the above mentioned significant disparity from reality, human capital theory was widely accepted. Schultz (1961) concluded that "underdeveloped countries, lacking in the knowledge and skills required to take on and use efficiently the superior techniques of production should be provided with aid designed to increase the quality of their human capital." (p.322) The popularity of the theory led the more prosperous nations to help by donating or lending resources, by staffing and creating training centres in developing regions, and by welcoming large numbers of foreign students to their own institutions of learning. The development of Third World nations was seen as possible if they would only improve the quality of their woefully inadequate human resources.

The application of this theoretical framework led to diverse and unsuccessful projects. For example in Ghana (Foster, 1965) the active sponsorship of technical and vocational education evoked little local response because the populace, apparently more aware of the actual structure of opportunities in Ghana than foreign economists, recognised that the employment sector was simply too small to absorb very many graduates. In India where the technological developments of the Green Revolution were hailed as a means to end mass poverty the reverse appears to have occurred. A class of rich peasants has improved its position in the rural areas as a result of the adoption in the late 1960s of Green Revolution technology. Here investment in human capital appears to have emphasized the unequal distribution of land and wealth in India.

In the early 1960's human capital theory was at its peak but a decade later it was under vigorous assault because of its policy failures both in the American 'war on poverty' and in the attempts to promote economic growth in Third World countries. The theory no longer seemed to provide an adequate framework for understanding the relationship between education and economics. Human capital theorists were unable to defend themselves because their input and output model never offered a clear insight into what was occurring in the 'black box' of education that would explain its correlation with earnings, that correlation

being of course only partial, not perfect.

By the late 1960's it had become obvious that "the progress of developing nations (the have-nots) was uneven, falling short of aspirations." (Lakshmana Rao, 1976, p.1) The developed nations (the haves), on the other hand, grew faster and the international gaps were widened instead of being narrowed. Secondary schools in the developing world tended to be staffed predominantly by expatriates, and students were encouraged to follow a foreign curriculum. Pupils consequently aspired to white collar jobs and acquired the requisite qualifications, looking with scorn on the available jobs in agriculture. As a consequence, the growing output of schools in the Third World was imperfectly related to the job market. Underemployment at all levels was the result of this mismatch. Many a skilled person found an unsatisfactory job or no job at all.

Learning from the curricula and from the faculties of other societies has long been considered an asset for both the individual and for his country. But doubts were raised when many educated abroad did not return to dwell permanently in their home countries. The emigration of skilled/educated persons to countries that offered more advantageous conditions was termed the 'Brain Drain'. (Bernhardt, 1973) This concept was first coined by Hechinger in his assessment of the affect of emigration upon American learning. Now the term is more commonly applied in association with the less developed nations. By the 1960's complaints about the loss of professionals from the Third World challenged the value of those flows between nations. Officials and writers from developing nations protested that the richer nations were damaging development in their societies by enticing away their professionals. Foreign study was said to have become an instrument for raiding talent instead of an instrument of technical assistance. (Lakshmana Rao, 1976)

The assumption of human capital theory that benefits of educational and training programmes would percolate to the poverty-stricken masses, in due course if not directly, has recently come under attack. It is evident that even without skills and knowledge gained abroad, most of

the now educated persons in developing nations, would still have held positions of influence. Furthermore persons acquiring overseas training have tended to come from middle-class or elitist groups within their own country. There certainly seems little evidence to suggest that overseas education is in fact available to those of lower social status in the Third World. The ability and commitment of elites in developing countries to modernise their societies and stabilise their political systems is still an issue debated among political scientists. (Lakshmana Rao, 1976) The role of the middle class in developing nations, in first fighting for independence is extensively documented. But its subsequent unwillingness for self-sacrifice and socio-economic reforms, and its lack of self-discipline have attracted much criticism. The new social and political elites of the Third World often resist badly needed reforms that would modernise their societies. In this respect, aid by way of education, training and skills for professionals, bureaucrats and political elites, has limited value.

The value of learning and education, the significance of the Brain Drain, and the role of elites, are all significant issues which focus upon the overseas training of students from the developing world. This study aims to ascertain the particular relevance of these issues to the Kingdom of Tonga - a developing nation in the south west Pacific.

Current Research

Other research in this field is concerned predominantly with the activities of overseas students in their host country (Trinh, 1968; Furneaux, 1973). Research with overseas educated students on their 'return home' is very limited. One such study (Keats, 1969) investigated Asians trained in Australia under the Colombo Plan. This study was designed to assess the effectiveness of this form of educational aid to the developing nations of South East Asia. Questionnaires and interviews were used as the primary means of data collection. The study was concerned primarily with four aspects of students' experience on their return home after having successfully completed a degree or diploma course: namely, their employment history, the value to them of their Australian qualifications, the extent to which they had been able to apply their training, and their personal relations both with their fellow

countrymen and with friends they had made in Australia. (p.vii)

Keats found that those who had returned acquired jobs after little delay but not necessarily in the field of study they had pursued overseas. Those who held post-graduate degrees were looked upon with favour and thus quickly came to hold responsible positions. The prestige of Australian degrees was not as high, however, as those from the United States or the United Kingdom. Many returners found avenues for the transference of learned skills. They felt, however, that there should exist more opportunity to maintain contacts with the world they had left. It was suggested that in future, training programmes should ensure better communication between Australian authorities and prospective students and employers. There was a demand for more opportunities for post-graduates, and an exchange of teachers and scholars was seen as an avenue to keep alive what had been learnt.

Lakshmana Rao (1976), on the other hand, studied the overseas student in Australia itself. Emphasis was placed on the reasons for the initial decision to study abroad and the reasons either to 'stay on' in the host nation or to return home with qualifications. The study was based on the U.N.I.T.A.R. survey and was adapted to Australian conditions. Postal questionnaires were sent and a fifty-six percent response rate resulted. A number of in-depth interviews were also conducted. For the Polynesians, who formed but a small part of the survey, significant factors influencing their decision to stay abroad for a further period, were to obtain professional training and on-the-job experience. Problems most commonly mentioned in association with returning home were high customs duty on items acquired overseas; administrators who were unaware of recent developments within the profession; the need to support many family members; and a lack of appreciation by colleagues. Polynesians displayed a very high intention to return home (an index of 1.81 in which +2 represented all students returning home, and -2 representing none intending to do so). The major policy change recommended for all overseas students as a result of this Australian study, was the making of opportunities more equitable between private and government-sponsored students. In this way, it was asserted, "the proportion of prospective stay-ons among them also can be drastically reduced". (Lakshmana Rao, 1976, p.211)

Trinh (1968) discussed the experiences of Malaysian students in New Zealand. He explored their reasons for studying abroad and maintained that "the country which sends its students abroad expects them to fulfil some definite task in its future economic development". (p.17) Students are expected to pass on technical knowledge learnt abroad to those who did not have the chance to study overseas. A student is expected to become a modern Marco Polo who will inform his close friends and relatives about the Western civilisation and to what extent it should be assimilated. A degree gained overseas commands a higher status than one gained locally and thus entitles the holder to better pay and opportunities of advancement. Students, because of their long periods of socialisation overseas, the greater social and political freedom abroad, as well as wide employment opportunities and the high standard of living, often found it disagreeable to return home. When they do they must readapt to their home society and thus lose much of their personal freedom to parental jurisdiction. Those who do return home, Trinh maintained, indicated the depth of their obligation to their own country and families.

Fitzgerald (1977) in his study of New Zealand Maori graduates attempted to assess the personal and social outcomes derived from their academic success. Questionnaires were administered to 150 university graduates of Maori descent, and the life histories of eleven of the sample formed the core of Fitzgerald's commentary. He described the complexities of the adjustment faced by Maori graduates, their attitudes to the past and the future, their expectations of New Zealand Europeans, and their opinions about 'the' Maori in New Zealand society. He concluded that social identity is situational and as a result leads to changes in the individual. Cultural identity, on the other hand, acts to stabilise behaviour and is the conservative mechanism for adaptation in the face of change. Since the source of Maori identity is primarily cultural, Fitzgerald (1977) stresses the importance of training individuals "not for conformity to a rigid pattern of behaviour but for efficiency within this rich and complex bicultural heritage". (p.125)

Tu'inukuafe (1976) investigated the role of overseas-trained Tongans in their society with an emphasis on their contribution to development. A postal questionnaire was sent to 200 overseas-trained Tongans, whose educational qualifications ranged from a Ph.D. to Tongan Lower Leaving Certificate. A total of 120 replies were received - a response rate of sixty percent. The questions posed covered the general background of respondents and enquired into their community participation. A combination of open and closed questions were put. Results gained were analysed in a largely subjective manner. Tu'inukuafe concluded that overseas-trained Tongans had indeed made, and were continuing to make, a significant contribution to the development of modern Tonga. He pointed out that without such personnel the educational and medical services of the Kingdom would collapse. Tu'inukuafe made three significant recommendations, namely, that Tonga implement a planned programme of development, that there be educated and trained personnel to implement such a programme, and that a truly representative and responsible government formulate that programme. It is, as yet, too early to assess the impact of his recommendations upon government planning although the Five Year Plans and the Curriculum Development Unit are of increasing importance in the Kingdom. This increased importance is evident from the higher number of personnel now working in these two fields.

Graduate training overseas then has been an important issue in a number of research studies. The Fitzgerald study is of interest because it studies a Polynesian group. Although it does not totally involve education at a graduate level in a foreign country, perhaps it is within a foreign culture. The research by Tu'inukuafe and Lakshmana Rao is of relevance as both refer to Polynesian students overseas, Tu'inukuafe being concerned with Tongans alone. Trinh discusses education at the graduate level outside the country of birth - in this instance in New Zealand - while the emphasis Keats placed on the decision to return home is of direct relevance to this study.

From the above studies the following characteristics can be deemed 'known' about overseas-trained graduates. A preponderance of such students are from an urban middle-class social background. The majority study overseas with a specific job orientation rather than for a 'general

education'. Problems experienced in the host country included those of finance, loneliness and academic failure. The majority do return home although job conditions and monetary attractions encourage a stay-on component. Back home many graduates found it difficult to deal with favouritism, nepotism and corruption in their societies.

The Tongan Situation

In Tonga education has had a central role in the country's development. Tonga is unique in that it was never colonised by a foreign power. It has always been independent, and consequently was never under the control of a group of expatriate administrators. From time to time foreign individuals did become significant in Tonga's development but real power has always remained with those of Tongan birth.

The importance of education is apparent from its history in Tonga. Primary schools began as early as 1828 and secondary education was under-way thirty-eight years later. Today a significant number of children continue their education after the minimum leaving age of fourteen years. (Figure 1.1)

Figure 1.1 Ages of Tonga's School Pupils - 1976

<u>Age</u>	<u>Percent</u>
5 - 9	41.7
*10 - 14	39.3
15 - 19	19.0

* the transfer from primary school to a middle school or high school occurs around age ten

source: Government of Tonga, Report of the Minister of Education, 1976, adapted from Tables 2 & 3

The regard in which Tonga holds education is reflected in the large number of nobles who have had or are undergoing overseas study. Provision is even made in the constitution for the eldest son of each noble family to receive an overseas education at the expense of the State. The present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, was Tonga's first graduate. The noble class of Tonga views education with respect. But it is not a mechanism by which power is retained or justified since birth alone is

the sole attribute of noble status.

Education is, however, seen by commoners in this still hierarchial society as a means of upward mobility. Consequently great sacrifices are often made to educate offspring. Very high school fees are paid without complaint. Each paper qualification occupies a place of honour on the lounge wall. People take great pride in exhibiting these academic certificates. A large number of people always attend school prizegiving ceremonies. Radio messages are sent to relatives and friends of successful students to apprise them of scholastic laurels won. Parents and relatives are very proud when a family member receives a government scholarship for further education abroad.

Tongan government scholars study at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, in Papua-New Guinea, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, India, the United Kingdom and very recently in West Germany. In excess of one hundred government scholarships are awarded annually, many of these being funded by foreign nations - a very direct form of foreign aid although the recipient does usually spend a large portion of the grant in the donor country. As well as admitting Tongan students to their own universities, foreign governments have sent educational personnel to Tonga. New Zealanders, Australians, Britons, Canadians, Japanese and Americans are currently working in educational and other institutions in the Kingdom. Their role is to either supply counterpart training, or to fill in for Tongan nationals currently training overseas. Support for human capital theory is manifest in this policy. The presence of a large number of foreign, white collar workers in the country has had a considerable impact on attitudes in Tonga.

From the list of Tongan graduates compiled (APPENDIX I) only seventy-nine percent (sixty-one people) were residing in the Kingdom. In the absence of any official data there is great difficulty in assessing the extent of the 'brain drain' from the Kingdom. This is compounded by the fact that many graduates are currently overseas doing further training. However, it is apparent that the brain drain is becoming a problem for Tonga. Of Tonga's four M.D.s only two reside in the Kingdom and only one is a practising physician. Despite the number of scholarships awarded annually to Tongans to train as teachers fifty-four percent of

graduates teaching in Tongan secondary schools in 1976 were expatriates. (Government of Tonga, Report of the Minister of Education, 1976 - adapted from Table 4). Reasons for this brain drain lie in such factors as marriage to citizens of other nations, higher salaries offered overseas, the restrictions of life in a small society like Tonga, secondment to overseas positions, and so forth.

In Tonga's still strongly hierarchial society political, economic and social power continue to rest predominantly with a hereditary and privileged aristocracy made up of the royal family and thirty-three noble families. The high-born continue to enjoy almost unquestioning loyalty from the lower social ranks. Their preponderance in the decision making roles is marked. Nepotism, a potent force within the Kingdom, ensures their continuing power and superior social position. It is social status in Tonga which is the basis of all other forms of status. However, Tonga, like all societies, is experiencing social change. One of the principal avenues of social mobility within the Kingdom is education. There is some evidence of a rise by the low born to positions of authority. (Tonga's present Minister of Education is a me'avale/low born by birth). Increasingly it is the educated Tongan, of noble or common birth, who is coming to prominence - a trend which will no doubt become even more apparent in the future.

Tonga's Educational Objectives

Education in Tonga operates under a dual system of control - church and state. In 1976 eighty-six percent of primary school children attended government schools but the church was educating eighty-one percent of secondary students. (Figure 1.2)

Figure 1.2 School Attendance in Tonga - 1976

<u>Controlling Authority</u>	<u>Primary Students</u>	<u>Secondary Students</u>	<u>Total</u>
Government	16,566	1,405	58%
Church	2,694	9,506	39%
Other	-	810	3%

source: Government of Tonga, Report of the Minister of Education, 1976, adapted from Table 1

It is pertinent, in light of the foregoing table, to consider the educational aims of both the church and the state school systems. The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, which educates fifty-one percent of church students, places emphasis upon a "Christian" education. In 1976 the President of Wesleyan Education enunciated the aims of church education as follows: (Munro, 1976, p.2)

- to help and strengthen the development of Christian character, beliefs and objectives in every field of life
- to provide a basic education for all children in all schools within the Church system which helps children to learn by themselves and become exposed to wider thought which will help them to cope with the changing life in Tonga
- to provide an education which will assist school leavers to gain the skills necessary to cope with the changing world, to realise their full potential and to take up a useful occupation

Two years previously the government was aiming to develop an educational system that was: (Ministry of Education, 1974, p.5)

- a meaningful preparation of young people in relation to their expectations and aspirations within the context of their socioeconomic situation
- to give young people a general education which will provide a sound basis...in later life
- fundamental preparation through which young people can exploit further training in the skills and practices which they will choose as their means of livelihood and of living a full life

While there are some differences between the educational aims of the government and the church, both institutions see education as a preparation for adult life and stress the need for children to acquire the skills they will need in the future. While the church has emphasized the concept of 'change' in its educational aims, the government appears more concerned that children should adapt to the economic and social realities of the Kingdom. Both church and state authorities admit that the present system does not fulfil the stated aims yet both continue to follow a largely foreign curricula.

Today Tonga's educational system follows closely that of New Zealand. The highest academic honour is a pass in New Zealand University Entrance. Students then aspire towards the acquisition of a degree. The acquisition of foreign skills, as exemplified in an individual's ability

to operate strange equipment, has always been held in high regard by Tongans. In the late eighteenth century Finau 'Ulukulala, ruler of Vava'u, was impressed with the ability of a European castaway to commit speech to paper while a ticking pocket-watch had his people intrigued. Today Western technology is still very much admired and sought after. Foreigners bring not only specific skills but also the 'know-how' in such fields as engineering, medicine, education and administration. Tonga has realised the need to train her young people in these skills so that they can be adapted to the Tongan lifestyle in such a way that the nation will retain its unique identity.

Tonga's approach to foreign education could be said to parallel that of the Meiji government of Japan in the 1860's. Like Japan, Tonga was never dominated by a foreign power, but also like Japan it has realised the futility of resisting European technology. It too has attempted to turn the skills and 'know-how' of foreign nations to its own advantage. Tonga's able youth is encouraged to study overseas and return home with techniques of value to the Kingdom. Learned skills are to be adapted to indigenous culture to enable modern Tonga to retain its special identity. Today Japan is a leading world nation largely because it has used foreign technology for its own purposes. Tonga, on a smaller scale, is attempting to follow suit. Does Tonga realise this historical parallel? Perhaps. When asked recently if he felt that so many foreign influences would be responsible for the breakdown of Tongan culture, His Majesty Taufa'ahau Tupou IV replied, "The Japanese are still as thoroughly Japanese as they ever were, and they have changed technologically much more than Tonga. Tonga has always adapted itself and the essence of Tongan culture will be maintained." (Findlay, 1979, p.23)

Graduate training overseas is seen in Tonga as a principal mode of national and individual advancement. The national advantages of such training have been spelt out above, but for the individual the acquisition of a university degree is seen to result in a higher income, a high position in the community and consequently a higher social status for both the degree holder and his family. On his return the graduate is known in the Tongan community as the 'tangata poto' (the clever, knowledgeable man). He is expected to solve any problem put to him, to perform on demand the practical skills he has acquired. But while his 'know-how' is exploited

to the full he often has but a minimal role in decision making. Despite his breadth of learning he must remain obedient to the often frustratingly autocratic mode of his social, but rarely intellectual, superiors. This dichotomy of role not only sets the graduate apart, but also leads to tensions.

