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***Tatala 'a e Koloa 'o e To'utangata Tonga i
Aotearoa mo Tonga***

The intergenerational educational experiences of Tongan males in
New Zealand and Tonga

David Taufui Mikato Fa'avae

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

Pasifika students' home knowledges and practices have low value in New Zealand schooling. Despite studies that have argued for culturally responsive teaching that meets the diverse needs of Pasifika students (Alton-Lee, 2008; Coxon, Mara, Wendt Samu, & Finau, 2002; Ferguson, Gorinski, Samu, & Mara, 2008), there is limited research that shows the kinds of 'cultural' or family knowledges or practices to which teachers might be responsive. This study provides stories of intergenerational educational experiences of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga, foregrounding Tongan language and culture as valuable knowledge in the education of Tongan males (Manu'atu, 2000b; Thaman, 1988; Vaioleti, 2006). This study unfolds useful knowledge about cultural understandings and practices to which teachers might be 'culturally responsive'.

I use the idea of '*tatala 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*' to refer to the process of unfolding and revealing the richness and complexities of Tongan cultural knowledge and understanding in the men's families' lives. As family cultural capital, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* relates to the valuable knowledge and practices transmitted from generation to generation within the *kāinga* (extended family). While the perceptions of what constitutes Tongan cultural capital is diverse and varies from *kāinga* to *kāinga*, the perceived importance of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* for Tongan males' education is shared. The embodiment of Tongan cultural capital is in the *kāinga*'s aspirations, expectations and the hope for their young to succeed in education.

This strengths-based study is a response to the deficit discourse on Pasifika education that is focused on 'what Pasifika students lack' in schooling. The overall focus is to remind Tongan parents and the community of the value of Tongan cultural knowledge and practices in Tongan males' education. Moreover, this study aims to inform teachers, to help them understand what Tongan cultural knowledge looks like in the education of Tongan males. How teachers and schools respond to the cultural knowledge that Tongan males bring from home will determine whether or not their cultural knowledge can become cultural capital in schooling.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my son, nephews and nieces.

I am extremely blessed to have you all in my life. Spending time and watching you all grow up motivated and inspired me throughout this arduous journey. May our Lord Jesus Christ continue to watch over and bless you all as you seek, struggle, and negotiate to maintain who you choose to be in this world. Know that, despite the good and bad days, it is Christ who will remind us of our place in this world. For He is our sufficiency!

I also dedicate this work to my late grandparents who were instrumental in passing down their knowledge and practices – Sione Mikato Fa’avae and Vika Lataheanga Fositā (paternal grandparents), and Melenaite Jennings and Sione P. Tomasi (maternal grandparents). Although they are no longer with us, however, their memories continue to live on in us.

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Trust in The Lord with all your heart, and do not rely on your own understanding.
Acknowledge Him in all your ways, and He will make your paths straight.
(Proverbs 3:5 – 6)

Firstly, I must acknowledge The Lord Jesus Christ for His Strength, Grace and Glory. As well, there are people to acknowledge because of their contribution throughout my doctoral journey. My cultural understanding as a Tongan requires me to thank everyone.

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Glossary of Tongan Terms

<i>ako</i>	education/ schooling/ learn
<i>ako teu</i>	primary school
<i>fa'ētangata</i>	mother's brother
<i>fai'aho</i>	birthday celebration
<i>fai 'aki honau faka'osingamālie</i>	giving it their all
<i>faifekau pule</i>	head minister
<i>faikava</i>	kava drinking
<i>fai mo'oni</i>	honesty
<i>faitotonu</i>	honesty
<i>faiva</i>	Tongan dance/ entertainment
<i>fakaafe</i>	feast
<i>faka'apa'apa</i>	respectful
<i>fakafāмили</i>	family prayer
<i>fakakaukau</i>	thoughts
<i>fakakoloa</i>	to share/ pass down/ transmit knowledge
<i>fakalongolongo</i>	quiet/ silent in nature
<i>fakapotopoto</i>	wise
<i>fakatalanoa</i>	superficial initial meeting
<i>fakatatala</i>	to unfold
<i>fala</i>	fine mat
<i>falekoloa</i>	shop
<i>fanongo</i>	to listen
<i>fatongia</i>	obligation
<i>feagaiga</i>	Samoan term for covenant relationship
<i>fefie</i>	firewood
<i>fe'ilo'aki</i>	to meet and to get to know and understand one another
<i>fe'ilongaki</i>	to know of each other's place and identity/ meaningful engagement
<i>fei'umu</i>	prepare food in an underground oven
<i>fe'ofa'aki</i>	love, compassion
<i>feveitoka'i'aki</i>	caring, generosity
<i>fofola</i>	to unfold
<i>fokotu'u talanoa</i>	talanoa in a formal setting
<i>fonua</i>	land and people
<i>fua fatongia</i>	fulfill obligations
<i>fu'u ivi lahi pe ia</i>	lots of energy and determination
<i>helepelu</i>	machete
<i>'ilo</i>	knowledge
<i>kalapu faikava</i>	kava drinking club
<i>kāinga</i>	extended family
<i>kātoanga</i>	cultural event/ celebration
<i>kātoanga faiva</i>	festival with cultural performances
<i>kava</i>	traditional beverage from crushed kava root
<i>koloa</i>	goods, wealth, riches
<i>koloa'ia</i>	an abundance of cultural wealth/ knowledge
<i>koloa 'a e Tonga</i>	Tongan cultural knowledge
<i>koloa matelie</i>	material wealth
<i>koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga</i>	Tongan cultural knowledge passed down from generation to generation/ family cultural capital
<i>la'i lū</i>	taro leaves
<i>le'o</i>	guard/ guardian/ caretaker
<i>lōata</i>	big black ants
<i>loto</i>	(inside) heart/ spirit
<i>loto fakatōkilalo/ loto tō</i>	humility
<i>loto fale</i>	living room

<i>loto 'ofa</i>	compassion
<i>lū sipi</i>	chopped pieces of lamb wrapped in taro leaves and covered with onions and coconut cream
<i>māfana</i>	inwardly warm feelings
<i>maheni</i>	familiarity
<i>mahu 'inga</i>	significance
<i>mali</i>	wedding
<i>mālie</i>	energising and uplifting of spirits to a positive state of connectedness and enlightenment
<i>mamahi 'i me 'a</i>	sacrifice
<i>mateloi</i>	plant with sharp edges
<i>me 'akai</i>	food
<i>mehekitanga</i>	father's sister
<i>ngaahi tapu</i>	forbidden rules
<i>ngaahi tokoua</i>	brothers
<i>ngaahi tu 'ofafine</i>	sisters
<i>ngāue fakafaiako</i>	teaching
<i>ngāue ki 'uta</i>	work on the plantation
<i>ngāue mateaki</i>	to be loyal/ devoted
<i>ngatu</i>	tapa cloth
<i>ngoto 'umu</i>	natural underground oven
<i>ohi</i>	adopted
<i>'ofa</i>	love
<i>pō talanoa</i>	people who know each other create, exchange, resolve and share their relationships through talking
<i>poto</i>	wisdom
<i>poto 'ianga</i>	cultural competency
<i>puaka tunu</i>	roast pig
<i>putu</i>	funeral
<i>saliote</i>	cart
<i>sipi</i>	pieces of lamb
<i>sovaleni</i>	pound
<i>talanoa</i>	to talk
<i>talanoa 'i</i>	discussion/ analysis
<i>talanoa 'i tatala</i>	discussion/ analysis of the layers of stories unfolded when people share stories, emotions and experiences that uplift and energise
<i>talanoa mālie</i>	talking about people/ fond memories from the past
<i>talanoa manatu melie</i>	talking that is profound in nature
<i>talatalanoa</i>	traditional woven mat
<i>ta 'ovala</i>	to unfold/ reveal
<i>tatala</i>	maintain relationships
<i>tauhi vā</i>	pay attention
<i>tokanga</i>	pay close attention
<i>tokanga fakamātoato</i>	uncooked food
<i>tokonaki</i>	generations
<i>to 'utangata</i>	loin cloth wrapped around male's waist
<i>tupenu</i>	position/ standard
<i>tu 'unga</i>	yam
<i>'ufi</i>	highest rank male
<i>'ulumotu 'a</i>	characteristics, qualities
<i>'ulungāanga</i>	Tongan ways of being/ Tongan values and beliefs
<i>'ulungāanga faka-Tonga</i>	space in which relationships are formed
<i>vā</i>	Samoan term for sacred space
<i>vā-tapuia</i>	sacred space that honours relationships
<i>veitapui</i>	

Chapter 1: Talateu – Introduction

Talanoa Manatu Melie – Motivation

As a Tongan practice, *talanoa manatu melie* is related to when people discuss past events and other people that have impacted their lives. Fond memories are shared of loved ones who are no longer with them. Within the memories are knowledge and values they hold close to their hearts and that have either inspired, motivated or influenced how they choose to live today. Below is my *talanoa manatu melie* explaining what inspired me to do this research.

After completing my Masters degree at the University of Auckland, I returned in 2013 to teach at my old high school in South Auckland. I remember feeling a real passion to go back and *fakakoloa* (share) the knowledge learnt in my Masters with staff as well as the students in my year level. As the Year 11 academic dean, and in conjunction with the school's academic mentoring programme which was part of the 'Starpath Project', my *fatongia* (obligation) was to monitor student achievement data and implement initiatives that specifically targeted student learning at given phases throughout the year.

The development of the Starpath project was driven by the University of Auckland's concern that "Māori and Pacific students did not have an equal opportunity to enter and succeed in tertiary education" (University of Auckland, 2013, p. 4). As a way to improve student outcomes for Māori and Pacific students, Starpath suggested 'three-way conferences' as a way for schools to enhance relationships with their Māori and Pacific families and the community. Three-way conferences were meetings guided by the student, teacher and parents, and their discussions were mainly related to National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) credits achievement.

In order to engage with Pasifika parents, I worked with the pastoral dean and the deputy principal in charge of our year level to organise two three-way conferences between the students, parents and whanau teachers (form teachers). I felt frustrated at the three-way conference meetings because two completely different sets of knowledges were at play – that of the parents on the one hand, and that of the school on the other. These knowledges seemed to conceptualise the whole nature of

schooling in different ways.

What concerned me was the premise behind the discussions and decisions made at the school that were centred on a deficit view of what students lacked, and needed to know to do well in schooling. Even fourteen years after Biddulph et al's (2003) claim for teachers to move away from deficit theorising of Māori and Pasifika students, "teachers [continued to speak] of the children's deficiencies as being the major barriers to their progress and achievement" (p. 57). Teachers' discussions with parents at the three-way conference meetings highlighted Tongan students' lack of knowledge and understanding as the reason why they were not achieving in their classes.

At the conference meetings, Tongan parents did not challenge this deficit thinking, but became defensive in the face of it, and sometimes raised their concerns about a particular teacher's lack of relationship building (*tauhi vā*) with their son as a reason why their child was not achieving credits in that particular class. However, such discussions were ignored by the school. The schools focus was based on gaining NCEA credits and this was of higher value than addressing the relationship between teachers and Tongan males at my school. For Tongan parents, *tauhi vā* is a valued practice and is required for any kind of learning to take place. From the school's view however, the child's ability to gain credits, and the schools' understanding of how to utilise achievement data, were their main focus for improving students' learning. Furthermore, although parents were concerned about their child's relationships with some of their teachers, the Tongan parents never raised the question of their sons' existing knowledge, including their traditional cultural values and knowledge – because to them such knowledge belonged at home and church. At home and church the boys were knowledgeable; at school they were not.

I came away from the three-way conference meetings wondering how can Tongan parents be encouraged to see their families' traditional values and knowledge as important in schooling? How could schools build stronger connections with Pasifika families and understand their conceptualisation of achievement for their children in the New Zealand education system? How can we encourage schools who are set in their dominant practices to value the significance of Pasifika students' culture as important in their learning? These questions motivated me to do more

research and writing. I wanted to encourage the Pasifika community, and help provide understanding for teachers and schools, about the richness of Pasifika cultural knowledge and practices in schooling. This study is the result.

In order to narrow the focus of the study, and because Pasifika boys rather than girls are often seen as the most ‘lacking’ in relation to education (Ministry of Education, 2013c), I decided to focus on the educational experiences of Tongan males. I have a vested interest in the education of Tongan boys because I am an uncle to many Tongan nephews and the Tongan father of a seven-year-old son.

Tu’unga ‘o e Talanoa – Setting the Scene

The education of Pacific peoples is a concern not only in New Zealand, but in the wider Pacific region as well. The Re-thinking Pacific Education Initiative by Pacific Peoples for Pacific Peoples (RPEIPP) has been developed by Pacific scholars as a deliberate move away from the deficit framing of education by global donor organisations, and to “re-think education from Pacific perspectives and world views to complement those promoted by formal education” which are “often irrelevant and inappropriate for Pacific contexts and peoples” (Taufe'ulungaki, 2014, p. 2). In December 2000, Pacific scholars, ‘Ana Maui Taufe’ulungaki, Kabini Sanga, Konai Helu Thaman, and Trisha Nelly from NZAID, developed RPEIPP as a way to “re-conceptualise education...that would allow Pacific peoples to reclaim the education process” (Taufeu'ulungaki, 2014, p. 5). Since its inception, the RPEIPP initiative has provided a space for Pacific scholars to claim and articulate the value of their cultural knowledge and practices in their education (Chu, 2009; Fua, 2007; Maha, 2009; Nabobo-Baba, 2009; Raivoka, 2009; Sanga, 2009; Teweiariki, 2009). This study might be said to be part of that initiative: it seeks to define and articulate valued learning for Tongan males by the extended families themselves.

My study focuses on the *kāinga* (extended family) and their strengths in terms of the educational values, practices and memories that are valued and passed down from generation to generation within Tongan families in New Zealand and Tonga. Because this study is focussed on Tongan cultural knowledge, I have opted to italicise Tongan concepts in the body of this thesis mainly for visual emphasis.

The questions raised above in my *talanoa manatu melie* are not the main focus of this investigation. However, they highlight my motivation in speaking back to the practice of constantly identifying deficits, especially in Pasifika students. As part of setting the scene, this section of the thesis presents a review of literature that focuses on Pasifika education in New Zealand. I review literature based on the government's response to Pasifika underachievement and the associated negative views, as well as Pasifika researchers' responses to the deficit discourse.

When we focus on underachievement, we tend to highlight the gaps in our cultural knowledge from the dominant view of Western schooling. The shift to focusing on the cultural strengths of families as opposed to the cultural deficits in this study is how I challenge my own thinking and the language that exists in relation to Pasifika education.

But before we unfold the literature and talk about the nature of Pasifika education in New Zealand, I want to share a discussion with a fellow Pasifika teacher and doctoral colleague. In early 2016, during *talanoa* with Fetau Iosefo – a friend who also taught in South Auckland – she described a situation that caused me to think more about Western education and Pacific Island people. Fetau was asked to speak at a forum for Pasifika teachers facilitated by Manukau Institute of Technology (MIT) that focused on 'extending the *vā*' between teachers and their Pasifika students and families'. As a common concept across some Pasifika cultures, *vā* is the space in which relationships are formed and strengthened (Amituanai-Tolosa, 2007; Anae, 2010; Ka'ili, 2005).

When Iosefo asked Pasifika teachers about their definitions of *vā* in terms of relationships, they referred to it as 'gaps' between teachers and students. The framing of *vā* as Pasifika knowledge and practice, even amongst Pasifika teachers, was negative. *Vā* is a space where relationships are nurtured and strengthened between people. It is a space that connects Pasifika students, their families and teachers. When *vā* is not maintained, people become disconnected (Ka'ili, 2005). Pasifika cultural knowledge and practice is rich and of value and this is what I want to highlight in this study. In the case of the Pasifika teachers above – and the parents of the Pasifika children in my school – this study is to remind them of the strengths and richness of their Pasifika cultural values, knowledge and practices.

Eliota Fuimaono-Sapolu, a professional rugby player and lawyer of Samoan descent, has argued the need for change in school systems toward valuing the knowledge of its Pasifika students. In a *talanoa* with Dale Husband (2015, November 15) for E-Tangata, an online magazine that focuses on Māori and Pasifika concerns, Fuimaono-Sapolu described his experience at one of New Zealand's most prestigious schools for boys as being a struggle to validate his identity as Samoan. Despite his efforts to address his concerns with the school, he found it difficult because of the fixed dominant practices that governed the school. His questions about why Pacific history was not taught as part of the curriculum were ignored by the school. Although Pasifika education is a priority in New Zealand, dominant practices including teachers' selection of curriculum content, continue to undervalue Pasifika students and their families' knowledge in students' learning.

As others have argued, to improve outcomes for Pasifika learners, more research is required to understand approaches associated with positive pedagogical changes, enhanced cultural self-efficacy and effective engagement with parents and families (Chu, Glasgow, Rimoni, Hodis, & Meyer, 2013). I hope that, in a small way, my study will contribute to this research.

The idea of cultural capital in schooling

The idea of cultural capital was used in education research by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and others to analyse how the education system benefits some groups and fails others (Kenway & McLeod, 2004; Nash, 1999). Cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, refers to the “cultural habits transmitted by the family to its children” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 30). His notion of ‘habitus’ (or habits) is defined as a way culture is embodied in each person. Not only does habitus “enable us to perceive the world, it is a product of our social practice and experiences” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 487).

Some habituses associated with social groups constitute cultural capital that is acquired by individuals in that group. The family transmits to its children, indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1974). According to Bourdieu, children with non-dominant cultural habitus are failed in schools largely because the schools do not value their habitus which can not accrue the status of capital in the school. Dominant culture children find success relatively easy because

their existing home culture naturally becomes valuable cultural capital in the context of the school. Their cultural traits/habits are rewarded by mainstream schools, which are designed to do exactly that. Individuals from non-dominant groups must acquire appropriate dominant cultural capital to be seen as successful (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Within formal schooling, Pasifika students' cultural knowledge and practices from home are of low value; dominant practice rewards dominant cultural systems (through assessment and other common sense practices such as the way you speak) and fails to reward – or give value to – what Pasifika families already know and understand.

The cultural capital of Tongan males is an expression of their cultural background and family practices. The habits of Tongan families emerge as a consequence of social structures and processes inherent in the *kāinga* (extended family). I use Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital in this study to articulate cultural capital in the context of the *kāinga*; that is, I look to understand the valued and valuable knowledge – beliefs, values and practices – of Tongan males as constructed within the social group of the *kāinga*, and how such knowledges and practices might become of value in what is called schooling.

Bourdieu has given us some useful ideas and concepts to understand how certain group's knowledge and habits are automatically valued over others, without anyone being aware of it. To understand schooling from the perspectives of Tongan males, I articulate the types of valuable cultural knowledge naturally and informally passed down within Tongan male's *kāinga*. At the same time, I want to address the gap suggested by Sullivan (2001) when he says there is a “lack of evidence” related to how Tongan “cultural capital can be operationalised” (p. 894) in the schooling context.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga – Tongan cultural knowledge and wealth

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga is based on Tongan cultural knowledge and wealth within the *kāinga*. *Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* relates to knowledge that is *mahu'inga* (important) and useful in the lives of Tongan people. Because such knowledge is perceived as valuable, the elders engage in passing on such useful knowledge to their young.

The *kāinga* hold a lot of valuable cultural knowledge. Framed within each *to'utangata* (generation), knowledge is learnt, taught and passed to the next generation. Meaningful learning takes place in the process of transferring knowledge occurring within the *kāinga*.

As a conceptual framework, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is a way to understand Tongan families' conceptualisation of education. It is a framework that captures the lived realities, and the valued knowledges that must be taught and learned, of generations of Tongan males, and how they define 'being Tongan' in New Zealand and Tonga. It is a Tongan notion framed by values, beliefs and practices related to *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga* (Tongan ways of being).

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga is a way to understand the aspirations, expectations, motivations and practices valued by each *to'utangata* (generation) within their *kāinga*. The idea of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* also helps us understand how each Tongan male in this study, as well as their families, have come to conceptualise schooling based on their aspirations and expectations. (see Chapter 3 for a detailed description of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*)

I define *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* in this study as 'family cultural capital' because such valuable cultural knowledge is constructed within the *kāinga* and is directly and indirectly transmitted from the elders to the young. 'Family cultural capital' encapsulates Tongan cultural knowledge such as values, beliefs, habits, aspirations, expectations and motivations significant in the lives of members of the *kāinga*. 'Family cultural capital' also includes the valued practices and activities Tongan males engage with other members of their wider extended family.

As described by the late Futa Helu (1995), a Tongan academic renowned for his knowledge of Tongan culture, the *kāinga* provides the "building blocks of [Tongan] society" (p. 192), where individuals learn valuable traditional knowledge from members of their extended family. To understand the kinds of 'family cultural capital' valued by the *kāinga*, my study unfolds each individual Tongan male's rich educational experiences and how each person uses such cultural knowledge and practice in Western schooling.

The impetus and *mālie* (energy and drive for transformation) of this study is to put Tongan cultural knowledge front and centre in the education of Tongan males. Before I reveal and unfold the valuable knowledge that Tongan families uphold in the education of their children in New Zealand and Tonga, it is necessary to reveal and unfold the official concerns in relation to the education of Pasifika students in New Zealand schooling. I use *tatala* as a process of unfolding a layer of the government's response to the education of Pasifika students. My work in this thesis is a response to the existing official positions as articulated below.

Culture, ethnicity and language

A short note on culture before I turn to official approaches to Pasifika education: all human beings in societies have cultural capital. The term “culture” can be defined as the habitual ways in which people live and meet their basic needs. It is the way of life of members of groups that makes them different from each other in terms of their habits and customs, and the material goods they produce (Coxon et al., 2002). Culture also includes the values held by the members of these groups and the norms they adopt to regulate their daily lives. Values are abstract ideals, while norms are principles and rules that articulate the ways group members are expected to live their lives (Coxon et al., 2002).

The terms culture and ethnicity, which are sometimes used interchangeably, can be seen as different sorts of categories. ‘Culture’ is used to relate to society as a whole, and the term ‘ethnicity’ categorises individuals into groups defined by heritage or ancestry, language, customs, culture, practices (Wendt Samu, 1998). Within the term ‘Pasifika’ are a number of ethnic groups: Samoans, Niueans, Tokelauans, Tongans, Fijians and so forth. Within each ethnic group there are distinct characteristics that represent their lived realities. The families in my study are Tongan, however, each family – and individual within the family – is different based on their “own unique social structures, values, perspectives and attitudes” (Wendt Samu, 1998, p. 133) and the historical and social environment into which they are born.

Certain sorts of language become cultural capital when that language provides access to valued knowledge and wealth within a culture. Language is an essential part of students’ cultural capital (May, 2000). Pasifika students’ ethnic language reflects

the values, beliefs, and behavioural norms of their particular cultures. Learning, maintaining, and practicing one's Pacific language is seen as a vehicle for transmitting cultural values, understandings and beliefs that are unique to the culture concerned (Coxon et al., 2002). But a grasp of Tongan language does not constitute cultural capital in New Zealand schools where a sophisticated knowledge and use of English is required for success.

Pasifika Education in New Zealand

The education of Tongan and other Pasifika students is a priority in New Zealand. During the mid to late 1990s, the Ministry of Education (MoE) realised the need to place Pasifika education at the forefront of their thinking and decision making especially because Pasifika peoples had not experienced equity of education outcomes for decades (Tongati'o, 1998). During that period, there was "no co-ordinated response to Pasifika education within MoE or across the education sector, and, there was a lack of community involvement in strategy development and in decision-making processes within the ministry" (Tongati'o, 2010, p. 19).

As I intend to show, Pasifika education is usually officially perceived from a deficit viewpoint. Government-funded initiatives as well as official reports are oriented towards not what students know, but what they do not know: their underachievement. Although such official reports argue for positive engagement and partnerships with Pasifika families, the proposed interventions are mostly *school centred* and Pasifika families cultural knowledge and values are seen as *deficits* in education.

Another obvious aspect of official responses to Pasifika education is their use of the term 'Pasifika' as a collective term to refer to all the diverse ethnic groups of the Pacific. But, as many others have pointed out, Pasifika ethnic groups are inherently diverse on a number of levels (Coxon et al., 2002; Tuioti, 1994). Such diversities between ethnic groups relate to differences in their culture and language. Within ethnic groups, there are further differences associated with being New Zealand born and raised or born in the village or island of their home country (Anae, 1997). When addressing language related to Pasifika underachievement, policy documents tend to *homogenise* the educational concerns of Pasifika peoples. The education

concerns and possible solutions I believe are to be found within the individual ethnic groups themselves.

Pasifika education policy – response to underachievement

During the 1980s and 1990s in New Zealand, Pasifika made up the second largest minority population. The official interest in Pasifika peoples in school was focused on secondary school achievement statistics in which the government saw as indicating a *barrier* to Pasifika young people's entry into the workforce. For example, in 1995 thirty three per cent of Pasifika students passed School Certificate (the lowest level of school attainment) compared to over half the proportion for non-Pasifika students (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 28), and so most of them left school with no formal qualification at all.

It was thought that to improve these statistics, the secondary sector of schooling should connect more effectively with Māori and Pasifika communities. To this end, government funded initiatives were introduced, focused on *underachievement*, and what the Pasifika students did not know, but should know.

The Pacific Island School Community Parent Liaison (PISCPL) project was one of the earliest initiatives developed in New Zealand. In 1996, PISCPL was launched by MoE and the goals of the project were to encourage a closer relationship between school and Pacific Island communities, and thereby improve Pacific Island student achievement across the curriculum. As a product of the working group project between the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, Department of Labour, MoE, the State Services Commission, Women's Affairs, Youth Affairs, and the Education and Training Support Agency, PISCPL was devised to "improve Pasifika people's employment and participation in the labour market through the effective use of education, training, employment, community and economic development policies" (Gorinski, 2005, p. 5).

Nine years later in 2005, an evaluation of the effectiveness of PISCPL was conducted by MoE and claimed that Pacific Island parent involvement can benefit students and the schools as well as the parents themselves. The evaluation of the PISCPL project however, was somewhat vague about what schools needed to do and although it suggested the employment of a community liaison person of professional

standing within the community as being important, the report did not explicitly address the “*little sense of ownership* of the project [by] the school’s management team” (Gorinski, 2005, 23).

Similarly, in 1996 the Achievement in Multicultural High School (AIMHI) initiative was developed to facilitate and enhance the outcomes of Pasifika students. Eight decile one schools in the Auckland and Wellington regions were involved in the AIMHI initiative because of their large proportion of Māori and Pasifika students. The goal of AIMHI was to raise the performance of the schools and students in the areas of high student achievement, strong school governance and management, strong school/ community relationships and integrated social services support policy (Hawk & Hill, 1996, p. 2). MoE realised that a lot of the factors affecting the AIMHI schools were external such as “poverty, *dysfunctional families and dysfunctional and violent communities*” (Hawk & Hill, 1996, p. 3). Funding and resources were invested in the initiative because such external factors “disproportionately *disadvantaged* the AIMHI schools and the services they are able to provide to Māori and Pasifika students” (ibid, p. 3). While this description is technically correct – Māori and Pasifika students are disproportionately disadvantaged by economic systems, it nevertheless is relentlessly *negative* in its overall approach. We are left with language that focuses on Pasifika families’ underachievement, poverty, and dysfunction, and Pasifika *failure* – even if that failure is the ‘fault’ of the economic system or the schools.

Even Pasifika parents’ cultural values and practice were viewed negatively, as a *barrier* to students’ lack of achievement. As described by Aitken (1996), former chief review officer of the Education Review Office (ERO), Pacific parents’ “cultural values are a *barrier* to their developing more effective ways of relating to the school, or being part of a school community or body that the school will respond to” (p. 36). Aitken challenged parents to set higher standards for themselves, ask more questions and challenge the schooling system. She further suggested that parents who don’t ask, who are easily satisfied, who let their natural good manners and respect for authority overcome their duty to their children, are “*deliberately exposing their child to grave risk*” (Aitken, 1996, p. 37). Moreover, if Pacific parents are really anxious about their children’s “*low academic achievements*, then they will need to have far higher standards for them” (Aitken, 1996, p. 37).

This negative language is persistent throughout the documents of the time. Despite the implementation of government-funded initiatives, MoE realised they needed to do more in schooling to improve equitable outcomes for Pasifika. Pasifika underachievement was perceived as a result of students' *lack of knowledge* in the subjects of English, mathematics and science. The 2000 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study between Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries showed marked *differences* across education systems in terms of how well fifteen-year-old students are able to apply their learning in reading literacy, mathematics and science (Ministry of Education, 2002). PISA helped to identify whether the "...policies and teacher practice that make up the New Zealand education system is addressing the needs of all students" (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 12). Results from the 2000 PISA study showed that Māori and Pasifika students' average reading scores were "*significantly lower*" (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 21), compared to their Asian and Pakeha peers. Seven years later, the same international study showed "*no significant shift*" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 6) in Pasifika students' reading, mathematical and science scores.

In 2001, the policy document Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) was developed to address Pasifika underachievement and "*factors limiting education achievement*" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 2). The PEP was the government's commitment to "*reducing the disparities*" (2001, p. 1), between the educational achievement of Pasifika students and their European and Asian counterparts, by "improving the wellbeing of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand education system" (2001, p. 1). Although a focus in classroom teaching was identified as a factor in raising the achievement of Pasifika students, the original PEP did not indicate what these pedagogical practices looked like in the classroom. The strategic goals of the plan focused on Pasifika students' increased participation, retention and achievement across all sectors of education such as early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary. Through research, MoE continues to monitor the strategic goals of the PEP and after every three to four years, a revision of the plan is developed ensuring that the current builds on the strengths identified in the previous plan. Despite the government's development of the PEP, the degree of *disparity* in achievement between Pasifika and non-Pasifika students is still a concern even after twelve years from its original development (Ministry of Education, 2013c). The number of Pasifika

students who left school with their NCEA level 2 certificate or better was at forty per cent in 2004 compared to sixty eight per cent in 2010 and seventy one per cent in 2013 (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Official government-funded documents were made readily available for schools as a way to address Pasifika underachievement. An MoE funded study was carried out in 2002 by Coxon et al., to help inform the PEP. The purpose of the study was to provide:

“...valuable information about those issues for Pacific education which have been researched, and those which have not. It was perceived that such information would enable [the Ministry] to identify research priorities in order to address policy requirements as identified in the [PEP]. At the same time the Ministry commissioned the development of a set of guidelines for Pasifika Education Research with the intention that the guidelines or protocols should be used by Ministry researchers, and researchers commissioned by the Ministry, for research involving Pacific peoples and Pacific education issues.” (Coxon et al., 2002, p. 1).

A couple of years after the original PEP plan was developed in 2001, the MoE Best Evidence Synthesis (BES) programme was devised as a response to raising underachievement. BES’ goal was to identify valued outcomes for its diverse learners based on international and New Zealand evidence on “quality teaching practices”. In 2003, Alton-Lee argued that quality teaching was “responsive to the learning of diverse students” (p. 5) in schooling. She defined the term ‘diverse’ as encompassing:

“...many characteristics including ethnicity, socio-economic background, home language, gender, special needs, disability, and giftedness. Teaching needs to be responsive to diversity within ethnic groups, for example, diversity within Pakeha, Māori, Pasifika and Asian students. We also need to recognise the diversity within individual students influenced by intersections of gender, cultural heritage(s), socio-economic background, and talent” (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. v).

Alton-Lee (2003) suggested Pasifika families had some ‘diversity’ to which the school and teachers needed to ‘respond’. This was a shift away from seeing family diversity as a barrier. Diversity in schooling was characterised by differences in socio-economic background, gender, special needs, disability, giftedness, home language and ethnicity. Alton-Lee was concerned about the teachers’ difficulty in providing quality teaching that was responsive to the “...heterogeneity of the particular group of learners” (p. 5). In particular, Alton-Lee (2003) believed the changing demographic

patterns of Pasifika students highlighted “...ethnic diversity for New Zealand education” (p. 5), because Pasifika students have “multiple ethnic heritages” (p. 6).

While Alton-Lee and others had shifted from a negative view of families, and had placed cultural responsiveness in the lap of the schools, her study was vague in terms of how teachers were to respond in the classroom to students’ ethnic and cultural differences. The limited “classroom-based research that has demonstrated a systematic relationship between pedagogical practice” (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 11), and ethnic and cultural differences is required to contextualise quality teaching responsive to Māori and Pasifika students’ knowledge.

Other official reports foregrounded the role of families in schooling. During the same year as Alton-Lee’s report (2003), another BES report, written five months earlier by Biddulph et al. (2003), highlighted the influences of family on students’ achievement in schooling. Despite the authors’ claim that ethnicity and culture are linked to children’s achievement (Biddulph et al., 2003, p. iii), socio-economic status and a visible middle class group within Pasifika emerged as contributing factors that influenced achievement outcomes. Regardless of ethnic or socio-economic background however, “...families with high levels of educational expectations have the most positive effects on their children’s achievement” (Biddulph et al., 2003, p. iv). In other words, Biddulph et al. (2003) suggested that families’ *lack of expectations* was a negative effect of some Pasifika families on their children’s success at school.

And despite foregrounding the role of families, Biddulph et al., (2003) returned to a negative tone, suggesting Pasifika families and homes *lacked resources and knowledge* linked to quality outcomes in schooling. They recommended for schools to:

“...incorporate school-like activities into family activities, through providing parents with access to both additional pedagogical knowledge and information about finding and using local educational resources, can have dramatic and positive impacts on children’s achievement ... the provision of additional educational resources (such as children’s books) to families is also associated with greater achievement” (ibid, p. vi).

Biddulph et al’s (2003) report did not seek to understand anything about the strengths of families’ existing knowledges in relation to home-school partnerships. If

the study had done this, it might have suggested that rather than families adopting school-like strategies, the schools themselves might show willingness to learn from and adopt ways that reflect the cultural knowledge Pasifika students bring from home.

Three years later Gorinski & Fraser (2006) conducted a review of literature to identify the effective engagement between schools and Pasifika parents and communities to “...raise the achievement of Pacific Island students in mainstream New Zealand schools” (p. 1). Again, a negative tone was prominent. A number of *barriers* to effective home-school partnerships were stated by Gorinski & Ferguson (2006) as being:

“...notions of culture and acculturation; language needs and deficiencies; strained economic resources (both those of families and those of government); parents’ uncertainties, and schools’ preconceptions. Given the common aim that parents and schools share of enabling students to achieve better educational outcomes while affirming their own culture, there is a need to commit to practices that overcome all such barriers to Pasifika parent and community engagement in education” (p. 2).

Like reports before them, Gorinski & Fraser (2006) claim the key to effective engagement between Pasifika parents, communities and schools is in the fostering of relationships that are a “pre-requisite to learning” (2006, p. 1). Gorinski & Fraser (2006) however, like Alton Lee, were vague in their descriptions of effective engagement between schools and families and did not clearly indicate what the relationships might consist of.

In 2007, a review of the PEP indicated an improvement in the achievement *gap* between Pasifika and non-Pasifika students. In compulsory education, year 12 (form 6), 49.6 per cent of students achieved their National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) certificates or better (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 6). There were also improvements in the early childhood education as well as tertiary education sectors. However, the 2007 PEP monitoring report found that only fourteen per cent of schools with Pasifika students were described as being “consistently effective” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 7) in their practices and engagement with Pasifika students and their families. Despite the improvement stated above in the number of students passing NCEA Level 2, MoE argued for schools and teachers to engage more in decisions and practices that are “effective for Pasifika students” (ibid, p. 7).

Three years later and with a change in government in 2010, again the PEP was reviewed. The policy language about the underachievement of Pasifika students moved from schools and teachers addressing the “*negative barriers from home*” (Aitken, 1996) and “quality teaching for diverse learners” (Alton-Lee, 2003) to “harnessing diversity” (Ministry of Education, 2012). A monitoring report in 2010 suggested a framework for schools to use when making decisions and implementing practices related to their Pasifika students. The ‘Pasifika Success’ compass was developed as a visual representation of the worldviews that students possess. The Pasifika Success compass noted:

“Pasifika people have multiple world views and diverse cultural identities. They are able to operate and negotiate successfully through spiritual, social, political, cultural and economic worlds. Success in education requires harnessing Pasifika diversity within an enabling education system that works for young people, their families and communities. This requires the education system, leadership and curricula to start with the Pasifika learner at the centre, drawing on strong cultures, identities and languages.” (Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 5).

The idea of ‘harnessing Pasifika diversity’ is explained in terms of learning to understand and connect with Pasifika students’ multiple cultures, identities and languages (Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 5). Pasifika students were now becoming multi-ethnic and second to third generation New Zealand born and raised (Sutton & Airini, 2011, p. 1). Fundamental to raising Pasifika students’ engagement and achievement in schooling, the 2009 – 2012 PEP indicated a requirement for schools to “ensure Pasifika learners are at the heart of efforts to increase Pasifika presence, engagement and achievement” (Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 5).

The latest approach to Pasifika families is the suggestion that home and school learning environments need to be more closely aligned. The current 2013 – 2017 PEP’s aim is to achieve “optimum learning by promoting closer alignment and compatibility between the learner’s educational environment, and their home environment” (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 4), across all sectors of education. To achieve their goal, MoE has proposed the following within schooling:

“...[personalize] and use the PEP [to make decisions that] puts Pasifika learners, their parents, families and communities at the centre, so that all activities ensure the Ministry of Education and Education Partner Agencies

are responding to the identities, languages and cultures of each Pasifika group. This requires the PEP to take account of processes, methodologies, theories and knowledges that are fa'asamoa (the Samoan way), faka-Tonga (the Tongan way), faka-Tokelau (the Tokelau way), faka-Niue (the Niue way), akano'anga Kūki 'Āirani (the Cook Islands way), and vaka-Viti (the Fijian way), for the major Pasifika populations.” (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 3).

This report suggests that the cultural knowledges of Pacific families need to be understood by schools. What remains unclear however, is what those knowledge might consist of and how the schools might learn about them and align them. There are no official studies that show the kinds of cultural knowledge generations of Pasifika families possess and how teachers can respond to such cultural knowledge in schooling. This is what I intend to show in this study.

Chapter 2: Pasifika Educational Research

Introduction

The previous section outlined the main government funded studies on Pasifika education since the early 1990s. I showed that these studies tended to be more negative and focused on what Pasifika families did not know or did not have (barriers). Later studies which aimed at a more positive focus on cultural responsiveness failed to indicate what this might entail (Alton-Lee, 2003). MoE reports were school-centred and the educational concerns of Pasifika families were not always apparent in the documents. The emphasis on school's responsibility to connect with the knowledge and cultures of the students was not matched by information about the types of cultural knowledge Pasifika families possess and bring from home.

This chapter draws on educational research by scholars whose main purpose was not to inform government, but to articulate the concerns of Pasifika students and families from their own perspectives. The authors in this section – who are Pasifika and non-Pasifika – have all outlined the educational concerns of Pasifika communities and some have challenged schooling practices that undervalue families' knowledge. Other researchers respond to dominant norms within schooling that favour Western learning and knowledge as the most valuable capital in Pasifika students' learning. These researchers have drawn from their own strengths by focussing on their own cultural knowledge and values as cultural capital, and they have expressed how such cultural knowledge and understanding can be utilised in the context of Western schooling.

Pasifika Researchers

Pasifika researchers and writers tend to draw explicitly on their own cultural perspectives in their work. In this section I will unfold Pasifika cultural knowledge and frameworks as they are expressed in research studies, as articulated by Pasifika academics.

Unlike the general approach of the official researchers, who may or may not be Pasifika scholars, Indigenous scholars in universities have tended to challenge Western systems of learning by advocating for change at the epistemological and

ontological level (Bishop, 1998; Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2011; Smith, 1999; Thaman, 2000, December; Vaioleti, 2011). They argue for dominant education systems to reflect their own unique knowledge and values, and appropriate methods of learning. They point out that Western frameworks of learning in schooling not only undermine but tend to devalue the cultural knowledge Pacific students bring with them from home (Thaman, 2013).

Within New Zealand education, scholars of Māori descent with the goal of decolonising Western practices have developed indigenous Māori theoretical frameworks that foreground Māori concepts and knowledge as central to understanding Maori worldviews (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Kaupapa Māori, an indigenous Māori theoretical framework, was first developed by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) as a way to address the imbalance in power relations between Māori and European in schooling and research. Kaupapa Māori draws on “Māori cultural aspirations and sense-making processes (ways of knowing), rather than on those imposed by another culture” (Bishop, 2003, p. 223). In education, Kaupapa Māori puts Māori at the centre of attention in order to understand the needs of Māori and how they can transform their lives and escape the influences of dominant forces.

Pasifika scholars in Aotearoa have tried to take a similar path in the development of Pasifika concepts and frameworks that reflect their unique perspectives. Pasifika theoretical frameworks help to understand the educational concerns of Pacific peoples in New Zealand (Anae, 2010; Mila-Schaaf, 2010; Si'ilata, 2014; Wendt Samu, 2010). I need to repeat that although I use the term ‘Pasifika’ scholars or ‘Pasifika’ researchers in this study, it does not imply that all are homogenous in their views of cultural values and approaches in research. Such Pasifika research approaches deliberately centre particular values and belief systems in order to understand our concerns from our own perspectives within our own contexts. Kēpa & Manu'atu's (2008) statement summarises the position taken by most Pasifika researchers: “no meaningful learning will take place if the process [of understanding] is devoid of context and practice” (p. 17). This requires Pasifika conceptual frameworks that illuminate the richness and complexities of knowledges of Pasifika peoples.

Response to Ethnicity and Culture

Ethnic and cultural identity

Although the main focus of this study is on ethnic and cultural knowledge – specifically Tongan knowledge – how Tongan males define their sense of belonging or “being Tongan” is within the contexts of their cultural learnings and understanding within New Zealand and Tonga. MoE have argued for teachers to be more responsive to the multiple worlds Pasifika students live in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2013b). This section is focused on studies related to ethnic and cultural knowledge and identity as significant characteristics in teachers’ responsiveness and understanding of Pasifika students.

Cultural knowledge can be understood and practiced differently related to a person’s connections with their new home. In 1997, Anae’s doctoral study highlighted the ethnic identity constructions of New Zealand-born Samoans. Her study was based on Samoan conceptual frameworks and sought to understand Samoan youth’s identity constructions and “perceived self-identities” (Anae, 1997, p. i). The identities of New Zealand-born Samoans reflect *fa’a Samoa* (Samoan cultural ways) as well as values and knowledge of their new home in Aotearoa. Anae’s (1997) study was useful in that it provided useful knowledge about the multiple worlds Samoan students live in New Zealand which was missing from scholarship.

A year later, Wendt Samu’s (1998) Ethnic Inter-Face Model was developed as a framework to enable teachers to understand the multiple identities of Pasifika students in teaching and learning. The characteristics that Pacific learners bring to the interface between themselves and the educational institution that shape their worldviews or perspectives can be grouped together as: gender, socio-economic status, developmental stage (for example, adolescence), and religious affiliation (Wendt Samu, 1998). Schooling practices and processes within educational institutions are largely within the control of the institutions and teachers within them.

Grouping the learning needs of Tongan students under the term “Pasifika” does not always represent their individual or collective educational concerns. Manu’atu and Kepa (2002) expressed concern for the learning needs of specific students, such as those from Tonga, because they are rendered invisible when grouped

together under the ‘Pasifika’ umbrella (cited in Wendt Samu et al., 2008). The examination of Pasifika identities requires the assistance of a theoretical framework to identify and explore the factors that have the most “relevance and influence in shaping the realities of specific Pasifika learners” (Wendt Samu, 2006, p. 39) in relation to the processes of teaching and learning, for which all teachers are responsible. To understand the realities of Tongan students in New Zealand and Tonga, I articulate their views of learning. Their identity and ways of being Tongan is contextualized within New Zealand and Tonga. This is what I show in this study.

Tongan males define and construct their identities within their *kāinga* (extended family). Rae Si’ilata (2014), of Māori and Fijian descent and married to a Samoan, argued schooling practices that are inclusive of Pasifika students’ linguistic and cultural identities can impact the academic literacy outcomes of students. If Pasifika learners’ languages, cultures, and identities are represented in the ‘valued knowledge of school’, and utilised as a normal part of language and literacy learning in their classrooms, then Pasifika students’ perceptions of success will include, rather than exclude, their linguistic and cultural identities. Teachers are required to understand Pasifika learners’ cultures and identities in terms of how they are defined and constructed.

Culturally responsive pedagogies

One response to the negative views related to Pasifika underachievement and educational disparities, has been to argue for culturally responsive pedagogies that are inclusive of the diverse learning needs of Māori and Pasifika students in New Zealand education (Fasavalu, 2015; Te Ava, 2011).

Culturally responsive pedagogy is broadly defined as teaching in purposeful ways that combine the values and culture of the community (Gay, 2010). Culturally responsive pedagogy is about the individual and the collective (Te Ava, Airini, & Rubie-Davies, 2011). Culturally responsive pedagogy for Pasifika students, it is argued, should reflect the cultural values of Pasifika peoples and be attuned to context (Wendt Samu, 2015). And there is a call to develop classroom instruction that is responsive to Pasifika students (Airini, McNaughton, Langley, & Sauni, 2007). For New Zealand teachers interested in this approach, there is a requirement to understand – in the case of their Tongan male students – the cultural values of Tongan people,

and the realities of Tongan males and their *kāinga* in New Zealand.

That is, teachers interested in culturally responsive pedagogy, need to have a sense of Pasifika students' cultural capital – or, in terms of Bourdieu's view of cultural capital – they need to be able to enable Pasifika students existing knowledges to become valuable ('to have capital value') in mainstream classrooms. However, teachers lack the knowledge and understanding of what Pasifika students' cultural capital does, and could, look like.

My study is to indicate to teachers what Tongan cultural capital looks like - that is, the valued cultural knowledge Tongan students and their *kāinga* possess. The understanding and definition of achievement for Tongan males is constructed within their *kāinga*. This cultural capital, in the context of culturally responsive schooling, can and should be integrated into the knowledges of teachers as they enable this capital to have value in classrooms.

How teachers respond in schooling to a student's culture determines whether culture becomes capital (Fasavalu, 2015). Tongan males' sense of cultural identity is determined and nurtured within their *kāinga* in the context of New Zealand and Tonga. Being Tongan in New Zealand needs to be understood within their extended family, because the extended family's culture is where Tongan males' identities are constructed, defined and nurtured. As family cultural capital, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* are the values, aspirations, beliefs and practices that are constructed, nurtured, shared and passed down from generation to generation within the *kāinga*. The cultural values, aspirations, beliefs and practices shown in this study will help teachers to understand the approach to education and the value of education for (many) Tongan males and their families.

Pasifika, and particularly Tongan, researchers have emphasised that the education of Tongan students requires pedagogical practices in schools to reflect practices that are respectful of students' cultural worlds (Manu'atu, 2000a). Linitā Manu'atu, a Tongan academic who lives in New Zealand, uses the concepts of *mālie* and *māfana* to understand the teaching and learning of Tongan students in secondary schooling. *Mālie* relates to the energising and uplifting of spirits to a positive state of connectedness and enlightenment. *Talanoa mālie* occurs when people share stories, emotions and experiences that uplift and energise them. The inwardly warm feelings

they possess as a result of *talanoa mālie* are referred to as *māfana*. Manu'atu (2000a) argued that within the context of *kātoanga faiva* (ASB Secondary Schools Polyfest), *mālie* and *māfana* were used as a teaching and learning process that produced “meaningful connections between Tongan language, singing, dancing and the spirit of both the performers and audience, all of which energise and uplift people” (ibid, p. 76). She argued that these values should be integrated into all Pasifika students’ school learning in any subject or context.

Recognising the potential significance of existing beliefs about education, in 2008, Ferguson et al. conducted research specific to Pasifika learners and their families’ educational experiences. The study was a response to Alton-Lee’s (2003) BES report that outlined the indicators of quality teaching. The focus of Ferguson et al’s (2008) study, through the review and synthesis of research-based literatures, was to identify the “pedagogical dimensions that impact upon Pasifika learner outcomes” (Ferguson et al., 2008, p. 1). The literature review suggested the use of Rosa Sheets’ (2005) ‘Diversity Pedagogy Typology’. Sheets’ (2005) diversity pedagogy is critical to understanding the natural connectedness of culture and cognition in the teaching-learning process. This type of pedagogical knowledge and practice is described as teaching that is inclusive of students’ diverse learning needs.

Indeed, a number of researchers take the position that the teacher’s ability to understand the role of culture and ethnicity and its relevance in teaching and learning is central to improving academic outcomes for diverse learners (for example Sheets, 2005). They argue that competency in the classroom often depends on teachers’ inclusiveness of students’ cultural capital and diverse learning needs. Competent teachers perceive cultural diversity as the norm, and view it as fundamental to all aspects of schooling.

Makelesi Lātū (2009), a Tongan academic, argued for pedagogical practice that reflects the home knowledge and language of Tongan students in New Zealand primary schools. Her study highlighted the significance of *talanoa* as a pedagogical source for the teaching and learning of Tongan students. The way parents use and “relate *talanoa* to their children will determine the purpose and moral of the *talanoa*” (p. 82). She proposed five “related *talanoa* factors” (p. 82) that are useful in the teaching and learning of Tongan students at home which could also be used in

schooling. For example: *fakaoli* (causing amusement), *fakamamahi* (causing pain or sorrow), *fakamaatoato* (serious), *faka'ofa* (sympathy or pity), and *fakalaumālie* (spiritual). Moreover, Lātū (2009) provided insights into family practices and cultural values within the home that specifically highlighted examples of “parents’ teaching and children’s learning” (p. 85) that led to successful learning outcomes for Tongan students.

Te Ava (2011), an academic of Cook Island descent, building on the idea of culturally responsive pedagogy argued that successful teachers of Cook Island students tap into knowledge related to students’ cultural values, beliefs and knowledge. The successful education of Cook Island students supports the “whole person” (Te Ava, Airini & Rubie-Davies, 2011, p. 125), in terms of the individual’s social, cultural, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing.

Te Ava developed a culturally responsive framework for the teaching and learning of Cook Island secondary school students in physical education (PE) (Te Ava et al., 2011). To support culturally responsive teaching practices in the classroom, the Cook Island concept of *tivaevae* was used as a model for teaching that was based on *te reo Māori Kuki Airani* (Cook Islands Maori language), *peu ui tupuna* (cultural traditions), *peu inangaro* (cultural beliefs), *tu inangaro* (relationships), *peu puapinga* (cultural values), *akaputuputu taokotai* (collaboration), *peu angaanga* (cultural activity) and *peu oire tangata* (cultural community). Despite the *tivaevae* framework having the capability to capture and understand the value and essence of Cook Island culture in the learning and teaching of Cook Island students, more is needed to be known about how to enable teachers to make meaning and understanding of curriculum in the classroom (Te Ava et al., 2011, p. 125).

In a study with a similar approach, Si'ilata's (2014) research explored the notion of success for Pasifika learners in English-medium classrooms and the central role that teachers and leaders play in enabling these learners to connect the worldviews, languages, literacy practices and experiences of their homes (their diverse Pacific languages and cultures) with the valued knowledge and literacy practices of schools, so that ultimately Pasifika learners experience success in all the worlds they walk.

Si'ilata (2014) concluded that teachers in her study were able to implement pedagogical practice responsive to Pasifika students' cultural understandings.

“Teachers can teach Pasifika learners effectively and in particular ways that connect with and build on their specific languages, cultures, and identities to become literate at school. School leaders and facilitators can support teachers in adaptive ways that enable them to improve their practice, and to utilise teaching and learning approaches that facilitate Pasifika learners' success at school. Rather than following a programme, facilitators develop relationships that are inquiry-focused, collaborative, and success-oriented to facilitate teaching and learning that is both responsive and adaptive to Pasifika learners and their families/ aiga.” (ibid, p. iii)

Fasavalu (2015), a senior leader in primary schooling and of Samoan decent, like Manu'atu (Manu'atu, 2000b), usefully integrated Pasifika language and meaning into her study. She argued that effective teachers display certain dispositions and teacher actions that positively influence their *vā-tapu-ia* (sacred space) and relationship with students. *Vā-tapu-ia* is a space where relationships are honoured and respected – a site where teachers engage in ‘culturally responsive’ practice. Her study was based on Samoan tertiary students who gained University Entrance, an outcome she defined as academic success. Culturally responsive teachers were able to connect to what Fasavalu (2015) referred to as students’ ‘family culture’. Family culture is an identity “birthed, defined and nurtured in the aiga” (p. 67) based on the family’s values, aspirations and histories. Their sense of Samoan-ness is defined within their *aiga* (family). Family pride and aspirations served as motivation for the participants in her study. Furthermore, academic identity for the participants’, was linked to their family’s aspirations that were interlinked with the migrant dreams of participants’ parents (Fasavalu, 2015).

Fasavalu’s study suggested that the students themselves sought to enable their own cultural knowledge to become capital in their classrooms. As described by the Samoan participants in Fasavalu’s (2015) study, they “sought connections and valued teachers who actively sought to know them as people” (p. 64). On the other hand, knowledge of their learners increased teachers’ ability to positively influence students. Knowing parents’ expectations and aspirations for students, whether students speak their ethnic language or not, and whether they attend church or have faith in God are ways teachers were able to connect with students. Teachers’ ability to

deliver an engaging curriculum also affected student perceptions of teacher credibility, which, in turn affected the *vā-tapu-ia* between teachers and students (ibid, p. 64). As I mentioned, the sacred space of *vā-tapu-ia* is where relationships between teachers and students are honoured and respected.

Teacher expectations

New Zealand studies have shown that teachers form their expectations based on students' ethnicity and culture. Teachers' low expectations of Pasifika students in New Zealand education has inevitably led to deficit thinking in response to their culture and ethnicity (Toloa, 2014; Turner, Rubie-Davies, & Webber, 2015).

An earlier study by St. George (1983) concluded teachers' expectations were much lower for Polynesian than European students. Teachers formed their expectations of students based on their beliefs related to students' ethnicity. For example, teachers' expectations were based on the idea that Polynesian students' homes did not provide the same educational stimulation as their Pakeha counterparts, despite the teachers not having visited any of their Polynesian students' homes (St. George, 1983).

Some such as Rosa Sheets (2005), an American academic, suggest that teachers need to observe student behaviour that will provide them with vital cultural information in order to understand the ways in which Pacific students prefer to learn. In learning how to interpret what they observe, it is hoped that teachers come to rely less on collective assignment and negative stereotyping. Teachers' stereotypical attitudes must be challenged otherwise these attitudes act as a barrier to providing a successful learning context that is inclusive of students' cultural capital. Accordingly, learners are able to bring who they are and what they know to the classroom in complete safety, where their knowledge is accepted and legitimate (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009).

Rubie-Davies, Hattie & Hamilton (2006), in their study of teachers' expectations of students' reading achievement across 12 primary schools in New Zealand, found low teacher expectations for Māori and Pasifika compared to Asian and European students. Teachers' expectations of Māori and Pasifika reading achievement were low compared to their Asian and European peers, acting as a

“negative self-fulfilling prophecy” (ibid, p. 12) for Māori and Pasifika students. This finding indicates that teachers’ inaccurate beliefs about Māori and Pasifika students can elicit behaviours in students that make the belief come true.

Teachers’ low expectations of Pasifika students relate to their ignorance of students’ cultural values and expectations from home. In a recent article Turner, Ruby-Davies and Webber (2015) claimed teachers’ low expectations of Māori and Pasifika students remain an issue in New Zealand schooling. Toloa (2014), a secondary school teacher of Samoan descent, conducted her study related to teachers’ expectations with senior Pasifika students in the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) system within the subject of science. She found that in Year 11 Science, teachers expected Pasifika students to work hard and behave in order to achieve NCEA Level 1 Science. Students’ expectations of achievement were also aligned with their teachers’ beliefs. However, students “expected not only for their teachers to teach them to the best of their ability, but also to empower and to be strict on them when necessary.” (Toloa, 2014, p. 70).

Teachers and schools lack understanding of what Māori and Pasifika students bring from home and how they and their families conceptualise achievement in schooling (Allen & Robertson, 2009). The intent of this study is to provide information and support for teachers who lack knowledge of the kinds of cultural knowledge Tongan males bring from home by revealing the richness and wealth of experiences found in the families themselves.

Teacher and student relationships

A number of studies show that the crucial element for quality teaching is an effective relationship between teacher and student. The researchers argue that for Māori and Pasifika learners, the formation of positive relationships can lead to improvements in participation and motivation to learn; to more actively participate in their learning, and learning is likely to be more effective (Bishop, 2010; Wendt Samu, 2015). Positive relationships between teachers and students involve genuine care for students’ wellbeing. Unless teachers hold high expectations and form positive relationships with their students, students are less able to engage in classroom learning (Hawk & Hill, 1996).

The teaching and learning relationship includes elements of identity negotiation between teacher and student. This means, for achievement to occur, it is not only about teacher skill and content knowledge but the messages teachers communicate to students about their identities – who they are in the teacher’s eyes and who they are capable of becoming. When teachers and students engage in collaborative relationships that generate “maximum identity investment on the part of the students, together with maximum cognitive engagement” (Cummins, 2003, p. 51), this provides a basis for promoting achievement.

Other researchers take the approach that the achievement of equitable educational outcomes for Pasifika learners must include the right for families to be appropriately included in all processes of education (Bishop, 2003; Sheets, 2005; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005). Several of the Best Evidence Synthesis (BES) reports have identified the importance of building strong relationships between schools and families, as well as communities, to raise achievement outcomes for Pasifika learners (Coxon et al., 2002; Ferguson et al., 2008; Robinson, Timperley, & Ward, 2004). Such inclusion is reliant upon schools and teachers acknowledging the right of Pasifika learners to be themselves and to see themselves and their culture reflected in the classroom environment (Bishop, 2003; Tupuola, 1998). The MoE recognises it is the responsibility of all parties involved in the education of Pasifika students to promote their achievement and to help close the achievement gap in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2013b).

Cummins (2003) claims that student success or failure in school depends on the interactions between teachers and learners. It is teachers’ attitudes, values, behaviours, effort and skills that contribute to their being able to form the type of relationship that can assist students’ learning (Garrison-Wade & Lewis, 2006). Respectful teacher and student interaction is an immediate determinant of learner success. Teachers who stereotype students based on their ethnicity were described by students as being judgemental. The danger of stereotyping is that it may result in a self-fulfilling prophecy for some students, whereby they fulfil teachers’ negative perceptions of them (Garrison-Wade & Lewis, 2006).

A study by Allen, Taleni & Robertson (2009) looked at professional development for teachers based on the idea that in order to teach Pasifika students,

they must first get to know them. As part of “Pasifika Initiative” project, teachers from schools in the South Island with significant numbers of Pasifika students experienced living in Samoa so that teachers would “develop an appreciation of challenges children from Pasifika cultures face in coping in an education system based on cultural values which are not theirs” (Allen et al., 2009, p. 47). The teachers who took part in the study valued the experience because it gave them “insight into family relationships, roles and responsibilities...care and respect for parents...” (ibid, p. 54). Teachers should “enable [students] to bring their own knowledge and ways of being” (ibid, p. 47) into the classroom if Pasifika students are to succeed in schooling.

A study by Evans (2011), focused on Pasifika boys, affirms relationships are vital in building positive learning environments that lead to achievement for Pasifika boys. The study was conducted in a low decile school for boys in an Auckland urban area. He concluded that the key to raising achievement for boys was in the effectiveness of the student, teacher, and parent relationship.

Parent and school engagement

Parent and school engagement continues to be a focus in education (Ministry of Education, 2013b). Optimum learning can be achieved when the learner’s schooling environment and home environment are aligned (ibid, p. 4). Education strategies are still very much school-centred and the families’ home knowledge and strategies have no value in the schooling environment.

Success for Pasifika involves a deep and mutual understanding between all parties involved in their education. According to Kalavite (2010), a Tongan academic, she proposed academic success for Tongan tertiary students is a result of the mutual and respectful relationships (*tā-vā kāinga*) practiced between the *kāinga*, church, lecturers, advisors and tutors. Telesia Kalavite’s (2010) study focused on the educational experiences of Tongan-born tertiary students in New Zealand. Kalavite’s participants defined academic success as a consequence of when all parties involved establish a “...deep and mutual understanding of, respect for, and practice in, both Tongan and New Zealand social and academic cultures” (ibid, p. ii).

The Tongan concept of *tā-vā kāinga* (time-space relationships) between the Tongan students and their supporters (church, families, lecturers, advisors, tutors) was

integral to their academic achievement in New Zealand. Kalavite (2010) recommended future studies focus on the educational experiences of New Zealand-born Tongan students, who according to demographic data possess mixed ethnicities. The educational experiences of New Zealand-born and raised Tongan males are expressed within the context of their *kāinga*.

It is often difficult for Pasifika parents to be involved in their children's education because of language barriers (Fletcher, Parkhill, Fa'afoi, & O'Regan, 2009). During my high school education, my mother avoided parent-teacher interviews because of language barriers. Schools and teachers can establish a positive relationship between students and their families; one which does not undermine their existing cultural knowledge and behavioural norms (Bishop, 2003).

To understand the education of Tongan families in New Zealand requires understanding of what knowledge matters to students and parents. Insight into the values, beliefs and practices is valuable knowledge. However, despite the use of frameworks such as *kakala* and *talanoa* in educational research, dominant institutions such as schools continue to be ignorant of Tongan cultural knowledge. That is, they see it as being of little value in the education of Tongan students in Aotearoa.

On the other side, there are some Pasifika parents who hold the view that their ethnic culture has no place in formal schooling in New Zealand. Their ethnic culture belongs at home and at church. As a case in point, my father saw the English language as being important at school rather than Tongan. Taking part in cultural performances was also discouraged because he could not see its link to achievement. The implications of Western knowledge can impact Pasifika parents' decisions and conceptualisations of educational success. Accordingly, highlighting the richness in Tongan cultural knowledge and how families conceptualise educational success from their own perspectives is a focus of this study.

'Otunuku (2011), another Tongan academic, affirmed the importance of schooling engagement with Pasifika families. He found that Tongan parents' beliefs and attitudes about schooling experiences did not generate good academic outcomes for their children in New Zealand secondary schooling. As described by 'Otunuku:

“Tongan parents have high aspirations for educational success for their children and viewed their aims of schooling positively, but even so, Tongan students continue to exhibit lower achievement levels relative to European or Pakeha and Asian students in New Zealand.” (2011, p. 215)

The education of Tongan students is a collective responsibility. To understand how Tongan families conceptualise educational success, engagement with the *kāinga* or extended family is required. Generally, Tongan parents value their cultural knowledge. However, in the context of formal schooling Tongan parents often perceive Tongan cultural knowledge as of low value. This study has shown how Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga have realised and used their cultural knowledge within Western education. One of the main focuses of this study is to remind Tongan parents and the community of the richness they possess within themselves and their *kāinga*. As well, teachers of Tongan students can learn from the stories shared in this study because not only are they rich in detail, but the stories carry the hopes and aspirations of Tongan families for their young.

The hopes and aspirations of families for their young are often not valued in the school environment. During ‘Otunuku’s (2011) *talanoa* (talk) with Tongan parents, they discussed their expectations of schooling and its processes in New Zealand. They thought it was similar to the educational system they had experienced in Tonga. ‘Otunuku proposed for school leadership and staff to find ways of connecting with Tongan parents that would allow families to voice their aspirations for their children in schooling. Fundamental to this would be the development of school practices, that is teaching, assessment, learning and aims of schooling, that align with students’ cultural knowledge and practices from home (2011, p. 30).

To engage with Pasifika parents, schools are required to establish collaborative and respectful relationships based on trust. Brian Evans (2011), a secondary school principal of a single-sex school, conducted a study that focused on the achievement of Pasifika boys in a low decile school in South Auckland. He affirmed relationships are vital in building positive learning environments that lead to achievement for Pasifika boys. He concluded that the key to raising achievement for boys was effective student, teacher, and parent relationship.

Joint initiatives between schools and non-profit organisations are initiated as a way to provide resources for Pasifika students from low income families. However, such initiatives often ignore the value of parents' engagement. George Gavet (2011), a Samoan father and community leader investigated the effectiveness of a school-based programme on the academic achievement of Pasifika boys in a large boys-only school in West Auckland. The programme focussed on sport as well as academic achievement and was a joint project between the school and a community non-profit trust organisation. According to Gavet (2011), a holistic approach which included additional academic tutoring and mentoring as well as external support and pastoral care provided the boys with "academic tools for alternative methods of study that resulted in credit attainment" (p. 79). He suggested however, the engagement of Pasifika parents throughout the duration of the programme would have alleviated issues related to attendance and pastoral care, as well as other after-school activities imposed on the boys such as church or baby sitting commitments (Gavet, 2011, p. 83). The dual focus of this study is to remind Pasifika communities, and provide information and understanding for the teachers of Pasifika students, of the valuable knowledge brought from home.

A study by Ann Milne (2013), a former school principal of Kia Aroha College, focused on identifying the barriers within mainstream schooling that prevent the "development of Māori and Pasifika students' cultural identities" (p. vi). Despite clear research knowledge of the importance of Māori and Pasifika students' cultural knowledge in their learning (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt Samu, & Finau, 2001; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003; Education Review Office, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2013a), Milne (2013) questioned why schools are not doing this already and why it is problematic. The problems go deeper and are related to societal demands that are outside of school control. Within her own school, dominant practices were addressed and the school board, parents and staff took responsibility in changing their educational practices to align with what they saw as cultural practices specific to Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Island (Milne, 2013, p. 286). Engagement with parents, community and staff was carried out at the systemic level and allowed the school to challenge the dominant frameworks within teaching and assessment that prevented students from being Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Island.

Schools are not culturally neutral domains. Within New Zealand schools, the Pasifika forms of knowledge are of low value compared to others (Si'ilata, 2014). Despite Pasifika families' aspirations for their children to be successful at school, the majority culture schooling often prevents this. Pasifika learners should be able to succeed as Pasifika people, rather than fulfilling expectations that require them to become members of the 'majority' culture in order to achieve lifelong academic, or professional goals. School leaders and facilitators can assist teachers by providing specific professional learning and development that is collaborative and success-oriented to facilitate teaching and learning that is both "responsive and adaptive to Pasifika learners and their families/aiga" (Si'ilata, 2014, p. iii).

When teachers understand the valuable knowledge and practice that Pasifika families have – and Pasifika families themselves realise the significance of their own knowledge and practice in Western education – there are possibilities to improve the relationship, collaboration and understanding between students, their families and teachers in New Zealand schooling.

The education of Pasifika boys is defined in relation to their families. The education of Tongan males is defined within their *kāinga*. The overall focus of Tongan males' education is to fulfill their *fatongia* (obligations) to the *kāinga* and benefit the lives of its collective members. Education is not only an intellectual activity, but an emotionally felt experience (Singh & Osborne, 2001). For Tongan families, learning can be understood as cultural knowledge (*koloa*). Learning is to know; it is felt and internalised within individual's hearts and minds through their memories (*koloa'ia*) and shared (*fakakoloa*) with others within their *kāinga*. Such are some of the practices inherent in the education of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga.

My goal in this study is to show and unfold *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* as family cultural capital in the education of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. I want to ensure that Tongan families themselves are reminded of their strengths and value. At the same time this study highlights these strengths and valued practices for teachers of Tongan students in New Zealand, so they not only understand but also value the richness of the families' experiences. In doing so, my hope is for teachers to promote and utilise such knowledge in their own classrooms. Tongan language is

used throughout this thesis because through language we can understand the richness and diverse meanings of Tongan people's lives. Through the Tongan language, we further unfold *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* as 'family cultural capital' expressed and used in the teaching and learning of Tongan males within the *kāinga*.

Emerging Māori and Pasifika teachers and scholars

My study contributes to the work of a growing number of emerging Māori and Pasifika scholars and teachers who have voiced their concerns and used Māori and Pasifika knowledge in research. As a response to the deficit discourse related to Pasifika education, a number of Pasifika scholars have placed their own cultural knowledge and practices at the forefront of students' learning and success as Māori, Samoan, Tongan and so forth (Allen, 2015; Faaea-Semeatu, 2013; Faitala, 2013; Fasavalu, 2015; Gavet, 2011; Toloa, 2014; Turketo, 2012; Vaione-Otto, 2014). These researchers' work is at the centre of my own thesis, and I build on the work they have done.

The strengths-based studies focus on the valued knowledge and experiences of Māori and Pasifika students and teachers as worthwhile knowledge in their education. Of significance, the emerging academics named above have returned to their schools and workplace either as deputy principals or leaders in government organisations to implement and change practices and policy that undervalue the knowledge Māori and Pasifika students bring from home. All feel a sense of *fatongia* (obligation) to share with other teachers and schools because they understand their collective responsibility to improve the learning of their Māori and Pasifika students as well as their families.

Fasavalu's (2015) study focused on the voices and experiences of Samoan students who successfully transitioned from secondary schooling to university education. She has returned to continue her duties as a deputy principal and has been actively disseminating her findings with other teachers in New Zealand. Iosefo's (2014) study articulated her own voice and educational perspectives and experiences as a New Zealand raised Samoan Christian woman and teacher. Allen's (2015) research focused on giving voice to South Auckland youth about concerns related to their community. Both Iosefo (2014) and Allen (2015) have applied their findings in teacher training programmes at university.

Faaea-Semeatu's (2013) study focused on the strengths of year 13 Pasifika music students and explored giftedness from their own perspectives. She continues to share her study throughout her professional development trainings with teachers of Pasifika students across New Zealand. Turketo's (2012) study was useful because she explored how her "realisation of success in being Māori was nurtured by the innovative and visionary practices of [her] Pākehā art teacher" (p. 1). More studies of this kind need to be available for all teachers of Māori and Pasifika students to share and learn from. Faitala (2013) explored the educational experiences of year 12 and 13 Pasifika students in relation to subject choice and pathways to university. Faitala has utilised her study at her school and in the professional development of Pasifika teachers as part of the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) in New Zealand.

Tolou's (2014) study showed teachers' and Pasifika students' expectations of achievement in NCEA level 1 Science were misaligned. As a deputy principal, she has returned to the workforce and is active in sharing her findings with teachers in South Auckland. Tupou's (2016) study explored the educational experiences of Tongan people within church contexts in New Zealand. As an intermediate school teacher, she actively shares her experiences with other teachers and students in her classroom. Both Gavet (2011) and Vaione-Otto (2014) focused on the education of Pasifika boys and the articulation of their Samoan and Niuean cultural knowledges are the focus of their current doctoral studies.

Baice's (2011) study focused on the way in which youth agency shaped the political participation of tertiary students in Aotearoa, Samoa and Tonga. Skudder's (2014) study explored the learning experiences of Pasifika parents and their hearing impaired children in New Zealand. Both Baice and Skudder have utilised their research skills and knowledge in the mentoring and tutoring of Pasifika students at the University of Auckland's faculty of education and social work.

Cultural Difference in Schooling

The researchers in this section are mainly of Pakeha decent who carried out critical studies that challenged the dominant practices inherent in Western schooling and that undervalued the knowledge Pasifika students brought from home. Such researchers examined cultural difference in their studies and, like the official

researchers are “typically concerned with improving school practices and effectiveness” (Fitzpatrick, 2010, p. 53), as a way to improve inequitable Pasifika achievement in schools.

In 1986, Alison Jones’ study focused on cultural difference as an alternative explanation for the educational disparities between Māori and Pasifika and their Pakeha peers. The factors linked to cultural difference were ethnicity, gender and social class. Her ethnographic study of Pasifika and European girls was carried out in an urban secondary school in Auckland city. She found Pasifika girls’ cultural knowledge was of low value in schooling. At school, European girls’ values, ways of thinking, beliefs and language was rewarded and exchanged for qualifications and teacher practices that reinforced their success in learning.

Jones pointed out that the cultural capital of Pasifika girls, that is, their dispositions and habits, could not be exchanged for grades or school achievement. The Pasifika girls in Jones’ (1986) study favoured copying notes and rote learning as opposed to discussion and debate. The Pasifika girls’ “...beliefs contributed to their failure to assimilate school knowledge, and thus into an argument about the role of the school in reproducing school failure in particular groups” (ibid, p. 39). So for Jones (1986), school success is not about cultural differences as such, but it was about how schools unconsciously make knowledge of the dominant culture a pre-requisite for success in education.

As described by Jones (1986), teachers unconsciously contribute to the reproduction of classroom strategies that are of low value in education, thus perpetuating Pasifika students’ underachievement at school. Jones stated:

“I am suggesting that the school is ... closely implicated in the process of working class school failure ... the teachers not only passively fail to reward working class styles, but also unconsciously though actively reinforce and (re)produce those styles of learning which they then penalize” (1986, p. 451).

When Jones (1986) shared her findings with teachers at the school, most held the prevailing belief at the time that schools do provide “equal opportunity” (p. 68) for Pasifika students despite Jones’ arguments. Some teachers responded to Jones’ accounts by saying, “yes, why are they like that?” (ibid, p. 69), apparently failing to understand the operation of culture in their classrooms. Studies (such as mine) that

examines – in this case – Tongan cultural knowledges related to schooling may be useful for teachers as they come to understand in the context of teaching and learning for Tongan students.

In 2010, Katie Fitzpatrick’s critical ethnographic study explored Māori and Pasifika students’ cultural capital in schooling in relation to ethnicity and socio-economic status. The study was at a multiethnic high school located in South Auckland, an area with high proportions of Māori and Pasifika families. Her study explored how Māori and Pasifika students respond to the health and physical education curriculum in schooling. She claims that health and physical education are “key sites of learning for Māori and Pasifika youth” (Fitzpatrick, 2010, p. 1). In Fitzpatrick’s study, one particular teacher by the name of Dan employed critical pedagogy in his approach to teaching that provided potential for effective engagement and academic success for Māori and Pasifika students in his health and physical education class. Dan’s critical pedagogy “challenge[d] conservative school traditions and...disrupt[ed] the traditional order of school life (ibid, p. 263).

Teachers who employ critical pedagogy are concerned with issues of social justice. They are often teachers who are aware of their cultural knowledge as being different to those of Pasifika families and actively find ways to promote such learnings that are congruent with students’ home knowledge. Like Dan in Fitzpatrick’s (2010) study, he challenged school norms and provided opportunities for effective engagement with Pasifika students. Although I explore Tongan families’ knowledge in this study, I argue such knowledge may not be of value if teachers are not critical practitioners. This will require teachers to challenge their own views as well as in-school practices that undervalue Tongan knowledge.

Another study in 2010 by Mila-Schaaf & Robinson explored the relationship between culture and educational achievement. The findings were gathered from narrative interviews with second generation “Pacific professionals who had achieved rapid social and economic mobility” (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010, p. 14). ‘Polycultural capital’ was developed as a “theoretical construct” to describe “the potential advantage Pacific second generation New Zealand-born may experience from ongoing exposure to culturally distinctive social spaces” (ibid, p. 1). Mila-Schaff & Robinson (2010) argued that having Pacific cultural capital as well as capital

sourced to dominant social spaces assists in realising cumulative advantage and may be associated with improved educational outcomes (p. 1).

Mila-Schaaf & Robinson (2010) claimed New Zealand-born Pacific generation were exposed to culturally distinctive social spaces – that of Pacific social spaces, as well as (*Palangi*-oriented) New Zealand social spaces. Both were sources of cultural capital – knowledge and skills that could be useful across contexts. Moreover, ongoing exposure to culturally distinctive social spaces could result, in some circumstances, in acquiring polycultural capital. Their polycultural capital concept was associated “with cross-cultural resources, knowledge, skills and agency” (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010, p. 14). As well, the authors believed polycultural capital was linked with agency to draw purposefully and strategically from more than one cultural way of knowing and interpreting the world.

Moving Forward

As a way to move forward and understand the significance of Pasifika knowledge – or Tongan cultural knowledge in my case – in schooling, it was necessary for me to outline how the government responded to such knowledge in New Zealand.

New Zealand government-funded researchers have identified problems related to Pasifika underachievement in education in New Zealand, focusing on disparities in the outcomes of Pasifika students compared to their Pakeha and Asian counterparts. I have unfolded literature that outline the government’s response to underachievement through policy and initiatives that sought to improve the achievement disparities. My focus has been to point to the negative tone of the earlier studies that tend to indicate what schools and families and students lack, and what they need to gain. More recent official studies, and those of more independent Pasifika studies have argued that ‘culturally responsive teaching’ is the key to better outcomes for Pasifika students. Indeed, there have been dozens of studies repeating this argument in generally similar terms.

Pasifika academics have argued repeatedly for cultural knowledge, ideas and practices to be at the forefront of the successful teaching and learning of Pasifika students (Kalavite, 2010; Manu'atu, 2000a; Vaioleti, 2006). Despite the need

identified by researchers for all teachers of Pasifika students to implement culturally responsive practices in the classroom, there is an underlying concern that most of our teachers in New Zealand require understanding of cultural knowledge that is unique to the ethnic groups within “Pasifika” and learn to realise their value in the teaching and learning of Pasifika students (Fasavalu, 2015; Si'ilata, 2014).

The aim of my study is to unfold and illuminate (*tatala*) the richness already existing within Tongan men and boys. This study positions them as strong, full, rich and knowledgeable, despite what the literature tells us about Pasifika education.

This study is pro-active because its aim is to remind Tongan families and the community of their valuable knowledge and practices, and provide teachers of Tongan males with understanding of the kinds of valued knowledge and practices inherent in Tongan peoples' lives. The use of Tongan knowledge, concepts and ideas provides meaning and understanding of the valued knowledge and practices passed down from generation to generation. As a Tongan male and teacher, my *fatongia* is to highlight the richness of Tongan culture by unfolding intergenerational educational experiences of Tongan males in the context of New Zealand and Tonga. This study concentrates on Tongan concerns rather than the deficit views attached to the underachievement of Tongan students.

The focus of this strengths-based study is to understand the lived realities of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. How each individual Tongan male interprets their existence or ‘ways of being’ within their *kāinga* in New Zealand and Tonga is unfolded. My goal in this study is to articulate what ‘being Tongan’ means for each Tongan male through their position and role.

This study highlights Tongan cultural knowledge as providing useful and valuable experience in the education of Tongan males. It is based on the view that Tongan cultural knowledge is of value and is significant in the schooling of Tongan boys in New Zealand and Tonga. Rather than taking a deficit approach by looking at aspects of Tongan culture that do not align with Western schooling practices, this study takes a grounded approach based on the experiences that have helped Tongan males in schooling regardless of whether they align with Western practices or not.

My research questions

As Tongan cultural capital, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* are the values and practices significant in the education of Tongan males within their *kāinga*. By understanding the educational experiences of Tongan males, this study seeks to comprehend the values and practices valued and transmitted from generation to generation within the *kāinga* in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga.

The main research question of this study sets out to comprehend the kinds of 'family cultural capital' across generations of Tongan extended families in New Zealand and Tonga, and how these are understood in relation to the schooling of Tongan males. Additional questions set out to understand how forms of family cultural capital are able to be transmitted to the next generation; how forms of family cultural capital are understood by each individual male; and how each individual Tongan male applies family cultural capital in his cultural world and in the world of schooling in New Zealand.

Chapter 3: Tongan Knowledge and Concepts

Introduction

Each of the Pasifika researchers mentioned above write out of their own specific Samoan, Tongan, or other cultural context. In what follows, I focus mainly on the insights of Tongan researchers, particularly given my own interest in Tongan education experiences and ideas and knowledges. I use Tongan concepts and research approaches to unfold the richness and complexities of *koloa 'o e to 'utangata Tonga* in the educational experiences of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga.

Tongan Knowledge Systems

Konai Helu Thaman, a Tongan academic and poet, has published extensively and presented countless papers on the importance of culture in the education of Pacific peoples. She argues the need for traditional cultural knowledge systems to be at the forefront of education in the Pacific region, through curriculum and teacher learning and development (Thaman, 1993; 1997; 2002; 2003; 2013). Thaman's earliest education was in Tonga and she was later sent to complete her senior high school education in New Zealand. After completing her bachelor's degree and teacher education training, she later completed her master's degree in California. Thaman returned to the Pacific and completed her doctoral degree in 1988 at the University of South Pacific in Fiji.

At a conference in Hawaii on decolonising Pacific studies in higher education, Thaman (2003) said the following:

“For most of us who identify with Oceanic cultures, the theme of decolonizing Pacific studies is about our struggles, from kindergarten to university, to learn the dominant study paradigms and worldviews of western peoples who lived in other places at other times. This conference challenges us to look at our western educational legacies, their philosophies, ideologies, and pedagogies, which for nearly 200 years have not fully recognized the way Oceanic peoples communicate, think, and learn—ideologies that sought to destroy the values and belief systems underpinning indigenous education systems in which the majority of Oceanic peoples were and continue to be socialised. As a teacher who is still a learner, I think decolonising Pacific studies is about reclaiming indigenous Oceanic perspectives, knowledge, and wisdom that have been devalued or suppressed because they were or are not considered important or worthwhile. For me, decolonizing Pacific studies is important because it is

about acknowledging and recognizing the dominance of western philosophy, content, and pedagogy in the lives and the education of Pacific peoples; it is about valuing alternative ways of thinking about our world, particularly those rooted in the indigenous cultures of Oceanic peoples...” (p. 2).

In earlier work, Thaman (1988) had unfolded the nature of learning and teaching for Tongan people through the concepts of *ako*, *'ilo* and *poto*. *Ako* is a term generally used for education. Thaman defined *ako* as “worthwhile learning” (Thaman, 2003, p. 2). *'Ilo* is defined as knowledge and *poto* as wisdom. These ideas are central to Tongan ways of knowing. (see Tongan concepts section in this chapter for a detailed description of Thaman’s concepts)

As conceptual frameworks, Thaman used *ako*, *'ilo* and *poto* to understand learning and schooling from a Tongan perspective. In addition, using *kakala*, a cultural process related to the weaving of garlands, which is a *fatongia* (obligation) and role specific to Tongan women, Thaman (1988) wove the educational experiences of her study participants to understand their conceptualisation of teaching and learning to clarify the significance of Tongan cultural knowledge in their education. By using *kakala* as a research framework, she validated Tongan cultural knowledge and its value in higher education. I follow Thaman’s lead, and consider *kakala* as a significant aspect of this study. (see Chapter 4 for a detailed description)

I also used another methodological idea, that of *talanoa*, which also inspired my own work. Timote Vaiioleti (2011), a Tongan academic who lives in New Zealand, posited that Tongan students in New Zealand should be exposed to their own language including its moral, social and spiritual concepts, which are important elements of their cultural understanding. He integrated Thaman’s (1988) *kakala* framework as a cultural approach and a *talanoa* methodology to understand Tongan ideas of education in New Zealand. I contextualise my use of *kakala* and *talanoa* as a young Tongan male in Chapter 4.

Earlier in my doctoral journey, I was asked by colleagues as to whether I will develop a unique research framework, different to *kakala* and *talanoa*, but one that still captured the lived realities and knowledges of Tongan people in New Zealand – whom in my colleagues’ views, practice cultural values differently to those in Tonga. I however, decided to follow a strengths-based process by looking at what we already have, specifically at *kakala* and *talanoa* as “*ngaahi koloa*” (valued knowledges) that

have been imparted to us by our predecessors – Konai Helu Thaman and Timote Vaiioleti. Rather than develop something new, for the sake of adding something new and to meet the popular demands in academia, I decided that my study would utilise such useful frameworks because they are appropriate to the goals of this research and in understanding *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga i Aotearoa mo Tonga*.

Tongan Concepts

Introduction

According to Berg (2007), concepts communicate ideas and show particular perspectives about a phenomenon in social science research. Concepts in general are important because they are the building blocks for communication and thought. In this particular study, the phenomenon is Tongan cultural knowledge and practice in the education of Tongan males. Tongan concepts provide insights and understanding into their world and in the interpretation of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* (family cultural capital). Tongan people's experiences are the life processes that have been shaped by culture and influenced by language, beliefs, values and practices (Eisner, 2002). I highlight Tongan concepts in this study because they provide insight and understanding into Tongan families' diverse schooling experiences in New Zealand and Tonga.

'Ulungāanga faka-Tonga – Tongan language and culture

'Ulungāanga faka-Tonga relates to Tongan language and culture. Tongan concepts provide insight into understanding the complexities of Tongan cultural knowledge. This section will outline Tongan concepts used throughout the thesis to understand the valued educational experiences of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga.

The term *'ulungāanga* is a noun and is defined as characteristics, habits or qualities (Churchward, 2015, p. 571). *'Ulungāanga* also relates to values, attitudes and behaviour found in Tongan people. *'Ulungāanga faka-Tonga* is a term that encompasses Tongan traditional values, beliefs and knowledge that are often observed in and expressed by Tongan people in how they think and behave.

The *kāinga* transmit linguistic, social and cultural knowledge to their young through language and culture. According to Toetu'u-Tamihere (2014), linguistic knowledge and social resources that are embodied in individual beings come in the form of *lea faka-Tonga* (Tongan language), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *faka-tō ki lalo* (humility), *fetokoniaki* (support), *tauhi vaha'a* (maintaining respectful relationships), and *fatongia* (obligation); traditional Tongan values passed down by the extended family to young Tongans as part of their education.

Tongan families have their own core cultural values (*'ulungāanga*) that are embedded in their socialisation processes (Kalavite, 2010). Such values of *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga* can be observed in how people engage and maintain social relationships within Tongan society. For example, social relationships are bounded and maintained by values such as *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *loto tō pe ko e loto fakatō ki lalo* (humility), *mamahi'i me'a* (loyalty and devotion), *'ofa* (love, care and kindness), *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity) and *tauhi vaha'a* (maintaining respectful relationships).

Tongan males learn their social responsibilities within their families and from others in the wider community. In other words, a young man's role and *fatongia* are defined within their *kāinga*, church and the community (Helu, 1999). Learning to respect their elders becomes an important part of a young Tongan male's schooling (Kalavite, 2010; Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2006). The learning and practice of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *loto tō* (humility), *tauhi vā* (relationship), and *mamahi'i me'a* (loyalty and devotion) in Tongan males' actions are acknowledged and encouraged by members of the collective and the families' expectations for them become permanent dispositions in their approach to learning.

Ako, 'ilo, and poto – processes of learning

The education of Tongan males can be understood through the concepts of *ako*, *'ilo* and *poto*. The Tongan concepts of *ako* (learning), *'ilo* (knowledge), and *poto* (wisdom) relate to ideas about knowledge and learning for Tongan people. In Thaman's (1988) analysis of Tongan education, she described these three main ideas involved in learning. These ideas are central to indigenous Tongan knowledge systems.

Traditionally, the idea of *ako* was used to describe learning in accordance with one's roles and status in society (Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2006). *Ako* was seen as a way of acquiring knowledge that would then be used to maintain important relationships with others in the community. Today, *ako* is widely used to refer to learning within formal schooling. Knowledge or *'ilo* refers to the end product of *ako*. As described by Thaman (1997), the idea of *poto* is knowing who you are, knowing what to do and doing it well. *Poto* is framed by Tongan people's practice of *'ilo* (knowledge). For Tongan people, *poto* is about having the ability to use knowledge to benefit others, such as members of the extended family. To *fakakoloa* is the act of sharing and passing down knowledge to benefit members of the *kāinga*. The saying, "*Na'e fakakoloa'aki 'ehe kui 'ene poto 'a e ki'i tamasi'i*", literally means the grandfather passed-on valuable knowledge to his grandson. The transmission of cultural knowledge is therefore a necessary process for Tongan families because its intention is to benefit the lives of their extended family members.