There is emerging, if not as yet a graduate class, at least a significant number of degree holders. Many occupy key positions within the Kingdom. They have in common an overseas experience which has led to the gaining of a university degree. As the standard of education in Tonga continues to rise and as the opportunities for overseas study increase, so too will the number of graduates. A group that wields considerable influence over many aspects of Tonga's affairs and development is worthy of closer study. Of particular importance are factors influencing their readaptation to Tongan society on their return from abroad. Of significance is the relative impact of their overseas experience as opposed to their Tongan upbringing. Investigation into such matters should determine primary influences in the readjustment required of all Tongan graduates who return to the Kingdom.

Chapter 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

Earlier Research

This study of Tongan graduates is presented in the form of a descriptive analysis. The background, attitudes and expectations of the graduate in modern day Tonga are examined in some detail. The islands of the Pacific have long been favourite haunts of academics, but most research has centred upon ethnographic and anthropological concerns (Mead, 1950; Beaglehole, 1941) with emphasis upon the traditional culture. Studies of modern Pacific communities are increasing but those of Tonga are primarily historical (Gerstle, 1973; Wood, 1943; Cummins, 1972) or possessing an economic or political basis (Latukefu, 1964; Sevele, 1973). A number of research projects have centred on Tongan education but the majority of these have focused upon education within the Kingdom (Kemp, 1959; Sutton, 1963; Taylor, 1963; Kavaliku, 1967; Baker, 1975; Gregory, 1974).

Data Sources

Because of the limited nature of available published data much of the background material for this thesis has been gleaned from government statistical publications. It has been accepted that, in using this data, allowances must be made for occasional inaccuracies. The margin of error in Tongan official statistics is undoubtedly higher than in those from New Zealand, for instance. Subtotals do not always equal the whole group total when added together, and categories used for group data are nowhere defined making analysis difficult. A census is conducted in Tonga approximately every decade, with stress on the word 'approximately'. The Tongan Department of Education publishes an annual report but this is not released at any specific time of the year. As the frequency of the report will vary so too does the information contained therein. The categories for which information is published will vary according to the demands of the administrator of the day. This makes it difficult to ascertain trends over a lengthy time period. Tonga has neither national archives nor a public library making it extremely difficult to conduct any form of historical survey. Much of the background information for this research was in fact

gathered from documents held outside of Tonga.

The principal mode of data collection was from a questionnaire survey of all known graduates from Tonga. The term 'graduate' was defined to include those who left a university, holders of a degree. Those with only a diploma were excluded from the survey. While it is realised that it is often difficult to distinguish between the two, it was felt necessary to have some cut-off point, and there is a considerable difference in status accorded degree and diploma holders in Tonga. Tonga's education was, when first requested in 1977, unable to supply even a partial list of the country's graduates so the initial list of graduates was compiled from other sources - mostly by word of mouth. Two years later a further request to the department for this information met with a prompt and comprehensive response. A change of departmental personnel had occurred in the interim. This accounts for the discrepancy between the initial tally of fewer than ninety graduates and the final count of 134.

The Sample

A total of sixty-six questionnaires were distributed of which forty-eight were returned in a usable form - a response rate of seventy-two percent. This was not a random sample but it was considered to be reasonably representative of the total. The sample did not display a bias toward any particular field of university study, and the relative distribution of returnees/non-returnees corresponded closely with that among the total number of Tongan graduates. No significant or systematic factor distinguished respondents from non-respondents. On these grounds the sample was deemed representative. The response rate was higher than that enjoyed by either Fitzgerald or Lakshmana Rao, being forty-five percent and fifty-six percent respectively.

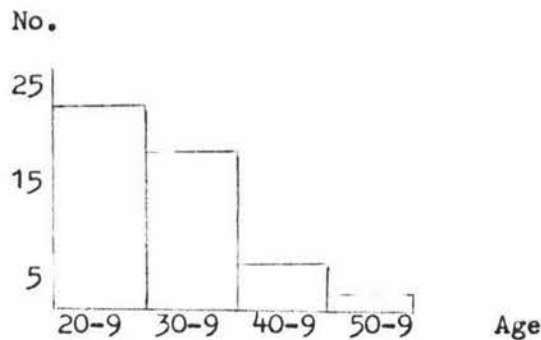
A list of 134 Tongan graduates was finally compiled (three of these names came to hand too late to be included in any statistical analysis for this research) but it is probable that this number is not exhaustive of Tongan graduates. For purposes of the survey a 'Tongan' was defined as one who identified him/herself as such. Each of the graduates had been born in the Kingdom although a number had spent a considerable portion of their

lives in other countries. Ninety-four percent of graduates responding to the questionnaire indicated that both their parents were Tongan while three had one parent who was fully or partly European.

The sample ranged in age from twenty-three to fifty-five and their age distribution is graphed below. (Figure 2.1) The King, born in 1918, is probably Tonga's oldest graduate. The predominance of younger graduates is no doubt a reflection of the increasing number of opportunities for overseas study in more recent years.

Figure 2.1

Age of Graduates Surveyed



source: Questionnaire data

Fifteen of the sample were still single and of the thirty-three who had married only three had not married Tongans. The majority of graduates to date had married prior to their study at university overseas. Although this survey did not specifically investigate this factor it does seem that as Tongan university students are increasingly of a lower mean age, that the percentage marrying non-Tongans will increase.

Fieldwork

Because of the value of personal contact in a small community like Tonga, it was felt that the research should be carried out in person. Travel to Tonga was an obvious prerequisite of this project. A number of trial questionnaires were drafted and administered to a small sample of graduates in Nuku'alofa. The responses were examined in detail to ensure that the questions were sufficiently clear. Opinions on the nature of the questionnaire and the matters raised therein were solicited and then the final questionnaire was drawn up. (APPENDIX II)

This was administered to graduates during August 1977. Fieldwork was conducted in Tonga during this month for a number of reasons. Firstly, by this time all 1976 graduates intending to return to the Kingdom in that year would have done so and would be in the process of readapting to life in Tonga. The Christmas period was at first considered but the subjects of the survey were less likely to be available at that time of the year. Overseas travel is more frequent then and much of internal Tongan life is devoted to religious functions at that time of the year. Thus the bulk of survey data refers to the 1977 period but more recent data has been included where relevant.

The Survey

A questionnaire was delivered personally to every Tongan graduate residing in the Kingdom at the time and a copy was left for those expected to return in the near future. Questionnaires were collected upon their completion. Those Tongan graduates not then resident in the Kingdom received a questionnaire in the post with a request that it be returned. These were received up until February 1978. A covering letter explaining the purpose of the survey and requesting co-operation accompanied all mailed questionnaires. (APPENDIX III) To those occupying positions of considerable responsibility, such as ministers of the Crown, and directors of government departments, it was important to include a further letter requesting participation, as a mark of respect. (APPENDIX IV) Each questionnaire was individually addressed as all in the sample were known to me personally. Tape interviews were conducted with those of the sample willing to participate in such. These twenty-five more intensive interviews were used to supplement the questionnaire data. While some of these questions resembled those in the questionnaire others touched more broadly on matters affecting the graduate in Tonga. (APPENDIX V) Each interview was conducted in either Tongan or English, or both, depending upon the preference of the respondent. This was preceded and followed by informal discussions of varying duration.

The socio-cultural questionnaire incorporated social survey methods in that the first part sought to elicit quantitative data on the background and current positions of graduates. This aspect of the survey was structured relatively tightly and was designed to indicate what type of

person become a graduate, whether there is a typical graduate, or whether certain backgrounds are typical of graduates. The nature of their overseas training and its relationship to their current and previous positions was also investigated in the first part of the questionnaire. The remainder of the survey sought to elicit more subjective data about reasons for decisions to return to and remain in Tonga, the current patterns of behaviour and sources of contentment and frustration. The final two pages of the questionnaire were deliberately left open-ended to give respondents a free hand in indicating their views, to allow them to be more discursive without unnecessarily limiting response.

Key Issues

As a basis for the investigation the following tentative study question was formulated:

'That graduates find it difficult to readapt to Tonga on their return from overseas and become dissatisfied with life within Tongan society'

A number of possible contributing factors were investigated:

- problems fitting in with traditional behavioural norms and meeting the expectations of others in society. Does this lead to mutual hostility?
- the lack of job definition. Does this cause doubts about the validity of the contribution being made?
- the use and relevance of learned skills. Are these applicable in the positions obtained?
- the tendency to appoint graduates to positions in which they have little interest or training. Does this destroy individual motivation to contribute and result in a lack of confidence among graduates, leading to a dissatisfaction with the system?
- the hierarchial society. Does nepotism have a continuing influence in Tonga?

The survey aimed to indicate sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction among Tongan graduates and to provide recommendations on future conditions affecting graduates and would-be graduates. At the time there appeared to exist some dichotomy in that graduates trained in a particular field were often required to function in a quite different capacity in Tonga. This appeared to lead to frustration and discontent among those graduates concerned. Such a practice seemed an unnecessary waste of the valuable and relatively limited trained manpower and financial resources of the Kingdom.

Analysis

Two principal modes of analysis will be used throughout this research. The information gathered is presented either in tabular form, as raw totals or as percentages of the whole, or in frequency distribution graphs. The Chi-square test which indicates the significance of differences between groups of data was incorporated on occasion. Owing to the small size of the sample (N=48) further treatment of the raw data by anything but very limited means was not considered to be justified. Throughout the research analysis of the data is followed by interpretative comment on the trends apparent.

Chapter 3

THE 'TYPICAL' TONGAN GRADUATE

What characteristics are typical of Tongan university graduates? How does he or she differ from others in the Kingdom? Are there any significant factors in his or her background which enhance the chances of overseas study and of academic success while overseas? The first part of this chapter seeks to answer these questions while presenting a picture of the 'typical' background of a Tongan university graduate.

HOME BACKGROUND

Sex

Of the 131 known Tongan university graduates over seventy-five percent are male. (Figure 3.1) The chi-square value of 34.3 for only two classes, indicating a level of significance of less than .001 is obviously greater than would be expected to occur by chance alone. What factors contribute to this significant difference?

Figure 3.1

Sex of Graduates Surveyed

	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>
Male	65.5	99
Female	65.5	32

Chi-square level of significance = .1%

In Tonga it^{is} the male who is considered the principal breadwinner in a family reflecting the traditional male dominance in a stratified society. A woman's place is in the home caring for her husband and children. In the light of this societal division of roles, people in Tonga have always placed, and continue to place emphasis upon educating their sons. Three high schools for boys alone were established in Tonga in the nineteenth century and today, of the two government secondary schools, one caters for boys only. Educated sons will return home and raise the family's standard of living. Money spent on a daughter's education may well benefit principally her in-laws as she will likely marry. The number of female university students is however increasing as girls have proved the scholastic equal of their male counterparts. Consequently girls and boys are now found in almost equal numbers in the senior forms of high schools although the educational institutions have made no

conscious effort to promote this situation. Nevertheless, it will be a considerable number of years before the number of female graduates equals that of male graduates.

Religion

Religion occupies a very important place in Tongan society. A child is always baptised, usually within a month of birth. Church attendance, often more than once, on a Sunday is de rigeur, and by law a couple is not married unless both the civil and the religious ceremonies have been performed. Figure 3.2 indicates the varying adherence of Tongans, and of Tongan graduates, to the denominations within the Kingdom.

Application of Chi-square reveals that the differences between the two sets of data have a probability of occurring by chance of less than one in a thousand instances.

Figure 3.2

Religious Affiliation

<u>Faith</u>	<u>Tongans</u>		<u>Graduates</u>	
Roman Catholic	14,510	16%	5	11%
Free Church of Tonga	12,324	14%	3	6%
Church of Tonga	8,031	9%	0	0
Latter Day Saints	8,350	9%	3	6%
Free Wesleyan Church	42,680	47%	34	71%
Other	4,177	5%	3	6%
TOTAL	90,072		48	

Chi-square level of significance = .1%

source: Tongans - 1976 census data (unpublished)

Graduates - Questionnaire data

The Free Wesleyan Church commands the largest congregation, is the State religion, and the faith of the Royal Family and most of the nobles. Members of the Methodist (Free Wesleyan) Church seem more likely to become graduates than those belonging to other faiths. Until very recently the majority of Tongans were educated at Wesleyan Mission schools. Since Wesleyans do occupy most high status positions within the Kingdom they are likely to have higher educational expectations of their offspring than do those of other faiths. Education is expensive in Tonga, and Wesleyans are also more likely to be in a position to pay

its costs.

Particularly in the past, members of the Catholic church were required to send their children to the church's schools. Such schools were often comparatively illequipped and poorly staffed, and their academic record, even today, does not match that of the Government and Wesleyan high schools. Proportionately Catholic graduates are the second largest group in the nation but the number is smaller than would be expected considering their strength within Tonga. The Mormon faith is a relative newcomer to Tonga and while the two Latter Day Saint high schools are real 'showpieces' in terms of architecture and equipment they have yet to educate more than a few graduates.

Birthplace

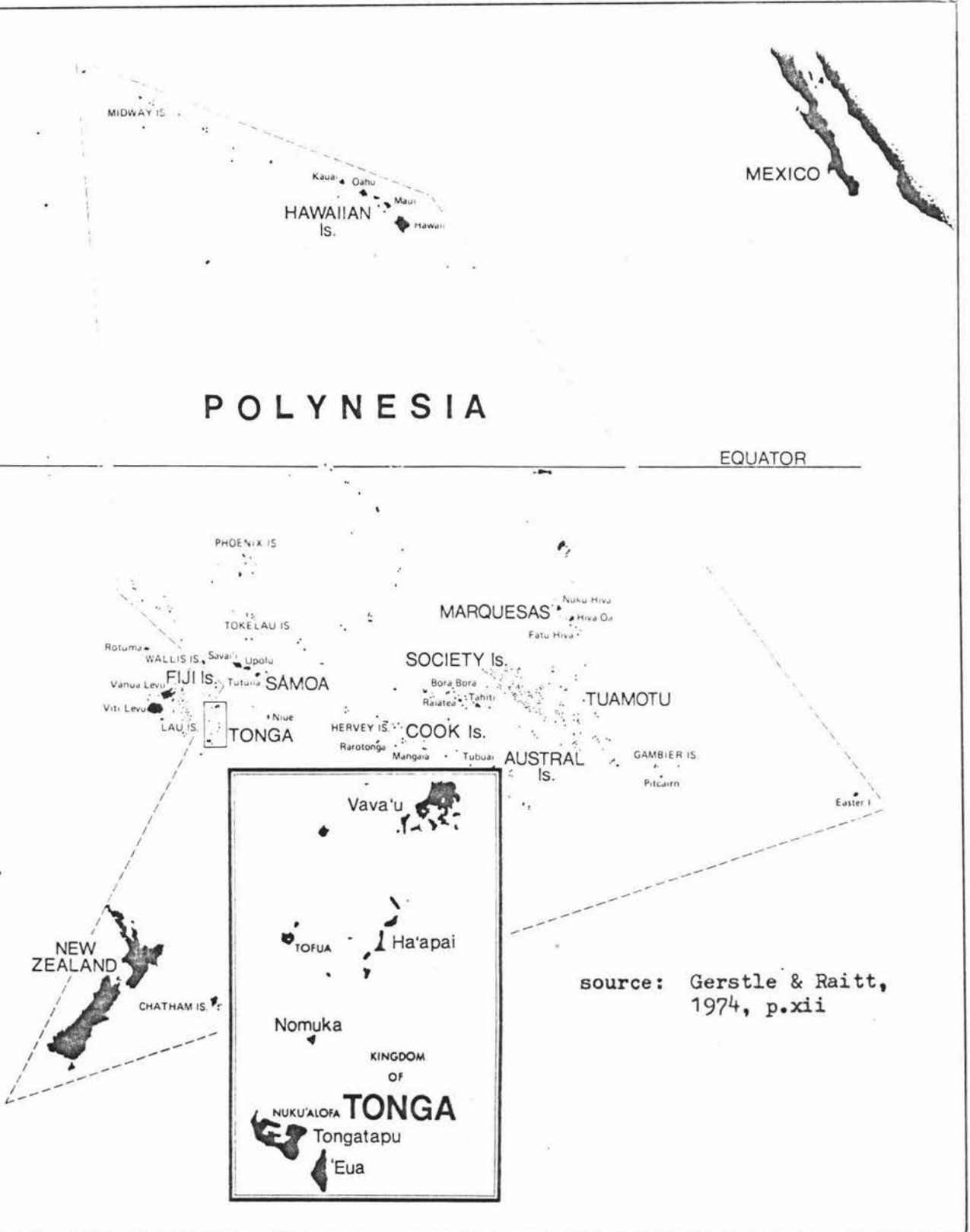
Thirty-four of the sample (seventy percent) had been born in Tongatapu, eight in the middle islands of Ha'apai, four in the Northern group Vava'u, and two outside Tonga. These last two were born in Papua-New Guinea and the Solomon Islands where their parents were Wesleyan Missionaries. Tongan churchmen have served in these areas for decades. The preponderance of Tongatapu born is not surprising since sixty percent of Tonga's population reside on this, the largest island in the southern group. Figure 3.3 indicates the distribution of population within Tonga. Of the twelve graduates not born in Tongatapu ten had spent at least part of their formative years on Tongatapu. Those residing in the villages within or close to the capital city, Nuku'alofa, tended to have access to 'better' schools and exposure to a greater diversity of lifestyles and individuals than did those in more distant parts. Residence in 'town' would appear to be associated positively with greater educational achievement.

Schooling

Most graduates surveyed had gained at least some of their post-primary education on the main island of Tongatapu. (Figure 3.4) It is on Tongatapu that the majority of high schools are situated and until very recently the high schools in the island groups of Ha'apai and Vava'u did not extend beyond form four. Only fifteen graduates had had all their secondary education within Tonga. These were the younger graduates who

Figure 3.3 Population Distribution Within Tonga - 1976
(Percentage of total population)

Niuas	3%	Vava'u	17%	Ha'apai	12%
Tongatapu	64%	'Eua	4%		



source: Gerstle & Raitt, 1974, p.xii

had benefitted from the introduction of the Australian Matriculation and New Zealand University Entrance courses in Tonga during the 1960's.