In Thaman's (1974) poem, titled "Reality", Tongan families value individuals who are *poto* (wise) and contribute to the family's wellbeing. Although the young man in her poem below is described as being competent in Western knowledge (acquired *'ilo*), the value of his education is determined by how he uses his knowledge to benefit his *kāinga*. The value of the young Tongan man's education depends on its usefulness to the lives of his extended family. Unless knowledge is used appropriately to benefit the *kāinga*, then an individual's education is perceived as being of little value.

*"I am a big boy now
I have left school;
But I am a fool still
.....I hear people laughing
what are you going to do now
with your education and all?
There is the market place
.....i cannot do that
I have a certificate
.....what do I do now?
An old man close-by whispers
Come fishing with me today
For you have a lot to learn yet"*

(Thaman, 1974, p. 17)

‘Ulungāanga fakapotopoto

The idea of *‘ulungāanga fakapotopoto* relates to values and practices that are valued in Tongan people’s learning. *‘Ulungāanga fakapotopoto* literally means “wise ways”. The concept of *‘ulungāanga fakapotopoto* is a form of Tongan habitus and is a valued disposition in Tongan males’ learning. *‘Ulungāanga fakapotopoto* is embedded in our thoughts, actions and hearts. Recently, a young Tongan man in my wife’s family decided to get married at a registry office rather than at a traditional church. When he and his father met to discuss the matter, the young man was described by his father as being *fakapotopoto* (behaved wisely). The young man’s decision to keep the wedding short and fast by having it at the registry office and only having his own nuclear family as well as the bride’s nuclear family involved, was of benefit to his *kāinga*. A traditional and formal wedding at a church would have brought financial burden upon both his own as well as the bride’s family. The young man enacted *‘ulungāanga fakapotopoto* because of his *loto ‘ofa* (love and compassion) for his *kāinga*.

Kāinga– extended family

The *kāinga* or extended family is a social unit that is large in size and highly stratified. The *kāinga* is symbolic of the collective, and represents generations that are inter-connected and multi-layered. It is a social unit that represents social networks that are inter-connected. *To ‘utangata* is an aspect of the extended family and refers to generations of people. The *to ‘utangata* are an integral part of the *kāinga* in terms of how genealogies, histories and stories are passed down from generation to generation. To identify and comprehend the valued knowledge passed down within the *kāinga*, this study is focused on highlighting the lived realities of *to ‘utangata Tonga* (generations of Tongan males) in New Zealand and Tonga.

In Tongan society, human relationship and social responsibility are at the core of Tongan knowledge systems (Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2006). Within the extended family, younger members acquire knowledge and values from elders and other expert members through a number of mediums such as myths, legends, song and dance, which are learned through practical methods such as observation, imitation, and participation. Through this, the “knowledge system, values and beliefs are transmitted from old to young and experts to lesser expert members in [Tongan] society” (p. 23).

Traditional Tongan values and knowledge are passed down through the *to'utangata* from grandfathers to their sons and grandsons.

There are family cultural resources embodied in Tongan males' distinctive *tu'unga* (position), roles and *fatongia* within the *kāinga*. According to Helu (1999), Tongan males learn their obligations and duties based on their *tu'unga* (position) and relationship with other members of their *kāinga* – as *foha/tama* (son), *tokoua/tunga'ane* (brother), *tamai* (father), and *kui tangata* (grandfather). Some Tongan males occupy several of the roles stated above. Tongan males' family cultural resources reflect their ethnic culture. This is noticeable in the cultural values and traditions practiced at home. For example, when young Tongan males learn the Tongan value of *faka'apa'apa*, their thoughts, attitudes and dispositions shape their actions and behaviours towards their sisters and other members of their extended family (Kalavite, 2010; Thaman, 1988).

Fonua – land and people

There is a Tongan saying “*Ko e to'utangata ko ki nautolu 'oku tauhi 'a e fonua*” (the generations of men are the keepers of the land). In the context of the *kāinga*, Mahina (1999) defined *fonua* as relating to the “land and its people” (p. 276). Ka'ili (2005) further described *fonua* as the “spiritual and genealogical oneness of land and its people and...the reciprocal exchanges between them” (p. 93). As keepers of the *fonua*, the *to'utangata* have the responsibility of looking after and maintaining their *tauhi vā* (relationship) with the land and their *kāinga*. This involves the *to'utangata* being able to provide for their wives, sisters and other members of their *kāinga*. The grandfathers and fathers pass down knowledge to their young as part of their *tu'unga* (position), *fatongia* (obligation) and *loto 'ofa* (love and compassion) for their young in New Zealand and Tonga.

Tauhi vā – respectful relationships

Vā – space

As a noun, *vā* is defined by Churchward (2015) as the “distance between or distance apart” (p. 528). *Vā* implies space and time. In a metaphorical sense, *vā* relates to relationships between people in a given place and time. Ka'ili (2005) suggested that space and time are conceptualised differently in various societies. He described *vā* as

an idea that is not unique to Tonga, for similar words are also found in many Moanan languages. His use of the term Moanan relates to people from the Pacific who are connected by the ocean or *moana*. Representing the Moanan idea of space, *vā* emphasises the space in between. This is fundamentally different from the popular Western idea of space as an expanse or an open area (Ka'ili, 2005, p. 89).

One cannot think of space without thinking about time. In the historical sense, particularly for this study, the intergenerational stories not only depict a particular time but also the space or context in which they take place. The story of the grandson, for example, is not independent of the father and grandfather's stories. As social beings, we are socialised in relation to other people in our cultural environment.

Ka'ili (2005) further described *vā* as the space between people or things. It is the social or relational space that connects people. Tongans experience social relations spatially and come to understand space socially. Thus, human relationships are both socially and spatially constituted. Ka'ili further suggested, that since *vā* is the social space between individuals or groups, it also relates and connects individuals and groups to one another (Ka'ili, 2005, p. 90). In this study, there are four families – two from Tonga and two from Aotearoa. Within these families, there are three generations. The *vā* or social space between the grandfather, father and son is what connects their stories to one another. How each tells his story is in relation to and not independent of the others.

Tauhi vā

The literal meaning of the term *tauhi* is to maintain or nurture. *Tauhi vā*, as described by Ka'ili (2005), is the nurturing of the socio-spatial ties between people. Within these families I have seen *tauhi vā* in action, where the father talks about his aspirations for his son, while the son quietly listens and looks toward the ground as a sign of respect for his elders. As a researcher, *tauhi vā* is about nurturing my relationship with the families. To understand *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* as valued knowledge and practices across the generations, it is my *fatongia* as a Tongan researcher to respect the *vā* (space) between us. When one fails to respect the *vā* between one's self and others, this can often result in feeling disconnected from what we know, understand, and do.

Veitapui – sacred space

From a Samoan perspective, Amituanai-Tolosa (2007) defined sacred space as *va-tapuia*. *Va-tapuia* (*va—space; tapuia—made sacred*) is a Samoan concept related to ‘sacred space’ in the *feagaiga* (covenant relationship) between brother and sister. Violation of the sacred space could result in cursing or blessing for those involved. Although *vā tapuia* refers to the sacred space in which relationship-building takes place, it is not confined to the covenant of human beings (ibid, p. 202). Rather, there are other relationships that Samoan people hold in equal status.

“One is their relationship with the land. Others include their relationship with the sea and the heavens. In these relationships there is a premise that what one takes out of one of these, one has to put something back. Such is the vā tapuia. It creates, instigates, mediates, negotiates all aspects of relationships and negates societal or conflictual differences and disputes before they arise” (Amituanai-Tolosa, 2007, p. 202).

The sacred space, as defined by Iosefo (2016), is complementary to both the *vā* (space) and Bhabha’s (1990) third space (between spaces). As expressed by Iosefo, the unseen space within *vā tapuia* is one where “negotiation [of self] takes place” (2016, p. 200). *Vā tapuia* is a fluid space and is sacred to the development of one’s self or one’s identity/ies. For relationship building to take place, the sacred space of *vā tapuia* is fundamental to understanding how each person interprets the world – and how each person interprets the ‘self’ within the world, which can be in multiple ways.

From a Tongan viewpoint, sacred space is defined using the concept of *veitapui*. *Veitapui* is the sacred space that honours and respects the relationship between brothers and sisters in the Tongan culture (Churchward, 2015, p. 537). There is no Tongan concept for the term cousins. All my cousins are referred to as my *ngaahi tokoua* (brothers) or *ngaahi tu’ofafine* (sisters). *Veitapui* is framed within the *kāinga* and goes beyond the nuclear family. The concept of *veitapui* is also used to describe the relationship between man and God. In other words, *veitapui* refers to *faka’apa’apa mo e ‘Otua* (the respect and honour for God). *Veitapui* describes a relationship with God that is spiritual and sacred.

The *to’utangata* in this study define their place and *fatongia* (obligation) within their cultural and social worlds. This means that within the sacred spiritual space of *veitapui*, Tongan boys construct and often negotiate their identities of ‘self’

in relation to their *kāinga* (extended family), their spiritual connection with God, living in South Auckland, their church affiliation, sporting activities or in relation to living in Tonga.

Koloa

When the term *koloa* is mentioned amongst Tongan people, the first thing that comes to mind is material wealth such as the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) or *fala* (fine mats). Churchward (2015) defined *koloa* as a noun to do with “goods, wealth, riches and possessions” (p. 270). As described by Māhina (2003), *koloa* can be both tangible – such as material arts and crafts and historic sites – and intangible – such as oral traditions, myths, ceremonies and performance arts. While the tangible and intangible can be regarded individually, they are, however, closely interconnected (Māhina, 2003).

Koloa matelie – material wealth

Koloa matelie or material *koloa* are made, bought and exchanged through significant social events. In a *kātoanga* (cultural event or celebration) such as a *mali* (wedding), *fai’aho* (birthday) or *putu* (funeral) – *koloa matelie* (material wealth) is used and exchanged between the families. Particular *koloa* have more value than others in certain celebratory events. Despite the differences based on context or cultural event, Tongan people value such *koloa* because they are significant in maintaining strong relationships with other Tongan people.

Koloa matelie or tangible *koloa* are the materials we can see with our own eyes and hold with our own hands. Material *koloa* such as the *launima* (50 metre tapa cloth) is heavy and carries with it a unique scent. Other *koloa*, like the *me’a hina* (fine mat), is lighter but has aesthetic intricacies in its design, colour and pattern that give it a sense of heaviness. Whilst growing up, I always associated the term *koloa* with weddings and funerals because it was within these contexts that I saw the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) and *fala* (fine mats) being presented by the bride’s family to the groom’s *mehekitanga* (father’s sister who is ‘*eiki* or of high social status) within the *kāinga*. At wedding ceremonies, women are often seen dancing and singing while the *koloa* is carried onto the floor for all to see and marvel at its beauty. It is within these contexts that Tongan values and practices are *fofola* or unfolded for all to see and observe.

Koloa 'o e Tonga – cultural knowledge and wealth

In this study, the concept of *koloa 'o e Tonga* relates to cultural knowledge and wealth that are intangible. *Koloa 'o e Tonga* relates to Tongan cultural knowledge and practice including language and traditional practices. Unlike *koloa matelie* (tangible or material goods), intangible *koloa* cannot be bought or sold in terms of economic exchange. *Koloa 'o e Tonga* is cultural knowledge inherent in Tongan extended families in terms of their valued knowledge and practices (Lātū, 2009). This kind of *koloa* lasts longer and continues through countless generations.

The process of making *kava* (traditional beverage from crushed kava root) is valued knowledge in Tongan culture. As valued knowledge, the *kava* making process is regarded as *koloa 'o e Tonga* because such knowledge carries with it the cultural traditions, values and practices that are essential to maintaining strong relationships in Tongan society.

As described by 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki (2015), former Minister of Education in Tonga, she articulated *koloa 'a e Tonga* as:

“Ko e 'uhinga ki he ngaahi tefito'i tui mo e fakakaukau 'a e Tonga, 'o kau ai 'ene ngaahi 'ilo mo e pōto'i ngāue, hono hisitōlia mo hono tukufakaholo, anga fakafonua mo... 'ene lea fakafonua... He ko e ngaahi tefito'i tui mo e ngaahi fakakaukau 'a e Tonga, 'oku taumu'a kātoa pē ki he tauhi 'a e ngaahi vā kotoape pē ke lelei, pea koloa'ia ai mo kaukau mālohi, ma'uma'uluta, melino, feongoongoi, pea mo fe'uhi'aki 'a e nofo 'a kāinga” (p. 4).

[*Koloa 'o e Tonga*] refers to the core values and the ways of thinking of a Tongan, including knowledge and skills, its history and its inheritances, traditions and...its language...Because a Tongan's values, beliefs and ways of thinking, all aims to maintain all relationships concerned to achieve prosperity and attain strength, harmony, peace, mutual understanding and interdependence within the extended family.

The Tongan values of *loto 'ofa* (compassion for other people) and *faka'apa'apa* (respect), by which a Tongan grandfather lives his life and engages with other people, are passed down by him through his words and the activities he takes part in, for example the *fei'umu* (cooking food in an underground oven) and or *fakafāмили* (family prayer).

Koloa 'o e Tonga is highly valued by Tongan people because they gather it for future use. As cultural knowledge and practice, *koloa 'o e Tonga* is gathered by

Tongan families to be passed down to the next generation. The sharing and transmission of cultural knowledge and practice is intended to benefit the lives of people belonging to the *kāinga*.

The concept of *koloa 'o e Tonga* is positive because it allows Tongan people to see the best in life despite their circumstances. It is a concept linked to gratitude and appreciation rather than dwelling on the negative. The following Tongan sayings refer to how *koloa 'o e Tonga* is used in Tongan language. For example: *Koloa 'a e ako* (the value of schooling); *Koloa 'a e poto* (wisdom is of value); *Ko e fānau, ko e koloa mahu'inga taha pe ia* (children are the most important treasure); *Koloa pe e lava 'a e vala a teti ki he sapate tamai* (if all else fails, as long as dad gets his clothes for fathers day); *Neongo 'a e 'uha, koloa pe ke lava 'a e polokalama sipoti* (even though it is raining, as long as the sports programme is done); and *Neongo 'a e tōmui e vaka, koloa kuo tau mai 'a e folau* (despite the late flight, their arrival is of more importance).

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga – the concept

Like *koloa oa e Tonga*, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is a concept rooted in traditional language and culture. The concept of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* relates to knowledge, values, beliefs and practices that are of value in the education of Tongan males within the *kāinga*. Such values and beliefs are important in a Tongan person's maintenance of *tauhi vā* (relationship) in relation to others in their *kāinga* (Taufe'ulungaki, 2015).

The value of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is dependent on how each generation learn and internalise (*koloa 'ia*), practice and transmit (*fakakoloa*) such cultural values to the next generation. When a person values the knowledge learnt, they embrace and internalise its significance (*mahu'inga*) in their thoughts (*fakakaukau*), actions (*'ulungaanga*) and hearts (*loto*). The human state when one values the *koloa* or knowledge learnt is referred to as *koloa 'ia*. As a result, that particular person is likely to use it in his/her life and pass it down to their children, nephews and nieces within their *kāinga*.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga is symbolic of family cultural knowledge that is passed down from the grandfather to his son and grandson. As valued knowledge and

practices in the learning of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is conceptualised as 'family cultural capital' which are used to maintain all relationships within the *kāinga*.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga – cultural wisdoms

The book of Proverbs in the Bible talks about the benefits of seeking wisdom.

“My son, if you receive my words and treasure up my commandments with you, making your ear attentive to wisdom and inclining your heart to understanding...For The Lord gives wisdom; from His mouth comes knowledge and understanding...for wisdom will come into your heart, and knowledge will be pleasant to your soul.” (Proverbs 2:1-10)

As described in the book of Proverbs, wisdom comes from the Lord and to receive such treasure, one needs to embrace it by paying close attention (*tokanga*) and listening (*fanongo*), and allowing oneself to feel and embrace the knowledge within one's mind and heart (*loto*).

Valuable knowledge such as parents' teachings, aspirations and beliefs are embraced in Tongan people's hearts and spirits. During a recent sermon in August 2016 by Reverend Semisi Fonua, president of the Free Church of Tonga, he shared with the youth of the congregation about the value of their grandparents' and parents' teachings and guidance in their lives.

“Ko e ngaahi akonaki 'a e kui mo e mātu'á, tuku ho loto ki ai, pea teke ma'u leva 'a e mo'oní, mo e mālohi mo hono mahu'ingá.”

The teachings and counsels of grandparents and parents, the young are to keep such knowledge in their hearts and memories because that is where they will find and discover the truth; find courage and strength as well as their significance.

As cultural knowledge and practices that are useful in the lives of Tongan families, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* can be perceived as 'cultural wisdoms' that are of benefit to the lives of Tongan families. When knowledge (*'ilo*) is used to benefit others, this process of learning is defined by Thaman (1988) as wisdom (*poto*). When the grandfathers pass down their knowledge (*ngaahi 'ilo*), it is intended to benefit the lives of their sons and grandsons. Such wise and valued knowledge is defined as cultural wisdom because the significance of the learning is in the act of sharing and passing down such knowledge to benefit the lives of others.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga or 'cultural wisdoms' has multiple forms. Such forms of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* vary in terms of meanings that are philosophical, spiritual, cultural, economic and social. The value of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is based on each generation of Tongan males within the *kāinga* and within the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga. How each Tongan male defines the value of their *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is within their own *kāinga* in New Zealand and Tonga. In other words, to understand *koloa 'o e to'utangata* as family cultural capital, the goal of this study is to unfold the kinds of cultural wisdoms inherent and significant in the lives of the *kāinga* and how such cultural wisdoms and knowledge is used in Western schooling.

There is a popular Tongan saying that relates to the spiritual meaning of *koloa*: “*Ko e lelei kotoa pē hono mo'ui, 'oku tuku mo tauhi hono loto*” (Every important thing in his/her life is kept and valued in his/her heart). *Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* are the beliefs and values that are maintained, kept, and valued in the hearts and souls of members within the *kāinga* (Taufe'ulungaki, 2015). This is why *koloa 'o e to'utangata* is sacred because it is not always obvious in people's eyes. When Tongan people apply their knowledge, values and beliefs through their practices, that is activities and events, we are then able to see the valued knowledge within their *kāinga*. To understand *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* as valued cultural knowledge, we unfold the cultural activities and events highlighted by Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga (see Chapter 11).

To'u denotes a particular place and time. *To'utangata* is to do with generations of people. Each *to'utangata* (generation) relates to a particular place and time in which the generation is contextualised. This is why the concept of *koloa 'o e to'utangata* is *loloto* (deep) because it is defined and understood from its various contexts. As well, *koloa 'o e to'utangata* can also be understood from each generational layer. *Talanoa'i 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata* involves discussions about the significance of *ako* (Tongan education and learning) from various perspectives. To fully appreciate *koloa 'o e to'utangata* (stories), the *talanoa'i* (analysis) looks at the educational experiences (*ako*) through the knowledge (*ngaahi 'ilo mo e poto*) that is passed down from the grandfather and father to the grandson.

To fully understand the value of *koloa 'o e to'utangata*, it is necessary to view and comprehend it from the contexts in which it is framed. Within New Zealand and Tonga, a Tongan male's *fatongia* (obligation) is valued knowledge in his education. *Fatongia* can have diverse meanings between the grandfathers, fathers and grandsons within each extended family. For example, a grandfather may perceive *fatongia* for its social meaning, that is, his *fatongia* as the eldest child is to lead his family. However, his son may perceive *fatongia* for its social and economic meanings – his *fatongia* as his father's eldest son is to lead his family and provide financial support for them. The kinds or forms of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* can have multiple meanings for Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. The purpose of this study is to highlight what these kinds of family cultural capital are and how they are transmitted from generation to generation.

In this study, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* relates to the expectations, aspirations, hopes and dreams of Tongan grandfathers and fathers in the education of their young. As valued knowledge, the grandfathers pass down (*fakakoloa*) their values, aspirations, hopes and beliefs to their sons and grandsons. Family activities such as *ngāue fei'umu* (work involved in the preparation of food in an underground oven), *ngaue ki 'uta* (work on the plantation), *fakafāmili he 'aho sapate* (family prayer or gathering on Sunday) and *ngāue faka-faiako* (teaching) are some of the activities that *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is passed down to members of the *kāinga*.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata can be described as sensuous, that is, it lives “in the body and is felt” (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2016, p. 59). It is rich and beautiful as well as multi-layered. Because knowledge is constructed within the *to'utangata*, its value is also understood within the *to'utangata* (generation). *Koloa 'o e to'utangata* is necessarily the lived experiences of Tongan families involved in this study. Family culture, as the lived experiences of families, is equivalent to *koloa 'o e to'utangata* because such lived experiences are passed down from generation to generation.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata varies across the four families in this study and is expressed in cultural activities that are of significance to them. These cultural activities are unique to Tongan males and are expressed through some of the following: *fei'umu* (preparation of food in an underground oven), *fakafāmili* (family prayer), owning and running a business, *va'inga 'akapulu* (playing rugby), *ngāue ki*

'uta (working in the plantation), pursuing further studies overseas and *ngāue fakafaiako* (teaching).

Koloa'ia – process of internalisation

The term *koloa'ia* is an adjective used to describe a person or a family who is “wealthy, rich or abounding in goods or treasure” (Churchward, 2015, p. 270). The concept of *koloa'ia* relates to the abundance of *koloa* (cultural knowledge or wealth) in an individual or group of people. Several of the males in this study have used the word *koloa'ia* to describe the abundance of cultural knowledge that has been useful in their schooling experiences (Lātū, 2009). They often refer to these learning experiences as knowledge that has been shared or taught to them by their fathers and grandfathers.

There are two stages of human experience during which a Tongan person feels their culture has been of value to their education – at the *koloa'ia* stage (knowledge or *ngaahi 'ilo* is internalised) and the *fakakoloa* stage (transmitting such valued knowledge to other members of the *kāinga*).

Fakakoloa or fakakoloa'aki – passing down, sharing, transmitting knowledge

The prefix *'faka'* is commonly used in the Tongan language to denote likeness, causation, causing or allowing, supplying or having (Churchward, 2015, p. 24). The term *fakakoloa* or *fakakoloa'aki* is a transitive verb (Churchward, 2015, p. 55). In linguistics, a transitive verb needs a direct object to complete its meaning. Furthermore, a transitive verb has two characteristics. Firstly, a transitive verb is an action verb expressing a do-able activity, for example kick, write, eat or want. Secondly, a transitive verb must have a direct object, that is something or someone who receives the action of the verb.

Fakakoloa or *fakakoloa'aki* denotes the act of sharing or giving someone valuable knowledge. Specifically, it is the act of passing or transmitting valued knowledge through sharing and teaching. It is the act of enriching a person with wealth or knowledge. *Fakakoloa'ia* or *fakakoloa'ia'i* is the verb to make wealthy or rich. It is the act of enriching.

Koloa'aki is a transitive verb that means to regard as wealth. It also means “treasure or value” (Churchward, 2015, p. 270). Therefore, *fakakoloa'aki* like *fakakoloa* is the giving, passing or transmitting of valued knowledge from one person to another.

Talanoa

Talanoa is a collective term that has multiple dimensions (Vaioleti, 2013). It is a concept that relates to Tongan language and culture. The literal translation of *talanoa* is “to talk in an informal way, to tell stories or relate experiences, or to talk about” (Churchward, 2015, p. 447).

Talanoa'i

Talanoa'i is a derivative of *talanoa*. *Talanoa'i* means “to tell, tell about or relate” (Churchward, 2015, p. 447). According to Vaioleti (2013), *talanoa'i* can be used for high-level analysis and synthesis. But one must first know the “particular aim, focal point, or even outcome” (p. 203) of what is to be analysed or synthesised. Not only can *talanoa'i* be used to problematise issues in order to examine them closely and from different angles; it can also relate to critical discussions of things that matter to Tongan people – things that are of the foremost significance to them and their *kāinga*.

Pō talanoa

The literal meaning of *pō talanoa* is evening talk or discussion between people. Vaioleti (2013) referred to *pō talanoa* as “talking in an everyday occurrence about things that are important to Tongan people such as church matters, children, television, school, political matters or the lack of things to do” (p. 202).

As an adjective, *mālie* means pleasing, advantageous or splendid (Churchward, 2015, p. 324). A good *talanoa* can often lift people's spirits to an elevated level of connectedness and spirituality (Manu'atu, 2000b). *Talanoa mālie* are discussions that are meaningful, beneficial and advantageous to the people involved. *Talanoa mālie* is a way people become connected and are able to exchange ideas and experiences that are important to them as Tongans. Central to the practice of *pō talanoa* is the *tauhi vā* (relationship building) between people. Tongan people connect

and relate with each other within a place based on kinship ties, faith, work, familiar experiences, knowledge, and so forth (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008, p. 17). *Pō talanoa* therefore can be “produced not only by the interests of the people but through the *mālie* (social bonding) they experience when they talk together” (ibid, p. 18).

The significance of *pō talanoa* lies in Tongan people’s capacity to critically unfold (*tatala* or *fakatatala*) the historical, political, philosophical, and cultural underpinnings of education in relation to them and their *kāinga* (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008). As an approach to learning, *pō talanoa* enables Tongan people to “unfold insights into schooling as it is practiced in Aotearoa” (p. 16).

Tatala, fakatatala, fofola – process of unfolding and revealing

As a verb, *tatala* relates to the process of removing, taking off or unwrapping a cover to unfold what lies beneath. According to Kepa and Manu’atu (2008), the symbolic meaning of *tatala* relates to the unfolding or “opening of one’s mind, body and spirit to different viewpoints about a particular event, situation or idea” (p. 17). The process of *tatala* therefore involves the unfolding of layers of generational experiences in order to illuminate the richness, beauty and usefulness of *koloa ‘o e to’utangata* in the lives of Tongan people in New Zealand and Tonga.

As a derivative of *tatala*, *fakatatala* is produced by the causative prefix *faka*’ and duplication of the verb *tala* (Kepa & Manu’atu, 2008). Like *tatala*, *fakatatala* alludes to a movement to separate, disentangle, release or remove. In understanding the multiple layers of knowledge within the three generations of Tongan males in this study, *tatala* is the process whereby each individual’s schooling experience is unfolded or revealed in order to understand, appreciate and value the importance of *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga* (family capital) in education.

Fofola is also a verb that means to “unroll, unfold and spread out” (Churchward, 2015, p. 192). The term *fofolā* however, is used in the context of unrolling or spreading out the *fala* (mat) before a family meeting takes place. To illuminate and unfold and reveal (*tatala*) *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga* (valued knowledge and practices), the individual stories of the four extended families’ educational experiences are first *fofolā* (see Chapters 7 – 10) in order for the analysis and discussion to take place. After the stories are *fofolā*, the *tatala* process reveals the

common cultural activities and events that are practiced, as well as the worthwhile learnings significant in the lives within each *kāinga* (see Chapters 11 and 12). But before the stories are *fofola*, the next chapter focuses on the overall research framework used to gather the stories from each *to'utangata* involved in this study.

Chapter 4: Overall Research Framework

Introduction

My educational research into the inter-related cultural knowledge and educational experiences of Tongan men and boys relies on research frameworks that align with the lived realities of Tongan males in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga. The conditions and processes involved in this study value Tongan people's lived experiences. This chapter highlights conceptual understandings and frameworks that align with Tongan knowledge systems.

To'utangata i Aotearoa mo Tonga – Generations in New Zealand and Tonga

The concept of *to'utangata* relates to generations of people. Understanding the extended family's cultural knowledge (*koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*) is deeply empowering and complex. The stories told in this thesis are of Tongan males' schooling experiences that originate from their homeland, Tonga. However, for some Tongan males, their experiences have been shaped by their new context in New Zealand.

This study is an existential ontological study because it is based on understanding the lived realities of each *to'utangata* within their extended families in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga. Understanding how a Tongan male defines their existence or ways of being is framed in relation to other members of their *kāinga*.

By using – *i Aotearoa*, after *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* – I suggest that Tongan culture is the original entity but can be perceived and practiced differently in Aotearoa, depending on factors such as generation, age, gender, educational background. The notion of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* therefore, is still true to its original sense. However, when it is placed in different contexts, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* can be viewed and used by Tongan people to draw from and maintain their survival as Tongans in the wider diaspora.

This study highlights the educational stories told from the perspectives of three generations of Tongan males. Although there are similarities in terms of the cultural values transmitted, how these values are expressed and practiced in terms of

the cultural activities and events differs somewhat between the four families. Within each family, the grandfather and father share their knowledge (*fakakoloa*) with the grandson in the hope that he will learn (*ako*) and benefit from their educational experiences.

“Ko e sio eni ‘a e tangata ki he to’utangata ‘i he ngaahi ngāue ‘a e tangata. Ko e sio ko e ‘a e fefine ki he to’utangata, ‘oku sio ia ki he lea.”

When Tongan men look at their sons and grandsons and what to pass down to them, they look at specific cultural activities and knowledge related to their role as Tongan males. When a Tongan woman looks at knowledge to pass down to her sons and grandsons, their main focus is around the language. The knowledge passed down to their sons and grandsons are related to the Lea Tonga or Tongan language. (Personal Communication, Talanoa mo Linitaa Manu’atu, 2015)

Significance of Tongan Conceptual Knowledge in Research

Cultural knowledge needs to be operationalised through conceptual frameworks because such frameworks provide lenses or perspectives through which to understand aspects of the world. Cultural knowledge is too broad a concept or idea with which to investigate and understand the complexities and processes at work in Tongan families’ educational experiences. Even Tongan cultural knowledge as a concept is too broad. To represent Tongan cultural knowledge, more specific and appropriate lenses were needed to position the investigation in this thesis.

The perspectives that foreground Tongan cultural knowledge focus on the role of culture in educational research; articulate and illuminate the complexities and fluidity of culture; highlight the intersections between Tongan culture and success in schooling; and articulate and frame the intergenerational stories of families in New Zealand and Tonga. The various perspectives or theoretical lenses used all seek to understand the complexities of Tongan cultural knowledge.

Tatala ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Tonga – Conceptual Framework

At my wife’s family reunion in early 2016, in a venue north of Auckland, the majority of her wider extended family gathered together. They travelled from Tonga, Australia and the US. While observing his grandsons play, my father-in-law spoke about his concern that today’s generation will lose the knowledge of traditional Tongan practices. As the head of his *kāinga* (extended family), one of his responsibilities at the reunion was to talanoa about the to’utangata (generations) that came before him. This was an opportunity for the young and old to connect and through my father-in-law’s

memories and *talanoa* (story-telling), the living were able to connect with those who have long gone. While looking at his grandsons play, he made the comment: “Kuo pau ke tau ako’i mo tokoni’i ‘a e to’utupu koeni“ (we must teach and encourage this generation). As I looked at my own son playing with his cousins, I felt their grandfather’s concern for them. This made me realise the sense of urgency and responsibility inherited by the grandfathers in this study to pass on all that they know to their grandsons.

Tongan elders are the bearers of our cultural knowledge. In particular, grandparents play an important part in passing on knowledge and skills required for males to practice, participate and reciprocate for the survival and continuation of their *kāinga*. Mirroring my father-in-law’s concern for his grandsons, the grandfathers in this study also felt the same way about sharing their experiences with their grandsons. This is the reason why the grandfathers tried to regularly *talanoa* with their sons and grandsons. Even though the grandson may not fully understand his grandfather’s intentions, the grandfathers continue to remind them so that they will not forget. They also *talanoa* with their other grandchildren and each is reminded about their grandfather’s aspirations for them. As a result, others within the *kāinga* remind each other. This is done so that they will not forget. In this study, they continue to remind their grandsons of their aspirations for them.

The Tongan metaphor ‘*tatala ‘a e koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga*’ portrays the act of unfolding Tongan knowledge and practices significant to Tongan people. It is a concept that relates to the process of unfolding and revealing of the intergenerational narratives; one generation at a time. *Tatala ‘a e koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga* is a process related to unfolding of the outer layer in order to reveal the richness and beauty of Tongan culture.

I understand the concept of *tatala* to mean the unfolding of the intergenerational stories that reveal and illuminate the beauty, complexity, multiplicity and nuances of Tongan culture in the educational experiences of Tongan males. To engage in the process of unfolding (*tatala*) and spreading out (*fofola*) of the stories requires practice that is respectful to the each *kāinga* involved. For *talanoa* (discussion) to take place, *tauhi vā* (respectful relationships) is fundamental to my engagement with the families. Respecting the *vā* (relational space) at all times is central to *talanoa* and gathering authentic knowledge about their lived experiences.

Similarly, *tatala 'a e loto*, often used at church, means to reveal one's heart, spirit or soul to The Lord Jesus Christ. The process of unfolding requires effort and commitment. To understand a person's heart or spirit requires social connection and relationships that are respectful of each other. The *vā* or relational space will allow for *tatala* and *fofola* to take place. Without the *vā*, it would be difficult to *tatala 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata*, preventing us from fully understanding the beauty, complexities, and nuances of Tongan knowledge and culture in both Tonga and Aotearoa.

When I was a teenager my grandmother often called on her grandsons to lift the *launima* (the huge 50 foot tapa cloth) from under her bed, a place where Tongan woman normally keep their *koloa Tonga*. She instructed them to carry the *launima* outside and place it on the grass in the backyard. Failure to follow her instructions often resulted in a hiding. We, her grandsons soon learnt to avoid hidings by following our grandmother's instructions. This particular *launima* was huge and when my brother and cousin carried it from my grandmother's bedroom to the backyard, the enormity of the challenge was evident. The boys had to stop at least five times before placing the *launima* on the grass.

My grandmother, her cousin, and her daughter would then begin to unfold the *launima* (huge tapa cloth) while we stood eagerly waiting to see what was inside. The three women worked together to unfold the huge tapa cloth. After so many folds, they would stop and evaluate the condition of the tapa, checking whether the layers were still intact. They also checked whether the ink had come off. They then continued to unfold more of the cloth again, occasionally stopping to repeat this process. When all the folds were revealed, we could see the beauty of the *launima*. The women stood there, looked at each other and smiled. They marvelled not only at its sheer size, but also at the aesthetics of the design, colour and pattern of the *launima*. We, too, but not to the same extent as the three women, were amazed at the size of the *launima* as well as the intricate design produced in its creation.

Fofola 'a e ngaahi koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga – unfolding each individual story

Fofola is a process where the stories are unfolded and spread out for all to see and learn from. As described by Poindexter (2002) rigour process of analysing qualitative material “because it highlights the interviewer's co-construction of the

data” (p. 73). Each of the four extended families’ experiences gathered through *talanoa* are *fofola* and re-presented as four individual family stories told through my eyes. The individual stories were returned to each individual to clarify before presenting them in this thesis. After learning and understanding each individual’s story, the stories were then re-storied as a ‘family story’.

The family stories are presented as four separate chapters in this thesis (see Chapters 7 – 10). When families were consulted in the beginning about how to re-present their experiences, they chose for me to present them in the third person. They opted for me to write the stories according to how I interpreted their meanings. Guided by the practice of *tauhi vā* (maintaining respectful relationships) and the *kakala* research framework, I was mindful of what to story and what not to story. Anything that I felt was disrespectful to the person involved, I cleared with them first. Each person’s story was given back to them for checking and approval. This I valued as an important process.

Talanoa’i ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Tonga – Process of Analysis

Talanoa’i ‘a e koloa ‘o e to’utangata is an attempt to understand the educational experiences of the participants through their own eyes. Through *talanoa*, participants shared their personal stories that have intellectual, emotional and spiritual meanings. As the researcher, my *fatongia* in the *talanoa’i* process is to *fanongo* (listen) and *tokanga* (pay close attention) to the stories passed down to me. How I engaged with the families is central to the *talanoa’i* process. (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of *talanoa* as a research method)

Talanoa’i tatala is symbolic of the unfolding process of *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga* in order to illuminate its value and significance in the education of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. *Talanoa’i tatala* is the analysis, clarification and discussion of *ako*, *‘ilo* and *poto* and their *mahu’inga* (importance) in the education of Tongan males. To understand the richness and beauty of the family stories, requires *talanoa’i tatala*. In this study the process of ‘*talanoa’i tatala*’ is divided into two layers – the first focuses on the cultural activities and events as sites where knowledge is transmitted between each generation (see Chapter 11); and the second is a discussion of the collective or family values, beliefs and hopes that are significant in the education of its male members (see Chapter 12).

There are Tongan sayings such as: *Ko e koloa 'a e ako* (the value is in education/ education is of value); *Ko e koloa pe ke poto 'a e ki'i tamasi'i* (the value is in him being wise); and *Ko e koloa pe kene 'ilo 'a e lelei mo e kovi* (the value is in him knowing right from wrong). *Ako*, *'ilo* and *poto* are embodied in the concept *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*.

Spending long periods of time in Tonga while completing the PhD has afforded me the opportunity to learn and understand the essence of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*. To understand *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*, one has to be able to perceive and understand its multiple dimensions. Rather than merely gathering the stories (*koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*) and describing how important they are to the families involved, the critical discussion (*talanoa'i*) of the stories is related to my own engagement with the stories shared by each generation (*to'utangata*). *Talanoa* with the grandfathers in this study brought back memories of my own grandfather who has now passed on. Rather than interrupting and asking questions, I sat and *fanongo* (listened) and paid close attention (*tokanga fakamātoato*). To *fanongo* and *tokanga* were practices I was taught to carry out whenever my grandfather spoke. Such practices are also taught to young Tongans to respect and value when they engage in *talanoa* with their elders.

In *talanoa'i 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*, the stories are understood from various layers so are not one-dimensional. Each family story has three layers of *talanoa* – the grandfather, father and grandson. In terms of Tongan cultural knowledge, *koloa 'o e to'utangata* has many forms that encapsulate not only the cultural, but also the spiritual, philosophical, economic and social dimensions of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*. To understand *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*, we look to understand its meaning from each generational layer, and within each layer *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is expressed in the various forms that encapsulate its value. This is what makes *koloa 'o e to'utangata* multiple and complex. The value of the experiences passed down from the grandfather and father, to the grandson requires him to understand their *koloa* (knowledge) in its multiple forms. The value of their *koloa* is not only cultural, but is also spiritual, philosophical, economic and social.

Researcher's Role in the Talanoa'i Process

The researcher has an active role in the success of the *talanoa'i* process. As described by Vaioleti (2013) “active role” in the process of re-presenting the stories by using a framework that makes sense. Using narrative inquiry in this study to frame the stories could result in a superficial analysis of the complex lives of Tongan families (see Methods, Chapter 5). The framework used to sequence and re-present the stories may make sense to the researcher and academia, but may not necessarily be meaningful to the participants themselves, or directly align with Tongan families' lives. Through *talanoa'i 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata*, the researcher has an “active role” in re-presenting the stories (Vaioleti, 2013). The key difference between the researcher's role in narrative inquiry and in *talanoa'i 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*, is in the framework used to re-present and analyse the stories.

In this research, the framework used to re-present and understand the educational experiences of Tongan males is based on Tongan concepts that are aligned with Tongan people's ways of knowing. As the researcher, I have an active role in the *talanoa'i* process because in the re-presenting, I am required to engage (think, feel and act) in culturally appropriate ways that maintain the *vā* (respectful relationship) between myself and the families that have passed-on their *koloa* (stories). As the researcher, it was important for me to respect and be empathetic towards the families' *koloa*, that is the stories shared about their *fonua* (land) and genealogies. Respecting and showing empathy meant that I *fanongo* (listen) and *tokanga fakamātoato* (pay careful attention) to the stories told. It also meant that I am willing to learn from their experiences, rather than just listen and pay attention. This is the nature of *talanoa'i 'a e koloa* because the researcher or receiver of the knowledge actively learns (*ako*) from the experiences shared. In other words, there is a willingness to learn from the knowledge passed down because I value the knowledge shared with me. When valuable cultural knowledge (*koloa*) is passed down, it is to help improve the lives of other Tongan people. Rather than only being an observer of the stories that results when the researcher writes descriptive accounts, as the researcher in this study, I talk from within as an active member of the *talanoa* (story telling) and *talanoa'i* (analysis and discussion) process.

According to Vaioleti (2013), the researcher is involved in the “defining and redefining [of] meanings” (p. 203) in order to understand what is being *talanoa*’i (analysed). Defining and re-defining the stories was a complex task because my intention was to clarify families’ understanding and representation of their *koloa* (education experiences), without undermining their truths. It was important to not misrepresent the stories shared because of the responsibility bestowed upon me to share their stories in this thesis within academia. The stories had to be told in a way that maintained the essence of *koloa ‘o e to’utangata*. To re-define the stories told can imply the researcher has engaged in the act of selecting only what they perceive as being important to them, and can therefore misrepresent the stories shared. I return to this point at the end of this thesis.

In the same way the grandfathers intended for their stories to benefit (*fakakoloa*) their grandsons, I too was *fakakoloa* with their knowledge. The sharing of the stories also reminded me about my grandfather who is no longer with us and his aspirations for me to succeed in education.

To help researchers in all fields of the human sciences draw valid and trustworthy meaning from qualitative data, Miles et al. (2014) claim:

“.....well analysed qualitative studies have a quality of undeniability. Words, especially organised into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, and meaningful flavour that often proves far more convincing to a reader—another researcher, a policymaker, or a practitioner—than pages of summarised numbers.” (p. 646).

Moreover, they propose qualitative data as a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of human processes. Social phenomena within human lives are described by Miles et al (2014) as being:

“.....social phenomena [that] exist not only in the mind but also in the world – and that some reasonably stable relationships can be found among the idiosyncratic messiness of life.....The fact that most of those constructs are invisible to the human eye does not make them invalid.....Human relationships and societies have unique peculiarities and inconsistencies that make a realist approach to understanding them more complex – but not impossible.....Human meanings and intentions are worked out within the frameworks of these social structures – structures that are invisible but nonetheless real. In other words, social phenomena, such as language, decisions, conflicts, and hierarchies, exist in the world and exert strong influences over human activities because people construe them in common

ways. *Things that are believed become real and can be inquired into.*" (p. 711)

Kakala Research Framework

This study uses a blend of Indigenous qualitative methodologies to depict the rich and diverse stories of three generations of Tongan males in the four families involved. These approaches are complementary and include *kakala* (Thaman, 2007), *talanoa* (Vaiioleti, 2006) and Tongan conceptual frameworks that are unique to understanding Tongan cultural knowledge.

Based on Thaman's (1988) original work, *kakala* was conceptualised as a metaphorical framework for learning based on the weaving together of a garland. In the Tongan culture, *kakala* refers to a "collection of fragrant flowers, woven together as garland for a special person or a special occasion" (Thaman, 2007, p. 62). There are three stages or elements associated with garland making – *toli* (collection and selection of flowers, fruit, leaves, and other fragrant and decorative elements); *tui* (actual making or weaving of the *kakala*); and *luva* (the giving away or presentation of the *kakala* to someone special as a symbol of 'ofa (compassion or love) and *faka'apa'apa* (respect).

Later expanded as a research framework by 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki and Seu'ula Johansson-Fua (2009), *kakala* now consists of six stages – *teu*, *toli*, *tui*, *luva*, *mālie*, and *māfana*. The first stage involves *teu* (conceptualisation of the study). *Toli*, involves the collection of data using *talanoa*. *Tui* is the stage where data is analysed and *luva* involves the reporting and outcome of the study. The final stages of *kakala* as a framework for research involves *mālie* as the relevance or worthwhileness of the research, and *māfana* as the stage that involves application and transformation as a result of research (Fua, 2009).

Talanoa kakala – a male's perspective

During *talanoa* with my supervisors over cups of coffee and tea in January 2016, Linitā Manu'atu described the *kakala* process as being a role specific to Tongan females. Tongan women teach the young girls in their *kāinga* to gather the fragrant flowers for them to weave the garlands. As a cultural process, Tongan females understand their *fatongia* and role within this activity. The garland is symbolic of

beauty and things that are of value to Tongan people. It is presented to important guests or worn by people during important cultural events such as a *kātoanga faiva* (festival with cultural performances), or an academic prize giving where the honoured guests are presented with the garlands.

As a Tongan male, my obligation is to value *kakala* as a symbol of beauty and honour. Tongan males *talanoa* (talk) and admire its beauty and fragrant scent. The *kakala* is symbolic of our grandmothers, mothers and sisters who are important people in our own lives and within Tongan society. I use *kakala* in this study as an overall framework that allows for the *tānaki* (gathering of the stories), *fofola* (re-presenting of each individual story) and *talanoa'i tatala* (the clarification of each family story to understand the values that motivate and inspire members in education) that is respectful of Tongan people's lives. I may not use *kakala* in the same way that Thaman, Taufe'ulungaki and Johansson Fua use it in research, but through the engagement with the families and them willingly sharing and passing down their knowledge, this is a process I value as being both *mālie* and *māfana*. Therefore, the willingness of families to share their stories with me have contributed to my learning and appreciation of the lived realities of Tongan families in New Zealand and Tonga.

Kakala is a framework that acknowledges Pasifika people's subjective experiences. Building from the conceptualisation of the research through to its end use, the *kakala* research framework is a culturally meaningful and inclusive approach where researcher and participants are able to build relationships of trust, care, and respect (Fua, 2009). I use the *kakala* research framework as an overall approach to ensuring the lived realities of the families in this study are respected and accurately portrayed within the conditions of Western research.

Talanoa Research Framework

As a form of conversation, *talanoa* is an indigenous research method and methodology. *Talanoa* is a way of understanding Pacific people's lived experiences and ways of knowing. *Talanoa* allows for Pacific peoples to share their concerns, realities, and aspirations in a culturally respectful way (Vaiioleti, 2006). It is possible to understand the concerns, successes, and aspirations of Tongan males and their families in this study through the process of *talanoa*. The use of *talanoa* as a research

method and the practical dilemmas I faced are discussed further in chapter 5 of this study.

Talanoa as an ethical practice

Maintaining strong and respectful relationships is an important cultural value for Tongan people. Upholding such relationships throughout the research process can lead to *talanoa* that is *mālie* and *māfana* (Manu'atu, 2000b). *Tauhi vā* (relationship building) is an important aspect of *talanoa*. The *vā* (space) in which the researcher and participants relate ensures quality *talanoa* will take place (Ka'ili, 2005). *Talanoa* between people who build strong relationships of care and are open and honest about any preconceived agenda have more chance of developing understanding of the authentic stories. For example, as one of the fathers in my study and I engaged in *talanoa* about our experiences growing up in Aotearoa and now as fathers of Tongan boys, it began to feel less prescriptive. We moved from what Vaioleti (2013) termed as '*talanoa vave*' to a dimension of *talanoa* termed as '*pō talanoa*'. It was at this stage, when talking about our aspirations for our children, that we engaged in what Manu'atu (2000) referred to as *talanoa mālie* – a state of feeling connected because we hold high expectations for our children. As a result, our discussion left us feeling *māfana* – an inwardly warmth and feeling of joy.

Ethical considerations

I received ethics approval to do this research on October 24, 2014. Also, permission to undertake research in Tonga was approved in November 2014 (in the form of the application letter, see Appendix F). Below are some ethical points and how I addressed them in my research.

An ethical concern for research is that interviewing family members makes it difficult for them to decline participation. In my research, I knew a number of the families. An open invitation was sent for families to participate. From the beginning, I made it clear that this study was about learning from them and sharing (*fakakoloa*) their knowledge with schools in New Zealand education. The goals within this study were not only stated in the required participant information sheet (PIS) (see Appendix A), they were also clarified throughout our *talanoa* (discussions). The PIS was also translated into Tongan for families to choose from (see Appendix B).

Through a university colleague and relations, I was able to connect with the families in Tonga. An open invitation was sent to them and the focus of this study was made clear prior to our initial discussions. This involved me spending long periods of time in Tonga and contributing back to the people through volunteer work at Tailulu College, a mission school in Nuku'alofa.

Another ethical point is getting permission to record participants' words. The ethical relationship around the ownership of recorded material is a concern if participants are not clearly informed or made aware. Recording participants without permission is an ethical concern because the researcher may use the information gathered and give it to someone else. This practice is unethical. The recording of participants was outlined in the Tongan (see Appendix D), and English versions of the consent form (see Appendix C). The families in the study were also asked in the beginning and they agreed to the use of a voice recorder during our *talanoa*. Sometimes my mobile phone, which was less obvious, was used to record our discussions. However, each person was asked for their permission before the phone was used.

Despite consent being given to *talanoa* only with the grandfather, father and grandson – other family members were also included. Some of the members involved in this study chose to bring along their wives, sisters, brothers and cousins to our *talanoa* because they felt comfortable having them present. Tongan people operate as a collective and find comfort within their family. When it came to the re-presenting process (see Chapters 7 – 10), the family members' responses were also included in the family stories.

When participants were asked whether they wanted their real names used in the study, each family's response was mixed. In one family, the grandfather opted to use pseudonyms whereas another was happy to use his real name. After consultation with the son, he then agreed to use pseudonyms. The remainder of the families were happy for the grandfather to make the decision. In the end, the grandfathers in this study all agreed to use pseudonyms and were happy for me to select names for them. Despite asking them to provide pseudonyms, they all gave me the responsibility of selecting a name for them. To ensure they were happy with the pseudonyms selected

for them, I returned the written transcripts and their individual stories with the pseudonyms for each person to approve.

Conclusion

The conceptual frameworks of *kakala* and *talanoa* validate the lived experiences of Tongan males in Tonga and New Zealand. The *kakala* research framework is used in this study as an overall framework that ensures all processes involved are respectful of the Tongan families and the knowledge shared. Compared to the cultural process of *talanoa*, Western research processes do not align and therefore would not have captured the beauty and richness of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga*.

Chapter 5: Talanoa'i 'a e Talanoa: Talanoa as a Research Method – Some Ethical Dilemmas in Practice

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Introduction

Pasifika scholars trained as qualitative social science researchers often come to think about, and practice, research according to traditions that reflect social norms they take for granted. As a postgraduate student in Education, I was introduced to interviews as an opportunity to collect research participants' responses to my carefully thought-out research questions. I was not aware that the social event of the interview makes cultural assumptions about how relationships work. In my understanding of 'interview method', I tended to take for granted these hidden assumptions – for instance, the research participants would merely give me information I wanted, when I asked for it. As a novice Tongan education researcher studying my own people, I simply assumed that interviews were the correct way to do my qualitative research.

Then, after reading literature about *talanoa* as a 'culturally appropriate' practice for 'Pasifika' research, I decided to implement this process in my study of Tongan grandfathers', fathers', and sons' educational stories. Implementing a *talanoa* method to gather stories proved difficult because how I perceived and carried out *talanoa* was very much influenced by what I believed to be 'good academic research practice' learned in my research methods classes. I approached *talanoa* as though it was another, more indigenous name for friendly interviews with Tongans carried out in Tongan and English. I tended to overlay my existing knowledge about, say, interview methods, on to what are called 'Pasifika' methods. I followed interview practices that were structured and systematic. *Talanoa*, however, is not like that. I knew this in theory, but not in practice.

I turned to the literature to help, and it did, in theory. I still stumbled through 'doing' *talanoa*, and this article is about the practical things I wish I had known when I started. I have titled the article '*talanoa'i 'a e talanoa*'. *Talanoa'i*, a derivative of the

word *talanoa*, is a Tongan term that means to talk about, or to relate (Churchward, 2015). In *talanoa'i*, the “researcher is not a distant observer but is active in the *talanoa* process and in defining and re-defining meanings in order to achieve the aim of what is being *talanoa'i*” (Vaiotei, 2013, p. 203). To *talanoa'i 'a e talanoa'* is to engage in critical discussions about the difficulties of gathering the stories. This is what I want to do here.

Before I talk about the complex process of learning to *talanoa*, it is culturally appropriate to situate myself in this conversation with you, the reader. I am a Tongan man with Samoan heritage, born in Niue and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand. I went to school in South Auckland and after high school, I attended university. I then returned to South Auckland as a secondary school teacher. Like other Pasifika people, I grew up in a large extended family. I married a Tongan girl and we have a six year old son. I am now embarking on a doctoral degree in the field of education.

Insider and Outsider

As a Tongan male, I am naturally positioned as an insider in research on Tongan men. As a researcher, though, I have the job of trying to look more from an outsider position. Looking from the outside as an insider means I am more able than outsiders to explain my research participants to other outsiders. In the past, outsiders looking from the outside has been a role of western researchers doing research on Pacific people. Being positioned as both an insider and an outsider in my research is a privileged position because I am able to think critically about how western ideas have influenced my Tongan cultural practices (as well as those of the Tongan men I speak to). As an insider, I notice that when doing research on the ground, my automatic Tongan ways of doing and knowing tend to challenge – or make me feel uncomfortable practicing – the dominant research ideals in which I have been trained.

‘Privileged’ is not a term used lightly here. Because of the rigid requirements of western academia, Pasifika researchers have an extra burden to negotiate the best ways to carry out research required to understand and reflect Tongan (or other Pasifika) realities. For some Pasifika researchers who may not be well versed in their own ethnic language and culture, ‘seeing’ from the inside can become too hard a task, and they revert to the relative safety of the dominant academic practices. For me, ‘seeing’ from the inside as a New Zealand-raised Tongan has compelled me to think

critically about ‘indigenous’ research practices. Although *talanoa* is used by Pasifika researchers more generally, the examples in this paper are mainly related to Tongan people, because that is my research site.

Talanoa as a Concept

I have spoken of *talanoa* as a research method so far. But it should also be understood as a methodology, that is, it encompasses both a practical method and the theoretical concepts used to enact that method, and in the analysis of the information collected. Method and methodology are connected – something I became more aware of as I experimented with *talanoa*. The method (of talking with people) is deeply interconnected with the concepts of cultural engagement – which I look at below. This is not just the case with *talanoa*; all research practices are methodological, because all involve the mobilisation (consciously or unconsciously) of theoretical ideas about collecting information.

Talanoa is an existing cultural practice of the Pacific. As an oratory tradition, *talanoa* is a concept recognised in Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue, Hawaii and the Solomon Islands (Prescott, 2008). In Tonga, the word *talanoa* usually refers to an informal conversation. *Talanoa* is made up of two conceptual parts, “*tala* which means to tell or to talk, and *noa* which means anything or nothing in particular” (Otunuku, 2011, p. 45). *Talanoa* can be between two people or within a group of people. The nature and focus of the *talanoa* is determined by the “interests of the participants themselves and their immediate surroundings and worldviews” (Fua, 2014, p. 99).

The context in which people engage in *talanoa* can either be formal or informal. Linitā Manu’atu (2000b), a Tongan academic, unfolded the different levels of *talanoa*. *Fakatalanoa* is a verb that relates to the *talanoa* between people who have just met for the first time. To relate and connect on first meeting, Tongan people create a sense of *maheni* (familiarity) and *fe’ilongaki* (to know of each other’s place and identity). *Talanoa* is all about relationship building. Without the relationship building, the kind of *talanoa* that takes place can only be at the *fakatalanoa*, or superficial initial meeting, level. The *talanoa* at the level of *fakatalanoa* is more like an informal conversation where the interaction may be polite and friendly, but not necessarily grounded in mutual trust and respect (Vaioleti, 2006). The relationship

and level of trust between participants during *fakatalanoa* is not as intense as that between participants involved in *pō talanoa*. *Pō talanoa* is a process where Tongans, usually people who already know each other, create, exchange, resolve and share their relationships through talking; here they tell stories and relate their daily experiences. *Talatalanoa* is where people talk about selected topics endlessly. Tongan elders, ministers and teachers often engage in *talatalanoa* which can be somewhat profound in nature. *Fokotu'u talanoa* usually takes place during a formal setting where important and official concerns are to be discussed.

Manu'atu (2000a) developed the concepts of *mālie* and *māfana* as aspects of talanoa. *Mālie* relates to the energising and uplifting of spirits to a positive state of connectedness and enlightenment. *Talanoa mālie* occurs when the sharing of stories, emotions and experiences leaves the participants energised and uplifted. The inwardly warm feelings they possess as a result of the *talanoa* is referred to as *māfana*. The *talanoa* conversation usually ends when *mālie* and *māfana* are no longer present in the dialogue. That is, when nothing new is added into the conversation, and it comes to a natural conclusion.

An informal conversation between friends who attend the same school can be different from that of close friends who regularly hang out and share their personal experiences. Despite the context of the conversations being informal, and the relationship and trust levels being different, these kinds of engagements can all be called *talanoa*.

Talanoa in Research

Although *talanoa* is a traditional Pacific concept, it was developed as a methodological concept in research and in formal negotiation contexts by Sitiveni Halapua and Timote Vaoleti. Halapua, a Tongan researcher, who at the time was the director of the Pacific Islands development programme for the American East-West Centre, is recorded in research literature as one of the first to use *talanoa* as a “method” (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014, p. 333). After the Fiji coup in 2000, Halapua was sent to facilitate *talanoa* sessions with diverse groups of people to address some of the challenges facing the nation (Halapua, 2000, p. 1). *Talanoa*, as a Pacific method, was nominated by him as a way to negotiate dialogue between national organisations working towards conflict resolution. *Talanoa*, he claimed,

involves an open informal dialogue where people can speak from their hearts, where they are not guided by a “pre-determined agenda” (Halapua, 2000, p. 3). Though Tongan academic, Semisi Prescott (2008), claims research *talanoa* cannot be an ‘open’ conversation guided by the participants because every researcher seeks to understand a certain problem and therefore must guide the conversation rather than allowing it to be free to ‘go anywhere’. Prescott (2008) employed *talanoa* in his research to “collect information” (p. 128) from individual Tongan entrepreneurs in Auckland.

Timote Vaioleti (2006), a Tongan academic in the field of education, based in Aotearoa, has been a leader in developing the idea of *talanoa* in the research context. He is widely cited when *talanoa* is involved in any research, and maintains that *talanoa* is: “a personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and aspirations. It allows for more *mo’oni* (pure, real, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods” (2006, p. 1). Vaioleti claims that whilst *talanoa* is somewhat similar in approach to narrative interviews, it is different in the sense that *talanoa* requires cultural connectedness between those involved, and the researcher and participants are both involved in the “*kaungā fa’u* (shared and co-construction) of knowledge” (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 194).

Vaioleti (2013) has suggested at least eight sorts of *talanoa* that are possible in the research context: *talanoa vave* (quick and surface verbal exchange between two or more people); *talanoa faikava* (focused *talanoa* by males who share similar interests while drinking *kava* (traditional alcoholic beverage from crushed kava root)); *talanoa usu* (deep and more intimate *talanoa* which is *mālie* and *māfana* and involves humour); *talanoa tevolo* (spiritual *talanoa* which involves sharing about supernatural visitations, dreams or visions of people who have passed); *talanoa faka’eke’eke* (closest to a modern interview and involves verbal searching and more probing questions); *pō talanoa* (talking in everyday matters such as politics, church matters, children, television); *talanoa’i* (talking which involves high-level analysis, synthesis and evaluation) and *tālanga* (similar to a debate or constructive argument about issues that require attention).

Depending on the purpose and intention of the researcher and the direction of the *talanoa*, he maintains, “one dimension of the *talanoa* may be dominant although

others will be employed fluidly, interchangeably to set and maintain a good atmosphere, pass [on] or obtain information holistically, triangulate while observing all technical and cultural protocols during the data collection or data co-construction [phases]” (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 199). This means that a researcher can be engaged in different levels (or dimensions) of *talanoa* at different times in the research process. The nature of the *talanoa* and stories shared may be more superficial (*talanoa vave*) at the beginning and then more intimate during later sessions of *talanoa* (*pō talanoa*). Vaioleti (2006) also reminds that participants behave differently in research *talanoa* depending on the age, gender, cultural rank or community standing of the researcher. The interactions in *talanoa* are not guided by the standard ethics or rules used in traditional interviews, because hierarchy, rather than imported rules such as signed informed consent, or the researcher’s focus, determines how the *talanoa* will proceed.

Vaioleti (2006) listed five principles related to *‘ulungāanga faka-Tonga*, necessary for a Tongan researcher engaging in research *talanoa*: *faka’apa’apa* (respectful, humble), *anga lelei* (tolerant, kind, calm), *mateuteu* (well prepared, hard working, culturally versed, professional), *poto he anga* (knowing what to do and doing it well), and *‘ofa fe’unga* (showing appropriate compassion, empathy, love for the context). For Vaioleti and other Pasifika academics, such cultural characteristics form research protocols or practices that must be followed for respectful, ethical engagement between people. Importantly, these *‘ulungāanga faka-Tonga* (Tongan behavioural characteristics) are not merely superficial ‘cultural rituals’; they are key to research quality. The richness and type of research knowledge made available to the researcher depends on the depth of the respectful relationship between the researcher and participants. These principles of *talanoa* determine how to behave when interacting with all Tongan people, not simply in a research setting.

Another Tongan researcher Mo’ale ‘Otunuku (2011) outlined principles of *talanoa* specific to the research context – in his case, in a study of Tongan parents’ views of their children’s schooling. Some of ‘Otunuku’s principles of *talanoa* are similar to Vaioleti’s above, though ‘Otunuku suggested additional methodological elements he found useful. For example, *fe’ilongaki* (meaningful engagement) and *poto’ianga* (cultural competency) required that before as well as after each *talanoa*, either he or someone in the group was nominated to say a prayer. *Poto’ianga* also meant that he knew not to talk about himself or his family too much as this could

show arrogance. ‘Otunuku wore appropriate Tongan attire such as a *tupenu* (loincloth wrapped around male’s waist) and *ta’ovala* (traditional woven mat) suited to the occasion (2011, p. 48).

Seu’ula Johansson Fua (2014), an academic based in Tonga, suggested four other principles to adhere to when researching in Tonga, related more closely to emotions. These principles involved *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *loto fakatōkilalo* (humility), *fe’ofa’aki* (love, compassion) and *feveitoka’i’aki* (caring, generosity). Like Vaioleti’s (2006), Johansson Fua’s (2014) general principles are values related to *‘ulungāanga faka-Tonga* and significant to the maintenance of effective relationships for Tongan people in Tonga. Without these values, researchers risk engaging in *talanoa* that is short in duration and with participants only providing surface level material, similar to when people meet for the first time during *fakatalanoa* (Manu’atu, 2000b), or *talanoa vave* (Vaioleti, 2013) . Without these elements, the research interaction will look like an interview or a focus group carried out within a western context, probably resulting in poor quality data.

In relation to this point, Setsuo Otsuka (2005), of Japanese descent and a non-Pacific researcher, used *talanoa* to collect data from students and parents in Fiji. Otsuka found that, despite focussing on the relationship with his participants, some of their responses were “white lies” (2005, p. 10). When Otsuka asked a high school boy about whether he was performing well at school, he said ‘yes’. His school reports however, showed he was failing. Otsuka argued the “white lies” were a result of participants wanting to please him. He recommended that researchers first build trust, care and empathy with families before collecting data. Trisia Farrelly and Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (2014) make the point that such empathy is not only good Pacific research practice, but claim it has the potential to decolonise research in the Pacific through challenging the power imbalance in researcher/ participant relationships. Although Pacific researchers have offered useful guidelines on “how to do ethical research with Pacific peoples” (p. 340), the practicalities of *talanoa* in research are often missing from their written reports (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014).

Critical Questions

Researchers who write about *talanoa* provide a lot of methodological guidance about *talanoa*. My own beginning attempts to put into action these ideas has been

patchy at best. In the spirit of addressing novice researchers wanting to use *talanoa*, I will share some key aspects of my experience to highlight what might not be evident in existing methodological guidance. While preparing to do my doctoral research on/with Tongan men and boys, and wanting to know more about *talanoa*, I spoke with my mother about what the practice involved. She spoke about the need to be *'poto he talanoa'*, which is a Tongan saying used to describe a person who is not only wise but skillful in carrying out *talanoa*. My mother said:

“Ko e koloa 'o e talanoá, ke poto he talanoá. Ko e tokotaha 'oku poto he talanoá, ko e tokotaha ia 'oku poto he tãnaki 'ene koloá. Ko e poto he talanoá, 'oku te tangutu 'o fanongo. Kapau 'e lea ha tokotaha, pea tokanga ki he 'ene leá.” (F. Fa'avae, personal communication, October 3, 2015).

The significance and value of *talanoa* is to understand and be able to conduct *talanoa*. A person who understands and is able to conduct *talanoa* is a person who harbours their knowledges and values. To understand and be able to conduct *talanoa*, you dwell (in the *talanoa*) and listen. If a person talks, you take heed to what s/he says.

Her comments were clear that 'doing *talanoa*' would be a demanding task for any person, whether Tongan or not, researcher or not (a point made too by Vaioleti, 2013). To properly engage in *talanoa* might take years of learning. I could not just 'go out' as a researcher and 'do' *talanoa* with my participants. My mother's remarks made me think about the practical demands of *talanoa*, and my first attempts made me think about practice even more. I came to realise that the popular idea of *talanoa* as a research method is often idealised, because the trivial detailed everyday complicated interactions involved are not always discussed in articles by the more experienced researchers who use *talanoa*.

I have summarised below four aspects I found difficult to enact in my beginning *talanoa* research practice: (1) *talanoa* as an enactment of cultural competency; (2) *talanoa* as open engagement; (3) *talanoa* as a 'data collection tool'; (4) reporting *talanoa*.

1. Talanoa – cultural competency

For successful *talanoa*, cultural competency is a crucial research skill, as my mother, and writers like Vaioleti (2006) and 'Otunuku (2011) reminded me. Cultural competence – like any competence – takes time to develop; it has no easily defined characteristics described in advance of a social situation – such skills are fluid and

context-dependent. For instance, ‘Otunuku (2011) considered it culturally competent to establish open, ‘equal’ communication channels with his participants by introducing himself and making connections to them, and thanking them for talking with him. In my own work, I could not see making connections in these terms. ‘Otunuku might have been able to make such connections because he was a similar age to his participants. But I was researching some men who were older than me. My own cultural learning – my cultural competency – involved recognition of social rank and hierarchy marked by age and generation (Vaioleti, 2006). The grandfathers in my study were always my superiors. I could not initiate connection-building; they did. They asked questions about where my parents were from in Tonga, and I made it clear that I was there to learn from them. Equality – and the openness that goes with it – was not a value I saw as culturally appropriate in the context of our *talanoa*.

The willingness of Tongan families to share their stories with me depended on more than my cultural competence that might be expected as coming ‘naturally’ to me as a Tongan man, raised by Tongan parents. Rather, their relationship with me, and their willingness to *talanoa*, depended on several factors related to my cultural and social identities: my age, where my family were from in Tonga, where I was raised, proficiency in the Tongan language and Tongan ways, being the father of a Tongan boy, connection to my wife’s family, my schooling background, and the duration of my staying in Tonga.

This fact, that the participants were most interested in my social identity reminded me that I could not assume that an insider or researcher of Tongan descent is always the best person to research Tongan families, and that families are more willing to share their knowledge through *talanoa* with them. The ‘wrong’ answer to questions about my social identity might have had negative consequences for me. An outsider, from elsewhere in the Pacific, or a non-Pacific person – while having to adhere to principles and cultural protocols within a *talanoa* context – might be more welcome. Being an ‘insider’ may not always be an advantage.

Another of my cultural assumptions was that *talanoa* with the grandfathers in Tonga would and should take place at their homes. But the families in Tonga all chose their workplaces – government departments and schools, in this case. These places were where they felt comfortable for research *talanoa*. The families in New Zealand

chose locations including McDonald's, a bar, a carpark in front of an estuary, and through facebook, to name a few. These familiar sites were preferred places where participants and their families and friends regularly hung out. Their chosen sites for *talanoa* challenged my idea of 'cultural competency'. Tongans will *talanoa* most anywhere appropriate to them!

An aspect of cultural competence that I had not anticipated from reading the *talanoa* literature involved participants bringing other family members to our *talanoa*. I had planned to *talanoa* with particular boys, but they chose to bring cousins and sisters along. A father and a grandfather chose to have their wives and children present. All these aspects of Tongan cultural behaviour (often feeling most comfortable with family members present at events) had to be engaged with, and incorporated in my study whether I planned (or wanted) it or not, if *talanoa* was to work for my research.

2. Talanoa – open engagement

Talanoa is referred to as an "open conversation" because participants engage in dialogue about matters that concern them most (Vaiotele, 2006). However, as part of my doctoral study, I was required by the ethics committee to prepare a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) laying out my pre-determined research agenda, prior to getting each of my participants' consent. It seemed that *talanoa* as an open conversation was an impossible research methodology.

In New Zealand the participant families were part of my wider Tongan community with whom I had already established trust. I spoke with them briefly about the purpose of the study when I asked them to participate. I gave them the PIS sheet, though none were interested in it (they had heard from me, and seen me face-to-face, and that was sufficient). Some were reluctant to sign the required Consent Form. They did not think it was necessary because they already knew me. Signing something seemed too formal, as though they could not trust me. What were they signing up for? By definition, a *talanoa* as open engagement cannot be 'signed up' for, because no one really knows what to anticipate.

Prescott (2008) points out that open conversations are impractical given the time constraints of research. Having an 'open conversation' – even on the topic subtly

‘guided’ by me – could take hours and cross several *talanoa* sessions. Given the time constraints of a research project, ‘open conversations’ are rarely practical. *Talanoa* however, has no time limit. I found this out the hard way. Sometimes my questions were not answered until towards the very end of our meeting or only told to me after our *talanoa* had ended as we walked out of the room, or on the way to the car. The duration of one *talanoa* session was six hours. I learnt not to try and keep to a time frame.

Then there is the difference between participants’ views of an ‘open’ research process and those of the researcher. Prior to our first meeting, Viliami (all names are pseudonyms), the CEO of a government-based organisation in Tonga, advised that our initial *talanoa* would be short. The plan was to *fe’ilo’aki* and engage in what Vaioleti (2013) termed *talanoa vave* (quick, surface *talanoa*) and at a later date engage in *pō talanoa* (deeper exchange and sharing of ideas). After we *fe’ilo’aki*, he advised me that our ‘*talanoa*’ would be even shorter because of an urgent meeting. Before I could propose we delay our *talanoa*, Viliami advised me to start asking him the research questions. Viliami’s view of research *talanoa* seemed to resemble the standard interview. As I had already learned, the main focus of an interview is to gain knowledge and information, whereas *talanoa* is and should primarily be about building and enhancing relationships (that then lead to information sharing). I knew that “openness associated with *talanoa* is a product of the underlying trust relationship and sense of cultural connectedness between the [researcher and participants]” (Prescott, 2008, p. 130). Can openness and trust between a researcher and participant allow an interaction that resembles a modern interview, but can be understood as *talanoa*?

Or maybe – despite having Tongan cultural assumptions in common – maybe *talanoa* between a researcher and participant is not possible because the assumptions about research culture are different. Viliami – a man practiced in the arts of *talanoa* – considered research conversations to be governed by different cultural rules than those that govern *talanoa*. So he behaved ‘culturally’ appropriately in what he considered to be a research context. This is an interesting view of cultural competency not usually discussed in the *talanoa* research literature. More commonly, the discussion is about Tongan cultural (or other ethnic cultural) competency.

3. Talanoa – data collection tool

Prescott (2008) described *talanoa* in his research about Tongan entrepreneurs' business practices in New Zealand as “a means of appropriately collecting data” (p. 128), and a tool for data collection (p. 130). In the ‘method section’ of their research reports, researchers seem to use *talanoa* interchangeably with interviews (for example, Vaioleti, 2011, p. 132; Otsuka, 2005, p. 8) for the purpose of describing their method. To think of *talanoa* as a tool or method for data collection raises a number of questions. The notion ‘tool’ implies it has a fixed purpose, that is, ‘to collect data’. As the literature I have discussed above has implied, *talanoa* can not be thought of like an interview tool because it is necessarily grounded in much more than that: in mutual and ongoing development and maintenance of relationships of care and trust between the participants and researcher, characterised by the researcher (listener) feeling the *mālie* (is uplifted) and *māfana* (inwardly warmth) of the story told (Manu'atu, 2000b). The idea of an interview invites researchers to prioritise the research questions, and collecting specific data within a specific time frame, above actually getting to know and form a relationship – or actively empathise – with the people involved.

All this raises the question whether or to what extent *talanoa* is possible given the constraints of modern research. Prescott (2008) raised this concern, that it may be impractical to try to follow an ideal definition of *talanoa* (as an open conversation with no pre-determined agenda) in research settings. ‘Otunuku (2011) suggests a compromise: when employing *talanoa* as a research instrument, the researcher should invest considerable time over several sessions in order to cover the research agenda, so when the *talanoa* deviates from the researcher's priorities, the researcher allows for the digressions because it is respectful to allow them to happen, and it is part of the rhythm and flow of *talanoa*. Tongan (and other Pasifika researchers) have to invest a lot more time than others in their qualitative research programmes for ‘data collection’.

But the act of ‘data collection’ can derail a *talanoa*. I needed to tape my research conversations in order to ‘gather the stories’ from the *talanoa*. The families agreed to have their stories recorded, transcribed and then returned to them for checking and approval. Simone, a New Zealand raised Tongan in his thirties, chose

for us to meet at a local restaurant. After ordering food, we walked towards the back of the restaurant and found a quiet place to sit. We started talking about our children. As a rugby fanatic, he talked about his sporting aspirations for his children and I shared my hopes for my son. As I pulled out the A4 sheet of paper on which were my ‘semi structured interview questions’ approved by my university’s ethics committee Simone’s demeanour changed. After asking for permission, I placed the tape recorder on our table. Simone quickly sat upright. His voice changed and his responses to my questions were short compared to the relaxed detailed conversation we had earlier. I realised we had moved from *pō talanoa* (Vaioleti, 2013) to an ‘interview’ mode (similar to *talanoa faka’eke’eke* as described by Vaioleti, 2013) in his mind, and mine. So I removed the sheet of paper from the table, and the mood changed again. We regained some aspects of our *talanoa*. Rather than use the voice recorder, I asked Simone whether I could use my phone to record our conversation. He agreed. In our next session, we simply hung out and engaged in conversations that allowed us to share our stories, which I recalled later in writing. I was conflicted about these changes in engagement mode, but decided that maybe we could *talanoa (pō talanoa)* and do ‘interviews’ (*talanoa faka’eke’eke*) at different times, or on different occasions. The *talanoa* seemed necessary to the interviews, and the interviews opened up topics for subsequent *talanoa*.

4. Reporting talanoa

Reporting *talanoa* is a difficult task. When participants trust researchers, they are more willing to share their emotions and personal stories (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Fua, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). When *talanoa* works well, people may talk about all sorts of things that should not be reported even if they look like ‘rich data’. The researcher, however, must respect the information or knowledge that is passed to them, and not merely discard it. In my research, people have told some stories during *talanoa* sessions that I cannot include in my research report. The stories gathered were transcribed and returned back to participants with the reports for editing, clarification and approval. Some information may not be relevant to my study, or has been edited out in order to focus the writing; there is some knowledge or information I cannot share more widely due to its sensitivity. The relationship between the information shared in *talanoa* and the information shared in a research report is complicated, and the person who gave their information may become confused when they read their

shortened or edited (or not included) stories. Large or small parts of the *talanoa* will appear in writing, but always edited. This necessary ‘editorial domination’ may undermine the processes of relationship-building developed during *talanoa*. Participants in a *talanoa* may expect that the researcher will ‘tell their story’ in writing when, in fact, the researcher is bound to tell the researcher’s ‘story’ (that is, his or her argument) in the article or thesis.

Vaioleti (2006; 2013) alluded to the fact that researchers involved in *talanoa* become intimately a part of the qualitative inquiry process. This means the narratives of the participant and researcher become a shared narrative construction and co-construction (2013, p. 194). The researcher, therefore, has to be ready to be self-revealing in any research report based on *talanoa*. Again, this requires an openness not considered in the conversation about openness above. It is one thing to be open in a dialogue, and another to be open in written work produced for a degree, or in a journal or book.

In a similar vein, Halapua (2007) described *talanoa* as “talking from the heart” (p. 1). This involves storytelling “without concealment” (p.1). Is storytelling without concealment possible in a research context? The idea of concealment relates to the purposeful act of hiding something or preventing it from being known. Such was the case in Otsuka’s (2005) *talanoa*-based study where participants told “white lies” (p. 10) about information related to their schooling. Concealment usually has negative connotations in a research context – information not shared, therefore providing ‘thin description’ or lack of openness. However, concealment can be about positive self-protection. Given the negative outcome of western research for Pacific and other indigenous peoples in the past (Smith, 1999), it is perhaps expected that Pacific researchers and research participants might associate the idea of concealment with protection from the negative interpretations of readers with whom they have no relationship.

Conclusion

As I attempt to use *talanoa* as a research method, I continue to grapple with difficulties that challenge my own thinking and practice as a Tongan male researcher. I have found that accounts of the principles of *talanoa* cannot guide me in relation to the variability of *talanoa* in practice. Despite methodological guidance from the

literature about its ideal characteristics (Fua, 2014; 'Otunuku, 2011; Prescott, 2008; Vaioleti, 2006), there is very little written about the practicalities of *talanoa* as a method of practice. As a result, new Tongan (and Pasifika) researchers may not feel competent enacting *talanoa* because the principles seem difficult to put into practice.

In this article I have attempted to indicate some of these difficulties and complexities facing a novice researcher. Rather than looking for solutions to questions such as ‘Is this *talanoa* or not?’ ‘Can I use an audio recorder in *talanoa*?’ I have merely tried to raise questions for conversation about the complexities of putting *talanoa* into research practice. We have to use elements and principles of *talanoa* in our research unevenly, in patches, or with ambivalence, without feeling inadequate. What is most important is that we openly explore our experienced difficulties when we write our research reports. In our qualitative methodology sections of our theses, we need to voice the complexities and tensions, rather than ignoring the failures and problems in practice. Repeating the principles of *talanoa*, without also being open or curious about their practical complexities, can perpetuate feelings of inadequacy that we cannot live up to the ideals we believe in, and that form our identity as Pasifika – or Tongan – researchers.

NOTE: The authorship of this article reflects the *talanoa* that created it. I wrote a full initial draft of this article after discussing its possibilities with my supervisors Professor Alison Jones and Dr Linitaa Manu’atu. Alison and I engaged in lengthy conversations as she edited the article, using my ideas. We decided to use the unusual convention of ‘with’ rather than ‘and’ in the author list because the article is about my experience, and is my point of view, even if the arrangement of the words is not always my own. I am deeply grateful to Professor Jones and Dr Manu’atu for their insights and patient *talanoa* with me. Koe fu’u koloa lahi eni kuo mo fakahā mai kiate au – malo ‘aupito!

Chapter 6: Fofola ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Fa’avae

Introduction

My educational experiences have been shaped by the knowledge and values passed down to me by my grandfather and father. My *kainga’s* aspirations have been useful in my education and will continue to be passed down to my own son. This chapter briefly describes the aspirations and motivations to succeed in education. It foregrounds Tongan cultural knowledge and values significant in education. My family story is placed in this section as an addition to the wider conversation related to *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga i Aotearoa mo Tonga* as described in the *kainga’s* stories depicted in chapters seven to ten.

My Grandfather’s Aspirations for My Father

My father Sio Milemoti Fa’avae was born in 1954 on Vava’u, an Island located north of Tongatapu. His father, Mikato, was from Ma’ufanga, a village in Tongatapu. Mikato’s father was from Satalo, a village located on the southern part of Upolu in Western Samoa. My father’s mother, Vika Lataheanga was from Taunga, a small neighbouring Island in the Vava’u group of Islands.

My grandfather valued schooling. He worked hard to provide for his eleven children. As a carpenter by trade, Mikato did not make a lot of money. Much of his work was voluntary and mainly involved the construction of church buildings. Often, payment for his work was in the form of cooked food. Very rarely was my grandfather given money, and in all those few occasions, it was only enough to buy their food for the week.

Ako – schooling

At five years of age, my father and his family moved from Vava’u to Tongatapu, Tonga’s main Island. He started his primary education at Falemasiva, the primary school for the *Siasi ‘o Tonga Tauataina* (Free Church of Tonga). At Falemasiva, there were no actual classrooms. Learning took place in an open space where it was often difficult to hear the teacher because of the loud noise from neighbouring classes.

Schooling was a struggle for my father's family. A lot of the time, my father's parents struggled to provide for their children's school expenses. My father and his siblings were often sent home because their school fees could not be paid. Other times, they were sent home because they did not have the necessary equipment and resources required. Being absent from school for weeks was normal for them. Until their father earned enough money to pay for their school expenses, only then were they able to return to school.

“Ka ko e teunga akó na'e fiu feinga'i ia ke ma'u. Ko e me'a ia na'e 'ikai ke sai ai e akó. 'Ohovale pē e taimi e taha tuli mai mautilu mei he ako koe'uhí ko e 'ikai ke ma'u ha peni pe ko ha naunau pe totongi ako.”

We struggled to get our school uniform. That is why schooling was difficult. Sometimes we were sent home because we had no pen, equipment, or unpaid school fees.

His father Mikato however, always tried to encourage his children to persevere and finish their schooling. When my father sat the high school entrance exams in Class 6 at the age of ten, he remembered his father Mikato biking to Queen Salote College to provide him his lunch. The Class 6 exams was an important event for my father because it determined his success in schooling. At the time, a lot of families in Tongatapu had prepared feasts for their own children during the exams week. To see his father bike all the way to where the exams were held was motivation for my father to do well.

Education in Tonga was very competitive. The top students from each primary school were selected to sit the entrance papers into Tonga High School, Tonga's prominent government school. As described by my father, students who gained over seventy-five percent in the exam were allowed entry into Tonga High School. Students who achieved between fifty to seventy-five percent were automatically given entrance to Tonga College, a government school for boys. Students who achieved less than fifty percent however, often enrolled into the church mission schools whose entrance requirements were less strict.

My father and a few others from his primary school were selected to sit the entrance exams into Tonga High. He also sat entrance exams into Tupou College, a Wesleyan church boarding school for boys and Beulah College, another church

mission school as part of the Seventh Day Adventist group. My father made it into both Tupou College and Beulah.

Despite my father's attempt to enrol at Beulah, his father and uncles decided to send him and other boys within his *kāinga* to Tailulu College, their church mission school. My father was a student at Tailulu College from Form 1 to Form 4. In Form 5 however, he and his younger brother decided to attend 'Atenisi High School, a school established by the late Futa Helu. After a year at 'Atenisi, at the age of 19, my father married my mother and was unable to continue his schooling. Despite this, my father's thirst for learning and perseverance to succeed in education continued.

Service to others

My father found strength in his parents' hard work and sacrifices. *Faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *tauhi vā* (relationships) were values he found significant in his life. As the youngest of the three brothers, my grandfather Mikato always maintained strong relationships with his older brothers Paula and Fevaleaki. Whatever they required of him, my grandfather provided. Mikato's *fatongia* (obligation) within the *kāinga* was to support his older brothers. As a husband and father, his *fatongia* was to support his wife Vika and their children. Similarly, my father learnt the same values of maintaining relationships and obligations to his *kāinga* from my grandfather.

Serving others is a valued practice in the Tongan culture. It is perceived as a God-given practice. Within my extended family, serving others is viewed as a blessing from God. My father learnt about service to others from his father. As a carpenter, my grandfather Mikato was asked to help build new as well as renovate old church buildings, often without expecting anything in return. His belief in God and commitment to his *kāinga* motivated him to serve others.

In 1974, my parents migrated to Niue where my father worked as a mechanic. He started as an apprentice and was given the opportunity to train and gain qualifications in mechanical engineering and panelbeating. His father Mikato continued to support and motivate my father's education. When my father completed his level one certificate in mechanical engineering and panelbeating, at the prizegiving my grandfather went up to receive my father's award. To see his father

receive his award, my father felt proud. When my father completed his level two certificate, again his father accepted the award on his behalf.

My father used his skills and knowledge to help a lot of people in Niue. He never hesitated to lend a helping hand. I remember my mum commenting on her frustrations because of the number of cars that were parked at home for my father to fix. My father never asked for payment. Most of the time, when people gave him money for his services, he refused to take it. I can still remember being called by our visitors and forced to take their money. Despite being advised by my father, my attempts to politely refuse peoples' monetary gifts resulted in them forcefully shoving money into my pockets. When my family moved to New Zealand in the mid 80s, my father continued to serve other people.

My Grandfather's and Father's Aspirations for Me

Mikato's aspirations for his children were for them to complete schooling. He expected the same from his grandchildren. As a result, my father ensured that his own children were made aware of their grandfather's aspirations for them:

“Na'e fa'a talamai e Mikato ke tokanga'i moutolu. Hange ha'ane faka'amu 'o ne pēhē e iai ha 'aho mou lalahi hake ai 'osi ho'o ako 'oku kei mo'ui.”

Mikato always told me to look after you all. It was his hope to see his grandchildren grow up and still be alive to see your success in schooling.

My parents' sacrifice and desire for their children to succeed in education led to the decision to move to New Zealand. In 1986, my parents migrated from Niue to New Zealand in search of educational opportunities for us. I was seven years old when I arrived. Because I was born in Niue, I was granted a New Zealand passport and was sent months earlier to stay with my uncle and aunt who lived in Mangere, a suburb in South Auckland.

Growing up as part of my father's *kāinga*, my brothers and I, as well as our male cousins learnt ways of knowing and behaving that aligned with *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga*. Social rank influenced how we acted and behaved towards other members within our extended family. As my parents' eldest son and one of the eldest boys in my *kāinga*, I was taught my role and responsibilities at a young age. The Tongan values of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *mamahi'i me'a* (sacrifice), and *tauhi vā*

(relationships) were re-inforced through the Tongan language. Despite vagahau Niue being my first language for the first seven years of my life, when we moved to New Zealand, *Lea Tonga* became the common language at home.

Growing up in New Zealand was hard. In 1988 at the age of nine, I was diagnosed with rheumatic heart disease and had to be hospitalised. As a result, my heart valves had to be replaced with animal tissue valves. Before my surgery, my mother's words: "*Lotu mo kole kihe 'eiki ke 'oatu ha maama mo ha loto mālohi ke tokoni atu ki ho'o faingata'a*", implied her desire for me to develop a personal relationship with The Lord as there was nothing else she and my father could do for me. As described by my mother, my life was in God's hands. The reassurance of her love and desire for me to seek divine assistance gave me hope as I was pushed away from her by the hospital orderly to a nearby lift. As the view of my mother lingered in the distance, when the hospital orderly turned the corner, fearful that I may not see her again, my eyes could no longer hold back the tears. The journey from that moment to the surgical bed felt endless. Lying on my back in a cold operating room and hearing the anaesthetist whisper in my ear that I would be off to sleep soon, my initial thoughts were, "*I may never see my mum, dad and siblings again*". Thinking about my mother's words of encouragement and the desire to see her and my family again gave me hope. It was at that point in time that I gave my life to the Lord.

I was hospitalised at Greenlane for eight months. The hospital became my second home. The majority of the doctors and nurses were Pakeha. I felt removed from life as a Tongan. In this environment, I learnt to eat using a knife and fork. I learnt to play games that were foreign to me. I learnt how to interact with other Pakeha people. At the hospital school, I had one-on-one sessions with the teacher, a Pakeha woman in her mid-thirties. She taught me how to read and made me pronounce English words correctly before I went back to my room. The only time I spoke Tongan was during the occasional weekends when my family were able to visit.