Figure 3.4 Post-primary Education of Graduate Sample

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number*</u>
Tongatapu	41
Ha'apai	2
New Zealand	22
Fiji	7
Australia	5
Papua-New Guinea	1

* Numbers in sub-categories exceed the sample size (N=48) because respondents could specify more than one location

source: Questionnaire Data

Thirty-three of the forty-eight graduates (sixty-nine percent) had attended secondary school overseas, seven of them for their entire post-primary career. In earlier years this was essential because of the lack of advanced classes in the Tongan secondary schools. Today Tongan students are still attending schools overseas, particularly in the form seven year which is not available at Tongan high schools. The majority of graduates educated at overseas secondary schools had been to New Zealand, particularly to Auckland Grammar School, and others to schools in Fiji, Australia and Papua-New Guinea.

Social Background

'Socio-economic' status as a specific concept has little meaning in the Tongan situation. Social status is quite distinct from economic status. Respect for each citizen's status in the hierarchy characterizes social relations in Tonga. The finer gradations of the Western 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower' classes are replaced in Tonga by the three social classes: the Royal Family, the nobility and the commoners. All of the graduates sampled were commoners. Social status is ascribed by birth alone. In this sense Tonga is a 'closed' society. Social mobility is very uncommon except for those few of noble birth who are disinherited for marrying commoners, and for those commoners who marry into the

nobility. The latter do not acquire noble status themselves although their children are noble. On all public and official occasions an individual's social status takes precedence over all other forms of status.

But economic status within the country is not ascribed by birth and it is subject to change. Social status belongs to traditional Tonga, economic status to the Tonga of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and of the money economy. A Western-style education system has altered Tongan society and the concept of economic status is a western notion. It is therefore appropriate to define occupations in Tonga in a European context. Occupations in Tonga can be readily divided into blue and white collar categories although there does not exist the range of these occupations evident in many Western nations. Twenty-six respondents placed their fathers in white collar employment and thirteen in blue collar occupations. (Figure 3.5) From this it is evident that many graduates, although commoners, come from what sociologists would term Tonga's 'middle class'. They are the offspring of government employees (forty-two percent) or ministers of religion (thirteen percent).

Figure 3.5 Occupation of Graduate's Fathers

<u>White Collar</u>	Minister of Religion	7
	Civil servant	7
	Magistrate	3
	Clerk	2
	Businessman	1
	Policeman	1
	Dental Officer	1
	Doctor	1
	Teacher	1
	Postmaster	1
<u>Blue Collar</u>	Farmer	12
	Carpenter	1
	Not stated/deceased/retired	9
		N = 48

source: Questionnaire Data

Notwithstanding the distinctions made above between social and economic status within Tonga, it is evident that graduates considered birth and occupation to be the principal determinants of class membership. (Figure 3.6) Income and education were considered of slightly lesser importance.

Figure 3.6 Graduate's Perception of Class Determinants*

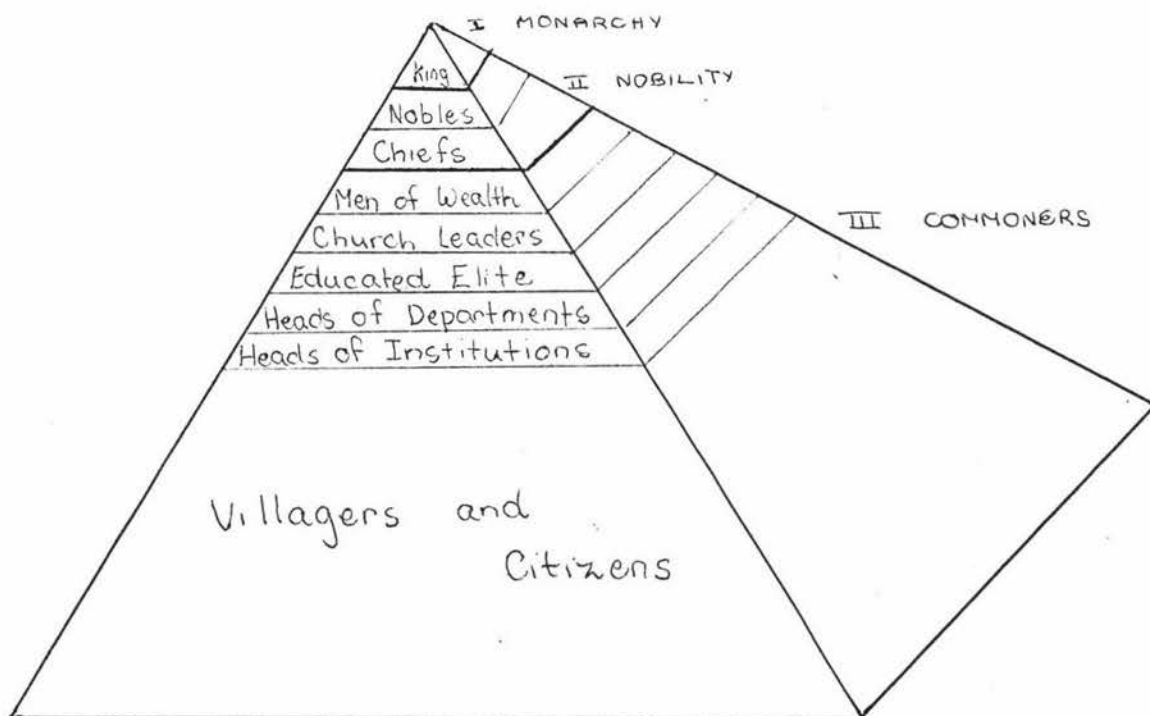
occupation	25
birth	23
income	17
education	14

* graduates were asked to indicate which factors determined class membership and were able to specify more than one factor (N=48)

source: Questionnaire Data

It would seem, however, that education is becoming an important means of class mobility. Crane (1978) indicated the position that the educated elite have come to occupy in Tonga's social pyramid. (Figure 3.7)

Figure 3.7 The Social Pyramid of Tonga



source: Crane, 1978, p.33

Twenty-five percent of graduates categorised their father as a peasant, planter, subsistence farmer - working class occupations. In no instance did these graduates take up the occupation of their father. Actual contact with the noble class prior to study overseas had not significantly influenced advancement to graduate status as the numbers with such contact were not significantly different from those without this experience. (Figure 3.8)

Figure 3.8 Association with Nobles prior to study overseas

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Some Association	26	54
No Association	22	46

source: Questionnaire Data

It is interesting to note that although many members of the nobility and the Royal Family have been educated overseas, according to the provisions of Tonga's constitution, none apart from the King himself, has a university degree. While a higher education may be an important form of class advancement for commoners, member's of Tonga's social elite do not, as yet, consider this a significant factor in the maintenance of their privileged position.

Only a third of respondents had had any regular contact with graduates before they went to study at an overseas university. (Figure 3.9) The term 'regular' was not specifically defined in the questionnaire but most took it to mean socially, and to exclude contact with teachers.

Figure 3.9 Contact with Graduates prior to overseas study

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Regular contact	15	31
Little/no contact	33	69

source: Questionnaire Data

Half the sample claimed a close relative with a university degree, (Figure 3.10) most frequently a sibling or a cousin. It would appear that close association with graduates may predispose a person towards study at a foreign university, but that this factor is not significant in distinguishing a potential graduate from a non-graduate.

Figure 3.10

Educational Level of Graduate's Relatives

University degree	24
No university degree	24
	N = 48

source: Questionnaire Data

To sum up the significance of home background, it can be claimed that the 'typical' Tongan graduate

- is male
 - belongs to the Wesleyan faith
 - comes from Tongatapu
 - attended high school overseas
 - was born a commoner
- and
- has 'white collar' parents

UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE

How do Tonga's graduates fare at university? Where do they go to university? What courses do they take? Under whose auspices do they attend? How long do they remain? What factors were significant in their decision to pursue a university course? The remainder of this chapter seeks to answer these and related questions.

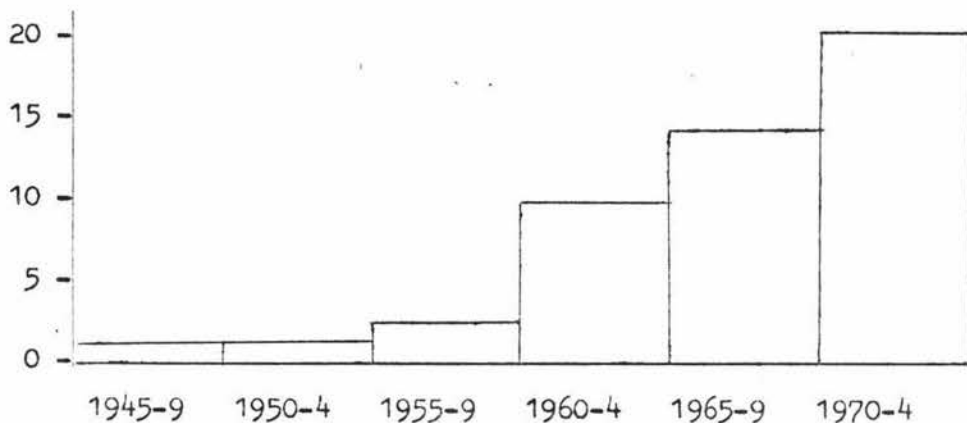
University Attendance

That the number of Tongans studying at university overseas has increased considerably over recent years is evident from Figure 3.11. Significant factors influencing this trend include both elements of human capital theory, and a search for social advancement by the people of Tonga. As a form of encouraging investment in the Kingdom's human resources a large number of scholarships are offered by foreign governments to Tongan students. In 1976 107 Tongans were overseas on such scholarships. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United Kingdom and India offered not only training at their own institutions but also third country awards to Tonga. Degree courses figured prominently in the forms of sponsorship offered. The impact of human capital theory continues to be felt in the Kingdom.

Haas (1977) commented upon "the Tongans' aspiration for a good education, and a higher standard of living for their children and their children's children." (p.99) Overseas graduate education is seen as a means of fulfilling these aspirations. As graduates, formerly of a low social

position, have returned to the Kingdom and acquired positions of relative wealth and some influence, this has given impetus to the belief that through education commoners can make concrete advances for themselves and for their families, and possibly even enter the privileged world of the nobility. All ministers of the crown, and even high school principals are addressed in the language normally reserved for nobles (Tonga has a distinct language for each social division), despite their often lowly social origins.

Figure 3.11 Graduates' First Year at University



source: Questionnaire Data

Sponsorship

Of the forty-eight graduates surveyed thirty-one had been sponsored by the Tongan government during their university career, eleven had relied on private means and the remaining six had attended under the auspices of one of the Tongan churches. The Tongan government then is the major source of finance for Tongans undertaking university study. The government is, in fact, responsible for funding seventy-seven percent of students at university as the government apportions a number of scholarships to the various churches to distribute as they see fit. Lakshmana Rao (1976,p.28) also found that, in contrast to students from Asia, scholarship students from the Pacific Islands invariably outnumbered those attending university as private students.

It is unlikely that any family in Tonga has the resources to fund a student through his or her entire university career and those students who have attended privately have relied for finance on members of their extended family, often those permanently resident overseas, on their own holiday earnings, or on contacts with others. In recent

years a number of expatriates, resident for a time in Tonga, have, on their return home, sponsored Tongans to university in their own country. A few of the graduates mentioned that while they had begun their university study under private auspices, they had later applied for and been granted government scholarships. This last trend appears to be on the increase.

Figure 3.12 Highest Degree of Graduate Sample

	Arts	Economics /Commerce	Science	Health	Divinity	Law
Bachelor	23	3	4	2	1	2
Masterate	11	-	-	-	-	-
Doctorate	2	-	-	-	-	-

source: Questionnaire Data

University Qualifications

There is a very obvious imbalance in the type of qualifications held by Tonga's graduates. (Figure 3.12) Seventy-three percent of the sample had finished university on gaining a bachelor's degree. A number of reasons can be suggested for this situation which results in few Tongans going on to higher degrees. Firstly Lakshmana Rao (1976) commented that "inability to get along financially" (p.181) while at university was perceived as a significant problem among Polynesian students studying in Australia. Insufficient finance while overseas would prove a disincentive to continued university study.

Secondly, many Tongans find university work very difficult and tend to experience academic failure at some stage of their university course. Only seventeen of the forty-eight respondents had completed their first degree within four years of entering university. Lakshmana Rao (1976) tabulated problems perceived, and problems actually experienced while studying overseas. Although seventy-seven percent of Polynesian students in Australia had been taught in English at primary school, and for ninety-three percent English had been the language of instruction at secondary school, fluency in English was perceived as a major difficulty by the students. (p.162) The intricacies of the English language are difficult for any second language speaker to master and the degree of

competence required at university level is particularly high. In Tonga few teachers have specific skills in teaching English as a second language, and the number of students passing English in external examinations is very low. (Figure 3.13)

Figure 3.13 New Zealand University Entrance Subject Passes

	English	Mathematics	Biology	History	Chemistry	Physics
1975	17%	49%	14%	33%	39%	28%
1976	11%	52%	15%	24%	56%	35%

source: Report of the Ministry of Education, 1975, 1976. Adapted from Table 5, ii, a-d

Forty-eight percent of Polynesians (Lakshmana Rao, 1976, p.162) found it difficult to meet academic standards in Australia, and forty-two percent perceived difficulties in adapting to Australian levels of education. Throughout the Tongan school system emphasis is placed on expository teaching and on rote learning. Tongan students have phenomenal memories but are not trained in the techniques of inquiry. Little effort is made to teach study skills, reading skills or skills of note-taking. The education received in Tonga could well handicap students in their efforts towards higher educational qualifications at universities overseas.

Tonga's graduates often experience some difficulty in getting official permission to continue their university study at post-graduate level. Both government and church authorities encourage scholarship holders to return home on completion of a bachelor's degree. A student is recalled from university if there is deemed an immediate need for his services. This is particularly so of those required to fill vacancies in the church schools. A bachelor's degree is widely considered to be sufficient as a university qualification. Possibly the degree holder with post-graduate training is less likely to return to Tonga and more likely to find a permanent position overseas. Degree-holders who do not respond to a summons to return home have on occasion found themselves unemployed for long periods on their eventual return home.

A further possible reason for the lack of post-graduate study by Tongans is that education in Tonga is seen to possess a very utilitarian function. Few Tongans study to seek an understanding of more of the world's knowledge for its own sake. Rather is education seen as a means to a job and an assured income. An assured income in Tonga leads to a rise in status for both the salary earner and for his dependants. To a certain extent Tonga is at a stage in its development where it simply cannot afford the luxury of encouraging students to pursue an understanding of knowledge with no specific vocational goal in mind. In the industrial nations the bulk of the populace is sufficiently educated to permit a degree of 'wasteage' in its education system. In Tonga every person who returns with a university degree can make a real, and often a unique contribution to development in the Kingdom. In Tonga today a bachelor's degree is more than sufficient to make this contribution and to acquire a position of considerable importance. Further study towards a masterate or doctorate is often considered to be an unnecessary, a difficult and an expensive task.

Most Tongan graduates have Arts degrees. The reason for this is to be found in the history of education in Tonga. Until very recently Arts subjects figured predominantly in Tonga's curriculum. Tonga's Western-style education was associated with Christianity and early missionary teachers placed emphasis upon reading and writing in their efforts to communicate the precepts of the Bible. Schools felt that courses in language, history and divinity best served this purpose. Although science subjects did not figure in the curriculum to any extent in Tonga until the 1960's, there was no suggestion of any deliberate intention to deprive Tongan nationals of a scientific/technological education in order to make the populace more dependant upon a 'colonial' authority. Rather did more practical considerations have import. Science teachers were hard to recruit; science equipment was expensive, and consequently often not available. Even today science laboratories in some secondary schools in Tonga are non-existent, and in others poorly equipped. The Kingdom continues to suffer from a dearth of science teachers. Without a background in science at secondary school Tongan students found engineering and medical courses at foreign universities extremely demanding, hence the few graduates in those fields. Few Tongans have divinity degrees from foreign universities because the Kingdom's theological college,

Sia'atoutai, provides training within Tonga for ministers of religion. Administrators within the legal system have been supplied by foreign governments, particularly from the United Kingdom which has had a semi-colonial relationship with the Tongan nation.

The 1970's have seen an increase in Tongans enrolling at overseas universities for those more technologically oriented courses, and arts degrees are no longer encouraged to the same extent. (Figure 3.14)

Figure 3.14 Degree Scholarships offered for 1980

Science	Engineering	Commerce	Health	Arts	Law
5	1	10	5	3	3

source: The Tonga Chronicle, Vol. XVI, No. 13, p.4 August 24 1979

Universities Attended

Most Tongan graduates have attended university in English speaking countries, although in recent years Tongans have begun attending university in countries where English is not the vernacular. (Figure 3.15) Until the University of the South Pacific opened in Fiji it was the policy of the Tongan government to send its able students to high school and then to university in New Zealand. New Zealand is relatively close to the island kingdom and the country offered a number of scholarships to Tongan students. Since the opening of U.S.P. in 1967 Tonga has made a policy of encouraging its students to attend this regional university. It is anticipated that, in the future, most of Tonga's graduates will have attended U.S.P. The survey revealed that a number of people who had commenced but failed courses at other universities had later completed their degrees in Fiji.

The affiliation of the Tongan Wesleyan church with the Methodist Church of Australia, and of the Latter Day Saints church in Tonga with the Mormon universities in Hawaii and Utah, partly accounts for the number of graduates attending university in these areas. With more emphasis upon culturally relevant courses, increasing numbers of Tongans have enrolled at universities in Papua-New Guinea, Queensland and Hawaii.

Few Tongan graduates expressed a preference for a particular university. Rather did they accept the opportunity of a university education wherever it became available.

Figure 3.15 University From Which Degree Was Gained*

Canada	U.S.A.	Hawaii**	Fiji	Papua-New Guinea		
3	8	8	14	1		
New Zealand		Australia	United Kingdom	India	Japan	
13		4	3	2	1	

* The total exceeds the sample size (N = 48) because some respondents had degrees from more than one country

** Graduates from Hawaii were categorised separately from those from the other American states as Hawaii's environment more closely resembles that of Tonga than does mainland U.S.A.

source: Questionnaire Data

In response to a question regarding their reasons for opting to pursue a course at a foreign university there was no significant difference between the two principal reasons cited, viz. 'for professional training' and 'on being offered a scholarship'. (Figure 3.16) Until very recently there was no university training offered within the Kingdom. In 1977 the first students graduated from Nuku'alofa's Atenisi Institute with two year Associate Degrees. Atenisi is an independent institution (neither state nor church controlled) which offers an academic education at a tertiary level in Tonga. English and Tongan culture form part of the compulsory two year full-time study for the Associateship, and the other subjects offered depend largely on the availability of staff at the time. The project is the brainchild of self-styled professor, Futa Helu, who has recruited both staff and funds from a variety of international sources.

Although plans have been mooted regarding the establishment of further tertiary level academic institutions in Tonga, for the foreseeable future the majority of Tongans will continue to travel abroad for their university education. Increasingly, as expatriates have vacated the more prominent positions within the Kingdom, there has been more

impetus for Tongan nationals to gain skills and qualifications to fill these positions. As educational standards within the country improve, and as more educational opportunities overseas become available, the desire for professional training will continue.

Figure 3.16 Reasons for Attending University Overseas*

for professional training	34
for overseas experience	16
due to parental pressure	12
offered a scholarship	33
other	6

- * respondents were asked to indicate which factors influenced their decision to attend university and could cite more than one reason, hence the total of responses exceeds the sample size (N = 48)

source: Questionnaire Data

The sixty-nine percent of respondents citing 'offered a scholarship' as a reason for studying abroad underlines the earlier contention that few Tongans can afford a university education without considerable financial assistance from government or other avenues. This will no doubt continue to be a significant factor in influencing who will study at foreign universities as long as the majority of Tongan families remain at a subsistence level of livelihood. Still important in the decision to study abroad, but cited only half as often as the two factors mentioned above, were 'a desire for overseas experience' and 'parental pressure'. The former is understandable when one considers the small land area of the Kingdom and the conformity of lifestyle emphasized therein. As long as education continues to be seen primarily as a means of social and economic advancement for the entire family, Tongan parents will continue to encourage their offspring to study towards a degree if the opportunity to do so presents itself.

To conclude then it could be said that the 'typical' Tongan graduate pursued a university career marked by

- commencement of a degree after 1965
- the award of a government scholarship
- gaining a bachelor of arts degree

- taking more than the minimum number of years to complete the degree
- studying in Fiji and/or in New Zealand
- entering university in order to gain professional training

and

- on being awarded a scholarship

Chapter 4

THE GRADUATE IN TONGA

Factors influencing the decision to return

Which graduates elect to return to Tonga and to reside there on a permanent basis, i.e. with the intention of finding fulltime employment there? What percentage decide to remain in the countries of their university education or in other nations of the world? What reasons contribute to the decision to return or to remain abroad? Is it possible to pinpoint those factors of greatest significance in this decision? Are any particular trends apparent among the graduate group relating to the brain drain?

The question from the survey designed to elicit data on the above was:- 'Why did you decide to return to Tonga when you graduated?' Respondents were asked to rank a number of possible criteria but provision was also made for other factors to be cited. The structuring of this question and the analysis of the responses was modelled on the work of Lakshmana Rao (1976).

Lakshmana Rao (1976) found that eight-six percent of the thirty-six Polynesian students surveyed in Australian universities indicated that they would definitely return to their country of origin - in every instance a Pacific Island nation. (p.104) The percentage expressing a firm intention to return home on completion of a degree course was exceeded only by students from Thailand and Africa. From the initial list of 131 Tongan graduates only twelve (nine percent) had never returned to work in the Kingdom on a permanent basis. Of those twelve, four were currently enrolled in post-graduate courses overseas. The remaining eight had been granted residence in a foreign country. With a return rate of ninety-one percent Tongan graduates would appear to support Lakshmana Rao's findings on Polynesian university students.

Although the majority of Tongan graduates do enter employment in Tonga initially, not all remain to dwell there permanently. Of the 131 Tongan graduates twenty-seven percent were no longer working or living

permanently in Tonga in September 1979. (Figure 4.1) The three whose absence from Tonga was a result of Tongan government secondment to posts overseas cannot be considered "lost" to the country. And if current trends continue nine-tenths of those still studying overseas will return to the Kingdom to take up employment there. But the eighteen percent with permanent residence in another nation are likely to be long-term migrants from Tonga. This proportion exceeds the two percent of Polynesians as a whole in Australia who indicated their probable intention to remain abroad. (Lakshmana Rao, 1976, p.104) The figure of eighteen percent is some measure of the extent of the brain drain in modern Tonga.

Figure 4.1 Residence of Tongan Graduates - September 1979

Permanently resident in Tonga	-	96	
Currently overseas	-	35	
	:	studying	9
		resident	23
		seconded	3

source; Questionnaire Data

It is pertinent to examine just how much 'choice' Tongan graduates do have in the decision to remain abroad on completion of their courses of study. Lakshmana Rao (1976, p.140) found a close association between type of sponsorship and intention to return home. Those receiving some form of scholarship aid - from international sources, from home or host country governments, or from private foundations - were more likely to return to their home country than were students funded at university by their own or family means. Chapter 3 indicated that seventy-seven percent of Tongan students received some form of scholarship finance in order to attend university overseas.

Tongan scholarship students are not required to sign a bond so there is no legal requirement that they return home. However, it is understood that when a Commonwealth, Third Country, Tongan government or church scholarship is accepted, the recipient will return to work in Tonga at least on a year to year basis. Tongan students then do have a moral obligation to return home although if they fail to do so no legal sanction is or can be taken against them, nor are they or their families required to refund any monies received. Currently there are no plans

to introduce legal bonding for scholarship holders but as the number of qualified applicants for such scholarships continues to increase, it is possible that in the future family members of scholarship holders who have not fulfilled their moral obligation to serve Tonga will have little chance of being awarded a scholarship.

Type of visa is also closely associated with the decision to return home. Many of the developed countries in which Tongan students study are reluctant to permit a change from a student visa to an immigrant visa. Lakshmana Rao (1976) found that only one percent of foreign students in Australia were able to convert a student visa to a migrant visa. (p.118) Canada was the developed nation most open to overseas students seeking migrant status but only a small number of Tongan students study in Canada. (Figure 3.15)

The immigration division of the Department of Labour handles applications for permanent residence in New Zealand. When students sponsored by the Tongan government apply to alter their immigration status the department points out their obligation to return home, and adds:

"Our aim in permitting students from other countries to study in New Zealand is to train them to assist in the economic, social and educational development of their own countries on their return home." (Personal communication, 11 April 1979)

Support for the tenets of human capital theory is apparent in this statement.

Tongan students at foreign universities tend to return home as a matter of course. The majority are under a moral obligation to at least repay their sponsorship with some years of service, and few have the opportunity to remain in their host country. Efforts to exchange a study permit for one of permanent residence seldom meet with success. Unless a Tongan graduate opts for further study or marries a foreign national and thus acquires new rights of permanent residence, he or she will invariably return to Tonga.

While type of visa and degree of sponsorship had a significant influence on the percentage of graduates returning home, Lakshmana Rao (1976) also

noted that heterogeneous countries had higher losses than more homogeneous nations, since members of minority groups tended to stay-on more than did those of the majority groups (p.109). Factors of race, religion and language determined membership of a minority group. A more monocultural society than Tonga would be rare. Tongans all speak the same language, although outer islanders have developed local dialects, and all graduates could claim membership of the majority ethnic group - Tongans. The 1976 census indicated that less than two percent of Tongan citizens were not of Tongan ethnicity. Although only seventy-one percent of graduates belonged to the majority denomination (Figure 3.2), the people are free to express their beliefs in different forms in the Kingdom and religious discrimination would be unlikely to influence significantly any decision to remain abroad.

What factors do Tongan students perceive to be significant influences upon their decision to return home on graduation? Figure 4.2 indicates the relative significance ascribed by graduates to both push and pull factors influencing their decision. Three factors were held to play a particularly important role in the decision, two others had a bearing while the remaining three were deemed as having almost no influence at all.

Figure 4.2 Relative importance of factors impinging upon the decision to return to Tonga on graduation

Family	227*
A desire to be useful	218
A desire to return home	206
Scholarship requirements	159
Tonga's need for skills	122
Good job offered	22
Dissatisfaction overseas	21
Status and prestige	12

* Figures were derived from assigning values to ranked order and totalling these for each factor. Not all respondents (N=44) ranked all eight factors.

The significance of the family in Tonga cannot be over-emphasized. An individual's obligations to his or her family and the influence of the family on his or her decisions is considerable. The utilitarian function of education was referred to previously, and the Tongan graduate is aware that he or she will be expected to contribute to the welfare of members of the immediate family and of the extended kin group. He or she will have already undoubtedly have benefitted personally from the largess of relatives. Family ties remain very strong in Tonga as evidenced by the vast sums remitted to relatives at home by Tongans resident overseas.

Tongans are a very patriotic people. They are intensely proud of their country and of its unique way of life. It is often stressed that Tonga is the one nation in the Pacific which did not bow to colonial rule, which did retain its independence. Tongans believe firmly that Tonga is "the crown jewel of the Pacific" while the country's motto declares "God and Tonga are my heritage". It is not surprising therefore that graduates rate 'a desire to be useful' and 'a desire to return home' as significant reasons for returning to Tonga. A graduate is able to make an important contribution to the country's development from a position of considerable influence and authority, to enjoy the distinct culture of his heritage, and to acquire personal and familial advancement at the same time.

Scholarship requirements also had an important influence on the decision to return to Tonga as did the country's need for skills. The pledge to return home and the difficulty of gaining citizenship overseas are of importance here. Tonga's need for skills is reflected in the low number of graduates, and in the continued presence of expatriate workers in the country. Some graduates find that their learned skills are only appropriate to Tonga. For instance, graduates of the Fiji School of Medicine, while very acceptable to their home governments, are not deemed sufficiently qualified to practise by authorities in some Western countries. This factor would tend to enhance the likelihood of their using their skills in Tonga.

'Good job offered' was perceived as a relatively unimportant factor in the decision to return, as was 'status and prestige'. Although graduates command among the highest salaries in the Kingdom, and occupy prominent

positions there, they are not likely to reap the rewards of their counterparts in their host nations. 'Dissatisfaction overseas' was not perceived as significant in this issue. Lakshmana Rao (1976) averred that "those from the Pacific Islands think that life is more challenging in developed countries than in home countries." (p.135) After a minimum of three years overseas, irrespective of visits home, the successful graduate would have adapted to many of the norms of the host country and early feelings of strangeness would have worn off.

Only four respondents took advantage of the opportunity to supply further reasons for the decision to return. These included one expression of a desire to serve God, another of a search for personal identity, a third a mention of the influence of two individuals, and a final sentiment that "Tonga can only be developed by Tongans".

It would seem that factors of family and a love of Tonga are perceived as major motivating influences in the decision of graduates to return to work in Tonga. Considerations of employment are not perceived as important prior to the return home. However, while ninety-one percent of Tongans return to work for their country for a period, the brain drain does develop thereafter. Eighteen percent of graduates are now residents overseas and it is possible that some of those opting for post-graduate study have done so from a desire to leave the Kingdom, at least temporarily. Why do Tonga's graduates depart permanently after a time? Do working conditions, professional needs and colleagues acquire a greater significance in the decision to stay-on or migrate, than they did in the initial 'decision' to return home? The remainder of this chapter discusses the lifestyle of the Tongan university graduate to bring to the fore factors which may have a bearing on a subsequent decision to leave Tonga.

The Graduate Back in Tonga

Of the forty-eight graduates who completed questionnaires forty-five were resident in Tonga at the time and it is this data on aspects of the life of a Tongan graduate that are now reported.

Employment

Everyone of the respondents was employed at the time of the survey. For graduates there is no shortage of employment in Tonga. Indeed they tend to occupy a privileged position in this field. Unemployment as such is unknown in Tonga. Of the 21,429 in the labour force in 1976, only 2,809 were classified as 'seeking work', the remainder being considered 'employed'. But it is also pertinent to note that a mere 7,000 Tongans were employed outside agriculture. Unemployment is not of significance in Tonga but underemployment is a major problem. The majority 'employed' in agriculture are so at a subsistence level and would opt for an alternative form of employment if it were available.

The level of employment among Tongan graduates is significantly higher than among the population generally. It is notably higher among women of whom but ten percent are in the workforce. One peculiar feature of the Tongan labour force is that the young woman with an educational qualification of Higher Leaving Certificate or better, seeks employment in Nuku'alofa. On securing a position the educated woman tends to remain in employment even upon marrying. While she may take maternity leave for a period she is unlikely to quit her post to raise a family. Instead she will engage a relative or others to care for the children while she continues to supplement the family income.

Income

All graduates received an annual salary - the indication of an assured income within the country. Figure 4.3 indicates the range of salaries received by the graduate sample.

Figure 4.3 Annual Salary of Graduates - 1977
(Unit = Tongan Pa'anga)

under \$1000	5	4,000 - 4,999	6
1,000 - 1,999	1	5,000 - 5,999	2
2,000 - 2,999	14	over \$6000	5
3,000 - 3,999	5	not stated	3

source: Questionnaire Data

Each of the five people earning less than a thousand pa'anga annually (the Tongan pa'anga is pegged to the Australian dollar) was employed by the Wesleyan church in the capacity of high school teacher. The concentration of graduates in the \$2,000 - \$2,999 bracket reflects the fact that \$2,700 is the minimum wage payable to graduates in the government service. Thereafter salary increments are a result of years of service. The current maximum salary paid to a graduate working for the government does not exceed \$7,000 but three graduates working for the Latter Day Saints' Church receive salaries in excess of \$7,000 annually - payment is made from church headquarters in the United States of America.

Although senior government officials do not command salaries as high as those paid to members of the Mormon Church, they do compare favourably with the annual income of teachers in the Free Wesleyan Church. (Figure 4.4)

Figure 4.4

<u>Teachers' Salaries in Tonga</u>	
(Tongan pa'anga per annum)	
<u>Secondary schools - overseas graduates</u>	
<u>Employer</u>	<u>Annual Income</u>
Government	\$1,800 - \$2,800
Free Wesleyan Church	\$500 - \$700
Latter Day Saints Church	\$3,000 - \$5,000

source: Sullivan, 1975, p.2

The median salary for a Tongan graduate is from \$3,000 - \$3,900 per annum. Although this does not compare well with wage rates in many Western nations, it is considerably more than the average wage paid in Tonga. (Figure 4.5)

It is evident that a graduate returning to Tonga can expect both permanent employment, and a salary considerably in excess of the median wage in the Kingdom. Education obviously ensures financial and occupational opportunities to returning graduates.

Figure 4.5

Wages in Tonga
(Unit = Tongan Pa'anga)

	<u>per hour</u>	<u>per annum</u>
Unskilled	.28	\$582
Semi - skilled	.33	\$686
Skilled	.38	\$790
Tradesmen	.43	\$894
Clerks	.48	\$998

source: Haas, 1977, p.97

Church

Misinale/Katoanga'ofa (annual church offering) are important occasions in the calendars of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga and the Roman Catholic church in Tonga respectively. Once a year the congregation gather to make a donation to the church which will be used for the work of the church in the coming year. This is always a very public occasion, largely competitive and a prominent feature of traditional Tonga. Tongans believe that a person's wealth is revealed by the amount of his giving.

Figure 4.6

Annual Church Contributions by Graduates
(Unit = Tongan Pa'anga)

less than \$100	-	23
more than \$100	-	22
		N = 45

source: Questionnaire Data

While approximately fifty percent of Tongan graduates donate a substantial sum to the church, the remaining number make a relatively small annual contribution. (Figure 4.6) Although figures are not available a greater proportion of the total Tongan population would donate large sums to the church. Small villages raise thousands of dollars in a single afternoon. Tongans overseas raise thousands of dollars for churches at home demonstrating the continuing influence of religious traditions to the average Tongan.

Church attendance among graduates is probably lower (Figure 4.7) than

among the Tongan population as a whole. Although fifteen percent of graduates attend church only on special occasions or almost never, there is no evidence of a general rejection of religious practices by Tongan graduates but rather a pattern of continuing religious adherence. Indeed forty-nine percent attend church regularly and of the thirty-six percent nominating the category 'occasionally' this would probably denote attendance more often than would be so of an 'occasional' worshipper in the West. One respondent did point out that graduates have possibly more leeway than other citizens to occasionally ignore the dictates of society.

Figure 4.7 . Graduates Attending Church

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Regularly	22	49
Occasionally	16	36
Rarely/Never	7	15
N = 45		

Family

The organisational basis of Tongan society is the extended family. The language makes no distinctions between 'cousins' and 'brothers' - the same term being used for both. The family 'api (land allotment) seldom accommodates only the nuclear family unit. Homes inhabited by members of the wider kin group are built within the compound. Relatives from outer islands, migrating to Tongatapu for reasons of employment and education, swell the size of the average household unit. Eight of the graduate sample of N = 45, reported that they did not financially support family members. Thirty-seven fully supported members of their immediate or extended family. Dependant relatives were living in the households of twenty-seven of the graduates. The extent of the financial contribution to relatives made by the graduate group is probably underrepresented by these figures. Many graduates would contribute partially to the welfare of relatives - in the payment of schools fees, the purchase of school uniforms and school equipment, the payment of grocery and power accounts, assistance with church contributions, and so forth.

Social Relations

There is an important change in the social contacts of graduates on their return to Tonga. Figure 4.8 indicates the changing percentages having contact with graduates.

Figure 4.8

Contact with Graduates

	<u>Before Overseas</u>	<u>After Overseas</u>
	<u>Study</u>	<u>Study</u>
Regular/Occasional	31%	84%
Rare	69%	16%
	N = 48	N = 45

Chi-square value = 131.2 Significant at level .1%

source: Questionnaire Data

It was to be expected that contact with now fellow graduates would increase upon a person's attaining that same status. The average Tongan would have little contact with graduates, outside the occasional relative with a degree or with university educated school teachers. Back in Tonga with his or her own degree, it would be natural for a graduate to associate with others of his or her kind, and increasingly colleagues would have graduate status themselves.