In 1989, on the day of my tenth birthday, I remember feeling surprised to see my mother walk into my hospital room during morning tea time. Her arrival startled me because it was a weekday and as she approached my room, she came in with a wheel chair and urged me to jump on. My mother had already spoken to the nurses about our trip. When we arrived at the car, my father was waiting in the driver's seat

all dressed in black. I realised that something bad had happened. My mother then explained that we were on our way to my paternal grandfather's funeral service. From the hospital to the funeral parlour, I kept silent.

My grandfather Mikato was the embodiment of love and hope. Through him, I learnt about *faka'apa'apa* and *fai fatongia* (fulfill obligation). His "nothing is too hard" attitude rubbed off on me and the rest of his grandchildren. Behind the strict and disciplined stature, was a Tongan man with a kind and gentle soul. This was evident when my mother prepared food for him one day and I was told specifically by her to not to eat his food. As soon as my mother left the room, my grandfather pushed the plate towards me, urging me to eat before my mother returned.

Ako – schooling

Success in formal education provided economic advantage for families. This belief was common in Tongan families and parents sacrificed many things to provide more access for their children to succeed in schooling. Education was a way out of social and economic deprivation – a way to prevent their children and grandchildren from having to wear hand-me-down school jumpers like I had to in high school. During my first year at high school in 1992, my parents struggled to purchase a new school jumper because I had five other siblings who also required basic materials for learning. Instead, I was handed down an older cousin's jumper.

Not being able to play sport at school because of my heart condition disconnected me from other Pacific Island boys. At sixteen years of age, I had my second surgery and this time the animal tissue valves from the first operation were replaced with mechanical valves. For most Pasifika boys at school, sport was a valued activity. Pasifika fathers were quicker to appear on the sidelines during their sons' rugby games than be present at parent-teacher evenings. At our home however, success in the classroom was valued more.

My father believed maths and the sciences were subjects that would lead to better academic outcomes. Even though he himself showed ability and competency in music and art, he discouraged my sister and I from taking similar subjects at high school. I remember my father sitting at the kitchen table and drawing portraits of my younger brother. He also drew sketches of random objects he saw in the living room.

At age 13, I remember my siblings and I sitting at the table with our father, each with a pencil and paper trying to sketch the vase with flowers that mum placed in the centre of the table.

My father believed learning and competency in the English language lead to academic success. The Tongan language was more useful at home and church. Making friends with Indian, Chinese, and Pakeha boys was an opportunity for me to access strategies and processes that led to successful academic outcomes.

My father worked hard to provide food and shelter for his children. When I was hospitalised at Greenlane, my father visited every pay day and brought with him food he knew I liked. He was not much of a talker but I knew he cared for me. Before he caught the bus home, he would kiss me on the forehead and remind me to always pray before I went to bed.

University education

My grandparents' expectations were for *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga* to govern our attitudes and behaviours when interacting with other people in New Zealand. This proved to be quite a challenge for me when the expectations from home conflicted with the expectations at university. At home I was taught the Tongan values of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *ngāue fakataha* (working together) and *'ulungāanga talangofua* (obedience) to our elders, parents as well as teachers. My cultural values were challenged by the ideas of individualism, competition and independence which were key values encouraged at university. Towards the end of my university education, the struggle to acquire the capital of the dominant group became constant. Western knowledge and ways of thinking became the cultural norm and my Tongan cultural values were of low priority in higher education.

In the late 90s, there were very few Pasifika students enrolled in the psychology programme at the University of Auckland. In my stage three year, there were only three of us – two girls and myself. The lecture theatres were full of European and Asian students. Psychology classes were full of discourse related to Western theorists and their theoretical ideas which did not align with my Tongan views from home. To succeed in Psychology, I was taught to develop arguments based on Western theories.

During the master's and doctoral levels of higher education however, I was able to reconnect and validate the significance of my Tongan knowledge and ways of knowing as being important in my learning. I was blessed with supervisors that understood and valued my knowledge from home. Rather than mimick Western theories and ideals, I was mentored and taught to use my knowledge from home to understand Tongan people's lived realities in New Zealand.

Ngaue fei'umu

In the Tongan culture, my father's brothers are regarded as father-like figures and they are referred to as *ngaahi tamai*. While preparing the *ngoto'umu* (underground oven) for a cousin's wedding, my brother and the rest of our cousins were advised to unload the rocks from my uncle's van. The rocks were collected from another uncle's workplace – a quarry located in East Auckland. The quarry site no longer exists and because of Auckland's growing population, the area is now covered with new up-market residential homes. The rocks are an important feature of the *fei'umu* process because they hold the heat required to steam cook the food.

My uncle allocated the boys into two groups. Each group had a particular task. The first group of boys were sent to collect rocks from my uncle's van, while the second group were told to remove the skin off the taro.

Totally unaware of how my uncle had grouped us, a cousin quickly asked him why he and his brothers were all placed in the same group. My uncles' sons, which included my brothers and I, were allocated the strenuous task of carrying heavy rocks from my uncle's van. My aunties' sons however, were allocated to the task of peeling the skin off the taro. The distinction in tasks related to my father's sisters having higher social rank over my father and his brothers. A symbolic representation of "significant socio-political units of Tongan *kāinga*" (Lātū, 2011, p. 106), was reflected in how my uncle grouped his nephews. The task allocated to my aunties' sons was a reflection of his respect for his sisters and their children. The light task of removing the skin off taro plants compared to the strenuous act of carrying heavy rocks, was a reflection of the socio-political nature of relationships between a brother and his sister in the Tongan culture. Maintaining *tauhi vā* (respectful relationships) is an important value in the *kāinga*.

Through my uncle's explanation, I realised the expectations for Tongan boys was based on our father's or mother's rank in the *kāinga*. When taking part in the *fei'umu*, we learnt our place and social responsibilities within our *kāinga*. Although a person's age determines his/her rank in the *kāinga*, a father's position (or mother's position) however, will ultimately decide your rank within the extended family. My father is the fourth eldest son in his family. His role and responsibility is to support his older brothers. My role to do the same.

Service to others

Service to others is a valued practice in my family. Through my grandfather's work as a carpenter, he served people and the community in Tonga. Through my father's work as a mechanic, he served people and the community in Tonga, Niue and New Zealand. For me, the desire to serve others is a valued practice passed down from my grandfather and father to me. As a teacher, I have continued the act of service to students, other teachers as well as parents in New Zealand and Tonga. It is my hope that my own son, Daniel, will continue to see value in serving others too.

Our Aspirations for Daniel

My son Daniel was born in New Zealand in 2009. He was named after my father and father-in-law. My wife, 'Elenoa and I aspire for our seven year-old son to learn the values, beliefs and practices inherent in *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga*. I want him to learn Tongan cultural knowledge and be able to know who he is and where he comes from wherever he chooses to live. Such cultural values are also encouraged and passed down by his grandparents to Daniel. Both his grandfathers continue to advocate the requirement for Daniel as well as other grandchildren to learn the language and culture.

In 2014, Daniel, 'Elenoa and I made the move to Tonga to serve at Tailulu College, my father's former high school. Our desire to serve as well as educate our son in Tongan language and culture motivated the move to my parents' homeland in the Pacific. Currently, Daniel is in Class 4 at a Wesleyan primary school in Nuku'alofa and has learnt to confidently read and write in Tongan. 'Elenoa teaches the Japanese language from forms 3 to 6, whereas I am responsible for the professional learning and development of teachers. At the same time, I have joined

the University of the South Pacific's (USP) Institute of Education (IOE), a self-funding institute that serves and provides educational support for Pacific Island nations and its people in the region.

Conclusion

As valued knowledge and practice, *koloa 'oe to 'utangata Tonga* was outlined in my family story. Chapters seven – ten are detailed descriptions of the research findings gathered from the four *kāinga* in this study about their valued knowledge and practice transmitted from generation to generation. In each chapter, the extended families are introduced and each *kāinga* unfold (*folofa*) their collective stories. Within each chapter there are layers of experiences that reflect the valued knowledge passed down from the grandfather, father, and grandson/s.

Chapter 7: Fofola ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Simione

Fakafe’ilo’aki e Fāmili: Introducing the Simione Family

Aotearoa is now home for Samiu Simione and his fāmili (family). His decision to leave Tonga in the early 1970s led the way for his kāinga (extended family). As the ‘ulumotu’ a, his birth right as the first-born male, Samiu has certain responsibilities not only to his nuclear family but also to his kāinga. His obligations as the eldest male resulted in him leaving school when he was fourteen to help his father provide for their family. Now in his late 60s, Samiu still hopes his son will learn the Tongan way and one day fulfil his role as the leader of his kāinga.

Roger is Samiu’s eldest son. As the son of a Tongan father and Niuean mother, and raised in New Zealand, there are expectations of him that have not always been understood and sometimes ignored. It was not until 1995, during high school, when Roger understood what was required of him as Samiu’s eldest son. Now in his mid-30s, Roger is more comfortable with conversing in the Tongan language and often engages in traditional activities with other Tongans.

Roger’s eldest son, RJ identifies himself as “Tongan Niuean”. At sixteen, RJ finds comfort in the fact that he is both Tongan and Niuean. Although he does not speak either language fluently, he does, however, regard himself as Tongan. Now in his third year of high school, the idea that he will one day take over his father’s role as ‘ulumotu’ a has not entered his mind. Although Samiu is keen to pass on his knowledge to his grandson, his responsibility for passing on the ways of his homeland to his grandchildren relies primarily on his relationship with his son. He believes that it is ultimately Roger who will pass on all that he knows to RJ and those who follow.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Kui: Initial Talanoa With the Grandfather

Samiu Simione already knew me as part of his wider extended family. Our *talanoa* took place at Samiu Simione’s home in South Auckland. As Roger and I approached the house, even before my hand could reach the door knob, it suddenly flung open. In front of us stood a tall lanky young girl, Samiu’s eldest daughter. She greeted us and invited us inside. Sitting back on a single heavy yellow-coloured recliner, Samiu’s somewhat happy facial expression indicated it was time to *fe’ilo’aki* (meet one another), a cheek to cheek greeting commonly used when you have not seen a person in a while. The former soldier in the Tongan army appeared tall – about 5 feet 11 – and of solid build. On the other side of the rectangular living room, his second wife and two young daughters sat quietly as though they had anticipated our

arrival. His wife, a short and friendly woman, smiled and we walked towards her to *fe'ilo'aki*.

As I looked around, I noticed lots of photos on their living room wall. There were black and white and colour photographs, not only of their children and grandchildren, but also of relatives who were no longer with us. One distinct but faded portrait depicted three men standing in front of an old house in their home village. The photograph conveyed a strong sense of realness, and carried with it life – the embodied history and hopes for Samiu and the family. Also in the photo were two young boys wearing only their shorts and happily chasing each other. Centred in the portrait were Samiu's father and his older brothers. The elderly men looked to be in their late 70s or 80s, dressed in Tongan *vala tupenu* (loincloth wrapped around male's waist) with traditional *ta'ovala* (woven flax mat) worn around their waists and over their shoulders. They wore western-styled coats.

The image was taken during preparations for Samiu's sister's wedding. As the eldest girl, his sister is known as the *mehekitanga* (a position of high rank in paternal families). Samiu further elaborated that the photo was taken before they were to meet with the *kāinga* to discuss matters related to the wedding. He described the brothers' relationship based on the values of *fatongia* (obligation), *talangofua* (obedience) and *loto 'ofa* (love), particularly of his father Simione towards his older brothers. Whatever the older brothers requested, it was the younger brother's obligation to provide.

The images on the wall were constant reminders of those who have passed and of the young who will continue to uphold the heritage traditions significant to them. When telling his story, Samiu's stern voice encapsulated the lived struggles he and his family have faced. As I looked around the room, I was reminded of my own grandfather who often gathered the family around him before he spoke about something that was important to him. Throughout Samiu's story-telling, he often turned to his son Roger and reminded him of his aspirations for him and why Tongan cultural values will one day help Roger to lead their *kāinga*.

The *tatala* (unfolding) of Samiu's experiences happened over several *talanoa* conversations. The first *talanoa* with Samiu set the tone for what was to unfold in later *talanoa*.

Fofola ‘Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Samiu Simione’s Story

“Ko e tukufakaholo mai mei mu’á na’e ‘ikai ha taha ia na’e ako. ‘Ikai ha fakamatala ia ‘a e nau ako. Na’e toki kamata ‘asi mai ‘i he fānaú moe fanga makapuná, o toki fai leva mei ai ‘a e tupu fakaakó. Ka koe mo’uianga ‘o e fāmili ‘a e me’a ko eni ko e lotu. Koe lotú pē taha pea kuo ma’u ‘a e ngaahi monū he taimi ni koe’uhi ko e lotu ‘a e mātu’á he taimi ko é.”

Our inheritance from the past, no one was educated. There were no descriptions of their schooling. It appeared in the children and grandchildren and that's where it all started. But the family's source of existence was the church. It was mainly church and the blessings upon this generation is because of our ancestors' prayers.

Ako – schooling

Samiu Simione was six when he first started primary school. In 1953, schools in Tonga were mainly affiliated to a religion – either the Wesleyan or Catholic Churches. Because his uncle, his father's older brother, was called to become the *Faifekau Pule* (Head Minister) for the Free Church of Tonga, Samiu was obligated to attend their *ako teu* (primary school). He was familiar with the church songs which the teacher made them sing every morning in class. Reading and writing, however, were not common activities at his school.

During our *talanoa*, Samiu described an interaction with a young boy of a similar age who he sat next to every morning. The boy always arrived at school with a woven flax basket that contained his lunch that his mother prepared. The young often had bread with butter for lunch. As described by Samiu, butter was like gold; families that were able to afford butter were considered well-off compared to the rest. The more Samiu unfolded his story, the bigger his smile appeared. It wasn't until morning recess at 10am that the boy realised half his lunch had disappeared. The whole time they were singing in class, Samiu had eaten most of the boy's buttered sandwich. While telling the story, Samiu's face started to smile. Hidden behind the serious nature and strict tone of voice was a man who once knew what it was like to have fun growing up in the Islands.

When his parents moved back to the main island of Tongatapu in 1954, Samiu attended the church *ako teu* (primary school). Because of the long distance to travel to the church primary school, Samiu was allowed to enrol in a nearby Catholic school. As one of three students who were non-Catholic, the boys were punished for failing to

correctly recite the prayer to the Virgin Mary by having to pick up the leaves from the gigantic mango tree adjacent to the school. This continued for two weeks until one day, after failing again to correctly recite the prayer and then forced by the nun to go out to the mango tree, Samiu decided to walk home instead and never returned. As the nun noticed the change in Samiu's direction, she quickly walked outside the school building and called his name. Afraid the teacher or an older student would chase him, Samiu picked up speed and did not stop until he reached his home.

The following week he decided to visit another school, this time a Wesleyan *ako teu* that was further away from home. Dressed in his Catholic school uniform, the only uniform he had at the time, Samiu decided to express his interest in learning by capturing the eye of one of the teachers who happened to be the Principal. The Principal invited him to come in and Samiu spent the rest of the afternoon at his new school.

As a carpenter by trade, Samiu's father was no stranger to hard work. Although he did not make a lot of money, his father took pride in helping others. His cousins always enjoyed spending time with Samiu's dad because of his cheekiness. This made me think about where Samiu may have learnt his sense of humour.

Samiu's father often reminded him that as the eldest, it was his responsibility to help his younger brothers and sisters. As I looked around the room, I thought about Roger's younger sisters and his son RJ and what they were feeling at the time. As the eldest boy in my family, I could understand Roger's position and his responsibility to care for his younger siblings.

Boarding school was Samiu's idea of an ideal learning environment. Samiu was fourteen when he began his brief stint of boarding school education at Toloa College, located in the eastern district of Tongatapu. Samiu soon adapted to his new school, a strict environment where discipline was harsh. Because the school was located in *'uta* (bush area), there were acres of land accessible for planting crops such as *'ufi* (yam), taro, *manioke* (cassava) and *kumala* (sweet potatoe). Cultivating and farming the land was the boarders' responsibility.

In 1962, during the school holidays, he and a group of young boys stayed back at Toloa College (a Wesleyan boarding school for boys) to work so they could help to

pay for their school fees. An older cousin of his, Kepu, who was a senior at the time encouraged him to stay back rather than go home like most of the other boarders. Knowing his father's meagre income of five *sovaleni* (pounds) per week would not be enough to pay the 13 *sovaleni* required by the school every term, Samiu had no choice but to remain behind. Surprised at the number of boys who stayed behind to work, Samiu was no longer afraid. The students were promised two shillings each day and were expected to work from 8am until 5pm. The expression on his face when he described his dilemma at the time was of laughter: "...*talamai e Kepu ke ma o 'o huo ma'ala (yam garden) he 'oku totongi shillings e ua he 'aho...koe mateloi moe looata [laughter]*" (Kepu told me to work at the yam plantation because they will pay us two shillings a day...the *mateloi* (plant with sharp edges) and the *lōata* (big black ants) were painful [laughter]).

Remembering back to the old days, Samiu could not resist laughing at some of the things he had to endure as a young boy growing up in Tonga in order to attend school. His willingness to endure nine hours of work each day in the scorching tropical sun, with sore hands from pulling *mateloi* from the ground as well as the bites from *lōata*, created the need to laugh rather than cry. But as a fourteen year-old, the work and conditions eventually became too challenging so, without telling his cousin Kepu, Samiu went home.

Ngāue ki 'uta – work in the plantation

He remembered talking to his father and being asked this question: "'*E ha ho ako?*" (what about your schooling?), leading to a difficult decision that shaped the rest of his life. As he described the events to us, his tone of voice changed; it became shaky and what had been a fast-paced tone became slower, as if the sixty-seven year-old tough-guy exterior was starting to wear off. It was obvious that there was still a slight regret about his decision to leave school. But for the sake of his father and younger brothers and sisters, he said to his dad:

"Ilo'i e me'a ke fai. Tuku e akó ia ki he kautama ko é 'oku 'alu haké. Teu 'alu atu 'o tokoni kia ko e."

I know what needs to be done. Leave schooling for the others. I will come and help you.

There were times Samiu wanted to give up when going to the plantation, but he couldn't because he was the eldest son. To ensure all the weeds were removed and to soften the soil, it was important for him to hoe every day before he could plant his crops. He harvested the fruits of his labour in December of that same year and his brothers were able to hire a truck to collect the crops. His family benefited from his sacrifice.

A soldier in the army

At sixteen, while getting ready one day to return to the plantation, he was surprised to find a gift from his father: a used bike was placed next to his hoe. His father had bought the bike so that Samiu could use it to travel back and forth from *'uta*. Mondays were usually busy and this day wasn't any different. As he rode past the waterfront, he noticed a group of young boys outside the office of the Tongan army, so he stopped and turned into the open space where the markets were usually held. A boy he knew from his village, who worked in an adjacent plantation, called out his name: "*Talamai ke ma 'alu 'o fakamo'oni sotia*" (He told me to enlist as a soldier for the Tongan army and so I did).

Soon after he and the other boys had enlisted, they were interviewed by a couple of the officers. After the interview, they were all advised that the names of those who had passed would be called out on Wednesday. At that time, the most common method of communicating with people in Tonga was through the radio. Even now, with new technology such as mobile and home phones, the radio is still used as a common medium for communicating with people.

After Samiu left the office he headed straight to Nualei. In the evenings he would light a small fire using dried-up branches from nearby trees as *fefie* (firewood) to keep him warm. When he returned home on the Friday, he was questioned as to why his name had been called out on the radio. Because he had no access to the radio in the bush, he had missed it. One of his sisters ran out to tell him about the news before he was able to put his bike down. All successful applicants were to start on Monday morning. They had six weeks of training before Samiu was allowed to permanently stay on camp.

At seventeen, he became a soldier in the Tongan army. The death of Queen Salote in 1965 was a difficult time for the Kingdom. Samiu had never seen the streets of Tonga filled with so many people, all dressed in black with traditional Tongan *ta'ovala* specific to funerals. By now, Samiu was six months into his role as an officer. During this period, Tonga's currency changed to the Tongan Pa'anga (TOP). He had not forgotten his obligation to provide for his family.

In 1970 and now twenty-two years of age, Samiu made the decision to leave the army and his family, and migrated to Niue in search of better opportunities. It was in Niue that he met his first wife Losa. It is obvious from Losa's photograph where Roger, Samiu's son, inherited his fair skin.

Samiu could still vividly remember the day he left Tonga. His father's words meant a lot to him and he kept them close to heart, particularly when things felt difficult.

“‘Alu ‘o fakapotopoto! Manatu’i mo sio mai ki he masivá. ‘Oku mau falala atu ki ho’o ‘alú. Kapau teke ‘alu ‘o fakavalevale, ko e faka’ofá ē ka ko kimautolu. Na’a ku tauhi ‘a e ngaahi lea ni ki hoku lotó.”

Go and be wise! Remember your humble beginnings. We are relying on you. If you are foolish and unwise, we will feel sad. I kept [my father's] words close to my heart.

As he boarded the plane for Niue, thinking about his father's words not only saddened him but also motivated him to work hard. When he first arrived in Niue he began working as a labourer. Without formal qualifications, the only work he could do involved heavy lifting which often left blisters on his hands.

Building his first home in Niue was a struggle because the land had so many boulder-like rocks. Before talking more about the tedious task, Samiu sat upright. Before his house could be built, he had to somehow break down two huge boulders. His lawn-mover was no match for the labour intensive task ahead of him; only the *helepelu* (machete) could help him. Had Samiu not joined the army, he would not have learnt the physical and mental toughness required to complete such a task. More than the skills gained in Tonga, ultimately it was his father's words of encouragement that helped Samiu to overcome the struggles in Niue.

Ngāue fei'umu

During weddings, funerals or birthdays, Samiu's family always prepared food using an 'umu. Whether an event was held at his place or at his brothers' places, the *fei'umu* (making and preparing food to be cooked underground) becomes the site where the men in their *kāinga* congregate.

Samiu's role as the *ulumotu'a* (highest rank male) reflects his responsibility as the overseer of the *fei'umu*. The *fei'umu* is a site of collective responsibility, where Tongan men pass on their knowledge and skills to their sons and nephews. It is Samiu's job to make sure everyone knows what they have to do. Any difficult decisions also come his way.

For his late mother's 70th birthday, the brothers and their wives agreed to make food at their mother's home in East Auckland. Almost all the young boys in their family were at the *fei'umu* that day. His two younger brothers, who were in their forties, distributed the workload. A couple of the boys were tasked with removing the rocks from the pit and two others were sent to collect firewood from the van. An older nephew drove an aunt into town to buy *la'i lū* (taro leaves) and coconut cream to make *lū sipi* (chopped pieces of lamb wrapped in taro leaves covered with onions and coconut cream). At sundown a couple of the boys sat down to peel the skin off the *kumala* and *talo*.

Samiu described his sense of joy when seeing the young boys – his sons and nephews – learning from their uncles. One day, he thought, the time will come when their fathers will no longer be around and they will have to teach their children and grandchildren. His son, Roger, will take over from him and look back at the times he spent with his dad.

“'Oku 'oange 'e he matu'á 'a e akonakí ki he fānaú, pea mei he fanau ko ia ki ha'anau fānau. 'I he'ene pehē 'oku mo'ui leva 'a e 'ilo mo e ngaahi koloa fakafāmili ko iá mei he to'utangata ki he to'utangata. Ka motuhia eni, ko e hē lahi 'o 'ikai kei takitaha 'ilo 'ene me'a totonu ke fai.”

Parents pass down instructions and guidance to their children and from their children to their grandchildren. Through this process, the knowledge passed down is alive and useful from generation to generation. When knowledge is not transmitted, people are left confused and not know the right thing to do.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Tamai: Initial Talanoa With the Father

My first *talanoa* with Roger took place at McDonald's in Royal Oak. After I picked him up from his place, Roger decided that we would *talanoa* at the restaurant. Roger, his wife and seven children all live with his in-laws. His wife's father is a church minister and they all live at the '*apisiasi* (home provided specifically for the minister and his family). Connected to the church residence is a hall where the congregation gathers every Sunday for service. The men of the church regularly take part in *faikava* (kava drinking) almost every evening of the week inside the hall.

When we arrived at McDonald's, we looked for a quiet place to sit down. We found a table in the corner of the restaurant. Although there was music playing in the background, Roger and I were still able to hear ourselves *talanoa*. There were only a few other customers in this area, creating a sense of privacy so that Roger felt comfortable enough to share his story.

Feeling relaxed and comfortable, we started to *talanoa* about his father Samiu as well as Roger's wife and children. But when I placed my research questions (in the form of indicative semi-structured questions, see Appendix E) on the table I noticed a change in our *talanoa* and in Roger's behaviour. He sat up and the calm and relaxed tone in his voice was replaced with a loud stern pitch. Things had shifted and I felt as though we were now having a formal interview. He no longer shared his personal reflections but was more concerned with the facts and information related to the questions I asked.

However, the more Roger and I engaged in *talanoa* about our experiences growing up in Aotearoa and now as fathers of Tongan boys, the less prescriptive it felt. Although I was still using my mobile phone to record our *talanoa*, I did not feel as though our conversations were contrived. Heather, Roger's wife described him as a caring and loving husband and father of her children. Her descriptions added a rich layer to the experiences already related by Roger and their struggles and hopes for RJ and the rest of their children.

Fofola ‘Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Roger Simone’s Story

“My parents’ expectations of me were pretty high. I met these expectations until I got to College. Then I started getting involved more in sports and the academic side dropped away. As I got older I kind of realised that I should have tried to balance both.”

Ako – schooling

Although Roger was born in Niue, he considered himself New Zealand raised. In 1985, he attended the local primary school in the heart of Mangere, a suburb in South Auckland. Mangere had become noticeably more and more brown. Roger felt comfortable walking around the town centre with his mother because she would always stop and greet a friend or family member.

His high school was predominantly Māori and Pasifika. Although Roger’s father encouraged him to pursue academic studies, when he started high school in 1993, things started to change. Roger fell in love with sport, in particular rugby.

Living up to his father’s expectations was difficult. Samiu expected Roger to become a doctor. Roger found it hard to share things about sport with his father, so he made the decision to only tell him things to do with schooling. The good things that delighted his father related to his schooling. Sport however, was not viewed by his dad as a priority. This made me remember back to high school and my father’s advice to not pursue Art or Music because they were not perceived as academic subjects. Despite being a musician himself, my father chose to encourage academic studies more.

Roger is about six feet two in height. His solid build is ideal for the 15-man sport and it did not surprise me that Roger saw rugby as an opportunity for him. His Physical Education teacher saw the potential in him and recruited him early into their rugby programme. As the years progressed, Roger started to enjoy rugby more than his studies. His dad was aware of his talents but did not think Roger would choose rugby over schooling.

Va’inga ‘akapulu – playing rugby

As a gifted sports person Roger possessed natural talent. The director of sports at Middleton College described him as potentially one day making the ‘All Blacks’

team, a dream shared by many young boys that have grown up and played rugby in New Zealand.

In 1995 when Roger was fifteen, he was selected into the Auckland Secondary Schools' rugby team. After a Sunday match and having injured his arm as a result of the tough physical contest, his father pulled him out of the team. Roger later found out that it was his father's mother who forced his father to pull him out of the representative team. As an avid Christian, Roger's grandmother attributed her decision to the fact that the game was being played on a Sunday. As the first-born son of the eldest male, Roger had no choice but to comply.

He described laziness as one of the reasons he lost interest in classroom learning: *"I think I just got too lazy. I was like I'm good at this [sport], I don't need that [academic]. So I'll leave that, and this is where my money is going to be. I was going to be a famous sports star."* Roger had dropped everything to do with schooling and his main reason for attending school was to play sport.

Roger was also aware that his parents' expectations were sometimes too hard for him to bear. *"I should have tried to balance it out"*, said Roger, thinking back to high school. His parents were expecting him to achieve at a high standard. It was seen as his responsibility to set the standard for the rest of his brothers.

"They told us stories about being back in the islands and never having had the opportunities that we had. So make the most of everything they said. That went through one ear and out the other."

Although he wanted to make his parents proud, at the time he did not comprehend the meaning of what they had told him. At sixteen, Roger married a young Tongan girl from his father's church. Roger's wife, Heather, chuckled when she described their getting-together as being Roger's idea: *"I thought he was a good-looking guy and he was good at sport, but I never thought we would become boyfriend and girlfriend."*

Heather attended a high decile girls' school in central city Auckland, whereas Roger went to his local school. Despite having different interests, the pair could not avoid the physical connection. Aware that the two were now in a relationship, the young couple's fathers agreed that Roger and Heather could get married. Passionate about his church role, and the importance of schooling, Heather's father expected his

daughter and Roger to return to school after they were married. Roger's father however, believed differently. Roger was to seek employment. It was his expectation that as a man and husband, Roger needed to work to provide for his small family.

In 1996, despite Roger's father's advice, both he and Heather returned to school. Travelling from Mt Wellington to high school proved difficult. Heather had to bus from Mt Wellington to the city. While living with his grandmother, Roger tried his best to attend classes and learn, however the comments from his father's family discouraged him from continuing his schooling. During the school holidays, he went to work with his uncle and had to learn how to weld and paint pipes. These skills he later used as a student at the New Zealand Welding School located in Papakura. A couple of months later, the pair told Samiu that they were to move in with Roger's mother, from whom Samiu was separated, and his younger brothers.

Toward the end of 1996 Heather became pregnant. At the time, it was obvious that Roger's love for rugby continued to occupy his mind. That same year he was selected in the Auckland Rugby Development Team but decided to pull out of the team close to the birth of his daughter. After the birth of their daughter in September of 1996, they decided to move in with Heather's parents who lived in East Auckland. Today, it is still common in Tongan families for first-time mothers to return home and live with their parents so that they can receive support from their mothers. When the rugby season ended and unable to complete the school year, Roger returned to paid employment.

Despite encouragement from his wife to continue playing rugby, he had other priorities in mind. *"I was like his biggest fan, I wanted him to go and play because he was really good"*, said Heather. His priorities however, had changed. He had a small family and it was up to him to provide for them. There were odd games here and there, however his rugby career as such was over. During church games, he always participated in all the sports, both as a coach and a player.

As parents, both agreed that education in a high decile school would benefit their children's academic success. Their older daughters are seniors at the same school their mother attended. RJ however, is at a co-educational mid-decile school in central Auckland. One of their daughters was selected for both the Auckland Rugby Sevens and the Auckland Rugby Secondary Schools teams. At home Roger trains his

older children because they all play sport. Describing his daughter playing representative rugby brought joy to his face. The smile on Roger's face widened everytime he talked about his daughter representing Tonga in the World Rugby Tag competition in Brisbane, Australia.

Leadership

Because of his position in the family, Roger is expected to lead. His father made it known to him and his brothers when they were growing up that they were to support Roger as the eldest who would one day lead the family. *“For me, it was always growing up and hearing dad aye, he’s the eldest in his family....even in schooling, he expected those things of me like go to school and do well at school.”*

In the *kāinga*, his uncles delivered a similar message. Roger not only learnt from his dad but his uncles as well. He was the first grandchild they would call upon when things relating to the family needed to be done. During the week of mourning for Roger's grandmother, each day the family had to provide food for friends, church members and the wider extended family. Every morning, Roger was expected to be there. His absence on any morning would not go un-noticed. They would always ask: *“Ko fe a Roger? Taa kiai ke vave mai.”* (Where is Roger? Ring him to hurry up and come).

Although there were a couple of boys older than him, as Samiu's eldest son, Roger took on the role and responsibilities of the eldest son. For instance, after his grandmother died, Roger awoke to the sound of his mobile phone ringing. He picked it up and a voice said: *“Teke ha'u he fiha?”* It was his uncle asking when he was coming over. They, his uncle and Roger's brother and cousins, decided they would pick him up from home before they drove out to a farm south of the Bombay hills to collect and prepare several pigs for when the wider extended family arrived. Roger and one of his cousins were given the task of catching the pigs.

The gutting of the pigs was a delicate job. The youngest of the uncles, in his late 30s at the time, taught the boys how to gut a male pig. “It was different to how you would gut a female pig”, Roger said. Before his uncle completed the task, he handed the knife over to Roger. He wanted him to finish the task while he gave the instructions. Surrounded by his brothers and cousins, there was a sense of stillness in

the air. Following his uncle's instructions and stopping when he was unsure, Roger completed the task. There was a sigh of relief afterwards. Suddenly, the next pig was placed on the table and other boys were given their turn.

Ngāue fei'umu

As well as his grandmother's funeral, there were other occasions when Roger had to lead. Roger and his brothers and cousins were called to come around on Saturday before his father's adopted sister went back to Australia. They were going to have a *fei'umu* (preparing food to be cooked in a *ngoto'umu*) for their aunt. When Roger was younger, the *ngoto'umu* (natural underground oven) was a common way to prepare and cook the food. This meant that a hole had to be dug and rocks placed inside. During his teenage years however, a cylindrical drum was cut in half and the shape of the drum was fitted to the hole which then became the *ngoto'umu*. Roger took part in these processes, either as the person digging the hole or as one of the boys who collected the rocks to place inside the *ngoto'umu*.

Today, the family uses a modern type of *ngoto'umu* for what is still an outdoor event. Two of Roger's uncles who are skilled welders designed an oven-type *ngoto'umu*. Roger took part in the welding of the pieces. Much like an oven used to bake bread in a factory, the outdoor oven has proved useful not only for the family but for other Tongans as well. The inside of the oven has layers in which wired trays with food such as pieces of pork, chicken, *talo*, *manioke* (cassava) are placed. The oven relied on gas as opposed to electricity which is what factory bakeries use for their ovens. The family gave Roger the responsibility of managing the external oven. As part of a small Tongan community in Auckland, the fact the family had an external oven was made known to others. During funerals, families often requested the use of the oven. Roger was responsible for the management of the external oven.

At a family member's birthday, he was called on to prepare the external oven for the making of food. Roger decided to take RJ with him because he wanted him to experience the event. It was RJ's first time with his father's wider extended family. When he called RJ to grab one of the trays, rather than stand around and watch, his father however, interrupted and called RJ over to him and kept him by his side while other boys continued the work. Unaware of his father's actions, Roger continued to manage the work. His father kept RJ with him and talked to him about schooling.

Being a husband

According to his wife, Roger learnt how to be a man from his father. *“For Samiu, this is what you need to do when you become a man and you’re on your own”*. Heather’s family appreciated Roger’s skills around their home. He would mow the lawn and often prepared their meals. Her brothers were also amazed at Roger’s ability to handle himself around the ‘umu’ when they attended family gatherings. One of Heather’s brothers returned home and said to her: *“Far out, Roger is the man! He knows a lot”*. To her, it seemed her brother felt as though he had missed out on something important in life. While Heather described her husband, Roger sat back quietly and looked towards the ground. It was as though he was hanging on her every word and felt a sense of relief that his sacrifices for his family have not been in vain.

Heather described her own father’s decision to not burden his sons with certain cultural tasks because he did not think it was necessary for his boys in New Zealand. As a former teacher in Tonga, her father valued schooling more. Roger’s father always took him to family events even though Roger did not always want to go. Heather’s brothers did not have the same opportunities and she valued the experiences given to Roger. Roger looked proud after hearing his wife’s comments. Their ambition for RJ is to also learn such skills that will help him become a man and father-figure.

His parents’ divorce influenced Roger to really think about his parenting style. As described by his wife, he sees a different way of raising his children who are growing up in New Zealand. Although they have struggled at times in their marriage, Roger’s choices have always been about making sure his children do not go through what he went through. Roger chose a different path in maintaining their marital relationship which Heather saw as clearly the opposite to his father’s.

“Roger has the same mannerisms as his dad”, described Heather. *“His sense of humour is very much like his dad. The way he laughs and turns his head ... I laugh sometimes and like oh my gosh, so like his dad”*, laughed Heather. Roger even mentioned to his wife about one day looking in the mirror and realising that he looks more and more like his dad. As Heather described her husband’s realisation, the two of them could not hold back their laughter.

Both, especially Roger now see the changes in Samiu: *“He is not like what he was in the past. He even jokes around with the kids even though they don’t always get him.”* Roger noticed his father becoming more lenient with his grandchildren. During a recent visit, Samiu was excited to see his grandchildren. He hugged his grandchildren and called his daughters who were of similar age, from his second marriage, to bring food out.

Being respectful

Faka’apa’apa has been a constant part of Roger’s upbringing. Even now he notes that it was a strong part of his upbringing. *“If you walk pass an elder you say tulou (excuse me).”* When in the presence of someone older, they were taught not to *talahu’i* (being cheeky to elders).

It was clear to Roger, his father did not want him and his brothers to struggle like he did at school. Samiu had left school early to work and help his father support his siblings. *“I guess this is why he wanted me to work after we got married so that I could provide for my small family. Maybe this was all that my Dad knew in terms of raising children.”*

As the eldest male, there are sacrifices that have to be made for the benefit of the family. Their personal needs and wants such as rugby are secondary to the needs of their family. Both Roger and Samiu have a strong desire not to let their children struggle. His father’s approach however, was different to his. *“I have decided to take a different way based on my own experiences. The difference is that being raised in New Zealand and having gone through schooling here, I understand what it’s like.”*

As a result Roger and his wife decided to encourage their children to balance schooling as well as sport. Heather and Roger decided to send their girls to the same school that Heather attended; a high decile girls’ school in central Auckland. The decision to educate their children in this schooling environment was based on their own experiences of high school education.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Mokopuna: Initial Talanoa With the Grandson

It was a sunny Saturday afternoon and I pulled into their *‘apisi* (minister’s house) without hassle. Normally, there would be choir practice and parking was

sometimes difficult to find. However, I eagerly walked up the steps and knocked on their door. A young girl opened the door. She was RJ's younger sister. I asked, "*Is RJ here please?*" Immediately she called out his name and ran to his room. There were quite a few young children in the household who walked past the door and gave me a smile. I smiled back but before I could ask their names, they quickly ran off. I later found out from RJ and his sisters, the kids belonged to their grandparents' other children. This was why Roger decided for RJ and I to have our *talanoa* elsewhere.

After a brief conversation with his dad, and reassuring him that I would drop RJ back home after a couple of hours, RJ then arrived at the door. For moral support, RJ requested to have his sisters present during our *talanoa*. As we sat in the car, I then asked where they wanted to have a meal. All three chose McDonald's.

After we had placed our order, I asked them to find us a seat and I would bring over the food. When the food was ready, I was surprised to find RJ standing next to me. Thinking something was wrong, I said to him, "*What happened?*" He replied, "*Nah, I came over to help you take the food.*" RJ's older sister had told him to come back and help. As a former secondary school teacher, and being around so many Pasifika young people, my assumption is that although they do not speak the language fluently, the cultural values are still very much alive in them. The Tongan value of *faka'apa'apa* (respect) was observed by the sister sending her brother to help me bring over the food.

RJ is very close with his older sisters. This was why he decided to bring them along to our *talanoa*.

"Oh yeah they helped, just gave me ideas and memories that I could talk about when you were asking me questions and I always feel more comfortable when they're around."

His sisters' experiences helped clarify RJ's thoughts. Their stories were told alongside RJ's experiences of growing up.

Initially, the questions relating to family and culture made RJ feel uncomfortable during our discussions.

“At first, I'm just not used to being asked those sort of questions but as the interview went on I got more and more comfortable so yeah. Like questions about family and the Tongan culture.”

Despite my goal of engaging in informal *talanoa* with RJ and his sisters, he still regarded our *talanoa* as an interview. With further *talanoa* however, RJ felt more comfortable and in a later *talanoa* he preferred to communicate through Facebook as opposed to face-to-face discussions. There were some occasions in our initial discussions when he felt uncomfortable because after his two sisters had shared their experiences, he felt pressured to go next. Sometimes he needed time to think about his answers. Facebook allowed the space for him to think about his answers, at his own pace, without being forced to respond soon after his sisters spoke.

Fofola ‘Ene Ngaahi Koloa – RJ Simone’s Story

“The way my Dad grew up is not the way that I was brought up. Like how he was brought up rough, made me feel like I should be grateful with the way I have been brought up. I felt proud when I saw him listening to his dad and his uncles. They rely on him at the fei’umu.”

Ako – schooling

At fifteen years of age, Roger Junior (RJ) is a shy young man. Taller than the average fifteen year-old, he stands at about six feet two in height. He was named after his father, Roger Simone. RJ and all his siblings were born in New Zealand. His father is of Tongan and Niuean ethnicity. RJ’s mother however, is full Tongan. When asked about his ethnic identity, he described himself as a Tongan Niuean.

RJ attended several primary schools as a result of his maternal grandfather being called to serve as a church minister. They had lived in various parts of Auckland such as Grey Lynn, Manukau, Orakei, Henderson and Glen Innes. RJ and his siblings are very close with their mother’s family. Only during birthdays, weddings or funerals would they meet up with their father’s side. RJ and his sisters only know some of their father’s side by their names. When asked to provide additional information about these family members, they struggled to reply.

In Year 7, his parents sent him to Remuera Intermediate, a high decile school in central Auckland. Both parents believed, to gain access to some of the best schools in Auckland, Remuera Intermediate was the right place to start. RJ and his older

sisters all went to Remuera Intermediate. His younger brother and sister are currently at the school.

The school RJ currently attends is a multicultural high school in central Auckland. He is in his first year of NCEA, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement. Although he does not mind his current school, his preferred school is Auckland Boys Grammar. As described by RJ, the boys at Auckland Grammar succeed and do well in most areas.

At *lautohi* (Sunday school) they are taught using the Tongan language and RJ finds it difficult to understand. Memorising bible verses for the Sunday school exams was often a difficult task for him.

“I would prefer learning things at school and sporting events since I'm more comfortable with English.”

Although RJ's parents understand and can speak Tongan, they always converse in English with their children. Other than Heather's parents who speak Tongan fluently, the rest of their household communicate in English. Although Roger, RJ's father, understands Niuean, he is not a fluent speaker of the language. RJ and his siblings however, do not understand the Niuean language at all.

When asked about some of the things that he enjoys learning at school, RJ described a recent trip in which he took part. *“It was a two day trip. Kind of like a camp. We slept and sailed on this yacht and we did heaps of activities that had to do with water safety as well as teamwork.”* The activity taught him a lot about working together with other people and he also had a lot fun.

Va'inga sipoti – playing sport

Like his father, RJ enjoys playing sport. He trialled for the under-15 rugby team at his high school but because players were not committed, the team had to be withdrawn from the Auckland competition. During church games, he played Tag and Touch Rugby for the Under 16 and mixed teams. He has also played alongside his father during a couple of the mixed grade games. At one point, he asked his father to coach his rugby team, but because of other commitments his father was unavailable.

Ngāue fei'umu

Unlike his mother's side, RJ is not familiar with his father's extended family. Because he was raised with his mother's family, he feels comfortable with them because he knows them.

When his father took him to a *fei'umu* (preparing an 'umu), it was the first time he witnessed his father around his brothers and cousins. It was a different side to his dad he had not seen before. *"The people there were Samiu lahi, Tava, Mika, and some other men that I didn't know. The old men were together just talking while my dad was with younger guys like Afa, James, Nisa, Veni, and the rest. They were chilling outside just talking and laughing."*

RJ could also see that his grandfather, Samiu, was happy to see his dad there. *"I think Samiu enjoys seeing dad around helping the men."* Aware that the males were outside whereas the females were inside, RJ described what they had to do outside. *"The men were gutting the pig. My dad and the others were doing what his dad and the older men were telling them to do. They knew what they were doing. My dad was also telling the other boys what to do but not in a bad way."*

During my *talanoa* with Roger's parents, they talked about RJ being happy after coming back from a *fei'umu* with his dad. RJ really enjoyed being with Roger's family because, for the first time, he was able to get to know his father's extended family – both the men and younger children.