Figure 4.9

Contact with Nobles

	<u>Before Graduating</u>	<u>After Graduating</u>
Association	54%	29%
None	46%	71%
	N = 48	N = 45

Chi-square value = 25.2 Significant at level .1%

source: Questionnaire Data

There is evident (Figure 4.9) a marked decrease in association with nobles on a graduate's return to Tonga. Various reasons can be suggested for this altered situation. Firstly, continued contact with members of the nobility can prove expensive. The Tongan social system places the onus on commoners to meet the demands of the nobility. For instance, one is constrained to shout drinks to noble friends on social

occasions - the favour is not reciprocated. Funerals are occasions of great importance in Tonga. Friends show their respect for the bereaved family by sending gifts. The funeral of any member of a noble's extensive kin group demands an expensive gift - and consequently can prove a considerable drain upon a household's finances. A graduate, however, has "made it" as it were, in Tongan society. No longer does he need the backing of the nobility - he can now rely on his own resources and achievements. A further reason for this new social distance could be a feeling of disillusionment among graduates with the practices of some members of the nobility. Blatant demands for gifts of money by those already privileged, and the perpetuation of a feudal system of government are anathema to many educated in more democratic societies.

Respondents appear to have interpreted this question as a reference to their social contact with nobles. Contact in employment-related situations between nobles and graduates would be regular since nobles continue to retain the majority of senior positions in government and are much to the fore on all official occasions.

Leisure Activities

Graduates were asked to list some of their favourite leisure activities. It was significant that thirty-three of the forty-five respondents specified reading in their list. Reading is an activity enjoyed by individuals, not a group activity. But Tongan society encourages communal activities and tends to afford little favour to 'solo' interests. Tongans associate the concept of being "alone" with the concept "being lonely". Graduates listing reading as a principal leisure time activity have undoubtedly been influenced by their Western education. Tonga has no public library although reading matter can be purchased cheaply at the local bookshop. The next most frequently mentioned leisure activity of graduates was "movies" followed by "sports", both very popular with the community at large in Tonga, and both gregarious activities.

The foregoing discussion has outlined the impact their education has had on the lives of Tongan graduates. As a direct result of their overseas education a graduate has secure employment and, in the Tongan context, a high salary. Less directly education has also influenced patterns of

church attendance, social relations and even leisure activities among graduates. Despite this, graduates continue to perceive birth as the principal criterion of social class in Tonga. Thirty-nine respondents nominated 'birth' as more important than education, ability, income or initiative in influencing social class membership. The majority of graduates, however, did feel that their own social status had improved significantly as a result of their education. (Figure 4.10)

Figure 4.10 Impact of Education on Graduate Social Status

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Improvement	34	75
No improvement	8	18
No response	3	7
Total	45	100

source: Questionnaire Data

In response to an open-ended question requesting an explanation of the impact their education had on their social status, graduates most often mentioned their superior occupational position, their high and assured income, their contacts with officials and other notables, the respect and prestige they were accorded and their important role in decision making - none of which would have been at such high levels without their graduate status.

Chapter 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAINING
AND EMPLOYMENT

Keats (1969) measured the effectiveness of the Australian training received by Asian students participating in the Colombo Plan. Three criterion of effectiveness were investigated, viz. academic success in Australia, an objective analysis of positions and salary in the home country, and the degree of satisfaction with working conditions at home. Each of these measures can be applied to the Tongan graduate with an eye to assessing the value of the overseas training received in terms of its end product - the experience after the return home.

Chapter 3 indicated that all forty-eight Tongan graduates had met with success in their university study overseas although only a minority had gained their degrees in a minimum period of time, and few had opted for post-graduate study. Although Tongan students experience academic difficulties at university this group was, in the final analysis, scholastically successful. Objective measures of success would include the number of returnees in top positions in their field, and the salary rates paid to returners. Chapter 4 revealed that all Tongan graduates were employed and that their median income was considerably higher than that of other Tongan nationals. However, in such a small society with no internal competitive institutions, top salaried position could be considered something of an artificial measure of success.

Keats (1969) stressed the importance of a sense of satisfaction among returning graduates noting:

"a sense of satisfaction contributes to the effective transfer of skills. The returner who has been enriched educationally through studying abroad may look forward to the job of adjusting to the return home and trying out his skills in the different setting as a stimulating challenge. The environment at home can either reinforce or deflate this initial enthusiasm, depending on how much encouragement the returner is given, how difficult it is in practice to adapt methods and techniques and how much status he can command by virtue of his newly acquired qualification. If he feels that his contribution is valued and that he is helping, even if in only a minor

way, in the development of his country, there will be ample motivation to use his knowledge for the benefit of his fellow countrymen. If, on the other hand, he feels that he will not be given the opportunity to try out his skills, or will not gain what he thinks is an adequate recognition of his skill and qualifications, he may soon cease to wish to apply them, and divert his capacities into activities designed to reward him financially rather than satisfy his intellectual needs or altruistic ideals." (p.9)

This chapter seeks to delve into the relationship between training and employment, to investigate the nature of positions held by graduates, how such positions were obtained, and how these jobs are perceived. This will lead logically to a discussion of how employment conditions influence graduates' feelings of contentment or discontentment back in Tonga.

Figure 5.1 Employing Authority of Graduates

<u>In Tonga:</u>	Tongan Government	31
	Latter Day Saints Church	3
	Free Wesleyan Church	6
<u>Overseas:</u>	University of the South Pacific	5
	In New Zealand	3
		N = 48

source: Questionnaire Data

Forty of the respondents were working in Tonga at the time of the survey. (Figure 5.1) Of the remaining eight three were in New Zealand and five were in Fiji. All those in Fiji were working for the University of the South Pacific which makes a practice of hiring Pacific Island nationals in preference to those from other countries. The concentration of graduates in the government service is characteristic of a developing nation like Tonga. Seventy-seven percent of graduates worked for the Tongan government, the remaining twenty-three percent for two of the churches in the Kingdom. In other Third World nations the percentage of graduates working for government agencies is even higher than in Tonga. (Figure 5.2) The Tongan government offers the majority of scholarships for overseas study (Chapter 3), pays high salaries relative to other income sources in Tonga (Chapter 4), and can offer a wider range of employment

than the church employing authorities. These factors inevitably contribute to the high proportion of Tongan graduates working for government departments. Semi-government agencies (local bodies) are not a feature of Tonga and the number of private firms and public companies is very small. A large percentage of Tongans are self-employed but the vast majority of these are subsistence farmers or small shopkeepers.

Figure 5.2 Overseas Trained Personnel Working for Government

Philippines	90%	Malaya	90%
India	93%	Pakistan	88%
Srilanka	91%	Thailand	99%
Indonesia	92%	Sarawak	100%
Sabah	77%	Singapore	92%
Hongkong	54%		

source: Keats, 1969, p.136 & p.174

Figure 5.3 tabulates the current occupations of graduates, relating these to their field of training at university. It is evident from this that some respondents had taken jobs for which their overseas training had not necessarily been a direct preparation. Keats (1969) also found that many of the Asian sample had jobs outside their fields but added:

"these returners may not have been applying their knowledge directly but possibly their professional training could have produced attitudes and approaches to meeting problems in those activities which would nevertheless be a valuable asset." (p.39)

Some material presented below suggests that a number of Tongan graduates working outside their field of university training may not be doing so as a result of personal choice.

The Tongan government employs graduates either as educators in its two colleges or as administrators within its various departments. One of the most sought-after positions in the Kingdom is that of "Assistant Secretary". In this capacity assistance is given to Ministers of the Crown. Currently seven of the graduates surveyed fill these positions which are lucrative in terms of influence and prestige. Five graduates previously working in education have since opted for these administrative

positions.

Figure 5.3 Fields of Training - Occupation

<u>Arts Graduates</u> (N = 36)			
High School Principal/Teacher	15	Census Officer	1
Educational Administrator	6	Board Director	1
University Employee	4	Bank Officer	1
Assistant Secretary(general)	3	Health Officer	1
Central Administrator	1	Police Assistant	1
Housewife	1	Finance Officer	1
<u>Science Graduates</u> (N = 4)			
High School Teacher	3	Tourist Officer	1
<u>Economics/Commerce Graduates</u> (N = 3)			
Development Banker	1	Assistant Secretary	1
University Administrator	1		
<u>Health Graduates</u> (N = 2)			
Minister of Health	1	Dentist	1
<u>Law Graduates</u> (N = 2)			
Crown Solicitor	1	Justice Officer (in New Zealand)	1
<u>Divinity Graduate</u> (N = 1)			
Theological College Principal	1		

source: Questionnaire Data

The majority of Tongan graduates surveyed worked in education in some capacity, predominantly in the secondary schools. (Figure 5.3) None worked in primary schools - these positions being afforded lower status in the Kingdom and being filled by locally-trained teachers. The concentration of graduates in education and administration reflects to a marked extent the degree of economic development in Tonga. The economic base of the country is very narrow. The nation is dependent for foreign exchange predominantly upon the export of bananas and coconut products, on revenue from tourism and on remittances from Tongans resident abroad. The industrial and commercial sector of the economy is very small, hence there exists few occupational opportunities in these fields for graduates.

Foster (1965) cited a similar situation of a top heavy administrative employment structure in Ghana. The colonial elite in the then Gold Coast was composed overwhelmingly of administrators and government servants. One of the striking features of most post-colonial economies is the domination by government agencies of well-paid and high-status employment opportunities. The termination of colonial overrule in Ghana made virtually no difference to the overall structure of occupational opportunities. Government employment there has continued to absorb an increasing proportion of the labour force. The actual structure of job opportunities within an economy such as that of Ghana gives no reason to suppose that the occupational opportunities exist for the products of technical and vocational education, or for entrepreneurial activity. (pp.359-64)

Figure 5.4 Perceived Relevance of Degree to Current Position

<u>Field</u>	<u>Relevant</u>	<u>Partly/Not Relevant</u>
Education	24	4
Administration	8	7
Health	2	0
Law	2	0

N = 47

Source: Questionnaire Data

Graduate responses to the question "Is your job related to your university degree?" are tabulated in Figure 5.4. The majority of graduates employed in education saw a direct relevance between their degree and their job. They frequently mentioned that they were teaching the subjects which they had studied at university - especially history, English and geography. Of the four employed in education who did not feel their degree to be relevant to their current position, reference was made to their lack of training in educational administration and to the difficulties of adapting university material to the needs of secondary school pupils. Eight individuals working in an administrative capacity felt that the content of their degree (in each instance either public administration or political science) was directly relevant to their work. The remainder felt that while the techniques of a university education were of general relevance to their current position, the actual subject content of their degree had little direct bearing upon their work. This sentiment

reflects that of Keats (1969) cited earlier. (See page 52) Graduates in health and law used the knowledge gained at university directly in their current occupations.

Figure 5.5 Method of Gaining Present Position

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
By appointment	34	74
By personal application	12	26
Not applicable/no response	2	

Source: Questionnaire Data

It is obvious that most graduates gained their present position by direct appointment. (Figure 5.5) Only twenty-six percent of graduates had applied personally for their current position. Rarely does the weekly edition of the Tonga Chronicle carry advertisements announcing job vacancies. The high proportion of graduates appointed to jobs is indicative of a particular characteristic of Tonga's social system. Tongan students are sent to study abroad in courses chosen to fill a specific need. Students will, upon their return, take up those jobs, if the post is still vacant.

Employees of both the Tongan government and of the churches are posted where the hierarchy deems they are most essential. Personal choice can be overridden by official dictates. Teachers in Tongan schools do not apply for posting or for transfers. Instead, at the end of each school year, their employing body indicates where they will work in the coming year. Many face posting to outer islands despite an expressed personal preference to remain on Tongatapu. No body exists where an individual may appeal such a decision. He or she is constrained to work where directed or to swap employers.

How satisfied were graduates after six months in their first job? Figure 5.6 indicates the degree of satisfaction experienced. Of the sample exactly fifty percent indicated that they found their first job satisfying. Eleven individuals liked their job because it was related to their training and a further six considered their job challenging. Two specified colleagues as the main reason for their contentment. Rating a single mention were each of salary, conditions of service, and patriotism.

Figure 5.6 Opinion of Job after First Six Months

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Satisfied	22	46
Not Satisfied	18	38
Partly Satisfied	4	8
Not Applicable	4	8

N = 48

source: Questionnaire Data

Of the twenty-two expressing only partial satisfaction or no satisfaction with their first job, eight did not like the work itself, while seven felt that they had been inadequately trained for the position. One respondent mentioned the salary and two found it difficult to get along with colleagues. It would seem that while fifty percent of graduates are happy in their first jobs, at least as many were unsatisfied with the conditions of their employment.

This sentiment was reflected again in responses to the question asking why respondents had left their first job. (Figure 5.7) Half the sample were still working in their first appointment but of the twenty-four who had left their initial position, a third stated that dissatisfaction had been the main reason for their finding employment elsewhere. This exceeded the number who had been promoted and the number who had sought further education. The twelve percent who had been transferred reflected once more the limited degree of personal autonomy present in employment in Tonga.

Figure 5.7 Reason for leaving first job

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Further Education	4	17
Promotion	7	29
Dissatisfaction	8	33
Transferred	3	13
Family Reasons	2	8

N = 24

source: Questionnaire Data

Thirty-three respondents did not indicate any other job they would prefer to be doing and a large percentage of these indicated their satisfaction with their present position. Indications are that a number of graduates overcome initial difficulties and dissatisfactions of employment. Figure 5.8 summarizes the preferred occupations of those graduates desiring alternative employment, and indicates the principal reason cited for such a change. The two factors most often quoted were a desire to use university training more extensively, and a search for greater independence - yet a further commentary on the Tongan practice of appointing people to posts, often to posts for which they have had little direct training.

Figure 5.8 Graduates wishing to change occupations

<u>Reason for Change</u>	<u>Current Position</u>	<u>Preferred Position</u>
To use training	Bank officer	Planning
	Education	Planning
	Teaching*	Tertiary Education/Admin.
Greater Independence	Education	Business
	Administration	anything
	Administration	Writing
To be of more service	Teaching*	Counsellor
	Teaching*	Planning
Personal Preference	Educational Admin.	Law or Agriculture
	Education	Retirement
Money	Government	Private Practice
	Teaching*	Tertiary education
Easier Life	Teaching*	Book-keeping
Loneliness	Administration	Teaching*

* Teaching here refers to secondary teaching

N = 14

source: Questionnaire Data

Further overseas training would help to partially overcome this problem and eighteen respondents had undergone such training abroad. The courses pursued encompassed a variety of fields and the largest group included the three graduates who acquired secondary teachers' certificates. The principal benefit of attendance at such courses is that each involves a specific job orientation. Whereas arts degrees in particular are seldom vocationally oriented, courses dealing with

specific occupational fields can fill this gap.

A further benefit for Tongan graduates attending such courses is that they would be able thus to keep in touch with developments in their chosen field. Teacher associations do exist in Tonga but few of these can boast more than a low and transient membership. Only the Tonga Science Teachers' Association has held inservice courses and attempted to influence curriculum changes in its subject area. Other professional societies are unknown in Tonga although Keats (1969) found that nearly three-quarters of Asian respondents claimed membership of a professional association. (p.51) The only recognised association of professionally trained people in Tonga is the Rotary Club and this group of Tongans and expatriates exists primarily for social purposes. Unless a Tongan graduate attends a course abroad or subscribes to the publications of foreign associations, he or she is unlikely to be able to keep up with international developments in his or her field. A lack of intellectual stimulation was rated as a significant factor that would influence Tongan graduates to leave the Kingdom. (Figure 5.9)

Figure 5.9 Most significant factor in a decision to leave
Tonga
(graduates listing factor among first four choices)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Lack of Job Satisfaction	22	47
Lack of Opportunities	17	36
Low Income	17	36
Lack of Intellectual Stimulation	15	32
Dislike of Traditional Norms	12	26
Unable to Utilise Skills	10	21
Low Living Standards	4	9
Further study / lack of privacy / travel	3	6
Narrowmindedness/sexism/favouritism/prejudice	1	2

N = 37

source: Questionnaire Data

Figure 5.9 tabulates the factors perceived by graduates as most important in a decision to leave Tonga. From this it is evident that dissatisfactions related to employment were seen as more important than

such social factors as low living standards and a dislike of traditional norms. Four of the sample declared their intention never to leave Tonga but only two cited "positive" factors for possible departure, viz. further study and travel. While job-related factors were not particularly important in the decision of graduates to return to Tonga (Chapter 4), it would seem that they do play a major part in a decision to migrate from the Kingdom.

Possible sources of job discontentment have already been touched upon, viz. the system of job appointments, the employment of graduates outside their field of study, and the limited opportunities to remain cognisant with modern research. Further light may be shed on this situation by the data collected from two further open-ended items in the questionnaire. The first asked graduates to indicate what they would like to have achieved in the job of their choice ten years hence, and the other asked for comment upon the attitudes of the senior echelon of Tonga's workforce.

In response to the question 'given the job of your choice, what would you hope to achieve within the next ten years?' eighteen graduates made no response or felt the question did not apply to them. Of the thirty completing this section of the questionnaire a third cited a personal goal, over half had aims for the country itself, and the remaining seventh had ambitions for both Tonga and themselves. (Figure 5.10) Of those noting individual ambitions, two hoped to write books, two wanted their goals (unspecified) realised, and one wanted to get a Doctorate. Of those more concerned with national goals, four wanted to influence development, three expressed a desire to end perceived injustices, three advocated improvements in education and two wanted changes in government. Other individuals opted for greater efficiency, self-sufficiency, service to the less fortunate and a rise in professional standards. The four who claimed both personal and national goals hoped to use their current positions to improve their own situation and to benefit Tonga at the same time. The high proportion (sixty-six percent) of graduates anxious to improve national conditions would appear to encompass elements of both patriotism and a discontent with the existing social order.

Figure 5.10

Desired Achievements within a Decade

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Personal Ambition	10	33
National Ambition	16	53
Both of the above	4	13

source: Questionnaire Data

Graduates were asked to indicate if they felt that on reaching senior posts in the Kingdom, Tongans tended to forget the problems of juniors within the system. (Figure 5.11) This question aimed to elicit how much concern senior officials were perceived to have for their subordinates.

Figure 5.11

Are Tongan Officials Unsympathetic to Beginners?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Number	17	11	15	5
Percent	39	26	35	-

source: Questionnaire Data

A quarter of graduates did not feel that top administrators forgot the difficulties facing beginners in the system. This group believed that Tongan officials generally were competent decision makers, well aware of all issues pertinent to the smooth and efficient implementation of policy. It was pointed out in this context that although sensitive to the problems of colleagues, senior administrators were often called upon to develop an orientation in conflict with that of more junior staff.

Fully seventy-four percent of graduates, however, believed that the hierarchy was usually or often unmindful of those further down in the system. Three factors were seen to contribute principally to this situation. The first was an aspect of self-interest. The top echelon have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Many would feel too insecure in their posts to meet a challenge from a younger aspirant. So concerned is he or she with his or her own advancement that such an administrator makes no effort to assist beginners.

It was also pointed out that Tonga's rigid system of social stratification does not favour concepts of equality and democracy. Those who have made it to the top have demonstrated their allegiance to the ruling elite. Since the goals of the people and those of the upper classes may be in conflict, an administrator cannot serve two masters. He or she must opt to cut himself or herself off from the demands of subordinates and follow the dictates of those with political and social power, or else be in danger of losing his or her own position.

Another aspect of Tongan society, the strength of the family, also mitigates against the dominance of administrators with a highly developed but impersonal sense of justice. In Tonga nepotism is rife. The family is such a strong unit that few administrators can resist the demands of relatives for favours within his or her jurisdiction. While the strength of the extended family is often almost deified in Tonga, it can also be vilified as one of the principal barriers to social mobility. Meritocracy takes second place in the entrance to secondary schools, in the award of scholarships, in the allocation of jobs - in such instances the Tongan social system demands that first consideration be given to factors of kinship.

In summary this chapter has focused principally on the employment history of graduates who returned to work fulltime in Tonga. The majority were employed as civil servants, often in education, having acquired their current position by direct appointment. While half were satisfied with their current job, conditions of employment were seen as significant influences on both occupational mobility, and upon a final decision to emigrate from Tonga. The majority of graduates perceived the administrative hierarchy to be of an unsympathetic nature and desired national changes within the next ten years. Social factors were seen to impinge significantly upon employment in the Kingdom. This factor leads naturally to a discussion of the social readjustment of the Tongan graduate, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

SOCIETY AND READJUSTMENT

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) developed the concept of the W-curve to describe the acculturation and reacclturation experiences of persons involved in educational exchanges. (p.41) In the initial or involvement phase of adjustment to a foreign culture the individual first encounters situations of structural imbalance and cognitive dissonance. The significant variables having greatest bearing on the degree of adjustment required are proximity and similarity, that is, distance between host and home countries, and similarities between the two.

Giorgis and Helms (1978) have summarized adjustment problems encountered by international students as follows:

- since international students are sojourners rather than emigrants, they often find themselves maintaining marginal membership in two cultures - plagued with questions of where their understanding and fealty lie.
- expecting to be accorded a certain amount of status and recognition in host countries they often find it difficult to cope with the implications of ignorance and dependency inherent in the student role.
- the international student is attempting to survive in a foreign culture. The contrast between host and home cultures contributes to serious academic and personal adjustment problems. (p.947)

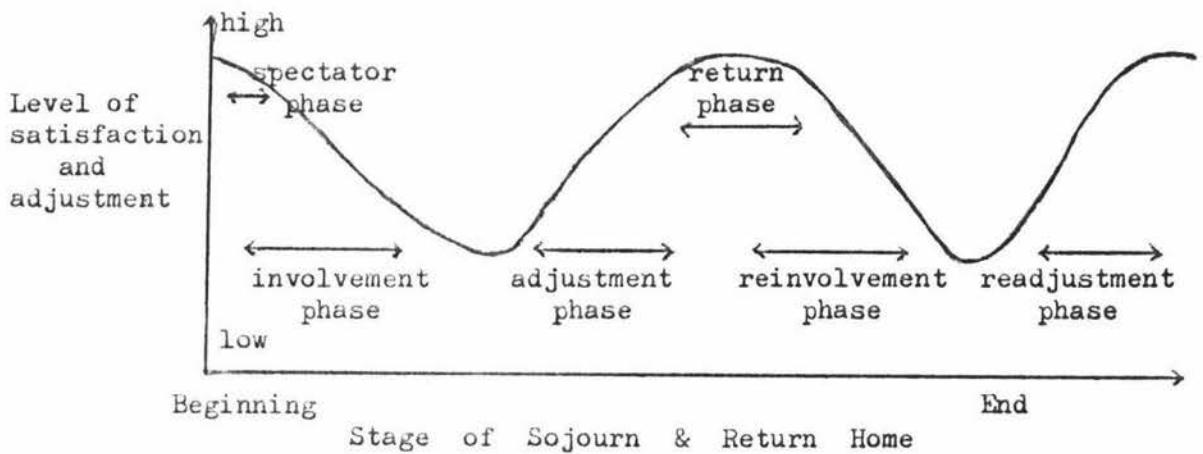
Pacific Island students surveyed by Lakshmana Rao (1976) perceived four principal difficulties overseas, viz. fluency in English, separation from family, adaptation to Australian educational standards, and financial difficulties in Australia. Difficulties actually experienced by these thirty-three students included language generally, cultural differences, language expression and different educational knowledge. (p.162) The involvement phase of the W-curve then, caused problems for all Polynesian students.

Trinh (1968) represented the W-curve diagrammatically (Figure 6.1).

The initial involvement phase plunges from a high (the desire to study abroad) to a low as the student experiences conflict or apathy in the foreign culture. The adjustment phase leads to increased satisfaction as the norms of the host society are at least temporarily internalised. Those abroad for a long spell, and a degree cannot be won in less than three years, tend to lose contact with their home situation although letters and trips home may reduce this lack of awareness.

Figure 6.1

The W - Curve



source: Trinh, 1968, p. 131

Trinh (1968) maintains that the mere thought of going back, most of the time to a lower standard of living, is disagreeable. The reinvolverment or return phase leads to a nadir of satisfaction. Keats (1969) points out that foreign students undertake courses designed for local students. On returning home the graduate must adapt his or her learning to a different cultural environment. The overseas training received may well have presupposed the existence of library resources, of technical literature, and of equipment not actually available at home. (p.8) Hodgkins (1972) quoted surveys indicating that few graduates returning home found facilities comparable to those enjoyed overseas, and most were unable to continue their research. (p.11)

Professional difficulties in the reinvolverment phase were matched by social problems. Trinh (1968) emphasized lower living standards at home, the increase in responsibilities, the loss of absolute freedom and the need to conform to community standards and parental rulings. He concluded 'that the majority of them go home readily and earnestly is an

indication of the strength of their motivation'. (p.69)

The readjustment phase must follow the period of reinvolvement. The returner must readapt to life at home. Firstly he or she must find a niche which will enable him or her to accommodate his or her own expectations of his or her new status. At the same time it is necessary to avoid isolation from countrymen which will result from their belief that the graduate has been brainwashed by experiences abroad. The student daunted by the perceived difficulties of reinvolvement will endeavour to remain abroad, either for a period of further study, or as a permanent resident in a foreign country. If initial attempts at reinvolvement are unsuccessful and the phase of readjustment is not achieved the student will seek either to leave the home country on a permanent basis or to develop a close relationship with other malcontents at home and reject the existing social order.

Factors relating to patterns of readjustment were sought from a series of open-ended questions in both the survey and in the interview schedule. The ninety plus percent of Tongan graduates returning home enter the reinvolvement phase. That the percentage of Tongan graduates permanently resident abroad has reached eighteen percent and that fifty percent of graduates surveyed expressed at least a degree of dissatisfaction with their present employment would appear to suggest a significant lack of successful readjustment in the Kingdom. Employment related factors influencing readjustment were discussed in Chapter 5. The relative importance of various social variables are now examined in detail.

Graduates were asked to indicate what they felt family, friends and community had expected of them on their return to Tonga. (Figure 6.2) Forty-six of the respondents completed this section and of those only three felt people wanted them to fulfil personal goals alone. All others felt there existed much wider expectations of them, encompassing familial and national ends. Fifty percent of graduates believed that they were expected to serve their country in some way. Success in employment was perceived as the principal way that their skills could be utilized for the benefit of their country though one respondent felt he was expected to 'correct the inequities of the existing system'.

Figure 6.2 Social Expectations as Perceived by Graduates

<u>Expectation</u>	<u>Times Cited*</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Serve Tonga	24	52
Help Family	20	43
Behavioural Norms	14	30
Community Involvement	7	15
Knowledge related	4	9
Individual ends	3	7

* Total exceeds N = 46 as respondents could specify more than one expectation

source: Questionnaire Data

Expectations to assist the family were of two major forms. Either direct financial support was expected, or more indirectly the use of influence in the procurement of jobs for relatives. The very wide expectation that graduates would assist members of their extended family in a search for employment indicates that nepotism continues to be considered a valid form of social and economic advancement within Tonga. Graduates also believed that the onus was upon them to enhance family standing, to provide leadership for the family, and to generally raise the standard of living enjoyed by the entire kinship group.

In the communal society of Tonga public behaviour attracts considerable attention. Generally graduates believed that they must be seen to be patriotic, respectful of the country's leaders, upholding customs and traditions and generally fulfilling society's expectations of their new and higher status. Likewise it was deemed to be important to participate actively in community life and to act in a responsible manner befitting a community leader. Graduates felt that they had to prove to their countrymen that they had not imbibed too extensively of 'palangi' (European) ways and were still 'angafakatonga' (truly Tongan).

Chapter 1 referred to the regard in which Tongans hold Western technology and 'know-how'. Tonga's graduates are widely regarded as having acquired the skills and knowledge of the West. Consequently back in Tonga, the populace expects the graduates to be experts in all fields of knowledge regardless of the field of training. The Tongan graduate tends to feel

that he is regarded as a jack-of-all-trades and capable of giving advice in all possible areas. Not unnaturally he tends to find this faith in his omniscience somewhat daunting.

Figure 6.3 Difficulties of Adjustment Experienced by Graduates

<u>Adjustment Difficulty</u>	<u>Times Cited*</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Social Obligations	34	71
Personal Restrictions	12	25
Family Demands	7	15
Professional Difficulties	4	8
Other	1	2
None	12	25

* Total exceeds N = 48 as respondents could specify more than one difficulty

source: Questionnaire Data

The difficulties of readjustment experienced by graduates are summarized in Figure 6.3. The restrictiveness of the traditional way of life was considered particularly difficult to adhere to. Most found a neglect of the individual - to be expected in a near feudal society in which social stratification and group conformity were of considerable importance. Excessive religiosity, emphasis upon protocol, respect for position, hypocrisy and parasitism were listed as important barriers the graduate must face on his return.

Among personal restrictions limiting individualism of graduates back in Tonga, were a lack of privacy, the destructiveness of gossip and the limited personal autonomy in decision making. A number of graduates considered family obligations, particularly demands for financial assistance and the demands of nepotism, to result in difficulties of readjustment. Fully one quarter of graduates claimed not to have found any aspects of Tongan life difficult to adjust or adhere to on their return home. Two of these said they left Tonga to attend university only after reaching adult status in Tonga, while another felt trips home each Christmas negated any need for readjustment on their final return. The remaining respondents did not elaborate on their 'no difficulty experienced' response.

To what extent is the Tongan way incompatible with the professional training and its associated philosophy that graduates have received abroad? (Figure 6.4) Graduates were evenly divided in their appraisal of the relationship between the two factors involved. The point of disagreement tended to rest upon differing interpretations of what was meant by "the Tongan way" (anga fakatonga).

Figure 6.4 Degree of Incompatibility between the Tongan Way and Professional Training

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No incompatibility	21	48
Some incompatibility	23	52

Source: Questionnaire Data

The term 'anga fakatonga' is in wide and frequent use throughout the country and encompasses everything from the kinship system, through sibling taboos, annual church donations, to dress on a particular occasion. It refers to anything which is indicative of the Tongan way of doing things - the traditional method or the modern practice. But more than anything else 'anga fakatonga' is about social behaviour.

Those seeing their Western-style education as incompatible with the Tongan way deemed the last to be characterised by communalism, casualness, a slow pace and by a reluctance of individuals to act alone and to take responsibility for their actions. These factors were considered to be sources of conflict with the independence, competitiveness and individuality stressed in their overseas training. The Tongan way was perceived as inhibiting. The extended family made it difficult for individuals to retain material wealth; the democratic emphasis of a university education was the antithesis of the political aristocracy and social stratification characteristic of Tongan society. This group of graduates found it necessary to consciously separate the philosophical background of their education from what they perceived as 'anga fakatonga'. It would appear that these graduates were experiencing difficulties in their reacculturation process. They have tended to remain out of phase with their home culture after their return to Tonga. They have yet to return home 'psychologically'.

Approximately fifty percent of graduates did not feel that there existed any incompatibility between the Tongan way and their overseas education. This group of respondents would appear to have reacculturated with some success. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) believe successful reacculturation is achieved by modifying beliefs and expectations held about appropriate role behaviour, and by reducing contact with those previously significant others with whom conflict is likely to occur. (p.44) This second group of Tongan graduates had resolved any earlier feelings of cultural dissonance and tended to express greater satisfaction with their current lifestyle than did the group referred to previously.

Graduates disclaiming incompatibility between the demands of their education and their current professional pursuits and lifestyle pointed out that Tonga is a very people-oriented society. In most jobs relationships with others are of prime significance. While some considered Tongan values to be superior to the capitalism, materialism and exploitation apparent in many Western nations, others held that their understanding of and appreciation of their Tongan heritage had been enriched by their Western education. Education had led to a sympathetic understanding of the contradictory and frustrating elements of Tongan ways. It was also pointed out that the "Tongan" way was in fact very much the "human" way, and human ways - greed and corruption, as well as consideration and kindness - are always more apparent in a small community such as Tonga.

Figure 6.5

	<u>Graduate Adherence to Traditional Norms</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
High degree of Adherence	17	36
Some failure to Adhere	30	64

source: Questionnaire Data

Those disagreeing with the proposition that educated Tongans fail to adhere to traditional behavioural norms and obligations were in the minority. (Figure 6.5) This group felt that a failure to follow the traditional norms of the society was not an attribute peculiar to graduates. Rather were graduates considered to be more articulate than the general populace and thus more able and more willing to express their dissatisfactions with and opposition to traditional practices. Graduates

were also felt to be rather more in a position to ignore some social practices as their academic achievements had set them apart somewhat and afforded them a special and unique status. Others disagreeing with the original contention believed that many graduates were in fact making a considerable effort to preserve Tongan culture. It was felt that after a sojourn abroad graduates were more aware of their unique heritage and hence made very real attempts to ensure it was preserved.

Nevertheless, the majority of respondents did feel that educated people were inclined to ignore, at least partly, the traditional ways of Tongan society. They felt that their Western training had introduced them to an alternative lifestyle to which communal ways and a socially stratified society were abhorrent. A number of traditional Tongan practices were felt to hinder the progress they wished to see achieved in the Kingdom. This group also indicated that graduates had more leeway to ignore society's norms, particularly those of church attendance, and that many individuals took advantage of this lesser expectation to conform.

Figure 6.6 Factors Perceived as Encouraging Graduates to remain in Tonga

	<u>Times cited*</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Family Ties	38	86
Love of homeland	32	73
Fulfilling a need	31	70
A feeling of belonging	30	68
Job satisfaction	21	48
Status and prestige	18	41
Disenchantment with overseas	4	9
Other	3	7

* Total exceeds N = 44 as respondents could nominate more than one factor

source: Questionnaire Data

Why do graduates remain in the Kingdom? (Figure 6.6) The first cluster of factors were considered by more than two-thirds of the sample to be important reasons for their continued presence in their homeland.

Family ties ranked highest indicating the continuing pull of the kinship group even today. Feelings of patriotism were evident in a 'love of homeland' while 'a sense of belonging' indicates sentiments of oneness with the cultural environment that is Tonga. There did not appear to exist any widespread feelings of alienation from their native land - quite the contrary. The majority of graduates, despite a general dissatisfaction with job conditions, did feel they were 'fulfilling a need' within the Kingdom. The evidence is that the majority of graduates did believe that they were making a positive contribution towards national development. Less than half of respondents indicated that factors of job satisfaction would encourage them to remain in Tonga, and 'status and prestige' were likewise a secondary consideration in the decision to remain.

There was evident a degree of similarity between those factors ranked as most important in the initial decision to return to Tonga (Figure 4.2) and those factors encouraging graduates to remain in Tonga. (Figure 6.6) In both instances considerations relating to the kinship group were ranked highest in importance while a cultural affiliation and factors of service to Tonga were also perceived to be of major significance by more than two-thirds of graduates. Although the difficulties associated with employment in Tonga are probably underestimated by Tongan students abroad, it would appear from the above that their expectations about family relationships and cultural lifestyle on their return are very realistic.

Asked what should be the first call on the few Tongan graduates (Figure 6.7) seventy-nine percent of respondents mentioned factors relating to service to Tonga. Graduates, it was often asserted, could make real contributions to the improvement of life in Tonga. They have skills of value to offer the Kingdom: to provide leadership, to indicate the value of honesty, consideration, concern and dedication in dealings with their fellows, and to improve standards in the fields of education, administration, land reform and justice in particular. Graduates were in no doubt that they had a duty to help their countrymen and a number felt that they were privileged to be in a position to do so.

Figure 6.7 What Should be the First Call on Tongan Graduates?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
To serve Tonga	31	79
To pursue personal ends	8	21

source: Questionnaire Data

One fifth of graduates, while not denigrating the need for graduates to serve their country, felt that there was need for emphasis upon individual ends. Most frequently stressed was a need for personal satisfaction and for individual choice. It was strongly emphasized that graduates deserved the right to decide for themselves - both in job-related matters, and in their social activities.

From the foregoing discussion it could be concluded that the investment in people and skills, evident in the encouragement of a university education abroad, has proved at least partially successful. Graduates perceived that they would be expected primarily to serve Tonga, to assist their families, and to behave in a generally acceptable manner. Difficulties of adjustment were experienced mostly in fulfilling social obligations and in readapting to restrictions upon personal freedom. Graduates differed as to their interpretation of the degree of compatibility between the Tongan way and their professional training, and most felt that graduates failed to adhere fully to traditional norms.