Being the eldest son

When asked about what it means to be Samiu's eldest son, RJ responded with: *"It means that you should act like a leader since you are going to be looked at as one, being the son of the eldest."*

RJ is aware that as the eldest male, his dad will become the leader of his extended family. *"I reckon that he is still getting used to the thought of him having to lead the family but yeah, I reckon he likes the fact he will be the leader of the pack one day lol (laugh out loud)."*

But when I asked him about what it means for him as Roger's eldest son, at first he laughed: "Not liking the thought of that at the moment lol, since I'm not that close to dad's side."

Although RJ has not yet fully comprehended his role as Roger's eldest son, and perhaps he may choose not to, it is obvious RJ is proud of his father Roger.

"I'm proud of my dad. He has had 7 kids at a young age but still manages to provide us all with what we need. And the fact that he decided to go back to school makes me proud of him. And that he obeys the elders and respects them."

Being Tongan

RJ believes that a person can identify as Tongan regardless of whether they can speak the language. There are other ways that young people express their Tongan ways.

"Even though you can't speak a certain language it doesn't mean that you have to feel that you can't express your culture through other ways. Like through faiva (traditional dance), and the way you celebrate things."

He takes part in the school's Tongan group at the ASB Polyfest every year. This is his way of learning more about the Tongan culture. He is proud of being Tongan.

"Tongans have come a long way in life, like we're becoming more known. There are more and more Tongan sports athletes and famous people who identify as Tongan."

Chapter 8: Fofola ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Fatai

Fakafe’ilo’aki e Fāмили: Introducing the Fatai Family

At eighty-five years of age, Manase Fatai senior (Sr.) lives in East Auckland, New Zealand with his only daughter and her young family. He and his wife Lavinia, aged seventy-seven, have four sons and one daughter. As a staunch and confident man, Manase has always strongly encouraged education in his own children and other teenagers under his care. Manase Sr. enjoys having his grandchildren nearby and always looks forward to pō talanoa (talk) with them. Longing for his homeland, he and his wife use every opportunity to teach their grandchildren about their Tongan customs – telling them stories of what life was like back home.

Hailame Fatai is Manase’s third eldest son and was born and raised in Tonga. As the only child to attend Tonga’s most prestigious school – Tonga High School – and the only one to graduate with a university degree, Hailame has now settled in New Zealand where he is a single parent to his three children. Hailame knows that without his father’s hard work and encouragement, he would not have completed high school and university education. He hopes his children will learn from their grandfather’s strong work ethic and integrity and one day understand the importance of Tongan culture in their lives.

Manase Fatai junior (Jr.) is Hailame’s only son and was named after his grandfather. Born and educated in New Zealand, Manase Jr. wants to eventually live in Tonga one day. In his late teens, he is in now in Year 12 and enjoys playing basketball and volleyball for a predominantly Pasifika co-educational school in East Auckland. Christopher Fatai is Manase Jr’s cousin and is a year younger. Christopher is in Year 10 and plays rugby for a high decile boys’ school in East Auckland. The teenage boys sometimes feel pressured to do well at school in order to live up to Hailame’s expectations.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Kui: Initial Talanoa With the Grandfather

When I first arrived and parked outside Manase’s daughter’s house, I saw a skinny-framed elderly man sitting on the lawn, pulling weeds from the garden. I opened my door and got out of the car. As I closed the door behind me, Manase Fatai Sr. turned around and smiled. It was obvious his son, Hailame, had told him I was coming.

I walked towards him to *fe’ilo’aki* and shake his hand in greeting. I followed him up the stairs and while he turned right to go to his room, he advised me to go into the kitchen. It took a while for Manase Fatai Sr. to make his way up the stairs and he

used the rail on the side to help him up. He had breathing problems which escalated during New Zealand's winter months.

When I walked into the kitchen, his wife Lavinia was sitting on her green mobile chair, washing the dishes. I quickly went over to her to *fe'ilo'aki*. In the living room, three of their grandsons were playing around. One of them was still a young toddler. The older boy who looked to be about ten years of age made sure the toddler did not fall over during their play.

Their daughter, Velonika, and her husband were about to leave for work. The elderly couple, Manase and Lavinia were more than capable of looking after their grandchildren while the parents went to work. Hailame and his three children lived across the road. His younger brother and family have just moved in with them. Sometimes the teenage grandchildren come over and stay with their grandparents while their parents are at work.

Manase's grandchildren often visited him. Manase Jr. and Christopher often stayed over. While his wife Lavinia described what it was like when all their grandchildren get together, Manase Sr. slowly walked into the kitchen and sat across from me. He asked his wife to put on the kettle for a cup of coffee. Before he talked about his educational experiences, he asked about my wife and son and whether they were enjoying their experience in Tonga.

Fofola 'Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Manase Fatai Sr's Story

Manase Sr. was born in 1929 in Tongatapu, Tonga's main Island. At seven months old he was *ohi* (adopted) by a middle aged couple who were not able to bear children. Because the couple were closely related, and *ohi* being a cultural practice amongst Tongan families, Manase's parents willingly gave him to them.

His biological father was the *'ulumotu'a* of the Fatai family. The role of *'ulumotu'a* is acquired by every first-born son. Giving away his child at seven months old to his *mehekitanga* (father's sister) was one way Manase Sr's father showed respect and maintained the rules of engagement within his *kāinga*.

As the only child, his adoptive parents spoiled him. Whatever he wanted, they provided. There was no discipline. He had freedom to do whatever he wanted to do.

When the mothers in the village called out to their children to return home for bed because it was dark, Manase Sr. continued playing. Until he became bored and no one else was left to play, only then was he forced to go home.

Compared to other Tongan families at the time, the couple seemed to have been well-off. They had material possessions that other families in the village did not have. The older couple had their own house and a water tank made of cement. It was not common in most Tongan homes for working class families to own many possessions. As well, the couple had a horse and cart which Manase Sr's adopted father used to travel to work in town.

In 1940, Manase Sr. was eleven years of age when his adoptive mother passed away. Then in 1945, his adoptive father failed to return from a fishing trip. After having had little contact with his biological family, Manase Sr. was sent back to live with them. They were different from his adoptive parents in terms of their expectations of him. In contrast to his former life where he was given freedom to do whatever he wanted, he was now told to do chores and had strict house rules to abide by. Manase Sr. struggled to fit into his new home. Even his siblings were alien to him and he felt lonely. Because he was one of many children, the things he wanted were no longer a priority. Like his brothers, he had to work in the plantations – planting and gathering *manioke* (cassava) and *'ufi* (yam), collecting and husking coconuts, and pulling weeds when required. It was not until he was a lot older that he realised the value of hard work. He learnt the importance of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *loto tō* (humility), *mamahi'i me'a* (suffering for the betterment of the family) and his role in the *famili* (family).

Ako – schooling

Manase Sr's adoptive parents had sent him to school. Despite not being part of the Wesleyan group and because of the limited number of schools in the area, he was sent to a Wesleyan primary school in the village of Ma'ufanga, located in Nuku'alofa. The Catholic primary school was the only other school in the village. Classes were distributed between the *falelotu* (church house) and the *fale akohiva* (small house where members of the congregation had choir practice). There was singing and occasional counting and writing, but most of the time students and teachers cleaned

up – pulling weeds and sweeping leaves from under the mango or *mei* (breadfruit) trees.

Towards the end of 1944, aged fifteen, Manase Sr. sat his final exams at primary school and passed. For various reasons it was common for students to start high school in their mid-teens – either they dropped out because they had to help their parents in the plantations and at home before going back to school, or they had repeated a year level because they failed to pass the exams. Once they passed the exams they could then move to the next level. Kelepi and Manase Sr. were the only members of the extended family who made it to high school. The rest of the extended family did not make it past primary school. Manase Sr. later believed that if his parents had encouraged him to stay at school, he would have finished high school and found a good job like Kelepi.

Manase Sr. faced many challenges in 1945. After his adoptive father went missing, he was sent to live with his biological parents who were ministering at the church in Nukunuku, a village in the western district of Tongatapu. His parents sent him to Nafualu, a local high school located in Nukunuku.

For Manase Sr's biological parents, church was highly valued than schooling. Because the family was religious and his father was a high ranked minister in the congregation, church and everything associated with it took precedence. Nothing else, not even education, was as important as their service and commitment to the church. As described by Manase Sr. Tongan people refer to the saying, "*Kehe pe ke ke nima mālohi*" (As long as your hands are strong) as a way to encourage their young who have either failed or lost interest in schooling. He too found motivation from the wise saying. As long as a person is willing to use their hands and work hard, they can still provide for their family.

During the mid-1940s, there were noticeable changes in Tonga. American soldiers roamed the streets as a result of the war. The arrival of more foreigners saw a shift and change in Tongan values and traditions. This was evident when the languages – Tongan and English – met. People were now expected to learn English so that they could communicate with the outsiders. Even at school, teachers started to use English phrases and words.

During his Fourth Form year in 1946, Manase Sr. was taken out of Nafualu and sent to Toloa College, an all-boys Wesleyan mission school. Manase Sr. and his parents however, still did not see eye to eye. As the eldest boys, he and his older brother were expected to lead while their younger siblings followed. Whatever work needed to be done, he and his older brother had to do it. There were times when he did not get along with his siblings.

For fifteen years, nothing had been *tapu* (taboo or forbidden) by his adoptive parents. Swearing was allowed and so was *talahu'i* (being cheeky to those older than him). His biological parents, however, had strict rules to follow. Swearing was forbidden. They would have nothing of it. There were strict consequences for breaking the rules that often resulted in physical punishment, leaving scars as reminders.

Manase Sr. left high school at age seventeen without finishing and wandered around. He later worked in a plantation and was able to grow and harvest crops such as *manioke* (cassava), *talo* (taro), and *'ufi* (yam). The work was relentless and involved hard labour in the hot sun, day in and day out. At age twenty, he married a young girl from Ha'apai and she gave birth to his first-born son. Soon after, the young couple separated. To him, it was a case of too much too soon.

In 1958, Manase Fatai Sr. married his current wife Lavinia, who was also from Ha'apai. When his parents were called back to the main Island of Tongatapu, Manase and Lavinia and all his siblings moved back as well. Unsure as to what kind of work he would be able to do on the main Island to provide for the family, he started to realise the significance of schooling. If only he had finished high school, finding a job would not have been a problem.

Fatongia 'ihe famili – family obligation

When the eldest brother in his immediate family passed, the role as *ulumotu'a* (highest rank male) fell on Manase Fatai's shoulders. His obligation to the *kāinga* (extended family) required him to make decisions that would benefit the entire family. In New Zealand, he proposed a plan whereby members of each family saved money to go towards burial plots for when members of the family passed away. The idea was to lessen the burden on the families.

However, he and his wife's savings would not go towards burial plots as theirs had already been bought. They have a burial plot in Tofoa, the village where they had lived when he worked for the police dog unit. Rather, their savings would go towards sending them back in their coffins to Tonga. Despite being in New Zealand, both Manase and Lavinia are ready and awaiting their final call from their Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Being a father

Manase Fatai Sr. knew he needed to change his approach to life if he was to make any difference to his wife's and son's lives. As the father and head of his family, it was his responsibility to encourage and promote education. Education would help his family grow and have better lives. Even if his children lacked wisdom and were naive, education would help lead them to better outcomes, better lives.

He saw education as *koloa* (valuable knowledge) that he could impart to all his children and that all could benefit from his strength and encouragement. As a result, his thinking changed. Whatever their needs were – clothes, family obligations – they now fell on him. It was he that his family would turn to and rely on. It was he they would cry on. The overwhelming feeling of being a father and new head of the family helped turn Manase Sr's life around.

One day, he saw a recruitment advertisement for the police force in Tongatapu. They wanted people who had finished high school. Applicants were advised to write a letter of interest. Despite feeling underqualified, Manase wrote and sent the letter. Not long after, he was shocked to get a reply from them.

“Tohi atu pē pea tali mai, vakai'i hifo 'oku ou kau. Ne mau 'alu 'ó initaviu. Ko e toko 13 na'e fiema'ú, pea u kau ai. Na'a ku hū leva 'o polisi. Kamata leva keu ongo'i 'a e me'a kehe. Na'a ku ongo'i leva 'oku ou faingata'a'ia, koe fo'i mala'e, koe mala'e ia 'o e ako. 'A ia koe akó foki ia na'e tautau. Tautau 'eku akó he taimi ko é. Na'e 'ikai kakato.”

They replied to my letter and I was included. We made the interview and I was part of the 13 people they wanted to join the police force. I then started to feel something different. I felt a sense of difficulty. The police force is a field that requires educated people. My education at the time however, was short and incomplete.

Teaching his children

Manase and Lavinia's children all went to different schools in Tonga. At the end of Class 6 (final year of primary school), their primary aim was to pass the exams and gain the required marks to get into Tonga High School. The eldest son went to St Andrews College, whereas Tevita and Mote attended Tonga College ('Atele). Hailame however, made it into Tonga High School. Their daughter, Velonika, attended Queen Salote College.

Manase Sr. and Lavinia's home was always full of students. Children from his wife's extended family travelled to Tongatapu from *motu* (outer islands of Ha'apai) to attend school. On top of that, parents in the same village would send their troubled children to live with Manase and Lavinia. At one time, they had between nine to ten children, including their own, living in the one household. Their home was ordered and Manase and Lavinia were strict with how they raised their own children and others who came to live with them. Other parents respected the disciplined household and could see how well Manase and Lavinia's children behaved, both inside and outside of their home.

Because he grew up in a household that lacked discipline, Manase Sr. saw and understood the benefits of setting ground rules, especially things not to do – *ngaahi tapu* (forbidden rules). He enforced the rules needed in his large household. He introduced rules for what his children could and could not do, and rules for himself. For example, he was not allowed to drink any harmful substances in front of his children because then they would grow up and do the same thing they saw their father do. There was no leniency in the rules because he wanted to be fair; the same rules applied to all the children, regardless of whether they were his own kids or not. While at school, not a single child living under his roof was allowed to play sport. Everybody was expected to go to school, whether they liked it or not.

Manase wanted his children to learn and show honesty and integrity in everything they did. Whether they were working or given a task to do at home or at school, they should work hard and give it their all. He did not want them to play around or half finish a given task. Every event he engaged in, he used as an example to encourage his children.

Manase Sr. made a promise to his children as a way of encouraging further study: whoever finished high school and passed their exams would be sent overseas to continue their studies. According to Manase Sr., his promise came from nothing. He had nothing; no money to send them overseas and no idea of how to make this happen when his children completed high school. Manase put his trust in God, and the promise became a legacy for the family.

Hailame and Mote went on to continue their studies in New Zealand. Hailame completed his university studies, whereas Mote finished Form 6 and then returned to Tonga. Manase's second son with Lavinia, Tevita, was sent to Australia to continue his tertiary education. Lavinia and Manase's eldest son, Fine, travelled to American Samoa and although he did not pursue further education, he sent money to help his parents with his siblings' schooling.

Koloa tukufakaholo – inheritance

In Tonga, the first-born son inherits his father's land and belongings after his death. Manase Sr's first-born son from his first wife visited him in Tonga in order to confirm and settle his inheritance. At this time, Manase Sr. made the decision to divide his land in two. One half would be for his eldest son with Lavinia and the other half for the son he had with his first wife. The decision was to avoid any arguments between his two sons after his death. To settle the matter, he made sure the sharing of the land was done while he was alive.

When his first-born son found out, he contested the matter. His son was a big and stocky man and very strong-minded. Although Manase Sr. explained the reason for the *vahevahe* (division and sharing of land), his first-born son persisted and argued that it all belonged to him. According to this son, it was his rightful inheritance as Manase's first-born son. Manase's obligation to Lavinia was another reason he had made the decision to divide his land. He felt it was the appropriate and right thing to do to share his *koloa* (inheritance) between his first-born son and he and Lavinia's eldest son.

Manase Sr. continued to reason with his son however, he would have it no other way. Frustrated with his first-born son, Manase replied:

“...sai, ta tuku ki langi. Tonu koe, mate au. Tonu au, mate koe. Ta fai ‘aki ia. ‘Ikai ke iai ha’o kelekele heni. Koau ‘oku ou kei mo’ui, te u vahevahe ki he ‘eku fānaú. Ka ke ha’u ke fakafepaki’i au ‘i he me’a ‘a’akú.”

...right, lets leave it to God. If you’re right, I will die. If I’m right, you will die. Let it be done. You have no land here. I am still alive and I will share the land to my children. Yet you come and challenge me with what belongs to me.

Manase Sr. did not wish death upon his son, however when matters are not settled by people on earth, these matters are given back to God. After Manase’s first-born son had returned to the US, years later he was diagnosed with cancer. At this time, Lavinia and Manase Sr. were now living in New Zealand. Although he wanted to visit him however, Manase Sr. did not have his permanent residence and was not able to travel. Some months after his son’s diagnosis, he passed away.

Lakanga ‘ihe polisi – his role as a police officer

Manase’s first role with the Police was as a bailiff officer collecting payments from people. In 1962, he joined Tonga’s first police dog unit based in Tongatapu. He decided to join the unit after seeking advice from two senior officers. A condition of being a civil servant in Tonga was that a person may be called to work on any of the Islands. Teachers, bank officers, doctors and even police officers were often called to work either in Ha’apai, Vava’u, Niua or ‘Eua. However, because there were no other police dog units elsewhere apart from Tongatapu, the advice from the senior officers was that joining the unit would be beneficial for Manase Sr. as well as his family. As part of the police dog unit, he was given a house where he and his family could stay – all expenses paid.

Manase Sr. and his wife Lavinia shared the responsibility of taking care of their children. He worked to earn money while Lavinia went to all the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings. She then reported to him and he made sure he provided his children with anything required by the school, including items needed for school related events. His reason for this was not because it was required by the school or the teacher, but to make his children happy at school and encourage them to finish their education.

Lakanga ‘ihe lotu – his role as a church minister

In the 80s and after 25 years of service, Manase Fatai Sr. retired from the police force. Under the retirement scheme in Tonga at the time, civil servants continued to be paid their regular salary. In the mid-90s, he was called by the president of the *Siasi ‘o Tonga Tau’ataina* (Free Church of Tonga) to serve as a *setuata* (minister) at a small village called Ha’utu, located in the western district of Tongatapu.

Before taking up this responsibility, he went to see the *palesiteni* (president). He advised the president that he would hold the appointment only until he turned seventy years of age. At seventy, he would retire from all ministerial duties. He knew it would be difficult for him and his wife to carry out their responsibilities during their old age. Eventually, the *palesiteni* (president) agreed.

In his newly appointed role, it was the first time he had ever experienced the life of a minister. To go from having a roof over his head to barely having anything was difficult. It was a real struggle for him and his wife. As a result, the congregation asked to borrow a house that belonged to the Free Wesleyan Church and Manase and Lavinia were able to stay in it.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Tamai: Initial Talanoa With the Father

My first *talanoa* with Hailame was during the evening at the RSA in Panmure, Auckland. Hailame chose a venue where he was comfortable to *talanoa*. I arrived early and waited outside in order to meet with him before going into the bar. Soon after, Hailame arrived. We walked inside and he pointed me to where we could sit and urged me to go there while he waited to order drinks from the bar. I offered to buy the drinks, but instead he urged me to walk over to the table. As I walked towards the table, he called my name. “What would you like to drink?”, he asked. “Beer please”, I replied. Hailame turned towards the barman and repeated, “Beer”.

Fofola ‘Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Hailame Fatai’s Story

“We have to make sure the family knowledge and code works in schooling. Because when we try to expand, we can always refer back to that ‘point of reference’ because they [Tongan people] know it’s working. The difference is doing it in a different area of life. They know our knowledge works at home. But how are they going to actually apply it so that it works in other areas of

their lives. And that's probably why you need those experienced people [grandparents] to share those little moments. The elders will remind the young and that is a point they remind or connect them to family. They can apply that family code learnt and also believe that it's working. Not like a family that do not respect each other and treat each other bad. How do you expect a boy to go to school or build their own family, when their own family is shattered and there wasn't any code passed?"

Hailame Fatai was born and raised in Tonga in the 1960s. Hailame came to New Zealand in his early twenties to pursue further education. Now at forty-nine years of age, he is a solo father living in East Auckland and raising his three children. His eldest daughter studied business at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). His son Manase Jr. was finishing off high school, and his youngest daughter was still at intermediate school.

Ako – schooling

After passing the high school entrance exams at Class 6, Hailame went on to Tonga High School. His father Manase had encouraged Hailame and his siblings to attend Tonga's most prestigious school, founded by the late King Siaosi Tupou IV. However, Hailame was the only child in the family to make it through to Tonga High School.

After Hailame completed his high school education, and to fulfill his father's promise to send them overseas, he and his younger brother flew to the US to live with Manase's first-born son. Their primary goal was to further their studies. Despite stopping over in Hawaii, and being encouraged to go outside to see what it was like, he and his younger brother Mote were determined to not miss their plane. Instead, they went straight to the gate to await their flight to their next stop in Vancouver, Canada before flying to the US.

Hailame was up front about study being the reason they were in Vancouver. However, they were told a visa could not be issued for them. They were given two choices: contact the consulate in New York to speak on their behalf and find help for them; or utilise their return fare and go back home. To avoid deportation, Hailame and Mote chose to return home. After a day and half in Canada, they flew back. Instead of returning to Tonga and after consultation with their father, the boys decided to pursue further studies in New Zealand. A couple of days later they enrolled at Bay High

School in South Auckland. As an adult student, Hailame was allowed into the Seventh Form, while Mote went into the Sixth Form.

Bay High School in 1987 was predominantly a Pakeha school. There were very few students from the Pacific Islands. Hailame was not made to wear a school uniform like other Seventh Form students. Instead he wore mufti. Hailame excelled in calculus and the sciences – physics, biology and chemistry. Despite being first in the school exams in calculus and physics, as an adult student he was not included in their prizegiving.

In his last term of Seventh Form, his biology teacher who was also his form class teacher asked him: *“What do you want to do when you get to university?”* He told her he wanted to pursue biology and zoology. She said to him however, *“I would recommend you to go and major in mathematics.”* Although he enjoyed calculus, biology opened up new possibilities and new insights. He enjoyed learning about the sea, animals, their environment, the ecosystem and how they were all linked. Understanding unseen little animals and how they relate to their environments and their link to bigger animals in the ecosystem was something that intrigued Hailame.

University education

Hailame sat the Seventh Form Bursary exams and passed. Consequently, his application to study a Bachelor of Science at the University of Auckland was accepted. Despite passing Sixth Form Certificate, Mote wanted to return home to Tonga. Hailame supported Mote’s decision.

In 1989, Hailame started his university education. Life at university was hard. Even more pressing were the demands of university study. Hailame relied on his parents to pay his fees – about NZ\$800 per year. Prior to 1994, papers at university were inexpensive compared to now. After that year, the fees increased – each paper was about NZ\$200 and students paid up to NZ\$1200 per year for six papers. Students who enrolled in eight papers paid up to NZ\$1600. In 1995, Hailame graduated with a BSc degree majoring in zoology.

Hailame’s uncle bought him a bike while they were living in Glen Innes, a suburb in east Auckland. Most days Hailame biked to university and back. At the time, there were hardly any Tongans at university. Hailame sometimes stayed at his

friend's place over in the North Shore because it was easier to travel to university, rather than to travel from his uncle's place in East Auckland. Although university was a struggle, his experiences made him strong and resilient. He knew that very few university students had similar experiences to him.

Manase senior's sacrifices

Manase Sr. always provided for his immediate and extended family. During a funeral at his father's village, Ma'ufanga, Hailame remembered his grandfather and uncles having to prepare an *'umu* to feed their family and friends. His grandfather sent another grandson on a horse and cart to collect food crops from his father. Manase Sr. provided lots of *me'akai* (food crops) for the *'umu*. The immediate family did not go hungry because Manase Sr. ensured there was always plenty of food crops. Hailame's father worked very hard in the plantation to grow enough *me'akai* to feed his *kāinga*.

Manase taught his children the value of hard work. They were taught the importance of respect and fulfilling their obligations to their extended family. When a member of his *kāinga* needed *me'akai* (food crops) such as *manioke* (cassava), *kumala* (sweet potatoe), *'ufi* (yam) or even coconuts, Manase would send his sons to their plantation to help fill the cart. His *kāinga* learnt to rely on him. Even though Manase was employed by the Tonga police, his income was not always enough to provide for his family. Sometimes they would *fakamo'ua* (borrow) to buy *sipi* (lamb). Regardless of this, Hailame's father was still able to fulfill his obligations to his *kāinga* as well as Lavinia's family.

Manase Fatai Sr. was very strict with behaviour and any behavioural problems were easily resolved. When his friends' sons became out of control, Manase Sr. would welcome the boys into their home. Not only did Hailame's dad discipline them, he also fed and clothed them. Like his own children, the boys helped out with the daily chores. As described by Hailame, it was a lot of learning for the new boys. The kids loved it at their place because they were treated just like him and his siblings. To many of the children that stayed with them, they learnt to value schooling. Therefore, they studied and helped each other with homework tasks.

Most of the teenagers who lived with Hailame's family have well paid jobs and are now supporting their own families. When they meet up, they comment on

how fortunate they were that Manase and Lavinia agreed to take them in, otherwise they would not be in the situation they are in today.

'Uta (the bush/ plantation) was a regular place of work. For some of the children, they rarely helped their fathers in the plantation. But under Manase's roof, they were all expected to help out. Sometimes the reward for working at the plantation was the movies. However, they all knew that *'uta* was not a place to muck around. From the morning until dusk, it involved a lot of hard work. Whatever food was available in the bush, they cooked it on an open fire.

Fatongia kihe kāinga – obligation to the extended family

Whenever Hailame's *fa'etangata* (mother's brother) visited his sister, he often brought *me'akai*, seafood, and Tongan-made products. To reciprocate the kindness, Manase would send Hailame and his brothers to the plantation to gather fruit and food crops to take back with his brother-in-law and his family. That kind of relationship was very strong.

Hailame's *fa'etangata* always treated his sister Lavinia with the utmost respect. His *fa'etangata's* children continue to do the same towards Hailame and his siblings. Hailame's mother, Lavinia, sacrificed a lot for her siblings to attend school. Her brother left their home in Ha'apai to attend school in Tongatapu. While he attended Tonga College, he stayed with his extended family. At first, Lavinia decided not to pursue schooling. Instead, she was sent over to the main island to work for their extended family while her brother focused on his studies. Rather than going to the plantation to help out or do any work at home, Lavinia's brother was able to concentrate on his school while she took over such responsibilities – she cooked and carried out all of the household duties.

To allow her brother to focus solely on his schooling, Lavinia chose to get married. Once she and Manase Sr. got married, her brother moved in with them until he finished his schooling. As well, Lavinia's younger siblings were sent to stay with their sister and her husband while they completed their schooling. To this day, Hailame's uncle's children have not forgotten their aunt's sacrifices for their father.

The family had a close connection to a *fa'etangata* who was married to the noble's daughter in a village called Puke on Tongatapu. When Hailame caught up

with his uncle's children, they often mentioned how their parents kept the relationship strong between the families. During Hailame's family's *fakaafe* (feast), his uncle came over with all his children. They brought *tokonaki* (uncooked food) over for the *fakaafe*. When they went home, Hailame and his brothers filled their *saliote* (cart) with their offerings. As they departed, everybody felt emotional and could not hold back their tears.

Most Tongan families today do not practice *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and other traditional values in the way they used to. According to Hailame, families have lost the real meaning of these values. When that happens, people end up building on top of something that can be shaken very easily. Therefore, the values will not last.

Leadership

As a leader at work, Hailame feels accountable for his actions and the consequences. Hailame described a situation at work where a temporary employee from another department was sent to join his team as a permanent staff member. Before Hailame's boss left for a holiday, he told Hailame to dismiss a younger temporary staff member to make room for the older male who was sent to join his team. Hailame however, chose not to follow through with his boss' advice. Rather, Hailame sought feedback from his team on the floor. After two weeks on the floor, the older male struggled to adapt to the learning required. The younger male on the floor, who was to be dismissed, learnt quickly from his co-workers.

Although Hailame can be quite strict in his role as the manager, he is empathetic towards his workers. He uses an appropriate tone and mood when dealing with disgruntled workers. His role as a leader is important to him. He does not allow his mind to be clouded by anger. "*The mind will control your emotions*", says Hailame. As much as possible, he lets staff say how they feel and when they come back the next day, some feel bad but generally most feel a lot better. At that stage, Hailame knows they would be more willing to listen to him. As described by him, "after all, they are human and may simply have been expressing some emotions that needed to come out".

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Ongō Mokopuna: Initial Talanoa With the Grandsons

I picked up Manase Jr. at his aunt's place where his grandparents lived. When he is not at his father's place, you can guarantee to find him with his grandparents. I knocked and his grandmother, Lavinia, opened the door. She happily invited me in and we chatted while I waited for Manase Jr. to finish his shower.

I could hear the voices of young children laughing and playing from the next room. Minutes later, the tall and slim figure of Manase Jr., much like his grandfather, walked into the living room. I thanked Lavinia for her time and walked towards the door where he was standing. As I walked towards Manase Jr., a somewhat tall but stockier young man was standing behind him. "*Can my cousin Christopher come as well?*", asked Manase Jr. I nodded in agreement.

The young boys decided to have our initial *talanoa* at McDonald's, a place where they normally go to with their family. Initially the boys seemed shy, but 20 minutes into our *talanoa* they were more confident and started to ask me questions about my family and my time spent in Tonga.

Fofola 'Ena Ngaahi Koloa – Manase Jr. and Christopher Fatai's Stories

Manase Jr. was born in New Zealand in 1999. In 2015, he was sixteen years of age. Manase Jr. has two sisters and being the only boy, it has been difficult for the teenager. His father Hailame was the first in his family and wider extended family to graduate with a university degree. Manase Jr. felt obligated to do the same. Although his father's primary goal for his son was to finish high school, Manase Jr. felt the need to live up to his father's legacy – to finish high school and do really well. Dissatisfied with himself for not being able to speak Tongan, he thinks that this can only be achieved if he moves to Tonga. Moving to Tonga is one future focus for this young man, but in the meantime he knows that he must finish his high school education.

Ako – schooling

Growing up, Manase Jr. had difficulty controlling his anger and frustration. At primary school, he threw a chair at a teacher and would often get into fights with other boys at his school, or from rival schools nearby. He is a lot better now though and attributes this to maturity and his family. Manase Jr. would like to pursue a career

in the army because his grandfather served as a policeman. He liked the skills offered in the military where there is a lot of discipline required; an area in his life that needs improvement.

Manase Jr. attends a co-educational school in East Auckland where students are predominantly Pasifika. Manase Jr. was endorsed with Merit in NCEA Level 1 and was only 20 credits away from getting an Excellence endorsement. Some of his close mates however, did not pass NCEA Level 1. He believed his family and friends got him through, particularly his dad, grandparents Lavinia and Manase Sr. and aunt, Velonika. Hearing his father and grandparents talk about their struggles at school in Tonga motivated Manase Jr. to do well at school. His goal is to be smart like his dad and he knows that it will not be an easy task.

At the time of our *talanoa*, the sixteen-year old teenager was doing NCEA Level 2 and had decided to take up the sciences – physics, chemistry and biology. Despite knowing how difficult they are, Manase Jr. was determined to be like his father and succeed in them. He liked his high school because he believed that most of their teachers enjoy teaching them. His favourite teacher was a Pakeha man who taught physical education (PE). This teacher was different from the others because he was funny and seemed to understand Tongan boys' humour. His PE teacher had high expectations of Manase Jr. and this resulted in Manase Jr. trusting him.

His cousin Christopher was born in Tonga and then migrated to New Zealand. Christopher's father, Mote, is Hailame's younger brother. Both Hailame and Mote came to New Zealand after they were sent back from Canada. While Hailame decided to stay in New Zealand and start his university study, Mote flew back to Tonga to help out his parents. As a year 10 in 2015, Christopher attended an affluent school for boys in East Auckland. He was sent there for rugby.

Christopher's favourite teacher in high school was Mr Fei, an Asian man in his 60s who taught him mathematics. Mr Fei was aware of Christopher's cultural heritage and made references to Tongan practices at school that helped him feel accepted. He also looked after the Tongan group during the ASB secondary schools' Polyfest event every year.

Christopher found performing Tongan *faiva* (Tongan dance) difficult at first. Most people assumed that because he was born and raised in Tonga, he knew how to perform traditional Tongan dance. Before the family moved to New Zealand, he had attended Tonga Side School, the main English speaking school in Tongatapu. At Side School, Christopher did not take part in any cultural performances.

Mr Fei was a fair teacher regardless of students' ethnic background. Christopher said that other teachers however, treated Pasifika students differently and in a negative way.

“Other teachers treat us [Pacific Islanders] differently. For example, if we don't finish our homework, some teachers are pretty harsh and say, ok, that's strike one. But when non-Pacific Island students do the same, they're not treated that way. I don't think this is fair.”

When Christopher's English teacher taught the topic of 'abuse', she decided to show a video from Facebook about how a teacher smacked kids at Tonga College and referred to this as a form of abuse. Christopher was the only Tongan in the class and the rest were *palangi*. Although he did not share how he felt with his teacher, at the time he thought it was insensitive of her to show the video without considering the effects it would have on him in class. To avoid embarrassment, Christopher moved himself from the front of the class to the back.

Manase Sr. and Lavinia Fatai – their grandparents

According to Manase Jr., their grandfather was a hardworking man even now in his 80s. He talked about his grandfather's sheer determination as evidenced by the family house he built in Tonga. During a recent visit to Tonga with his dad and his siblings, he had seen his grandfather's house. He was told the house had survived tropical cyclones. During a cyclone that hit Tonga, some of the nearby houses that were built afterwards were badly damaged. Although the windows were damaged, his grandfather's house stood strong during the storm.

Manase Sr. had sacrificed a lot, not only for his children but for his grandchildren as well. His Tongan pension was given to Mote in Tonga to help pay his children's school fees. During the *talanoa*, the boys referred to a previous experience, two years earlier when they thought their grandfather was going to pass away. Because Manase Sr. and Lavinia did not have their papers in New Zealand,

Manase Sr. chose not to go to the hospital despite feeling ill. Instead, he gave his daughter money to buy panadol as treatment. Eventually, when he recovered, he decided to give up smoking. Manase Jr. and Christopher described that particular moment and how it forced them to look outside into the garden and wonder as to who would take care of it when their grandfather was no longer around.

Christopher explained that every day except Sundays, Manase Sr. spent most of his time outdoors. During Summer, Manase Sr's routine involved waking up at seven in the morning and going out into the garden, often not returning inside until it is almost dark. Their grandmother, Lavinia, is also a hard worker. But she spends most of her time inside the house taking care of the younger grandchildren. During special occasions such as a birthday or when someone did something good at school, they all go over to their aunt's place. Manase and Lavinia often told the boys stories about how hard life was for them and their fathers in Tonga. Their grandparents always encouraged their older grandchildren to endure and finish school. As well, they were reminded to enjoy life.

Manase Jr. and his cousin Christopher talked about another special moment shared with their grandparents. It was a week day and they had all just finished their dinner. The boys and their younger cousins were playing in the living room. Their grandfather walked into his room and called for both his grandsons. Manase Jr. and Christopher were told to massage their grandfather because he felt achy and his legs were cramping. Manase Jr. was made to massage the top half of his grandfather's body, while Christopher massaged his legs and toes. Not long after, Lavinia walked into the room and sat on her single bed opposite them.

The room was dark, small and cramped. As the young boys busily massaged their grandfather's achy muscles, they could feel the cold from outside transcend into the dark room. Lavinia started to talk about them fulfilling their responsibilities to their younger cousins. Knowing their time would soon come, the grandparents reminded the boys about imparting stories about them to their younger brothers and sisters. She spoke about how happy they would be when they finally leave this world and await their Lord Jesus Christ's arrival on Judgement day. As described by Christopher, "*somehow everything in our mind just stopped and we just cried*".

Every time Manase Jr. and Christopher's grandparents talked about their passing, it always triggered the boys' emotions. Lavinia would also cry. Manase Sr. however, never cried at all. The only time he saw his grandfather shed tears was when he preached in front of the altar at church. For them, the sad tone in their grandparents' voices brought the two teenage boys to tears. The grandparents reminded the boys of their obligation to not only their parents, but to their younger cousins as well.

Hailame Fatai – setting the standard

Manase Jr. described his dad as smart and referred to his dad's certificates as evidence. "Hailame is a good dad", said Manase Jr. When Manase Jr's parents separated and he had the mumps and when he woke up in the morning he ran to his father to show him the lump on his neck. Hailame took him straight to the hospital. *"Dad took me to the hospital, and he was just there. I felt good knowing Dad was there for me when I needed him."*

When asked whether he thought his father was proud of him, Manase Jr. replied: *"Sometimes...I think he is proud of me...in school mainly. I try and make him proud of me, but in schooling mainly."* Christopher explained that for his grandparents and parents, schooling is extremely important to them. Everything else comes after education. Sport comes second. As a keen rugby player, his family keep reminding him that to do well in sport, he needs a good education.

Christopher described his uncle as diligent and hard working. Most nights, Hailame would call them and do quizzes with them as well as other activities related to learning. Hailame identified and encouraged their strengths. He gave them advice on what they needed to focus on in that particular subject.

According to Christopher, Hailame had set the standard for the family. Despite most of his brothers completing high school, Hailame was the only one who pursued and finished university study. After the second eldest brother, Tevita, finished teaching in Tonga, he travelled to Australia to pursue higher education, but then decided to leave his studies. Once Hailame graduated with his university degree, Tevita decided to go back and finish his study. If his grandfather, Manase Sr. had not encouraged his children to strive for the best in education, they would be worse off

right now. *“Manase told them that if they did good in schooling, they would do good in other things as well”*, said Christopher.

Chapter 9: Fofola ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Finau

Fakafe’ilo’aki e Fāмили: Introducing the Finau Family

Viliami Finau is in his early 60s and unlike most civil servants in Tonga, he feels he is not yet ready for retirement. As Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of one of Tonga’s largest public enterprise groups, Viliami has given over 40 years of service. Viliami graduated with a science degree from a University in the US. His aspiration was to educate all his children overseas. Throughout our talanoa, Viliami’s thoughts and memories were of his father, Alamoti, and his emotions were difficult to hold back. He attributes his success in life to his father’s teachings and sacrifices.

Paula Finau, in his mid 40s, is Viliami’s second eldest son. During high school, Paula went to ‘Atenisi, an institute in Tonga initiated by Tongan scholar and philosopher, Futa Helu. Paula was born in Hawaii while his father was studying towards his undergraduate degree. He was later sent to his paternal grandparents who lived in Tonga. As the only child to complete his high school education, his father paid for Paula to attend a training institution in New Zealand. Now a successful businessman, Paula attributes his strong business skills, determination and ngāue mālohi (strong work ethic) to his parents and grandparents.

Dante and Miguel are Paula’s twin boys. At sixteen years of age, their father sent them both to boarding school in New Zealand. Both boys value their father’s decision for them abroad to study. Despite the challenges of being in a new environment, Dante and Miguel have settled in well and understand what it means to work hard in order to succeed. Striving to become a doctor, Dante is unsure where he will start his medical degree. Miguel however, hopes to continue his studies at university and one day take over his father’s business in Tonga.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Kui: Initial Talanoa With the Grandfather

At first, I felt nervous because I was about to meet the CEO of a government organisation. The last thing I wanted to do was to behave in a way that was disrespectful to him. Despite having immersed myself in the literature about the use of *talanoa* across different disciplines and different contexts in the Pacific, I still did not feel at ease. For some reason, I felt really anxious.

Dressed in my *tupenu* and *ta’ovala* (traditional woven mat worn around the waist), I walked into the building and joined the queue of four people waiting to pay their monthly bills. The young girl sitting behind the glass window looked at me and urged that I come forward. “*Oku ke ha’u kia hai?*”, she asked (Who are you here for?). I responded, “*Viliami Finau*” (the CEO). “*Tali he matapā ko é ‘oku tāpuní pea*

e ha'u ha taha ke 'ave koe", she advised. She suggested I take a seat next to the door towards the back of the room and someone would come and get me. Five minutes later, a woman dressed in a green *puletaha* (traditional dress) opened the door that required a pin code. "David?". "Yes", I replied. Viliami's secretary then directed me through the door, which could only be opened from the inside, to her desk. She advised Viliami that I had arrived. Moments later she led me into a room towards the end of the office.

Inside the boardroom was a rectangular wooden table which occupied almost the entire room. It was surrounded by pristine-looking black leather chairs. On one side of the wall hung portraits of well-dressed men sitting around a rectangular table, with the late king George Tupou V as the central figure in the photo. The secretary showed me where to wait and said Viliami would be in shortly. As I sat there, I noticed plaques on the other side of the wall closest to the door. They were plaques awarded to the organisation by a regional group in the Pacific for 'financial success' in 2011 and 2012. In addition, an award had been given in 2012 to the organisation led by Viliami for its exceptional management.

In later *talanoa* meetings conducted, after I had listened to the recording of our first meeting, I asked Viliami to elaborate on his previous descriptions. A few new questions arose from the previous *talanoa*. I had written down these questions. Although the paper with my new questions was never placed on the table, Viliami asked for a copy so that he would be able to anticipate the questions beforehand and think about what to say and how to respond.

The rich in-depth stories came later when we started talking about his father and other members of his family. Our *talanoa* was mainly carried out in the Tongan language, however some of Viliami's responses were in English. His story unfolded over several meetings.

Fofola 'Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Viliami Finau's story

"Ko 'ene [Alamoti] talanoa kia kimaautolu, 'oku hangē ia koe tatalá. Ku o ne hanga 'o talatala ki tu'a 'a e anga 'o 'ene mo'ui, 'o talamai kia kimaautolu. 'Oku ou kei manatu 'i lelei pē. Koe mo'ui faka'ofa 'aupito 'aupito 'e anga 'ene mo'ui, ka ko e ngaahi me'a 'aonga foki ia."

His [Alamoti] stories told to us, it's like him revealing knowledge. He revealed to us his struggles. I still remember them well. It wasn't an easy life at all and his experiences were useful.

Viliami was born in February 1952. As part of a large family, Viliami was one of seven children born to Alamoti and Mafi Finau. Originally, he was one of four boys. However, two passed away when they were very young and he and his younger brother Luke were the only sons left. Viliami, Luke and their three sisters all went to school in Tonga. After high school, Viliami was sent by his father to stay with an older sister in Hawaii. At university, Viliami received a science degree in geology. Luke also completed university study and gained an engineering degree, majoring in electrical engineering, in Papua New Guinea. Viliami's three sisters now live in Tonga, New Zealand and the United States.

Alamoti – Viliami's father

Alamoti was a very quiet and hard-working man. He was born in 1908 in Ha'apai, one of the three main Tongan island groups. Because the family had no money to pay his primary school fees, Alamoti was forced to stay home. Most of his time, he either spent working in the plantations or drinking *kava* (beverage made from the root of a native plant). At the age of twelve, Alamoti saw an opportunity to pursue high school education. As a result, he left home in Ha'apai and travelled south to the main island of Tongatapu. Having nothing but the clothes on his back, he hid himself on board a ship. The arduous 181 kilometre journey took days.

When he arrived in Tongatapu, he had nothing. Without any extended family around to depend on, the reality of being homeless loomed large in his mind. Luckily, a family in Nuku'alofa eventually took him in. After hearing his story, a mutual agreement was made between them. In exchange for a roof over his head and payment of his school fees, Alamoti would do odd jobs around the house like chopping firewood. People saw his potential and commitment to work so he was sent to Tonga College (*'Atele*), a prominent school for boys in Tonga.

Alamoti made use of the little he had. Despite having no *kāinga* to rely on because most of them were back in Ha'apai, the thought of giving up was not an option. On Saturdays, he washed his only set of clothes, the same ones he had on when he left Ha'apai. He used his towel to cover himself while waiting for his clothes

to dry. At school, he only had one exercise book for all his subjects. He wrote in pencil so that he could rub it off and re-use the same book the following year. He used *tala'i moli* (thorn from an orange tree) and *la'i loufau* (leaves of the fau tree) to mend the tears in his clothes.

“Ko e mo'ui ko ia 'a 'akū 'oku ou ma'u tukufakaholo ia mei he'eku tangata'eiki. Ko e tangata maama mo'oni. Na'e fakapotopoto 'aupito he me'a fakasilini. Na'e 'ikai ke 'i ai ha me'a ia ko e fakamole no'aia.”

How I live my life, I have inherited from my father. He was very wise with money. He was very strict with spending money. There was no such thing as wasting money.

When Alamoti finished high school, he trained to become a teacher. He was ambidextrous, able to write using his left and right hands. After a short stint as a teacher, he joined the police force. His goal was to become a detective. Consequently, Alamoti was sent to Fiji by the police force to learn about tracing fingerprints. His career as a police officer helped prepare him for his role as a magistrate. His career as a magistrate and dedication to public service are what many people in Tonga remember and admire him for.

Although Alamoti retired in his 50s and was on a government retirement fund pension, he was later recalled by the government to return to his judicial duties. As described by Viliami, the majority of the judges today were his father's law clerks at the time. They were trained by his father. Over 52 years of public service as a teacher, police man and judge, Alamoti took pride in his work and was committed to his responsibilities as a public servant.

“Ko 'eku tangata'eiki ko e me'a pē 'e ua na'e tokanga ki ai. Koe lotú pē mo e ngāue'i he 'aho ki he 'aho. Lotu 'aupito pē ia mo ngāue. Ko e taimi foki ia koé na'e ikai ke loko lahi 'a e me'alelé ia. Na'e luelue pē ki he ngāué 'o tali fakamaau he fale fakamaau'angá pea to e lue foki mai.”

My father cared about two things – church and work. Everyday, it was church and work. Always about church and work. In those days there were hardly any vehicles. He would walk to the courthouse and wait for the proceedings and at the end of the day he'd walk back home.

Alamoti's friends and family often asked him why neither of his sons pursued a career in law. Viliami's father simply responded:

“‘Oku ‘ikai teu pule ‘iate kinautolu. Tuku pé ke fai ‘aki pē ‘enau filí.” I don’t control them, I leave them to make their own choices.

Viliani valued the knowledge learnt from his late father. His father’s struggles, relationships with other people, and strong work ethic helped Viliani deal with some of the struggles of schooling and in his workplace.

“‘Oku ongo ‘aupito kiate au ‘a e fa’ahinga mo’ui faka’ofa lahi na’e mo’ui ai ‘eku tangata’eiki. ‘Oku ou tukuloto’i ia, pea hoko pē ‘ou to’onga mo’ui’aki. Na’a ku sio ki he anga ko ia ‘ene mo’ui’i homau ‘apí. Ko e tangata na’e ngāue mālohi, ngāue fakamātoato, tokanga ki he ngāue pea fa’a ngāue ma’u pe. ‘Oku ou tui peá u toki vakai, ko e me’a mahu’inga ‘aupito eni ‘oku tefito ai ho’o fekumí.”

I am often overwhelmed when thinking about my father’s struggles. I kept his values inside my thoughts and feelings and now they are a part of how I live my life. I saw how he lived at home. He was hard working, committed to everything he did, cared about his job and he always went to work. So I think what you’re looking at in your study is very important.

Paula Finau – Viliani’s son

Viliani described Paula, his second eldest son as being similar in nature to his father and himself. Paula was always *fakalongolongo* (quiet and humble). Viliani attributes this to the fact that his son was adopted by his grandparents at a very young age.

“Ko Paula foki ‘okú ne ma’u ‘a e me’a ko iá [‘ulungāanga fakapotopoto] he na’e pusiaki’i pē ‘e he ongo matu’á. ‘Oku anga fakalongolongo pē ‘o hoko kia Alamoti mo au. ‘Okú i ai foki e māhanga e taha ‘oku pehē pē ‘oku anga fakalongolongo, anga fakapotopoto mo ngāue pehē pē.”

Paula has those attributes [smart and wise] because he was adopted by my parents. He is a quiet person like his grandfather and me. He has a twin who is similar, very quiet, wise and works like that.

He would often talk to Paula and say “*tokanga kiho ngāue*” – focus on your job. Everything he did, whether at work or at home, Viliani carried it out to the best of his ability. When his children were growing up, it was his goal for them to always work hard. Paula, his second eldest son, had acquired his parents’ and grandparents’ strong work ethic.

Ako – schooling

When Viliami's father was called to work in Vava'u, he went along with him. It was in Vava'u that Viliami started his primary education. In Class 5, all students in Tonga sat their entry exams to determine which high school they would attend. Similarly today, most schools in Tonga have an entry requirement and students are ranked on the basis of their total marks across four subjects – English, Lea Tonga, maths and science.

At age ten, Viliami was one of five students from the entire student cohort in Vava'u to pass the entry exam into Tonga's most prestigious school, Tonga High School. Known also as 'Tonga High', entry is always competitive. The state school was initiated by the late King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV in the early 1960s, and only the top students from the Kingdom went to the school. Of the five students that passed the entry exam, Viliami was the only male. He took pride in this achievement. In that same year, for some unknown reason, the exam results were misplaced. Viliami seemed to think the exams were lost. Consequently, all students were made to re-sit the exam. Despite feeling nervous, the same five passed. Four of the students including himself went to Tonga High. One of the girls decided to attend Liahona High School instead, a Mormon faith-based school in Tongatapu.

In 1963, at eleven years of age, Viliami started his secondary education as a Form 1 student at Tonga High School. The school was very strict. The principal at the time, a man who looked to be in his 50s, was sent from New Zealand to look after the interests of the school. When students failed to abide by the rules and after three warnings, they were severely punished. Students were told to bend over a chair and were strapped for their disobedience. The students were afraid of the principal and to avoid punishment they kept to the rules.

Everything was new to Viliami. Students were expected to show and always maintain high standards of behaviour. Their uniform had to be immaculate. Boys wore red caps, grey shirt and shorts held up using a leather belt. Their long grey socks were worn up to their knees with black leather shoes. All haircuts were short and if they grew out past their ears, this indicated it was time for another trim. For the majority of the boys, including Viliami, it was easier to shave their heads bald.

“*‘Oku ou manatu ki he taimi koé he ‘ohovale lahi ‘a’aku hono kosi ‘e he’eku tangata’eiki hoku ‘ulú. Ko e fo’i kosi na’e tataha pē ia ki he mei pokó. Ko e tangi lahi ‘a’aku he’eku fakamāia he taimi ko é.*”

I remember a time being shocked after my father cut my hair. He cut my hair until I was almost bald. I cried because I was felt embarrassed back then.

Viliami focused on two things at high school – study and rugby. The team was coached by one of their teachers. Because the student population was low, only one team was entered in the college competition. Tonga College (*Atele*), Tupou College (*Toloa*) and the Teachers’ Training College were strong contenders in the grade. Compared to the boys from the other schools, the Tonga High School boys were tiny. Viliami’s young team however, were prevented from playing in the competition. As an alternative, their coach and teachers from Tonga High selected students from other schools who were of similar age to play against them.

Pōako, or group study took place every evening at Viliami’s home. There were usually three or four of them. His cousin always slept over. The *pōako* was to motivate and help them help each other improve their learning. They would learn new content about a subject and clarify ideas they knew little about. At the end of every year, in every subject, students at Tonga High were ranked based on their overall performance. Viliami would always be in the top ten ranked students in his subjects.

In 1971, at his sister’s request, their father made the decision to send Viliami to Hawaii to stay with her while she attended a commerce school. After his final high school exams in 1970, he was sent to stay with his sister. His father’s aspiration was for him to continue his studies. With limited scholarships available to support his study, Viliami had no choice but to enrol in a local high school in Hawaii in order to gain the credits for university. Because he was unfamiliar with Hawaii’s education system, gaining the pre-requisites for entry into university proved challenging. Despite the challenges however, after two years he gained the necessary requirements to start higher education.

Throughout high school, he always felt comfortable with the science-based subjects so he enrolled in a science degree majoring in water engineering. Having no background knowledge of the subject area, he changed his major to geology and geophysics. He knew no one in Tonga had a degree in the field and that motivated

him to pursue this area. Even today, there are only three other people in Tonga who have graduated in geology or geophysics. As part of the degree programme, they were required to complete labs and field trips which made it different to other programmes. For Viliami, it was an opportunity to learn more about this field. In hindsight, Viliami is happy that he majored in this field otherwise he would not have been able to do the work that he loves doing.

Moving to a new environment can be quite a devastating experience. For Viliami, the struggle to adjust to life away from everything that was familiar was difficult at first. There were two other young Tongan men at the University, but they majored in sociology and were based in the School of Humanities. Being in the School of Sciences, Viliami was a fair distance away from them. The content was new to him and there were not many people around that he could talk to, or seek help from within his field. He believed that had there been more Tongan students to study with, it would have helped lessen the feeling of being homesick.

“Ka ko e hū ia ki he ‘univēsiti na’e faingata’a ‘aupito. Na’e ‘ikai ke fu’u faingata’a ka na’e pau pe ke te a’usia ‘a e ngaahi makatu’unga mo e u me’a pehē.....Na’a mau toko tolu Tonga he ‘univesiti. Ka na’a ku ongo’i ta’elata ‘aupito he taimi ko ia ‘eku hū ki ai. Ikai ke u ta’elata ‘i ha me’a ka ko e faingata’a e akó pea fakatupu ta’elata leva kiate au.”

Going to university was very hard. Its not really hard but you had to go through the struggles.....There were of us Tongans at the university. But I felt very homesick when I started university. It was the struggles at university that made me feel homesick.

During his first year of higher education, Viliami spent most of his time on campus. The money he had was only enough for his bus fare to and from university. Any additional cash was used to buy a sandwich from the vending machine. However, the sandwich was not sufficient to sustain the energy required for him to study until nine thirty in the evening when it was time to go home.

“Faingata’a e akó to e faingata’a ange e nofó he ‘ikai ke ‘i ai ha silini fe’unga. To’o hake e sēniti ia mei he kató na’e si’isi’i, pea u fakapotopoto’i’aki ‘eku totongi pasi. Ne te ‘alu atu ‘o fakatau e ki’i kaati heka pasi ma’ama’a taha pea te ngāue’aki ia ke te ‘alu ki he ‘apiako.”

Not only was schooling hard, but also not having enough money to live on made it more of a struggle. I remember trying to get money out from my bag and it was only enough for my bus fare. I would buy the cheapest bus card and use it to get to school.

Every day, in the early hours of the morning, Viliami walked to the bus stop to commute to school. Walking to the bus stop to catch the bus back home in the late hours of the evening made he feel extremely homesick. His immediate thoughts were of his father and family. Not even the street lights made a difference to how lost he felt during those moments. In addition, the fact that he was new to the field of geology and geophysics added to his feelings of being overwhelmed and somewhat removed from university studies.

Viliami always looked forward to the summer holidays. On a few occasions, his father paid his fare back to Tonga. Committing to the new field of geology and geophysics was something his father encouraged Viliami to do; he felt it was timely. At the time, the excavation of oil and other minerals was developing in Tonga and his father saw this as an opportunity for his son once he completed his studies.

“He ko e taimi ia ko iá, lolotonga fai foki ‘a e fekumi ki he loló heni, ‘a ia ko e fitungofulu tupu ia. Talamai he ‘eku tangata’eiki ke u ako mālohi. Ka ma’u ‘eku mata’itohi teu ha’u ‘o tokoni. Ka ma’u e loló he fonuá ni pea ko ko e te ke fakahā mo talatalaifale e tu’i.”

During that time, they were looking for oil here in Tonga which was in the 1970s. My father told me to study and work hard. Once I receive my degree, I can come back to Tonga and help out. He told me that, “If they find oil on the land, you can be an advisor to the king”.

When Viliami returned to Tonga in 1979, he was asked to summarise an entire report about the excavation of oil to present to the late King, Taufa’ahau Tupou IV. The report was extensive and very technical so it required someone with knowledge in the field to unpack and summarise the information for His Majesty. Viliami’s education at university in geology and geophysics was appropriate for the work he was about to undergo in Tonga.

‘Api ngāue – workplace

In 1979, Viliami moved back to Tonga and worked for the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources before it changed its name and structure. The Ministry was subsequently split into two, based on the two main natural resources required in Tonga at the time – energy and water. After working for them for 16 years, in January 1995 he was appointed as the CEO of a government funded organisation. Viliami has been at the helm of the company for 20 years.

As the newly appointed leader, he was initially given a five-year term. An outstanding debt left by the previous general manager was one of the first obstacles for him to overcome. Viliami's goal that year was to reduce spending and costs in order to bring its books out of deficit. In June of 1995, six months into his role as CEO, an auditor was sent to audit their books. Much to Viliami's surprise, the company was now in credit.

To be wise and strict about spending were key values instilled in Viliami by his father.

“Na'e poto 'aupito a Alamoti. Fakapotopoto 'aupito he fakamolé pea 'ikai ke 'i ai ha me'a ko e fakamole noanoa'ia. Na'e to e fai pē 'e kitá i muli. He 'ikai pé ke to e mole ia. Fa'ahinga loto 'oku 'iate au 'oku mei he'eku tangata'eikí pē.”

Alamoti was very wise and very strict when it came to saving money. There was no such thing as spending money on frivolous things. I practiced the same values overseas. They will never disappear. The kinds of values and knowledge within me, they come from my father.

Viliami's eldest son was named after his father. According to Viliami, Alamoti Jr. and Paula, his two eldest sons, have inherited their grandfather's habits and practices.

“Ko Alamoti si'i 'eku tamasi'i lahi, 'oku mo'ui fakapotopoto 'aupito. Ko ia pē mo Paula. Ko e toengá 'oku ikai kenau pehē kinautolu.”

My eldest son Alamoti Junior (Jr.) is wise. Both Alamoti Jr. and Paula. The rest of my children are not like them.

His friends and family describe him as *nima ma'u*, meaning 'tight with money'. They think of him as someone who does not willingly give to people, or like to spend money on frivolous things. Paul described his father as *fakapotopoto* (wise), particularly when it came to finance-related matters. Like his father Alamoti, Viliami is not only hard working but is also committed to seeing tasks through to the end. Viliami's ability to save money has resulted in the acquisition of assets through the ownership of a building, a shop and his own construction company. In doing so, Viliami has provided people with job opportunities.

To save on electricity, Viliami developed a practical solution in his workplace. From twelve thirty to one thirty every day, the lights in the office are turned off. His

father Alamoti was a man who tried to live wisely, both at home and in his workplace. He tried to live a simple life. Turning off the lights in order to save power at work was not Viliami's main goal. Of significance, the CEO wanted his workers to take the idea back to their homes and their villages and to teach their children about being wise and living wisely.

Every weekend Viliami gathers his friends at his place to drink *kava*. The mature men get together not only to drink *kava*, but also to *pō talanoa* about matters important to them. They discuss concerns related to the village and political matters that impact the government and the people of Tonga. Sometimes the men would watch rugby games on television. In addition, Viliami Finau has made it his responsibility to help his friends save money for themselves and their families for Christmas. The men give Viliami their money and he records and saves it for them. During Christmas, they are given back their savings. Viliami takes pride in the fact that he is able to help his friends.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Tamai: Initial Talanoa With the Father

To prepare for my initial *talanoa* with Paula, I made sure I had arrived at least 30 minutes prior to our meeting time. After asking a colleague for directions to the building, I soon found Paula's workplace.

Paula Finau and I met at his office located in a two storey building in town. When I first arrived at the site, 'Emeline, Paula's wife, who also had an office on the site, walked out and was startled to see me standing there. Although not totally oblivious to who I was there to see, she stopped and asked:

“*‘Oku ke ha’u kia Paula? ‘Io, kātaki fakamolemole. Tali kau tā ki ai.’*”

Are you here for Paula? “Yes please”, I replied to her. “Wait here and I will call him”, she said.

'Emeline pulled out her phone and immediately dialled Paula's number. “*Teke ha’u taimi ni, he kuo a’u mai e tamasi’i*”, she asked (Will you come now because the young man has arrived). Not long after, a tall looking man of solid build walked from the back of the building. After having met his father, I could see the family resemblance.

Paula's distinct look and dress code suggested he was a tradesman. What stood out were his heavy boots which had thick black soles – the kind of boots that tradesmen often wore. 'Emeline was elegantly dressed with her hair tied up in a bun. She unlocked his office for us to use.

Later, 'Emeline came back and placed two one-litre bottles of water on the wooden table. Despite the warm and humid summer air, the bottles were still cold. She turned to us and said, "*If you need anything else, let me know*", and then returned to her own office. I felt comfortable with Paula. Our *talanoa* seemed different to the *talanoa* I had with his father in the week prior. It did not feel rushed as there were no time constraints.

Fofola 'Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Paula Finau's Story

"Ko e akó koe me'a lahi taha na'e lea ai 'eku tamaí he taimi 'o e kei kolisí, 'o teke kimautilu ki he ako. Pea na'e 'ikai pē ke fu'u mahu'inga mālie 'i he taimi lahi.....taimí ni 'oku ou tui 'oku 'aonga 'aupito 'a e fokotu'u mo e fakakaukau 'eku tamaí ki he'eku akó. 'Oku ou tui kapau na'e 'ikai ke ne 'ave au 'o akó i muli 'e 'ikai keu 'ilo'i pe te u 'i fē he taimi ni."

During high school, my father discussed and motivated us to focus on schooling. But most of the time we did not fully understand its value. Now, I believe my father's decisions had real significance in my education. I believe if he did not send me to study overseas, I'm not sure where I would be right now.

Paula was born in 1975 and is the second-born son of Viliami and Lātū Finau. Paula is married to 'Emeline and they have three children – a daughter and twin boys. Months after Paula was born, he was *ohi* (adopted) by his paternal grandparents and sent to Tonga to live. As described by Paula and his father, he was his grandparents' *pele* (beloved or favourite) grandchild. His fond memories, often affirmed by other family members' recollections, were of him being favoured by his grandparents – both Alamoti and Mele. His first birthday celebration was huge and was celebrated by many people. Paula's grandparents had a shop. He remembered crying for some reason and his grandmother telling a family member to take him to the shop to stop him from crying. At the family shop, he was allowed to chose whatever he wanted.

Viliami Finau – Paula's father

Viliami is similar to Alamoti, Paula's grandfather. As told by Paula, a distinction between the two however, was that when he was growing up, his

grandfather was open to talking about personal matters. When Paula and Viliami get together and *talanoa*, it is not about personal things. They talked mainly about business, usually in relation to Viliami's businesses and work and Paula's business and how they could be improved.

“Ko e me'a pē 'oku tatau ai 'eku kui mo 'eku tamaí. Ko 'ena founhá, he ná meimei fai e faka-fāmili he Sāpate kotoa pē. Ko 'ena me'a pē 'oku talá, ko e feinga ke teke e akó. Meimei 'i he taimi kotoa pē.”

The similarity between my grandfather and my father is how they organise and conduct the *fakafāmili* (family prayer) on Sundays. They both encouraged schooling. Almost every time.

The '*fakafāmili*' was a common weekly activity for Paula's parents and his siblings and it involved prayer and *pō talanoa*. The *fakafāmili* was where Paula's parents *talanoa* with their children about school and other related matters. For Paula and his siblings, this was a regular event every Sunday. After their morning church service, the family sat in the *lotofale* (living room) for their '*fakafāmili*'.

According to Paula, *ako* was the main focus during *fakafāmili*. All were encouraged by their parents to finish their high school education.

“...taimi 'e ni'ihí ne hoko e fakafāmili kia kimautilu 'o hangē ha fo'i tauteá. Ko e teke pē, hangē ha tautea'i kitá. 'Eke mai, “'oku hā e ako? Fēfē e? Hā e?” Ka kuo pau foki ke fai ē. Ne hoko pe ia, ke te sio ai 'o 'ilo'i kíta. Ko e mālō hono teke kitá he na'e 'aonga. Neongo na'e lahi e taimi na'á ku 'osi fo'i au he fanongo ki he me'a tatau pē, ka 'oku ou sio, 'oku 'aonga pē. Pea 'oku ha'u ai pē o hoko mai ki he taimi ni hono fai 'a e me'a tatau pē.”

Sometimes the *fakafāmili* felt like punishment for us. Our parents asked us, “how was school?; how was this and that?” But we had to do it. It forced us to look at ourselves. I'm glad they pushed us because it was useful. Even though a lot of the time I had had enough of listening to the same things, but now I see that it was all useful. And the same has continued up until today.

As a father, Paula has continued *fakafāmili* on Sundays with his own children. Looking back, although he valued the encouragement from his father, he wants to conduct *fakāfamili* in a different way. Paula wants to use *fakafāmili* as a time in which he and his boys, Dante and Miguel are able to talk about personal matters. He wants to share with the boys about some of the problems they may face such as getting married at a young age or having a girlfriend, and not just about schooling.

Paula wants to be more open with his children. Because he and ‘Emeline were married at a young age, he wants his boys to take a different path. Marriage and going to school at the same time was hard for him and ‘Emeline. Talking more openly with Dante and Miguel will help him guide his sons to focus and finish school before starting a family.

As a parent, Paula’s father wanted his children to finish school and go further than him. He wanted them all to attend university abroad. During *fakafāмили*, he encouraged them to complete their schooling in Tonga and then pursue higher education overseas. He created an incentive – whomever completed their high school education, he would pay for them to study abroad. Paula was the only child to finish school at ‘Atenisi and Fokololo before going overseas to study electrical engineering at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT).

Alamoti mo Mele – Paula’s grandparents

Alamoti, Paula’s grandfather, was a caring and loving man. He loved his grandchildren very much. At one time, Alamoti was annoyed at Paula’s mother, Lātū, for disciplining one of his grandchildren, he immediately told her off. Paula’s grandmother, Mele, was also loving and caring. The family owned a shop in town and Mele managed the store. She was business-minded and was no stranger to hard work. In fact, it was her and Lātū that inspired Paula into owning a business. Mele gathered and sold *koloa* Tonga such as *ngatu*, *fala* and *ta’ovala*.

Alamoti’s expectation was for Paula to choose his own area to focus and work in. Whatever area he chose, Alamoti wanted Paula to take it seriously and pursue it wholeheartedly. Unlike other grandparents in Tonga who would often tell their grandchildren what they wanted them to become, Alamoti was more concerned about his grandson finding a vocation he enjoyed.

In 1987, Paula had just started high school when his grandfather, Alamoti passed away while visiting the doctors in New Zealand. He was about seventy-nine years of age. His grandfather was returned home for burial. Alamoti was well respected by his peers and *kāinga*. His funeral service was huge. The funeral was conducted at their place as well as two other properties next to the family home which belonged to members of their wider extended family. Although Paula was young, he

could still remember the number of people that turned up to pay their respects to his grandfather. He also recollects the number of male members within his *kāinga* who gathered together and prepared the *'umu* next door to feed the number of people that attended the funeral service.

As a business owner, Paula has acquired a similar mind-set to his grandmother, Mele. He works hard and has adopted the practice of not freely giving things away to family members which was often normal practice by Tongan people. Most Tongans willingly give things away as part of relationship building and reciprocity. Running a business requires motivation, skill and determination. Few of the small businesses in Tonga have failed because the owners lacked industry knowledge and their inability to draw the line between professional relationships and personal relationships with their friends and family. According to Paula, to maintain and grow a business, one cannot give away things easily but must first assess how this will impact the company.

Ako – schooling

Now in his mid 40s, Paula Finau is a successful businessman in Tonga. He has recently acquired new projects with organisations in New Zealand and other parts of the Pacific. Paula regards education overseas as an important part of schooling. As the only child to finish his education and continue his studies abroad, the decision to send his twin boys to New Zealand for schooling was influenced by his father's decision for him to study overseas.

In 1987, whilst in Form 1, Paula's grandfather sent him to 'Atenisi High School. Developed in 1964 by the late Futa Helu, a Tongan philosopher and scholar, the school's philosophy was to produce critical Tongan scholars whose aim was to pursue higher education. 'Atenisi University was later established in 1974 on the same site as the high school. What had once been a swamp area in the western district of Nukualofa, was developed by Futa Helu into a learning environment where Tongan students were able to engage in critical discussions and practice.

Paula however, chose not to follow the traditions of the school. In high school, he excelled in mathematics, physics and geology. Students were encouraged to

continue onto university studies. Despite the expectations by the school for students to pursue higher education, Paula saw electrical engineering as the vocation for him.

“Na’aku sio au ko e ‘alu ko é he ‘uhilá ‘e fe’unga mo aú, te u lava ‘o tokoni’i lelei ai e fāmili. ‘A ia na’aku sio pē he taimi ko iá i ‘Atenisi kuo u lava au ‘o tala. Neongo pe te te ako kita a’u ki he PhD moe me’a, ka ‘oku ‘i ai e kautama ia na’a nau ma’u ‘e kinautolu ‘a e mata’itohi lelei ka ‘oku ‘ikai ke nau ma’u ngāue kinautolu. ‘A iá ‘o kehe leva ia mo e me’a ‘oku nau talá, ‘alu ki he ako mā’olunga tahá he’e tokoni’i leva ‘e he pule’anga hoto familí moe tokotaha kotoa. ‘Ikai pē ke tatau ia mo ‘eku fakakaukáu.”

I saw that if I focused on electrical engineering, I could use that knowledge to help the family. That was how I saw it at that time at ‘Atenisi. Even if you keep studying towards the PhD; there are people who have gained degrees but cannot find work. So this was different to what they were telling us, attend the top schools because the government will help your family and everyone else. I never felt the same way.

When he graduated from ‘Atenisi high school, he enrolled at the Fokololo Institute, a tertiary school which focused on technical subjects and training. Fokololo offered electrical engineering, carpentry, and automotive engineering. Paula’s passion was electrical engineering. While studying at the Fokololo Institute, which was also known as the Tonga Institute of Vocational Training (TIVT), he took up unpaid part time work with his uncle Luke, his father’s younger brother, so that he could acquire industry specific work experience.

Paula and ‘Emeline were married in 1994 when both were students at ‘Atenisi. Despite both being young newlyweds, they were still able to complete their studies. However, both found the experience difficult. Paula talked about the struggles of being married. The expectation to look after the family as well as complete their studies was hard on them. While pregnant with the twins, ‘Emeline travelled to Europe to complete her diploma. After six months abroad, she came back to Tonga to give birth to the boys before returning to complete her studies.

After completing his electrical engineering programme at Fokololo, Paula could go no further in Tonga. His father decided to pay his fees so that he could complete his diploma in New Zealand. At the same time, ‘Emeline gained a Cambridge scholarship to complete her Masters degree at a New Zealand university. For two years, the children were left with their maternal grandparents while their parents strived to complete their studies overseas. Without his father’s financial

support to pay his fees and his in-laws taking care of his children, Paula would not have been able to finish his diploma. Despite the struggle with being in a new environment abroad and being away from his children, this motivated Paula to complete his studies.

Paula desires to have an open relationship with his children. Worried they may go through a similar experience, he wants to be more open in conversation with them, that is, to be able to *talanoa* with them about marriage and other personal concerns they have.

“Mālō pe ‘ema tolonga mai maua ki he taimi ni ‘a e malí mo ‘ema nofo malí. Mālō e lava e akó ia. ‘A ia ‘oku ou sio, ko e me’a ia na’aku feinga ke u fakamahino ki he ‘eku fānau ke ako ke ‘osi. Koe’uhingá ‘oku ta’epau pe tena lava’i e fo’i hala ko ia nau lava’i pé ikai. Ko e me’a ia na’aku feinga ke ki’i tau’ataina ‘eku talanoa mo ‘eku fānau ‘o kehe mei a Viliami kia au. Ka e mālō pe e feinga o ‘osi. Ka koe me’a ‘oku ou sio ki ai na’a fai ‘o hoko ha me’a ki he ‘eku fānau ko e me’a tatau, pea ‘ikai ke nau lava’i ‘o fai e akó ke ‘osi.”

I am thankful our marriage lasted and my wife and I completed our studies. Looking back at it now, this is what I tried to explain to my children, to finish schooling. Because it is uncertain whether they can succeed the path I have taken or not. I try to talk openly with my kids, different to Viliami and I. But I am thankful we persevered and finished. I do not want the same thing to happen to my children and they do something that prevent them from finishing school.

‘Api ngāue – workplace

After completing his diploma, Paula returned to Tonga and worked for a state enterprise group. After years of service at the company, Paula made the difficult decision to leave after he was treated unfairly. When Paula returned from a trip overseas, he felt surprised when his manager handed him the suspension notice. The board of directors suspended Paula over the supposed misuse of a company vehicle. Disappointed with his boss who made the complaint while he was away and the board of directors for not giving him the opportunity to defend the suspension or hear his side of the story, Paula resigned the day after.

Paula described the day as like no other. After Paula was handed the notice, he immediately drove to his father’s office to seek his advice. When he arrived, the walk to his father’s office felt long and depressing. At first, Viliami advised his son not to leave his job.

“Mahalo ne ongo’i pehē he’ene ngāue ia hé peau ngāue au hé. Mahalo ko e anga ia ‘ene sio, mo e sio mai e kakai koe’uhí ko ‘ema ngāue fakataha ‘emau poaté.”

Maybe he felt this way because he worked there and I worked here. Maybe that is how he saw it and people would say, “maybe the reason was because our boards worked together”.

Despite his father’s initial reaction, he eventually agreed with Paula. At the time, Paula’s wife ‘Emeline was working for the Tongan High Commissioner in China. The news of his departure came as a shock. ‘Emeline had their daughter with her, while Dante and Miguel stayed with Paula. The decision to leave paid employment caused him to think about how he was going to provide for his children. Disappointed at his manager and the board, he knew it was the right thing to do. Paula knew that even if he agreed to the one month suspension, he would not have been able to continue working in an environment that did not value him.

Now, Paula believes it was all meant to be. If he had not left, he would not have experienced the fruits of running his own company. Leaving the state owned company was also good for his marriage. When he was still working for someone else, the workload kept him busy and took him away from spending time with his wife and children.

“Na’e lahi ‘a e me’a kehekehe na’aku sio ki ai he ‘aho ko ia. Ko e me’a pe na’e ongo lahi taha kiate aú ko hoku ki’i fāmilí pea mo e hoko atú. ‘A ia ko ‘eku ‘itá ko e sio ki hoku fāmilí. Na’aku ‘ita pē he mau taki pālangí. Toki kimui ‘e ma talanoa mo e CEO pea toki kole fakamolemole mai. Ka na’e ‘osi tōmui ia. Na’e tonu ke ‘omai ha faingamālie ke u tali ‘a e me’á. Ka na’aku fu’u ‘ita pē au he ‘aho ko iá, he’eku fakamo’oni ‘o mālōlō mei he ngāue te’eki ai ha’aku tali.”

There were many things that came to my mind that day. But the biggest concern for me was my family and our future. I was mainly angry at our manager who happens to be caucasian. I spoke with the CEO after I had left the company and he apologised. But at that time it was already too late. They should have given me the opportunity to present my case. But I was really angry that day because I signed to finish from work without being given the opportunity to explain my reasons.

Making his company different and unique became the new focus for Paula Finau. Utilising his electrical knowledge and skills, his business venture was about contracting services to external organisations. As a result, he acquired machinery and

hired them out. He found an excavator and other big industrial machines. His aim was for clients from outside of Tonga to know and come to rely on the services his company provided in the Kingdom.

“Kiate au, ‘oku ou faka’amu ke u kehe ma’u pē ‘i he fakalele ‘a e pisinisi. Fiema’u ke u tamu’omu’a ma’u pē, a ‘eku fakame’angāue mo e ‘ilo.”

My goal is to always be different in how I run my business. I need to be a step ahead all the time in terms of hiring equipment and learning industry specific knowledge.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Ongō Mokopuna: Initial Talanoa With the Grandsons

My initial *talanoa* with the twin boys, Dante and Miguel was conducted in January of 2015, before they returned to boarding school in New Zealand. They were in their final year of secondary school. The meeting was held at the same place their father and I had our first meeting. When we arranged the meeting with his sons, Paula clarified that he needed to get someone to *le’o* (guardian and caretaker) at home so that Dante, the eldest twin, would be able to attend. As for Miguel, he was at work helping his father and learning the skills of the trade.

Again, I made sure I was punctual for our *talanoa*. After parking the car, I waited outside the office. From the car to the office was no more than 10 steps. The two storey building formed a ‘C’ shape. In the middle of the C-shape were parking spaces. Despite the tight parking space, I managed to squeeze the RAV-4 without damaging the nearby cars.

When ‘Emeline saw me, she called for the boys to come. Miguel was the first to arrive and Dante soon followed. Miguel, despite being the younger of the twins, was a lot taller than his brother. It was obvious he had just come from his father’s workplace because he was dressed in long navy blue overalls with thick black work boots. Dante however, wore shorts and a t-shirt which had the ‘NZ Warriors’ rugby league team logo.

Miguel appeared more outgoing. He was often the first to respond to my questions. Dante seemed shy and quiet. When asked why they were given foreign names, they said that it was because their mother was studying abroad at the time of their birth.

Our *talanoa* was conducted in both Tongan and English. Having both boys together added depth to their stories. When one twin could no longer elaborate on an event, or could only give a one sentence response, the other twin provided a more detailed account. Together, the boys contextualised their experiences in a more in-depth way than if I had conducted *talanoa* with them individually. Their father's expectations in terms of career was different for each. Engaging in *talanoa* with both Dante and Miguel gave more insight into their father's expectations for each boy and how this influenced the other. Their experiences are unfolded below.

Fofola 'Ena Ngaahi Koloa – Dante and Miguel Finau's Stories

"It was my parents that encouraged me to become a doctor, so I agreed with them", said Dante. "I wanted to be an electrician like my dad. Plus, I like the kind of work that it involves and dad encouraged me to carry on in the same path", described Miguel.

In 1997, after six months of study in Europe, 'Emeline had returned home to give birth to her twin sons. After giving birth, 'Emeline went back to complete the rest of her study. Throughout most of their education, both boys attended the top schools in Tonga, where English was the language of instruction. In the second half of 2014, their parents decided to send them to boarding school in New Zealand. To avoid distraction from other family members and other Pasifika students, the boys were sent by their parents to a predominantly Pakeha single-sex school.

"Ko 'ema ongo mahangá na'a na kamata ako pē 'i Tonga High School. Na'e 'ave leva kinaua 'i he ta'u kuo hili ke ako i muli. Na'e 'ave kinaua ke mama'o mei he fāmili mo e kau Tongá. Me'a mahu'inga taha ko 'ena akó. Tokolahi 'a e fāmili moe kau Pasifiki 'i 'Okalani...fu'u lahi 'a e ngaahi fakafe'ātungia 'i 'Okalani."

Our twin boys started secondary schooling at Tonga High. In 2014 they were sent to study overseas. They were sent to be away from family and other Tongan people. The most important thing is their studies. There are too many relatives and Islanders in Auckland...a lot of distractions in Auckland.

During his regular trips to meet with clients in Auckland, Paula was able to have a look at some of the high schools in New Zealand before he and his wife made the decision to send the boys to Patterson Boys High.

Fakafāмили – family prayers

Miguel described his grandfather Viliami as hard working and passionate about saving money. Viliami was all about being wise with money. During *fakafāмили*, Viliami always encouraged the family to spend money wisely, attend church services regularly and to focus on schooling.

On Sundays, the family would sometimes gather and meet at Viliami’s home for lunch. This was an opportunity for their grandfather to remind everyone about his expectations for them. Sometimes Paula and ‘Emeline would have their own *fakafāмили* at their place with their own children. In terms of schooling, Paula encouraged Dante and Miguel to always work hard. Sending them to Patterson Boys High School, a boarding school in New Zealand, was to provide more opportunities to succeed in education.

Their father, Paula, was described by Dante as being of similar nature to his grandfather Viliami. Both are hard workers. Although Miguel was grateful for all the things his father had provided for him and Dante, they struggled to *talanoa* openly with him. The twins however, found comfort in *talanoa* with their mother about personal matters.

“Mum is the main person I go to when it comes to personal things. The main thing we talk to dad about is school stuff. Dad gives us the opportunity to talk about personal stuff but I always go to mum. Dante agreed with Miguel.”

Ako – schooling

In the middle of 2014, Dante and Miguel started at Patterson Boys High School as Year 12 students. Apart from one other Tongan boy who lived in Palmerston North but also boarded at Patterson Boys High, Dante and Miguel were the only other Tongan boys living in the hostel. The majority of the students in the hostel were *palangi*. There were three house masters who were also of Tongan descent. Despite initially feeling homesick, the boys, with the help of the house masters, soon became accustomed to the new environment. Saying “*tulou*” (excuse me) when walking past students often resulted in questions about what it meant. Generally, students did not understand why they acted and behaved that way. The boys participated in the Pacific Island cultural festival developed specifically for Pasifika high school students in the region.

When asked what it was like at high school, Miguel, the youngest of the twin boys said, *“It was ok at high school in Tonga but the teaching was not as good compared to Patterson Boys High”*. He further explained:

“Koe kehekehe ia kinaua ‘i he ongo ako, ko Patterson Boys High ‘oku akó aki ‘e kinautolu e ngaahi me’a fakalakalaká...hangē ko e komipiuta mo e ngaahi naunau kehe, ka ko Tonga High koe nouti ma’u pē...hangé ko e Physics kapau ‘oku kamata ha topiki, ‘oku fiema’u ke fai ha experiment ia pea toki patō ki he pepa pe ko e notes.”

The differences in the two schools, Patterson Boys High use materials that are advanced...like computers and different equipment but Tonga High use notes a lot...like during Physics at Patterson Boys High, when we start a topic we have to do an experiment before we move on to the notes.

Miguel missed Tonga High School because of all his friends. Speaking English was compulsory. His Year 12 subjects at his new school were maths, English, computing, physics and woodwork. Miguel’s favourite subjects were maths and physics and this was because he found the work easier compared to the rest of his other subjects.

When asked to describe the teachers at Patterson Boys High, Miguel started talking about his computing teacher. She often ignored him and walked past without checking his responses to questions during internal assessment tasks. Dante talked about his biology and maths teachers showing contrasting behaviours towards him in the classroom.

“My biology teacher at school, she always asks questions to others but never to me. Maybe that is how she treats new students. She walks around and checks out my work but never asks me anything. ‘Oku tokanga mai ‘a e fefine faiako maths koe’uhi ‘oku tokanga ma’u pē ia ke u tulituli he akó (My maths teacher is concerned about me and makes sure that I catch up). When we start a topic, after she introduces the topic to the whole class, she makes an effort to come around after and checks whether there was anything that I didn’t understand and whether I needed more help. It was hard because of the English though. Very different to my bio teacher. My maths teacher is older. Sometimes she tells me that my answer is wrong and then she shows me how to do it right.”

At school, Dante played rugby and was a part of the third grade team at Patterson Boys High. Rugby is a popular sport at the school and this is reflected in a number of their past students who have made the All Blacks, New Zealand’s national

rugby team. Dante also took part in athletics, particularly the discus and shotput events. Miguel preferred to work out in the gym during his spare time. In Tonga, he participated in a bodybuilding competition and one day hopes to take it up professionally.

Miguel aspires to travel to Spain one day. The boys valued their parents' decision to send them to study abroad. *"Schooling is better in New Zealand and if we continued to go to school in Tonga, it probably wouldn't have been good"*, said Dante. According to Dante and Miguel, Paula and 'Emeline's decision to send them away from family and distractions in Auckland has been beneficial for them.

Paula and 'Emeline – their expectations for Dante and Miguel

The boys know their father's goal for them is to finish schooling. As described by Miguel, his father's goal for him is to one day take over the family business.

"Uluaki pē ke lava 'a e akó. Pea te u ha'u leva ke feinga ke fakalele 'a e pisinisi. Ko 'ene taumu'á ke mau tatau mo iá, ka e feinga ke to e laka ange 'i ai. Pea to e ha'u 'o fakalele 'a e pisinisi 'o to e sai ange."

The first thing is to finish schooling. And then come and try to run the business. His goal is for us to be like him, but better than him. And then come and run the business so that it can be even better.

Because of all the contract work he has to do in Tonga and abroad, Paula wanted the boys to finish their schooling and return to Tonga to help him and the family.

Paula and 'Emeline have tried to encourage their boys to pursue a career based on what Dante and Miguel are good at. This has required direction from the boys' parents.

Miguel: When I was about 10 or 11, dad has had the same expectations for me.

Dante: Yes, the whole reason why my parents wanted me to be a doctor, was because my strong subject was science, when I was in primary school.

Miguel: Our parents have always told us ko e me'a pē te ke sa'ia ai, te ke sai ai (whatever you like doing or learning, you would be good at). That's why I've always liked carpentry. When I was growing up he'd ask me if I like this, and I'd say yes. Then he would say to keep at it.

Their mother ‘Emeline has been an influential person in their lives. Miguel described their mother as strong and loving.

“Her life was like dad’s, they struggled. She used to go to the bush a lot. Her dad would always say to her to tokanga kihe ako. Mum has a masters degree in Law from university and finished her degree in 2000. Even though my older sister is sick she will go back to school and major in commerce.”

Because Miguel is expected to learn about the family business as he will one day take over, this provided opportunities for him to hang out and get to know his father. He enjoys the time he spends with his father because he learns a lot from him. He described their conversations as being similar to “when two brothers talk”. As described by Dante, Miguel follows dad’s path. For Dante however, there is no other person (in the family) who is a doctor to look up to and learn from.

Chapter 10: Fofola ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Maile

Fakafe’ilo’aki e Fāмили: Introducing the Maile Family

Feleti Maile is seventy-four years of age and a retired teacher. He taught at both primary and secondary schools in Tonga. His father was a teacher and Feleti has experienced the value of teaching, both first and second-hand. Now as a church minister, Feleti is responsible for the administration of the Sunday school programme for parishes in the western district of Tongatapu. He believes that teaching has helped him in all areas of his life and he wants the same for his eldest son Soane and grandson Malakai.

Soane Maile is Feleti’s eldest son. He is a secondary school teacher at a mission school in Nuku’alofa. Soane values his father’s aspirations for him in schooling. Teaching has become a lifestyle for Soane and, like his father, his desire is for his eldest son to carry on the tradition. Teaching has helped him become a better father, leader in the village and member of his congregation. Soane attributes his successes to teaching.

Malakai and ‘Etimani Maile are Soane’s two eldest sons. As the eldest grandson, Malakai is to carry-on the family legacy and become a teacher. ‘Etimani however, is to become a doctor. Despite his father and grandfather’s aspirations for him, Malakai is more interested in carpentry and wants to become a builder. However, both Malakai and ‘Etimani have taken on board their grandfather’s wishes and are striving to fulfill them. Their grandfather and father aspire for the boys to finish schooling in order to fulfil their responsibilities to their kāinga (extended family).

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Kui: Initial Talanoa With the Grandfather

Soane, Feleti’s eldest son works as a secondary school teacher in Nuku’alofa. Rather than travel to their place to *talanoa*, Soane and his father agreed to meet me at Soane’s workplace, a mission secondary school in the capital. With a growing student roll of about 500, it was the same school his father worked at as a teacher.