There was, however, no indication of a widespread disaffection with the graduate situation on return to Tonga. Perceived advantages of a return home in fact closely resemble benefits actually experienced, particularly the closeness of the kin group and the feeling of making a worthwhile contribution to their country's future. In summary it would appear that social variables influencing the success or failure of the reinvolvement and readjustment phases of the return home are of less significance to Tonga's brain drain than are employment-related factors.

Chapter 7

C O N C L U S I O N S A N D R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Early chapters of this thesis have investigated the present-day position and views of Tonga's graduate population. Chapter 3 researched both the home background and the university career of graduates. The fourth chapter revealed that although the majority of graduates did return to work in the Kingdom, over eighteen percent had since migrated permanently. While family considerations and a desire to be of service to their country were most often cited as reasons for returning home, most graduates had in fact little opportunity to remain abroad on a permanent basis. Graduates enjoyed full employment and commanded relatively high salaries (Chapter 5) but job-related factors were frequently quoted as sources of discontent. Social factors, at least initially, caused difficulties of readjustment among graduates upon their return home. Certain cultural practices were deemed irksome but there was no evidence of a widespread rejection of prevailing social norms. Generally graduates found considerable personal satisfaction in the distinctive yet familiar nature of the Tongan way of life.

This research on modern day Tonga has centred upon three principal substantive issues - viz. the importance to Tonga of investment in human capital, the factors contributing to a 'brain drain', and the role of elites in the nation today. Each of these issues has been investigated with the aim of identifying sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction among graduates in order to develop a series of recommendations on conditions that would affect current and future graduates.

Latukefu (1976) has defined modernisation as a "process of adjustment of oneself and one's society to new social, economic, political and intellectual changes, needs and aspirations." (p.19) He pointed out that the traditions and customs of the past suited the needs of that day and in Tonga this proved to be the needs of a largely isolated and stoneage state. Tonga no longer has these characteristics.

A living culture cannot be preserved as it is constantly changing and developing. The rate of modernisation depends upon the social readiness of a people to adapt relevant and useful ideas, technology and values. There is little doubt that Tonga's leaders are eager to do just this. "The King is personally committed to pulling Tonga's feudal agricultural economy into the twentieth century." (Maxwell, 1979)

Education and Development

Human capital theory suggested that investment in the education of the populace will improve the level of economic progress within a nation. Tonga has actively embraced opportunities for overseas education, accepting scholarships offered by foreign powers and inviting foreign professionals to work within the local educational system. The present King was Tonga's first graduate (Sydney University, 1942) and His Majesty Taufa'ahau Tupou IV has deliberately endeavoured to increase the number of university trained Tongans as part of his policy of modernisation for Tonga. Elvin (1973) has asserted "when a country sets out to modernise its society, what was a matter of private choice for those who could afford it becomes an indispensable part of public policy". (in Carter, 1973, preface) This is particularly so of Tonga where the government must approve the application of every student intending to study abroad.

Despite indications that human capital theory does not achieve its goal of raising the educational level and thereby the productive capacity of the masses, its doctrines are widely espoused even today. In Tonga education continues to be viewed as a panacea for many social and economic ills despite the growing number of youth with educational certificates unable to find employment in the fields they aspire to. The number of Tongan students studying abroad increase annually as does the number of local candidates for foreign examinations. The majority of expatriates seconded to Tonga continue to work in education and each year more and more countries are offering scholarships to Tongan students. Most recently Taiwan, West Germany and the Soviet Union have offered university places to would-be Tongan graduates. Tonga has welcomed all forms of educational aid and foreign governments

continue to perceive such assistance as both a means of promoting international goodwill and of increasing the likelihood of Tonga proving receptive to their various proposals.

Human capital theory can however be held to have met with some success in Tonga. Chapter 4 indicated that all graduates in Tonga were employed, often in positions of considerable influence. Graduates were well-paid according to the local scale and the majority believed that their education had played a major role in their new status. (Figure 4.10) But it would appear that education has enhanced the social and economic wellbeing of only a small sector of the population. (Figure 3.7) Graduates enjoy financial and occupational security and some members of their immediate and extended family benefitted from this, but there is little indication that the bulk of Tonga's people enjoy a similar security. So is human capital theory really working for the benefit of all?

Education has been compulsory in Tonga for over a hundred years (since 1876) yet there is little evidence of affluence among individuals or in the country generally. Tonga's monthly visible trade deficit exceeds one million Tongan pa'anga and is increasing steadily. The majority of the labour force are subsistence farmers and the bulk of householders report using a pit latrine, using wood as a major cooking fuel and being without electricity. (1976, unpublished census data) Despite a high literacy rate (ninety-three percent) living conditions remain poor. It would seem to be remittances from expatriate Tongans residing and working permanently or temporarily abroad, rather than the benefits accruing from improved educational opportunities, may have been more responsible for raising the living standards of some Tongan families.

Education appears to have created on the one hand an ever-expanding group of discontented youth unable to acquire the positions, prestige and material benefits they have come to expect. It is this group which is responsible for the Kingdom's rising crime rate (Seastedt, 1973,p.6) and which forms the bulk of stowaways to, and

overstayers in, countries abroad. These people have little prospect of employment in Tonga so it is not surprising that even the difficulties and dangers of illegal residence in a foreign country seem more appealing than the bleak future Tonga seems to offer.

Granted education has proved a very real means of economic mobility for some. Graduates enjoy a privileged position in Tonga. Secure employment, a guaranteed income, social prestige and a role in decision making would not be theirs but for their education. But it would appear that the graduate group is becoming a new elite within Tonga. (Figure 3.7) Chapter 3 established that most graduates had parents from white collar occupations. (Figure 3.5) The high cost of school fees, uniforms and school equipment limits the chances of children from low income families to reach the academic standards required to gain a scholarship to a university overseas. As in other countries the children of middle class families appear to have enjoyed home environments more favourable to academic progress.

It would seem that education has in many instances merely enhanced the opportunities of those already more privileged than most. Although some graduates expressed grievances against aspects of the existing political, economic and social systems operating within the Kingdom, such discontent appeared neither vocal nor widespread. Certainly social contact with the noble class appeared to decrease on return to Tonga after graduation, but generally graduates appeared to have internalized cultural norms and were not "making waves".

Tonga's 'brain drain'

A brain drain could be said to exist in Tonga if there was an outward migration of highly trained or educated personnel having the intention of spending a substantial portion of their working lives as permanent residents of another country. Of the thirty-five Tongan graduates currently overseas, over sixty-five percent had residence permits enabling them to dwell permanently overseas (Figure 4.1). This would seem to indicate a brain drain among Tonga's graduate group.

Tu'inukuafe (1976) also found that twenty-five percent of overseas trained Tongans surveyed had chosen to emigrate to overseas countries, particularly to New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America. The principal reason cited for emigrating was the better job opportunities offering abroad. (p.123)

Employment-related factors were the main reasons surveyed graduates believed would influence their own decision to leave Tonga (Figure 5.9). Lack of job satisfaction, lack of job opportunity and low income were nominated as the principal causes of graduates seeking permanent residence outside Tonga. Social factors were considered to have a much lesser impact on the decision to leave Tonga. That Tonga is experiencing a brain drain, and that dissatisfaction with aspects of the employment situation is the principal reason for this, have become evident from the survey.

Developing nations have tended to blame the industrial powers for raiding their limited resources of trained manpower. There is some support for this contention in that countries like Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America prefer to accept those migrants from developing countries with specific skills. Although most in demand in their own country, Tonga's engineers, technicians and other qualified people find it much easier to gain permanent residence in New Zealand than do untrained plantation workers or members of the group of urban unemployed.

Although immigration criteria of developed nations are based on the skills and qualifications potential migrants can offer, much of the responsibility for the continuing brain drain from developing countries must be borne by the authorities in those nations. Carter (1973) maintains:

the developing countries themselves have the primary task of working out ways of reducing the flow abroad, not only by improving their financial rewards, but, equally important, by improving the conditions of work of talented manpower through increasing opportunities for advancement, facilities to communicate with fellow professionals abroad, and through other means...Many professionals have been repatriated at

substantial loss in income, as soon as attractive opportunities become available at home. (p.18)

What goes wrong in the employment of Tongan graduates back home? Is it what Lakshmana Rao (1976) terms a "lack of fit" between overseas training and employment opportunities at home (p.7) or is it the more intangible interpersonal relationships attributable to a clash between new graduates anxious for change and an authoritarian ruling hierarchy equally anxious to preserve the status quo in their own vested interests? In Tonga there appears to exist both a "lack of fit" and serious failures in personal relationships which lead graduates to become prospective permanent emigrants from their homeland.

A substantial proportion of graduates perceived little or no relevance between their overseas training and their current position (Figure 5.4). A desire to use qualifications earned figured prominently in a decision to leave the first job (Figure 5.7), and in graduates wishing to change their present occupations (Figure 5.8). There is then evident a marked degree of "lack of fit" in Tongan employment. This "lack of fit" takes several forms.

Keats (1969) pointed out that:

It is a source of pride that many from Asian backgrounds have competed on the same basis as Australians for their diplomas and degrees. They would not want it otherwise. But the Colombo Plan student is learning so that he can apply his knowledge in a different cultural environment, and when he returns must necessarily adapt it to different conditions. He cannot expect to have the same resources at his finger tips as he would have if he were working in Australia. (p.8)

The above is also true of Tongan graduates. Although there is an increasing tendency to send Tongan students to universities in Papua-New Guinea, Queensland, Hawaii and Fiji to study in programmes more attuned to tropical situations, the majority of university courses bear little relevance to life in Tonga and many graduates find it very difficult to adapt their learned skills to the Tongan situation. The only non-school library in Tonga is a branch of the University of The South Pacific extension programme and technical literature equipment is available in the Kingdom and there exist few technicians

capable of maintaining and repairing the few mechanical devices which are available. As long as the degree of modernisation in Tonga continues to be so much lesser than that of the countries in which graduates train, graduates will continue to have difficulty reconciling their overseas training to employment conditions and opportunities at home.

Tu'inukuafe (1976) noted that overseas-trained Tongans were trained for specific jobs, (p.119) and it is on this basis that degree scholarships are awarded annually. For instance, each of the three law scholarships offered for 1980 required the recipient to accept the study award under the auspices of a particular government agency - the crown solicitor, the justice department, the police department. (Tonga Chronicle, 24/8/79,p.4) It is for these departments that the law graduates would be expected to work four years hence. But in practice many departments are unable to predict conditions of employment and future developmental needs. Only one scholarship was offered for each department on the assumption that the graduate would return to fill a specific vacancy. But many factors may nullify such an assumption. The student may fail at university or elect to remain overseas. Anticipated employment opportunities may not arise if long-term plans undergo change. Tied to this is a system of appointing graduates to positions as opposed to permitting them to apply for those positions personally deemed most attractive. Here is further evidence of a "lack of fit". If an unforeseen vacancy occurs in one area of government employment, graduates trained in other specialities are likely to be transferred to the vacancy currently accorded higher priority, regardless of whether a graduate's skills may be better employed elsewhere. A system of job appointment allows a graduate little chance to exercise personal preference and thereby contributes to feelings of job dissatisfaction.

Although graduate salaries are generally considerably higher than the income of the majority of Tongans (Figures 4.3,4.5) at a median level of \$3000-\$3999 Tongan pa'anga, they do not approach the figure that graduates could expect to earn in the more developed nations. Graduates indicated that their low income was a real source of

discontent (Figure 5.9). While their education has increased their social prestige it has also increased their social responsibilities and their sojourn overseas has probably increased their material expectations - expectations about diet, living conditions, clothing, transport and other items. What may previously have been perceived as luxuries may now be deemed necessities by the graduate group. Graduates are also expected to provide for their kin group and it is evident that a substantial number of them do so. (Chapter 4) Many however find that their salary does not meet the demands made upon it by their relatives and their own expectations. Carter (1973) indicated that an improvement in the financial rewards for trained manpower in developing countries may well reduce their flow abroad. This would seem to be so in Tonga.

Interpersonal relationships figured prominently in difficulties mentioned by those interviewed. Graduates indicated that their employment-related problems more often centred around associations with colleagues and the demands of superiors than around the nature of the work per se. The 'hierarchy' came in for considerable criticism. There appears to exist in Tonga little delegation of authority. Instead dictates from above order the most minor aspects of day to day routine. This complaint was voiced most often by those working in education although possibly this was because the sample was biased towards this group. Cabinet level decisions vetoed individual study plans, proposed school trips, curriculum changes, alterations in a school's uniform, the dates of school terms and other concerns. Graduates felt they lacked autonomy in their positions.

There was a demand for a greater role in decision making. (Chapter 5) Graduates felt the idealism present on their return, their desire to make a positive contribution to Tonga's development, were dissipated when they became frustrated on realising their own impotence and the strength of the conservative hierarchy. Graduates resented constant direction, especially from those without professional qualifications and overseas experience. They felt they were denied the freedom to express their opinions and to put into practice what they had learned overseas. It proved very difficult to pass on learned skills owing to local resistance to new ways. Communication difficulties and a lack of autonomy in their

professional capacity were at the heart of job dissatisfaction among graduates.

Carter (op.cit,1973) placed the onus for reducing the brain drain on the governments of the developing countries. It would appear from the above discussion that Tonga could do much more to retain the services of its graduates than it is doing at present. The trained manpower do not feel that their talents are being sufficiently utilised. Not only does Tonga lack the facilities to enable graduates to keep abreast of the latest developments in their fields, but many graduates feel their desire to introduce new concepts and techniques to their home country has met with frustrating indifference, procrastination or opposition from those possessing real power in the system. Although many graduates felt they would remain longer in Tonga if salaries were more attractive, money was not considered the principal reason for job dissatisfaction. Graduates believed the lack of personal freedom both in initial job selection and in the day-to-day demands of their jobs to be more serious barriers to their readjustment to Tonga.

Carter's call (op.cit,1973) for more efforts by home country governments to retain their graduates is further supported by the initial willingness of Tongan graduates to return home. A strong sense of obligation to family is experienced by most returning graduates (Figure 4.2) Initially at least, graduates believe that by returning to Tonga they will be able to repay debts to relatives, enhance their own standing, and at the same time make a positive contribution to Tonga's development. Graduates do feel that in Tonga they will be able to realise these expectations.

It would appear that given the high level of motivation Tongan graduates have both to assist their relatives and to serve their country (Figure 6.7), that Tonga would retain the services of its graduate group longer if the system of job appointments was replaced by one of job applications, and if graduates perceived that they had more autonomy in the positions they filled. Tonga's brain drain, currently involving almost a fifth of the country's university graduates, could well be reduced if graduates felt they had more freedom of choice than they do

at present.

The principal factors causing dissatisfactions among Tongan graduates are then a "lack of fit" between overseas training and employment in Tonga, as well as a perceived lack of personal freedom. To overcome this situation of discontentment it is evident that a number of changes could well be introduced in the Kingdom.

Administrative Needs

Firstly, it is imperative that secondary school students in Tonga become more aware of what is entailed in university courses available overseas. Many high school students have but the vaguest ideas of what is involved in the scholarships for which they apply. A more thorough knowledge of university courses abroad would enable them to make a more realistic initial career choice. Many students in developed societies also lack this knowledge but there does exist there careers advisers, vocational guidance officers and a variety of publications from which such information can be gleaned. Such sources of information are not readily available in Tonga and it has already been established that few Tongans have much contact with graduates before they go overseas (Figure 4.8). Further any such contact is likely to result in information specific to the experience of a particular graduate rather than to the wider spectrum of a university-based career. The "lack of fit", so much a problem in Tonga, begins at this initial stage of university scholarship application. Making available the necessary details on subject choice, career requirements, university courses and so forth to interested high school leavers could form a significant part of the scholarship officer's job description. At present this position seems to entail primarily clerical and administrative duties and the officer has little personal contact with present or would-be Tongan overseas students. If the public relations aspect of this position was further developed subsequent gains would be felt not only by individual students but also by Tonga itself, in the long run.

There exists in Tonga considerable resentment towards the allocation of

scholarships. Frequently it would seem that criteria other than academic merit are considered in the award of scholarships to study overseas. There would appear to exist a decided preference for male scholarship holders despite superior examination performance by female applicants. Relatives of those employed in the education department appear to gain a disproportionate share of study awards. In recent years both the churches and the government have awarded scholarships in reward for loyal service. This practice has declined recently in view of the poor academic performance of many of Tonga's older students. Education authorities also appear reluctant to award scholarships to same siblings, claiming to have already helped a particular family sufficiently. In future it would seem advisable that Education Department officers ensure that justice is seen to be done in the distribution of scholarships. Such a policy could enhance the likelihood of privately funded students returning to Tonga and reduce bitterness among unsuccessful applicants.

Equally apparent is a need for some form of research into the career prospects likely in the future. If Tonga's future developmental needs were more accurately predicted than is occurring at present, the much criticized policy of secondment, could be abandoned. A clear example of a failure to anticipate future developmental needs is evident in the recent creation of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defence. Over the last decade the greater powers have begun to deliberately court favour with the smaller nations. Despite this increasing contact Tonga has made little effort to train personnel in the field of foreign relations, diplomacy and the skills of interpreting. This year (1979) saw the establishment of a new ministry and at the same time the first publication of scholarships to study foreign languages. Tonga had no problem finding a candidate to head the ministry - the Crown Prince was appointed to the position - but the department continues to lack the services of staff with the requisite skills. It is highly probable that appointees - albeit possibly reluctant ones - will fill these currently vacant positions.

Demand for Autonomy

The lack of personal autonomy in matters of employment was considered by graduates to be a major factor in their dissatisfaction with conditions in present day Tonga. In the light of this it would appear logical to recommend a greater decentralisation of power than that which exists at present. The continued centralization of power and the reluctance to delegate authority reflects the pyramidal nature of Tongan society generally (Figure 3.7). The King can at any time call parliament together. He appoints all members of the cabinet and has the power to veto any bill passed by parliament. This veto was exercised for the first time in over a century in October when royal assent was withheld from the Land Amendment Act, 1979.

Even the cabinet of Tonga concerns itself with seemingly trivial matters. The employment and payment of every civil servant must have cabinet authorisation as must the issuing of visas for overseas study. The degree of 'red tape' involved in these jealously guarded privileges has the effect of slowing down Tonga's administrative system. Cabinet does not sit continuously so it can be many months before a decision is made, many months before a government teacher is paid, many months before an application for a study visa is approved. Crane (1978) reported the stirrings of discontent among those opposing the governmental system which favours the King and the nobility and gives the people's representatives very little share in decision making. Of Tonga's twenty-three members of parliament, seven are elected by the nobles, nine are appointed by the King and the remaining seven represent the people. But unrest may well grow at an accelerating rate not over this inherently unequal system of representation, or over the larger philosophical issue of the degree to which Tonga is a democratic nation, but because of the personal and practical frustrations experienced by individuals having dealings within the administrative system. As Tonga's population continues to grow, delays in the administrative process will occur more frequently and alienation from "the Tongan way" may develop at a similar rate.

Kinship binds the family in Tonga and kinship obligations, both

economic and social, remain extensive. Every Tongan tries to grant the request of a kinsman be it for food, clothing, hospitality, accommodation, employment, land, labour or money. Relatives are more obliged to assist close than distant kin but the extended family is a wide unit encompassing many people. It appears that, because of the strength of these familial bonds, nepotism will continue to be a potent force within Tongan society at all echelons. There was no opposition when the Crown Prince, His Royal Highness Tupouto'a, was created Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence in July 1979. In contrast to their counterparts in the United Kingdom, the Tongan Royal Family does wield real power. The King's brother is the Prime Minister of Tonga; his son-in-law is Secretary to Tonga's ambassador to Great Britain; his niece was a People's Representative in Parliament and each of his three sons is likely to reach ministerial level as he comes of age. In the past members of the Royal Family and the nobility have had considerably more leadership experience and association with outside societies than the majority of commoners. Their right to rule and their occupance of the senior positions of government was not questioned. In the twentieth century leadership experience and overseas contact no longer remain the sole prerogative of the high born. The graduate group could come increasingly to resent the continued concentration of power with those of privileged birth.

At present all Tonga's graduates have found employment and many have acquired higher social status as a consequence of their overseas education. A large number did however express resentment at their exclusion from the decision-making process. As Tonga's graduate population swells it is possible that not all will gain the high echelon positions to which they aspire. In recent years a number of newly created posts have been filled by graduates, for instance that of Secretary of Finance. This method of absorbing returning graduates cannot continue indefinitely. If members of royalty and the nobility are appointed to senior positions irrespective of their experience and educational background, barriers between commoners and the holders of power and privilege may well increase. The graduate group could prove a likely source of leadership to malcontents. This source of potential conflict can however be avoided while at the same time retaining the distinctiveness of "the Tongan way".

If members of the nobility do embrace the educational opportunities which they are offered and acquire appropriate academic qualifications then their occupancy of top level positions would not arouse undue resentment. In modern day Tonga it is the King who must take the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of affairs. To him go the accolades for successes and the detraction in instances of failure. One graduate suggested that the prestige of the monarchy could be preserved if the King were to divorce himself from the direct appointment of his ministers. The power of appointing Tonga's ministers of the crown could be delegated to a committee with specific criteria of appointment outlined. If the King were to retain only a veto power on appointments, respect for the institution of the monarchy would not suffer in the event of ministerial mishap or mismanagement. While graduates are concerned to preserve their unique cultural heritage many feel this can only be achieved through a greater democratization of Tonga's political system.

In conclusion it can be said that this research has pointed to a misuse of human resources in Tonga. Tongan graduates are highly motivated to return home upon completion of their university studies abroad. Back in Tonga many experience some frustrations - particularly in their job situation - and the resulting discontentment suggests permanent migration from the Kingdom. It would appear to be evident that the brain drain among Tonga's university-educated personnel is primarily a result of push factors at home rather than pull factors from abroad. If job-centred dissatisfactions were reduced Tonga's ever-increasing graduate group would feel more inclined to remain to contribute their skills and knowhow to the future development of their homeland. In this way investment in Tonga's human capital may return greater dividends to the country than is occurring at present.

APPENDIX I

T O N G A ' S G R A D U A T E S

	<u>NAME</u>	<u>HIGHEST DEGREE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
1.	'A. 'Afeaki	B.A.	N.Z.
2.	Lui 'Aho	B.A.	Fiji
3.	Siaosi 'Aho	M.B.B.S.	Australia
4.	Siaosi T. 'Aho	B.A.	N.Z.
5.	Uasi 'Ahokovi	B. Ed.	Hawaii
6.	Lisiate 'Akolo	B.A.	N.Z.
7.	Viliani 'Alofi	B.A.	Fiji
8.	Siope 'Amanaki	M. Sc.	U.K.
9.	Paula Bloomfield	M.A.	U.K.
10.	Cecil Cocker	M. Com.	N.Z.
11.	Clive Edwards	L.L.B.	N.Z.
12.	H. O. Fa'anunu	B.Sc.	Hawaii
13.	'Ofa Fakalata	B.Sc.	Australia
14.	S. Na'a Fiefia	B.A.	Hawaii
15.	Filimone Fifita	B.A.	Hawaii
16.	'Ikani Fifita	B.A.	U.S.A.
17.	Sitaleki Finau	M.B.B.S.	Australia
18.	Sitiveni Finau	B.A.	U.S.A.
19.	Lita Foliaki	B.A.	N.Z.
20.	Lopeti Foliaki	B.A.	Hawaii
21.	Supileo Foliaki	M.B.B.S.	Australia
22.	Penisimani Fonua	B. Ed.	U.K.
23.	Salote Fukofuka	B.A.	Australia
24.	Viliani Fukofuka	B.A.	New Zealand
25.	'Eseta Fulivai	M.A.	Australia
26.	'Inoke Kolo Funaki	Ph.D.	U.S.A.
27.	Latu Fusimalohi	B.Sc.	Hawaii
28.	Tavake Fusimalohi	B.A.	Hawaii
29.	Viliani Halapua	B.Sc.	Philippines
30.	Lasale Halatuituia	B.A.	Fiji
31.	Vili Halisi	M.Ed.	U.S.A.
32.	'Epli Hau'ofa	Ph.D.	Australia
33.	Fusi 'U. Havea	B.A.	Australia
34.	Kaveinga Havea	M.Ed.	Canada
35.	Ngalu Havea	M.B.B.S.	Australia

36.	S. 'Amanaki Havea	D.D.	Japan
37.	Siusa Helu	B.Ed.	Fiji
38.	Toni K. Holani	B.Sc.	N.Z.
39.	Viliami K. Holani	B.A.	Australia
40.	Tevita Fa'oa Holo	M.Sc.	Hawaii
41.	Sebastian Hurrell	B.Com.	N.Z.
42.	Hinemoa 'Ikahihifo	B.Sc.	N.Z.
43.	Saia Kari	B.Sc.	Fiji
44.	Sione F. Kanongata'a	M.Ed.	Hawaii
45.	Pasipi Kautoke	B.A.	Hawaii
46.	Langi Kavaliku	Ph.D.	N.Z.
47.	'Etuini Kelemeni	B.A.	Hawaii
48.	Sione Kilisimasi	B.D.Sc.	Australia
49.	Sione Kite	M.A.	U.K.
50.	Sinilau Kolo	B.A.	Fiji
51.	Filipe Koloi	B.E.	N.Z.
52.	Lesieli Kupu	P.A.	N.Z.
53.	Mana Latu	B.Sc.	N.Z.
54.	Sione Tualau Latu	B.A.	Hawaii
55.	Paula Lavulo	B.Com.	U.K.
56.	'Akanesi Lutui	M.B.B.S.	Australia
57.	Colin Lutui	B.Sc.	U.S.A.
58.	Tevita Feke Mafi	B.D.	Fiji
59.	Veiongo Mafi	M.A.	U.K.
60.	Sione Ma'ilei	B.Econ.	Fiji
61.	Tualau Mangisi	M.A.	Canada
62.	'Afu'alo Matoto	M.A.	U.K.
63.	Paula Ma'u	B.Sc.	U.S.A.
64.	'Emeli Moala	B.A.	Fiji
65.	Pita Moala	B.E.	P.N.G.
66.	Siaosi Moengangongo	B.V.Sc.	Hawaii
67.	'Eleni Mone	B.A.	Fiji
68.	'Etueni Mungaloa	B.A.	U.S.A.
69.	Hulu'olo Mungaloa	Ph.D.	U.S.A.
70.	Paula Muti	B.A.	Hawaii
71.	'Ifalemi Naitoko	B.A.	Australia
72.	K.L. Naufahu	Ph.D.	Hawaii
73.	Laki Niu	L.L.B.	N.Z.
74.	Luseane Tonga 'Ofa	B.A.	Fiji

75.	Va'inga Palu	B.A.	Fiji
76.	Kalapoli Paongo	M.Ed.	U.S.A.
77.	Taani Pifeleti	M.B.B.S.	Australia
78.	'Otolouta Poloniati	B.A.	Fiji
79.	Visesio Rngi	B.Sc.	Fiji
80.	Manu Puloka	B.A.	Australia
81.	Mele'ana Puloka	B.A.	Fiji
82.	Lei Saafi	M.B.B.S.	P.N.G.
83.	Mesui Saafi	B.A.	Fiji
84.	N.V. Saulala	B.A.	Australia
85.	Simi Sefanaia	B.Sc.	Fiji
86.	Feleti Sevele	Ph.D.	N.Z.
87.	Tomasi Simiki	B.Ag.	Australia
88.	'Aleki Sisifa	B.Sc.	Australia
89.	'Elisapesi Sisifa	B.Sc.	N.Z.
90.	Maketalena Tafa	B.A.	India
91.	Viliami Takau	B.A.(Hons)	N.Z.
92.	Fe'ao Takitaki	M.B.B.S.	P.N.G.
93.	Siupeli Taliai	B.A.	Australia
94.	Moli Tamanika	M.B.B.S.	P.N.G.
95.	Vuki Tangitau	B.A.	Hawaii
96.	Sione Tapa	M.B.	N.Z.
97.	Tevita Tapavalu	B.A.	Fiji
98.	Moi Tapealava	B.D.Sc.	Australia
99.	Jeffrey Taufa	B.A.	P.N.G.
100.	Tupou 'U. Taufa	B.A.	N.Z.
101.	Viliami Taufa	B.Ag.Sci.	N.Z.
102.	'Ana Taufe'ulungaki	M.A.	U.K.
103.	Pisila Taufe'ulungaki	M.A.	U.S.A.
104.	Melenaite Taumoefolau	B.A.	Fiji
105.	Papani Taumoefolau	B.Tech.	India
106.	'Aisea Taumoepeau	L.L.B.	N.Z.
107.	Lita Taumoepeau	M.A.	N.Z.
108.	Semisi Taumoepeau	B.Sc.	N.Z.
109.	Sione Taumoepeau	B.E.	N.Z.
110.	Tu'a Taumoepeau	B.A.	U.S.A.
111.	Pelenaise Teaupa	B.A.	India
112.	Simi Tekiteki	B.A.	Fiji
113.	Konai Thaman	M.A.	U.S.A.

114.	Matelita Toefoki	B.Ed.	Australia
115.	T. Tonga	B.Sc.	Fiji
116.	Telesia Tonga	B.A.	Fiji
117.	'Elenoa Tongilava	B.A.	N.Z.
118.	Tupou Tonutonu	M.A.	U.S.A.
119.	Taniela Tufui	L.L.B.	Australia
120.	Karl Tu'inukuafe	M.A.	N.Z.
121.	Edgar Tu'inukuafe	B.A.	N.Z.
122.	'Ofa Tu'ionetoa	B.A.	Fiji
123.	Peaua Tu'ipulotu	B.Sc.	Fiji
124.	'Ilaisaane Tukia	B.A.	Fiji
125.	'Akilisi Tupou	M.Ed.	U.S.A.
126.	Sonatane Tupou	B.A.	Hawaii
127.	King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV	L.L.B.	Australia
128.	Tevita Tupou	L.L.B.	N.Z.
129.	Mahe Tupouniua	B.A./B.Com.	N.Z.
130.	Penisimani Tupouniua	M.A.	N.Z.
131.	Sione Tupouniua	B.A.	U.S.A.
132.	Siosiu 'Utoikamanu	B.C.A.	N.Z.
133.	Peni Vea	B.A.	Fiji
134.	Sitiveni Vete	B.Ec.	Australia
135.	Sione Tualau Vimahi	B.A.	Hawaii

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Instructions

Where applicable tick the square which you prefer.

In questions marked with an * rank any appropriate answers in order of preference. You need not rank them all.

Where it says 'other' please specify what you mean.

If a question does not apply to your situation please write 'N.A.'

Name Age

Sex Religion

Marital status Father's occupation

Nationality of parents: mother;father

Spouse's nationalityNumber of Children

Birthplace: Island Town/Village

Where did you grow up?

To what social class do you think your parents belong?

Indicate why

occupation	.....	income	.....
birth	.....	education	.....
other	.....	

1. Secondary schools attended Country
-
-
-
2. Before you went overseas did you come into contact with any graduates regularly?
3. Before you went overseas did you know any of the nobles or their children socially?
4. First year at university 19.....
5. Who was your sponsor overseas? private government
6. If you were sponsored privately indicate who by:

relationship	nationality	country
.....
.....

7. Academic degrees Year Institution Country
-
-
-

8. Indicate your main subject(s) at university
9. Why did you attend university? * (rank)
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| professional training | offered a scholarship |
| overseas experience | nothing better to do |
| parental pressure | drifted into it |
| other ..... | ..... |
10. Do any of your relations have university degrees?
- | | |
|--------------|--------|
| relationship | degree |
| | |
| | |
| | |
11. Have you had any other overseas training? If so, what?
- | | |
|--------|----------------|
| course | place, country |
| | |
| | |
12. If you are currently studying overseas what job do you hope to do on completion of your degree?
13. Present Occupation Place Annual Income
- | | | |
|-------|-------|---------|
| | | \$..... |
|-------|-------|---------|
14. Your last two positions (if applicable)
- | | | |
|----------|-------|---------------|
| position | place | annual income |
| | | \$..... |
| | | \$..... |
15. Is your job related to your university degree? If it is, say how.
16. How did you gain your present position?
- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| by appointment | by personal application |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
17. After 6 months in your first job did you find it satisfying?
Explain your answer.
18. If you are no longer in your first job explain why you left it.

19. State any job you would prefer to be doing and say why.
20. Why did you decide to return to Tonga when you graduated? *
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| scholarship requirements | ..... | a desire to return home | ..... |
| family | ..... | status and prestige | ..... |
| good job offered | ..... | Tonga's need for skills | ..... |
| a desire to be useful | ..... | dissatisfaction overseas | ..... |
| other | ..... |  |  |
21. What factors were, or would be, most significant in your decision to leave Tonga? *
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| lack of job satisfaction | ..... | dislike of traditional norms | ..... |
| lack of opportunities | ..... | low income | ..... |
| low living standards | ..... | unable to utilise skills | ..... |
| other | ..... |  |  |
22. What factors encourage graduates to remain in Tonga? * (rank)
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| family ties | ..... | status and prestige | ..... |
| love of homeland | ..... | a feeling of belonging | ..... |
| job satisfaction | ..... | fulfilling a need | ..... |
| disenchantment with overseas | ..... |  |  |
| other | ..... |  |  |
23. If you were given the job of your choice what would you hope to achieve within the next ten years?
24. How often do you attend church?
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| regularly | ..... | on special occasions | ..... |
| occasionally | ..... | almost never | ..... |
25. Does your Misionale/Katoanga'ofa exceed \$100 annually?
26. How much contact (social or professional) do you have with other graduates in Tonga?
- | | | | |
|------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| regular | ..... | on special occasions | ..... |
| occasional | ..... | very little | ..... |
27. Do you mix regularly with any of the nobles or their children?
28. What is the main criteria of social class in Tonga?
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| income | ..... | education | ..... | ability | ..... | birth | ..... |
| initiative | ..... | other | ..... |  |  |  |  |

APPENDIX III

C O V E R I N G L E T T E R

TONGA'S GRADUATES - a survey
(M.A. thesis - Massey University)

Dear

Education is viewed as an important element in a nation's developmental process. Tonga has enjoyed schooling for over a century. Has this education fulfilled the expectations of its citizens?

This research aims to collect information on Tonga's graduates. I am interested in your circumstances before and after your graduation, your opinions of past and present trends, your hopes for and views of, the future. I believe that such information will be of great value in investigating the current position of Tonga's graduates and possibly in influencing the direction of future educational developments.

Although I've asked you to include your name within the questionnaire I want to assure you that your responses will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. All material will be collated in such a way as to make it impossible to identify individuals and to ensure personal anonymity.

I will be very pleased if you can find the time to fill in the following questionnaire. I know it's long but all the information is necessary. Hopefully the material you supply will not only win me an M.A. but also be of benefit to Tonga.

Malo 'aupito

'Ofa atu,

Address

Education Dept.
Massey University
Palmerston North
NEW ZEALAND

Tupou 'Ulu'ave

APPENDIX IV

LETTER TO V.I.P.s

Hala Tu'i
Kolofo'ou

22 August 1977

Dear Sir,

I am currently in Tonga doing research for my master of arts thesis in education from Massey University. I am conducting a survey on graduates in Tonga and would like my survey to be as comprehensive as possible.

I enclose with this letter a copy of my questionnaire. I would be grateful if you could agree to taking the time to fill it in for me. I am also conducting personal interviews with a number of Tonga's graduates. If you would be available for an interview could you please specify a time and a day. I will be in the Kingdom until September 2nd and can be contacted via Tonga High School.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully

Tupou 'Ulu'ave

APPENDIX V

I N T E R V I E W Q U E S T I O N S

- What made you decide to enter university?
- What problems did you face while at university?
- What social activities did you attend while at university?
- How did your parents feel when you were given the chance to study overseas?
- What did you do before you entered university?
- How do you feel about the obligation to family and community on your return from abroad?
- What is your relationship with your present colleagues, your sisters and brothers?
- Do you know any of the nobles?
- Were any of your attitudes and values changed after you had been to university?
- Is there a Tongan way? If so, what is it?
- Why have some graduates left Tonga?
- What made you decide to return to Tonga?
- Are you doing the job of your choice?
- Given the job of your choice what would you hope to achieve?
- What can be done to encourage graduates to remain and work in Tonga?
- In Tonga today, educationalists seem to strive for relevance of learnt matter to environment. What do you think of this policy?
- Is there any development in Tonga at present that will enhance or endanger its future?

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