Every morning, Soane, his wife and their four children wake up early to catch the first bus into town. The day of our *talanoa*, Feleti caught the bus with Soane and his family. Soane and I agreed to meet with his father at eight in the morning. I arrived an hour early so that I could prepare the room where our *talanoa* was to take place. After I had parked the car, I walked up towards the main office and climbed the stairs to the second floor where the room was located.

From the meeting room, I could see outside onto the main area where students normally gathered and hung out with their friends while waiting for the first bell to ring. I saw Feleti sitting inside the maths department office where teachers from Soane’s faculty often gathered. When Soane saw me, he immediately walked back to get his father.

Soon after, Feleti arrived at the meeting room. He was dressed in his black blazer, *tupenu* (loincloth wrapped around male’s waist) and *ta’ovala* (traditional woven mat). I too was dressed in a *tupenu* and *ta’ovala*. Without the *tupenu* and *ta’ovala*, a Tongan male is not considered properly dressed. We greeted – he shook my hand and we sat down to *talanoa*.

Fofola ‘Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Feleti Maile’s Story

“Hangē ko ‘eku lavé anenai. Ta’u ‘osi koē ‘eku ako ‘i ‘Atelé, ‘i he ta’u 1961 ka na’e kei faiako pe ‘a e tangata’eiki ‘i he Lautohi Pule’angá. Pea na’á ne fakahoko mai pe kiate au, kapau té u fie faiako, ‘oku pau ke fisifisi ‘i hoku keté, pea toki ‘alu leva ‘o faiako.”

Like I mentioned earlier. The last year of secondary school at ‘Atele College in 1961, my father was still teaching at a government primary school. He told me, if I want to be a teacher, I must keep flicking my stomach [a test to see whether Feleti was thick skinned and could handle teaching], before becoming one.

Ako – schooling

Feleti’s father’s aspirations for his children were for them to get a good education and serve the church. Feleti’s father was not so much concerned about the type of careers his children chose to pursue. His main goal was for them to be useful to their *kāinga* and the community. As the second eldest child from a family of 11 children, Feleti was the first to complete his high school education. After the death of his older brother, Feleti became the *‘ulumotu’a* (highly ranked male) of his *kāinga*. As the *‘ulumotu’a*, he was now responsible for all matters relating to his brothers and sisters and their families.

Teaching was in their blood. Not only was his father a teacher, but Feleti too joined the profession. Feleti also had a brother and sister who became teachers. After primary school, Feleti passed the entrance exams and gained entry into Tonga College (*‘Atele*) which he attended from 1955 to 1961. Tonga College was the prominent government school for boys. In his final year at ‘Atele, he and his class of 17 other

senior boys were still deciding on which career path to take. Because of the shortage of teachers during the 1960s, the Director as well as the Inspector of Education in Tonga visited their senior class in the hope of persuading and recruiting students for the next intake of student teachers. Feleti and a couple of other boys were recruited. However, the majority of his class chose to pursue government jobs because they paid more.

Feleti wanted to learn to rely on himself rather than other people so had chosen to board at 'Atele. Although the emphasis in the classroom was on the academic curriculum, behaviour and Tongan values were also heavily practiced. The boys were taught to do everything for themselves. This made Feleti emotionally and physically independent.

From 1962 to 1963, Feleti attended and completed Teachers' Training College in Nuku'alofa. The following year he began work at the government primary school in Hihifo, teaching there for four years. In 1967, a new secondary school was established by the church he belonged to with the hope of providing effective and quality education that added certain values to students' learning. Such values promoted learning that encouraged their students to 'live for Tonga'. There were two branches of the school – one for the boys and the other for the girls. Feleti was sent to help establish and teach at the girls' school. Feleti started teaching at the newly established school in March of 1968 and stayed there until he retired.

He became a teacher because of his father. The wages for teaching compared to government jobs were considerably lower. Even within the profession, teachers in government schools were paid more than those who worked at the mission schools. Mission schools relied heavily on their members' remittances from overseas. When Feleti moved to teach at his family's church school, his salary was infrequent and a lot less than when he was teaching for the government. Feleti often wondered how he was going to support his young family. Despite his worries, Feleti knew this was an opportunity to serve the church and its people. He decided to leave it to God, and that God would provide for his family.

The church President at the time, and founder of the school had advised Feleti the church had very little money to pay their teachers. Often, teachers were given food crops because that was all the church could provide. As described by Feleti, the

church leader also re-assured him that his service and hard work would not go unnoticed or be in vain. Rather, blessings would fall upon his family and generations to come. It was a difficult decision for Feleti, but he knew it was the right thing to do. This was an opportunity to not only serve, but to educate families in Tonga that had very little; families that were like his, and some even less fortunate. So in June of 1968, Feleti resigned from teaching for the government and started at the mission secondary school.

The mission school had branches in Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, Tonga's three main Islands. In 1974, Feleti was asked to take on the role of acting principal in Ha'apai. Ha'apai is located 180 kilometres north east off the main island. Prior to the move with his young family, Feleti took advantage of a scholarship offered to him to learn English at Victoria University in New Zealand in the earlier part of 1974. When he returned to Tonga that same year, the family then moved to Ha'apai. In 1976, Feleti was called back to teach in Tongatapu. From 1988 to 1989 he served as acting principal in Vava'u. After returning once again to Tongatapu in 1990, Feleti was made deputy principal and remained at the school until he retired in 2004.

Ngāue fakafaiako – teaching

Feleti taught for forty years before he retired – from 1964 to 2004. He felt proud of his achievement and realised the significance of such work – serving others through teaching. Teaching became a legacy to pass down to his son and grandson. Feleti encouraged his eldest son and grandson to pursue a similar path in the profession that he valued so much.

“Ko e ‘uhinga na’aku faiako aí, ko e’uhí ko ‘eku tamaí. Na’e faiako ia ‘i he Lautohi Pule’angá. ‘Oku ou tui pē, ko e fatongia totonu pē ia kiate au, ma’u leva ‘a e tapuaki ‘a e ki’i familí ni. Na’e ‘ikai ke to e fiema’u ha lakanga kehe.”

The reason I became a teacher was because of my father. He was a teacher at a government primary school. And I believe, teaching was the right job for us, and my small family has been blessed. So I didn't want any other job.

As described by Feleti, teaching has been a real blessing for him and his family. Feleti's younger brother and sister also became teachers. His younger brother worked with him at the same school, whereas his sister taught at a government primary school.

Teaching taught Feleti to value punctuality. He preferred to be an hour early rather than one minute late to any school related event, as well as events in their village. At school, he did not respond lightly to students and teachers who were late to classes. Punctuality was highly enforced.

When reflecting back on the students in his senior classes at 'Atele, Feleti gave a sigh of satisfaction. After several years into retirement, he caught up with one of his class mates at a *kalapu faikava* (kava drinking club), a place where Tongan males gathered, drink *kava*, sing songs and *pō talanoa* (discuss) about matters related to their village. Feleti's class mate had also pursued teaching. Both men felt happy they had chosen teaching over government jobs. They referred to another class mate who decided to pursue a government career and was later charged with fraud and embezzlement. Although they felt bad for their class mate, Feleti and his friend appreciated the choice they had made to pursue teaching despite the low wages. Both believed teaching was a calling from God and something they were destined to do.

Feleti Maile's children

Feleti Maile and his wife had three sons and a daughter. Their eldest son Soane and Soane's younger brother both became teachers. Soane is a teacher at the same mission high school where Feleti taught. His youngest brother taught at Tupou College, a boys only Wesleyan school in Tongatapu.

When Feleti was called to teach in Vava'u in 1988, he took his family with him. Soane however, stayed and attended Tupou High School, a Wesleyan co-educational school located in town, for Form 5 and 6 students. Feleti encouraged his eldest son to board with one of the teachers and other students at Tupou High School.

When the family returned from Vava'u, Feleti's youngest son was encouraged by the family to attend Tupou College (*Toloa*), a boarding school for boys. After he finished his education at Toloa, he remained at the school as a teacher. Feleti's middle son decided to leave school and work in the plantation. After Feleti's daughter married, she and her husband moved to New Zealand where they now live with their children.

When Soane was in his final year of primary school in Class 6, Feleti sought assistance from two old friends from teacher training college. One of the men was

now a prominent figure in the Tongan government and Ministry of Education. At the time, his friends were part of the team responsible for the administration of the entrance exams into Tonga High School. Eager to find ways to help his son, Feleti asked his friends for practical advice on how to help prepare his son so that he could pass the exams and attend Tonga High School. Instead, the two men advised him with the following:

“Feleti he ‘ikai ke ‘i ai ha taha ‘e laka ange ‘ene faiakó ‘ia ko e. Pea he ‘ikai ke ‘i ai ha taha ‘e toe lelei ange ki hono faiako ‘i ho ‘o foha, ko ko e pē. Fakahū pē ko e ho ‘o tamasi ‘i ki he ‘apiako ‘okú ke ngāue ai. Ma ‘u ho fo ‘i tapuakí ai, pea hū ai pe a Soane.”

Feleti, no one can be a better teacher to your son than you. And no one can teach your son better, only you can. Enrol your son to where you work. This is a blessing for you. So Soane attended the school.

Ngaahi taumu’a mo e faka’amu – Feleti’s expectations for his grandsons

Education and health are two important areas in Tonga. This was the reason why Feleti wanted his grandsons, Malakai and ‘Etimani to pursue careers in teaching and medicine. Feleti’s wish for Malakai was for him to eventually become a teacher and carry on the tradition of service at the church mission school like him and Soane. His wish for ‘Etimani, the younger of the two brothers, was for him to become a doctor.

Feleti talked about a small health clinic built in their village. In the past, a doctor had been assigned to the clinic, however, no one worked there anymore. The seventy-four year-old grandfather wanted his grandson ‘Etimani to one day occupy the health clinic and provide medical treatment to the people in their village.

As the two eldest grandchildren, Malakai and ‘Etimani will set the standard so that others too can follow and be encouraged to do well at school. They are expected to fulfill their legacy to help lead their family once he and Soane pass on.

“Mahalo pē ‘oku ou kehekehe au mei he ongomātu’á, ka nau nofo au ‘i he fo ‘i tui tukufakaholo, ko ia [Malakai] e hoko ‘o faiako ‘i he kolisi o hangē ko au mo Soané. ‘Oku ou sio atu na ‘e malava pē ia ‘e Soane. ‘ikai ke ‘i ai ha pale ‘eku ngāué, ko ia pē ‘e hoko atu ‘a e fatongiá. Mālō eni kuo mali ‘a Soane mo e fefine ‘oku faiako ke na fakatou ngāue pē ‘i he ako ‘a e Siasí.”

Maybe I’m different from his parents. But I believe in the idea of an inheritance; Malakai will become a teacher at the church mission school like myself and Soane. Looking back, Soane was able to do it. There is no prize for

my work, therefore the obligation will continue. Thank goodness Soane married a woman who is a teacher. So that they can both work at our church school.

During primary school, both Malakai and 'Etimani were educated at Tonga Side School, the main English speaking primary school in Tonga which was also the feeder school for Tonga High School. Malakai, Soane's eldest son was sent to Tupou College for his secondary schooling because his uncle (Soane's younger brother) taught at the school. Feleti also wanted his grandson to experience boarding school. He wanted Malakai to learn and do things on his own and not rely on his parents or grandparents, just as he had done when he was at Tonga College. The first two years at Toloa, Malakai did well. He even topped his class in Form 1. Two years later however, Malakai started to hang out with older boys who were a bad influence on him.

For high school, 'Etimani was sent to the school where his parents taught. Schooling in Tonga is very competitive and students are ranked within their form class as well as across their year level. In 2014, 'Etimani entered at Form 1 and excelled. He topped all his subjects. Overall, he was ranked first out of all the students in his year level. At the end of year prize giving, 'Etimani was called up to receive numerous awards. After receiving his awards, he presented each to his grandfather, Feleti, who sat in the front with other ministers and distinguished guests. In Tonga, it was normal for students to present their awards to their grandparents as a way to respect and honour their family. During my initial *talanoa* with Feleti in 2015, he described his joy and happiness when his grandson received his prizes.

Meanwhile, concerned at Malakai's lack of performance, his parents decided to take control. In 2015, they removed their son from Tupou College and enrolled him at their school. He was in Form 4. It took Malakai a year to settle into his new environment. In 2016, Malakai joined the vocational technology class whose curriculum was focussed mainly on electrical and building technology.

Despite feeling disappointed at his grandson for not making the most of boarding school, Feleti was happy that Malakai was now back with his parents at their school. Feleti believes that one day Malakai will eventually fulfill his legacy, and serve as a teacher at the school.

“*‘Oku ha’u māmālie pē ‘a e me’a na’aku lotu mo tui ki ai. Neongo pe ‘oku fēfē hono ‘atamaí, te u tui pe ‘e ‘alu e ta’ú ‘o mafuli lelei pē ‘a e ngāue. Peau lea ange pe ki ai he fakafāmili ‘i he uike kuo ‘osí. Tamasi’i, ko ho’o ongo matu’ā e. Tokoni ke ke mo’ui ai, pea loto pē ki ai. Pea nau si’i lotu pē ki he ‘Otuá pea ‘oku ou tui ‘e hoko ‘a e tamasi’i ‘o faiako ha ‘ako.’*”

What I have been praying and believing is slowly coming to plan. Even though he [Malakai] is not a strong thinker in the classroom, I still believe that as the years go by, he will slowly change according to the work expected of him. I spoke to him at our family prayer last week. Young boy, there are your parents. Help them so you can live, and he agreed. And so I prayed to God and I believe he will eventually become a teacher one day.

‘Ulungāanga faka-Tonga

The knowledge and skills valued at school related to *‘ulungāanga faka-Tonga. Faka’apa’apa* (respect) was the most important value practiced and maintained by Feleti at Tonga College. His parents’ instruction for him at boarding school was to learn as much as he could and to respect others. He respected his parents’ wishes and although there were times he felt thirsty and hungry, he persevered. His obligation to his parents was a lot stronger. At high school, Feleti maintained respectful relationships with his teachers and students. In his seven years at Tonga College, not once did he leave school without permission. He always respected school rules and teachers’ expectations of him.

After Feleti completed his diploma from Victoria University in 1974, the mission secondary school wanted him to teach English because there were very few teachers qualified in the area. There was debate about the emphasis put on learning English rather than *Lea Tonga* (Tongan language). Feleti argued that English should not be taught at the expense of *Lea Tonga*. While visiting family in New Zealand, he noticed that parents placed stronger emphasis on their children learning the English language and *Lea Tonga* was often ignored. Some families placed no value in learning Tongan at all because success in New Zealand schooling was attributed more to competency in the English language than in *Lea Tonga*.

Feleti Maile felt privileged to have witnessed the Honourable Jenny Lātū Salesa give her maiden speech in parliament in 2014. Jenny was the first Tongan elected as a Member of Parliament (MP) in New Zealand. The event was broadcasted to living rooms across Tonga. Feleti described his sense of pride when he saw her dressed in traditional Tongan attire. Of significance, was when he heard the

honourable Jenny Lātū Salesa confidently deliver her maiden speech in Tongan, with ease and fluency. A person is regarded as Tongan when they speak or know of the Tongan language. Knowing the Tongan language will help a person understand *faka'apa'apa*. A wise person is one who knows the language. When they are asked to sit, they will sit. Similarly, when they are asked to go, they will go.

According to Feleti, a lot of work is needed in order to find ways of preserving the Tongan culture – ways that affirm young people's identity as Tongan and preserve the language. He believes that young people should be taught or even pushed to use the Tongan language. If a Tongan man is married to a *palangi*, it is important to encourage their children to speak the language in order to preserve it. A child is not regarded as Tongan if they are not able to speak the language. Feleti likes to see half-caste children from overseas trying hard to learn and speak the language when visiting their families in Tonga. He thinks reading Tongan hymn books and singing Tongan songs are great ways to teach children and help them acquire the language.

The values of *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga* are deeply rooted in how families function and maintain relationships within Tongan society. Feleti talked about the societal changes in Tonga which people describe as development or advancement. The election of the current democratic government is seen by many as positive, being the first of its kind in Tonga. People being able to elect representatives (commoners mainly) to lead them in Tonga is perceived as something good. Feleti however, is concerned at how changes in Tongan society could affect the very fabric of Tongan culture. He is afraid that *'ulungāanga faka-Tonga* will be lost and young people will no longer practice the values that he and the older generation have passed down to their children and grandchildren in the hope that they will continue to do the same.

Feleti commented:

“I he kuongá ni ‘oku ‘alu fakataha pé ‘a e potó mo e valé. ‘Ikai ke na māvae. ‘Oku lau pē ‘a e folofola, ‘oku tu’u taha pe naua. ‘Alu pe ‘a e me’a ‘oku fakalalakaka, ‘o ‘alu pē ‘a e lelei mo e kovi. Me’a pē ‘a kitautolu ketau fili.”

In this day and age, the wise and the foolish walk together. They are not separated. The bible tells of them being together. The developments and advancements in Tonga – there is good and bad. It is up to us to choose what is best.

He cautioned for Tongan people to know in their minds and hearts that not all the advancements in Tonga are for the best. He stated, “*The truth is, nobody can stop the developments. Therefore, what can Tonga do in order to minimise our youth’s wants and desires for development?*”

After listening to the Tonga National Radio, a regular activity for him in the evenings, Feleti described a proposed initiative by Tonga’s democratic government to maintain Tongan values in their young people. They proposed the return of bible study (*lesoni tohitapu*) to Tonga’s educational curriculum. Students would not only learn about subjects such as English, science and maths, but also learn about the Bible and be reminded of valuable religious morals that are an important part of Tongan culture.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Tamai: Initial Talanoa With the Father

Soane Maile and I first met in 2014. Like his father, Soane agreed for us to *talanoa* at school. He had been a student at the mission school, and then returned to serve as a teacher. It was a place Soane was familiar with. We agreed to meet at lunchtime because this was the only time of the day he was available. When Soane walked into the room, he reminded me of a younger version of his father – similar in height and size. The main difference however, was their personality. Soane’s father was stern in manner and voice, whereas Soane seemed less strict compared to his father.

Initially, Soane and I started our *talanoa* by talking about his work at the school. His birthday had been a couple of days prior to our *talanoa* and featured in our initial conversation. When I jokingly asked him whether his wife had baked him a cake for his birthday, Soane smiled and said, “*Ikai ke ‘ai ‘e he malí ha kai lelei. Talamai ‘e hoku malí, ‘ai pē ē lotú, ko e kai lelei pē ē lotu.*” (My wife didn’t make birthday food. She told me that the best food is church). We both laughed at his comment.

We then started talking about the mission school and how much it had changed since he was a student 20 to 25 years ago. Not only was he passionate about teaching, but to be able come back and serve at his former school was a real privilege for him – and his father.

Fofola ‘Ene Ngaahi Koloa – Soane Maile’s Story

“Ko e anga pe eni ‘ene [Feleti] fakakaukau pē ‘a ‘ana ‘i he taimi pē na’a mau kei ako aí. Ko e me’a pē eni na’a ne ‘osi tala mai. Hangē koaú na’á ne ‘osi talamai pē ia kia aú, ko au kuo pau ke u faiako. Ke u teuteu ke u faiako.”

His [Feleti’s] thoughts about us when we were still at school. This is what he told us. Like for me. He already told me, I am to become a teacher. To be prepared to become a teacher.

On the 2nd of February 1968, Soane Maile was born in Tonga. Now aged forty-seven, he has served as a teacher in the Kingdom for over 26 years. Soane is married to Sela who is also a teacher and they have four sons and one daughter. His work colleagues and students at the mission school described him as a respectful and caring person. Soane always spoke in a polite manner to his students and other staff members. While growing up, Soane was aware of his father’s expectations for him to become a teacher. His first-born son was to also continue the family legacy.

Soane explained that perhaps his father’s decision for him and his eldest son Malakai to teach at the mission school were due to them being able to endure the hardships without any complaints. Soane started laughing at this point. Working as a teacher for the government school was more attractive because the salary was better.

His father Feleti believed that the best teachers for the school were church members’ children. They would feel a sense of connection and obligation to the mission school. This was how his father Feleti felt when he chose to serve at the school. And this was what Feleti wanted for Soane and Malakai. Regardless of the low salary for teachers at the mission school, his father’s decision to maintain this as a family legacy was because of his obligation to the church and his desire for his family to continue their service to their people.

Ako – schooling

Soane started his schooling at the government school in Kolovai, located in the western district of Tonga. When his father was called to become the *le’o* (guardian and caretaker) of the mission school in Nuku’alofa, the family moved in and lived on the school site. As a result of their move, he attended the government primary school in Havelu. After primary school, Feleti enrolled Soane at the mission school so that he could be closer to him.

In 1981, he started high school at Form 1. At the end of Form 5 in 1985, Soane was enrolled for Form 6 at Tupou High School. The mission school at the time did not offer Form 6. So from 1986 – 1987, Soane boarded with a staff member and several other senior students in Kolomotu’a, a nearby village close to Tupou High School. He enjoyed school at Tupou High because of the learning environment and the rugby. He really enjoyed playing rugby at the school. As well, boarding with other students was fun for him.

In June 1989, Soane was called by the church Board of Education to start teaching in Vava’u. His father had previously been called to serve on the Island. Soane started teaching at only nineteen years of age. He found it difficult to teach because in his mind and body he had not shifted from being a student to being a classroom practitioner. He hung out with some of the students he taught. In Tonga, if students failed a year level, they often repeat the same level. It was not uncommon for Sixth Form students to be eighteen or nineteen years of age. As he struggled to maintain his teaching obligations at a young age, he sought his father’s assistance. Soane Maile served in Vava’u for three years before returning to Tongatapu to complete his Diploma of Teaching at the Teachers’ Training College.

Ngāue fakafaiako – teaching

Feleti, Soane’s father often preached and discussed the importance of teaching to the youth and senior members at their church. Feleti believed that a church full of teachers could become a really good congregation. When a family member decided to become a teacher – that particular person would develop the leadership skills to help guide and lead the family. This was the message Soane’s father continued to use to encourage the young at their church. At that time however, Soane did not fully understand his father’s expectations for him and he himself was not sure whether it was true or not. Soane knew that no other job was more important to his father than teaching.

Soane’s main regret was that he did not listen to his father’s teachings and advice.

“Taimi ko ia na’aku kei kolisi ai. Ko hono mo’oni, na’e ‘osi talamai pē ‘e Feleti kiate au ‘a e fo’i fatongiá, teu faiako. Ka na’é ikai keu pehē ke u nofo mo’oni ki ai. Ko hono mo’oni, na’aku ako pē he kolisi pea na’e ‘ikai ke u fu’u

tokanga ki he'ene me'a ko ia na'a talamai 'a e ngaahi akonaki ko é, kuopau ke u faiakó."

When I was still in high school. The truth is, Feleti had already told me about the obligation for me to become a teacher. But I did not fully agree with it. The truth is that in high school, I did not pay attention to his teachings, the advice, for me to be a teacher.

He paid little attention to his father's advice and guidance in relation to why teaching would be a useful career and how he could take advantage of the knowledge and skills learnt. After his first three years of teaching, Soane felt the severity of the responsibilities expected at school and it was at this point he felt guilty for ignoring his father's teachings.

Soane's father wanted him to experience the benefits of being a teacher. For example, he wanted Soane to learn the skills that were essential to helping him become a good father, leader of their *kāinga*, village and church. His father wanted him to become a strong and confident man – and teaching was the way to achieve such benefits.

Soane tries to always be punctual to school. When I first met Soane in 2014, catching the bus was the main mode of transport for the family. At four in the morning, he and his wife Sela would get up to prepare breakfast and lunches. They then caught the first bus from their village into town. After arriving at work, Soane and Sela took turns to drop their young daughter and son to the nearby primary school, which is about a ten-minute walk from where they worked. Sometimes 'Etimani would walk his younger siblings to school. Although they no longer bus to school because they now have a vehicle, punctuality is still a key value for Soane and Sela.

It was at the mission school where Soane met Sela. Soane feels blessed to be married to Sela because as teachers, they share similar understandings about life and how to educate their children. Soane referred to some of the Professional Learning and Development (PLD) training at school that was useful for them. They used a lot of the skills and knowledge acquired at school in their home with their own children. Not only are the skills useful to them, Soane and Sela were able to pass them on to their children as well as other children within their village. As described by Feleti, Soane is lucky to have married a teacher because they share similar understandings

and are able to encourage and support each other. As the president of their *kava* club, Soane used his teaching skills and knowledge to lead their meetings.

Sela is an English teacher, whereas Soane taught mathematics. When Sela was awarded a three-year scholarship by the Tongan government to complete her Bachelors degree, the entire family also travelled to Fiji. Sela went first and found a house for them to stay at. Soane and their three sons followed later. Soane was encouraged by the school principal at the time to complete a Diploma in Educational Leadership and Change at the University of South Pacific in Fiji, while Sela completed her degree programme. Despite completing the one year Diploma, Soane was unable to pursue the degree programme because of limited finances. Soane plans to pursue further studies once they save enough money.

As the eldest grandson, Malakai was *ohi* (adopted) by his grandparents. Although Feleti and his wife wanted Malakai to stay in Tonga while his parents studied in Fiji, Soane and Sela decided to take him with them. They were determined for Malakai to attend school in Fiji and it was an opportunity for Soane and Sela to develop a closer relationship with their son. They struggled with Malakai because he was used to getting what he wanted from his grandparents. They worked really hard to change their son's behaviour and way of thinking. After Sela completed her studies, the family returned to Tonga. Despite Soane disciplining his son Malakai, he felt it was ineffective because his father often intervened.

Soane and Sela are both Sunday school teachers. They used the teaching strategies acquired in the classroom with their Sunday school students. As a *faifekau* (minister of religion), Soane often used his knowledge to deliver his sermon to the church. According to Soane, teaching helped provide a clearer perspective for him and his family.

Feleti Maile – Soane's father

Soane described Feleti as a loving father and grandfather to all his grandchildren. He is a man who encouraged strong work ethic. Lateness to class or to school annoyed him. Punctuality is an important value in Feleti's life. Feleti expected the same from his children and grandchildren.

During Soane's high school years, his father was the *le'o* (guardian and caretaker) of the mission school. Accommodation and utilities were paid for by the school. After their morning prayers, Soane and his siblings walked around and picked up all the rubbish at the school. If any of them were late to school in the mornings after picking up all the rubbish, this annoyed their father. To him, there was no excuse for lateness.

Feleti had a strong work ethic both at school and at home. Teachers who worked at the school when Feleti was deputy principal, described him as being an honest and straightforward person. He disapproved of lazy teachers. He held high expectations for his teachers and expected nothing less from them. When teachers were late to school or to class, they were often called to his office. Teachers who abandoned their classes were often told off and given a warning. To him, teaching was not just a nine-to-three job; it was a lifestyle.

Soane strives to be like his father. Feleti always prepared his lessons the day before. Despite taking part in *kava* drinking with other teachers or men from his village in the evenings, Feleti was never late to school the following day because his lessons were already prepared. Other teachers were not able to do the same.

Malakai and 'Etimani Maile – Soane's sons

“Na'e 'osi talamai pē ia [Feleti] 'i he'eku fāna'u ko e tokotaha ko é faiako. Pea kuó ne 'osi talaange pē 'e ia ki he tokotaha ko iá 'i he'eku fāna'u ko ko e te ke faiako, 'a ia ko Malakai ia. Ko ia 'oku lahi taha 'i he 'eku fāna'u. Na'e 'osi talaange pē 'e ia ki ai, “ko ko e te ke faiako, pea 'oku ou fiema'u leva ko e ke ke ngāue mālohi 'o ako ke ke faiako”.

He [Feleti] has already told me that one of my children will become a teacher. And he has already told that child he is to become a teacher. That child was Malakai. He is the eldest of my children. He [Feleti] has already told him, “You will become a teacher and I want you to study hard at school and learn to become a teacher”.

Soane aspires for his son Malakai to pursue a teaching career because he and his wife value their own experiences as teachers. After three years at Toloa, Soane noticed a change in his son Malakai's behaviour and attitude towards schooling. He had lost interest and was easily influenced by older boys at the school. Rather than pushing his son to become something he was not yet interested in becoming, Soane

decided to encourage Malakai to at least finish school. He decided to enrol Malakai at the school he and his wife worked.

To help encourage Malakai to finish schooling, Sela decided not to push him into teaching until he settled into his new school. Sela borrowed books from the school library for him to read at home. All her children were encouraged to do the same after they finished their homework. Once they are certain that Malakai will continue with schooling, they can then encourage him to fulfill his grandfather's aspiration for him to become a teacher. Soane believes that once Malakai is settled back into schooling, he will not want to abandon his grandfather's expectation for him as the eldest grandson.

As Soane's eldest son, Malakai will one day lead his family and take over the role as *'ulumotu'a*. 'Etimani, their second eldest son seems to be doing well at school. In terms of personality, he is very much like his father – quiet and humble. His grandfather, Feleti, would like 'Etimani to become a doctor. Soane spoke with 'Etimani and he is happy to pursue medicine. The boys are different in personality and both understand their obligations to their *kāinga*.

Although Soane and his wife Sela do not always remind 'Etimani of his grandfather's expectation for him, they know that he often thinks about it. When 'Etimani was young, Feleti fell ill and was admitted to hospital. During 'Etimani's visit to the hospital, Feleti told his young grandson about his hope for him to become a doctor. To this day, 'Etimani still remembers the event. He sometimes raises the idea during conversations with his parents at home.

Soane and Sela encourage 'Etimani to study hard. When asked whether he will become a doctor, 'Etimani would look at them and smile. Other times he would giggle. His parents believe their son 'Etimani constantly thinks about becoming a doctor because he often asks them questions related to medicine.

Fuofua Talanoa mo e Ongō Mokopuna: Initial Talanoa With the Grandsons

Malakai and ‘Etimani Maile’s father agreed for his sons and I to *talanoa* at school. Although Malakai had only just started at the school in Form 4, his younger brother ‘Etimani had already been at the school for two years.

Although initially I had requested to *talanoa* with Malakai however, Soane asked whether ‘Etimani was able to attend because Malakai was shy and would prefer his brother there with him. ‘Etimani and I were already acquainted because I coached his volleyball team.

Their father Soane agreed for us to *talanoa* at lunch time. He arranged for his sons to meet him at his office and he would then bring them upstairs to where I usually worked. Rather than their father bringing them up, I decided to wait outside Soane’s office to greet the boys. Given their father’s busy schedule, I thought it would help to take the boys while he continued with his responsibilities. When the boys arrived, they were surprised to see me standing with their father. Soane advised them to go with me and to meet him back in his office after we finished. The boys nodded in agreement.

Fofola ‘Ena Ngaahi Koloa – Malakai and ‘Etimani Maile’s Stories

“Ko e koloa pē na’e ‘omai he ‘Otuá ki he fāmili ko e faiako. Na’e faiako e tamai ‘a Feleti, ha’u ‘o a’u kia Feleti pea a’u kia Soane. ‘O toki hoko mai kia au.” (Malakai Maile)

Teaching is a blessing from God to our family. Feleti’s father was a teacher, then to Feleti and down to Soane. And now down to me.

“‘E kamata ‘a e to’utangata fo’ou homau fāmili, ‘a e to’utangata toketā. Ke u hoko pe ‘o toketā. Sio atu leva ki he kaha’ú, tupu hake ha fānau pe ko ha mokopuna te nau hoko pē ‘o toketā.” (‘Etimani Maile)

A new generation of doctors in our family will start. I will become a doctor. Looking at the future, our children and grandchildren will also become doctors.”

Ako – schooling

Both Malakai and ‘Etimani were educated at Tonga Side School before they moved to Fiji to further their parents’ studies. The boys, who were naturally shy, made many friends with students from the Solomon Islands and other parts of the

Pacific. Their parents, Soane and Sela, valued the three years spent in Fiji with all their children. It was an opportunity to be with Malakai because he had grown up with his grandparents.

After their parents completed their studies, the family returned to Tonga. In 2013, the family agreed to send Malakai to Tupou College for Form 1. His father's younger brother was a teacher at the school. In his first year, Malakai did well at school. The year after, things started to become difficult for him. He started to hang out with older boys who were a bad influence on him. Some of the older boys were from the same village so it was even harder for Malakai to get away from them.

In 2015, Malakai Maile was fifteen years of age. 'Etimani, the younger of the two brothers, turned thirteen that year. When Malakai started at his parents' school, he enjoyed it there because the teachers were less strict. He learnt about specific subject content which was not a key focus at his previous school. Although there were areas in terms of behaviour that he thought needed attention at his new school, overall Malakai felt happy.

'Ulungāanga faka-Tonga is more heavily emphasised and practiced at Toloa compared to most schools in Tonga. Teachers pay more attention to students' attitudes and behaviour than teaching the academic curriculum. If a student wanted to speak to a teacher, he was expected to lower himself first before speaking. If a teacher sat down on the floor, the student was expected to first sit down before speaking to the teacher. If a student was given a message to deliver to a certain person, the student was expected to deliver and return to the sender and advise him or her of the outcome. If the student failed to return with news, he often faced disciplinary action.

Malakai enjoyed playing rugby. When he signed up to play rugby, the coach pulled out and his team was not included in the competition. Malakai was disappointed. In their village, he played rugby with other boys. His favourite subjects were maths, English and industrial arts (technical based subject which focus on carpentry and engineering). He liked making and fixing things with his hands. When asked whether he enjoyed his new school, he nodded his head.

'Etimani started at Form 1 in 2014. His favourite subjects were maths, English and science. These subjects were pre-requisites for studying medicine. 'Etimani was

not only good at school but in sport as well. He played both rugby and volleyball. 'Etimani's rugby coach relied heavily on him to make the appropriate decisions on the field in terms of kicking the ball to gain extra territory. As a quiet leader, 'Etimani strived to always carry out the plays requested by his coach. Based on academic excellence in Form 1 and 2, 'Etimani was ranked first against all his peers in his year level.

Feleti Maile – their grandfather

'Etimani described his grandfather as a hard working and diligent man. Feleti always strived to complete his work on time. He spent a lot of his time in '*uta* (plantation). Aside from growing food for his family, spending hours in the plantation was his way of connecting with the *fonua* (land).

When overgrown weeds and shrubs started to appear on Soane's plantation, Feleti took responsibility and pulled them out because he knew his son had very little time as a result of his school commitments. Feleti planted *kumala* (sweet potatoes) and *manioke* (cassava). As described by 'Etimani, Feleti is the kind of man that always looked for ways to better his family.

When he and his grandfather travelled to New Zealand to visit their extended family, they visited the circus and an underwater aquarium where he saw penguins and other sea creatures. It was a memorable time for 'Etimani because he enjoyed spending time with his grandfather and they were able to see new places.

Malakai described his grandfather as a strict man who valued hard work and his *fatongia* to the church. He is a man who never liked to be late to anything. Malakai also described the things that angered his grandfather. For example, when his grandfather found out he was hanging out late with other kids in the village – this annoyed Feleti. His favourite experience with his grandfather was during a time they spent in '*uta* (plantation). After they worked on the plantation, they cooked chicken and '*ufi* (yam) over an open fire and enjoyed eating the meal together until it was time for them to return home.

Both boys – Malakai and 'Etimani – value their grandfather. They described him as being the leader of their *kāinga*. The extended family rely a lot on their grandfather. When Feleti's eldest brother passed away, the role of *ulumotu'a* went to

Feleti. To date, his older brother's children often go over to visit and consult with Feleti about family matters. They rely on Feleti to guide and lead them.

Soane and Sela Maile – their parents

Like Feleti, their father Soane is punctual. He never likes to be late to school. Neither of their parents do. 'Etimani is often the first to get out of bed. Malakai however, enjoys his sleep especially if they studied late the night before. Normally, they go to sleep at nine in the evening and wake up between four and five in the morning.

Chapter 11: Talanoa’i Tatala ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata i Aotearoa mo Tonga: Tongan Cultural Capital as Practices for Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga

Introduction

At the beginning of this thesis I discussed the aims which are to highlight and illuminate the richness of Tongan cultural knowledge and practice in the experiences of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. This thesis also seeks to remind Tongan families and the community of the strengths and richness in their cultural knowledge and practices, and provide understanding for teachers that highlight the significant family cultural capital Tongan males bring with them from home.

Talanoa’i Tatala ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata

‘Talanoa’i tatala ‘a e koloa ‘o e to’utangata i Aotearoa mo Tonga is the heading used for this chapter and it relates to the overall discussion of the intergenerational stories across chapters 11 and 12. The main focus of this chapter however, is to *Talanoa’i Tatala* which is an ‘active process’ in the sense that understanding what families value as being important in schooling involves stripping the layers of their lived experiences (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 203). This chapter involves an active discussion of a layer of *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga*, that is, the cultural practices and activities passed down from the grandfather to his son and grandson.

Koloa, Koloa’ia and Fakakoloa

“Ko e tokotaha koloa’iá, ko e tokotaha ia ‘oku koloa’ia ‘i he ngaahi ‘ilo mo e poto ‘a e Tongá.”

A person full of knowledge (or in abundance of knowledge) is a person who shows insight and is wise in Tongan ways.

(Personal Communication, L. Manu’atu, January 2015)

As family cultural capital, *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga* is defined by the families in this study as “worthwhile [knowledge] to transmit to their young” (Thaman, 1995, p. 725). As valued knowledge framed within the extended family,

family cultural capital is understood as the collective wisdoms passed down from generation to generation in New Zealand and Tonga.

The concepts of *koloa*, *koloa'ia* and *fakakoloa* are used to clarify and understand what, why and how extended families perceive the idea of worthwhile knowledge or collective wisdoms. *Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is internalised and passed down to the next generation as valued knowledge and practice.

Tongan cultural knowledge (*koloa*) exists in Tongan people's thoughts, minds, and hearts. Embodied within *koloa* are wisdoms, values, beliefs and ideals that are significant in Tongan people's lives. Thaman (1995) referred to a wise person as someone who uses their insights (*'ilo*) to better the lives of their *kāinga*. She further described such a person as *fakapotopoto* – or wise.

Koloa is a concept that embodies wisdom. Its purpose is for Tongan people to learn (*ako*) and internalise key Tongan values, beliefs and ideals and use such insights to help other Tongan people. This is what Tongan people value in their lives. This is exactly what the grandfathers and fathers have tried to pass down to the grandsons in this study. Embodied within or through the cultural activities are wisdoms that allow Tongan people to live as Tongans in New Zealand and Tonga.

As a derivative of *koloa*, *koloa'ia* is the state whereby the cultural knowledge learnt is internalised in how Tongan people think, feel and relate towards other people. Such are the worthwhile learnings within the activities practiced by Tongan males. In the *koloa'ia* state, the individual is perceived to be full of abundant knowledge. *Fakakoloa* is the act of sharing, transmitting or passing down knowledge with the intention to help or benefit the lives of the next generation. The obligation of older males in the *kāinga* (extended family) is to *fakakoloa* their young. The value or significance (*mahu'inga*) of their *koloa* (Tongan cultural knowledge) is maintained in the *koloa'ia* and *fakakoloa* states of being.

Within the *kāinga*, the learning must be put into practice in order for it to be 'of value or useful' for the rest of the collective. The learning (*koloa*) is not necessarily useful until it is internalised in the heart, mind and spirit (*koloa'ia*) of the individual. The *mahu'inga* (significance) of their knowledge is through the sharing or imparting what they know to other people (*fakakoloa*).

Simione Family in New Zealand – Valued Cultural Practices

Ko e koloa ‘o e fei’umu – the value of fei’umu

A Tongan male’s cultural identity can be understood in terms of his role and responsibilities within the *kāinga*, including learning the valued practice of the *fei’umu*. Samiu Simione, a grandfather now in his late sixties, learnt about his role and responsibilities as the eldest son through doing the *fei’umu*. During the early 1950s, when Samiu Simione was a young boy in Tonga, he and his brothers were taught to work outdoors. Preparing the *ngoto’umu* (underground oven) for Sunday lunch was a normal part of a Tongan boy’s upbringing. Getting the *ngoto’umu* ready on Sunday mornings involved Samiu and his brothers getting up early. At the same time, his sisters were also awake preparing food to be wrapped up and cooked in the *ngoto’umu*. *Talanoa* about the *fei’umu* not only reminded Samiu of his father; it also reminded him of his own position and role as the *‘ulumotu’a* within the family.

It was important for Samiu Simione to teach his eldest son Roger all that he knew about the *fei’umu*. Samiu and his children would first meet at his place in South Auckland before meeting up with the rest of the extended family. Roger was always expected to be by his father’s side. At the same time, Samiu reminded all his children about their role and obligations to Roger as the eldest son.

Koloa’ia ‘i he ‘ilo mo e poto ‘o e fei’umu

Knowledge from the fei’umu internalised

As Samiu’s eldest son, Roger was made aware of his role and responsibilities within his *kāinga* from an early age. His responsibilities involved helping his father and uncles prepare food at the *fei’umu*, either for a family wedding, birthday or *putu* (funeral). Roger is often with his brothers and other male cousins. Roger’s role however, is different to the others. As one of the eldest males, his role is to lead. His uncles often *pu’i* (to be told what to do) Roger to complete a task before getting him to show the rest of the boys. For instance, apart from his uncles, Roger is the only grandson who knows how to gut a pig correctly. Knowing how to gut a male pig compared to a female pig requires a particular skill. As described by Roger, the gutting of the male pig is a lot more difficult because of its external parts. Cooking pig on a spit (*tunu puaka*) is a physically demanding job often given to Roger to do

and look after. Roger is responsible for ensuring his cousins *tunu puaka* the right way. His father and uncles have grown to trust and rely on Roger because not only is he smart and hard working, he is also physically strong and good with his hands.

Roger values the importance of the *fei'umu* and wants to pass down his knowledge to RJ. Although RJ spends a lot of time with his mother's family, Roger has tried to take him to his family's gatherings as often as he can.

When I take him, they [Samiu and his brothers] often won't let RJ do anything and get him to watch us work. They make him sit there and when I call him to do something, my dad says to him, "ha'u, you go and sit down". I would tell RJ go and grab that so that he can help us. When my dad tells him to sit down, I look at him and say to him that he has to come and help us. Dad just laughs and then agrees. I laugh because if that was me, I would have gotten into deep trouble. But with my son, he [Samiu] lets him sit there [laughs]. He's [RJ] been to most of the stuff that we do. He likes hearing the boys all mock each other. It's funny to him. He goes to me, "Hey dad, do you guys all mock each other?" I said, "yeah we're always like that." "Have any of you guys had a fight?" Nah, that's just how we are. We all grew up together. We just mock each other, even if it's a low blow. We're all used to it.

Fakakoloa'aki 'a e 'ilo mo e poto 'o e fei'umu

Knowledge from the fei'umu transmitted to the next generation

As Roger's eldest son, RJ knows his father and grandfather expect him to lead their *kāinga* one day. He can see how much his father respects his own dad and his uncles. RJ described his dad as being "the man" when it came to doing the *fei'umu*. He was surprised to see his father showing his younger cousins what to do. He had never seen his father interact in this way with his family members.

"I reckon he's happier than usual when he's with his brothers and cousins. I guess it's coz he hardly sees them. Yeah, I think they [Samiu and his brothers] rely on dad since he's Samiu's son. This means that he should act like a leader since he is going to be looked at as one, or being the son of the eldest. I reckon that he's still getting used to the thought of him having to lead the family, but yeah I reckon he likes the fact he will be the leader of the pack one day. Yeah...seeing dad at the fei'umu, that makes me proud. When he's with the men cooking, that makes me proud. It's because of how he obeys the elders and respects them. Samiu enjoys seeing dad at the fei'umu helping out. The old men were together talking while my dad was with the younger guys, his brothers and cousins. They were chilling outside just talking and laughing. Dad was asked to gut the pig and then help put it on the pole."

Heather Simone values the skills and knowledge her husband Roger has learnt at the *fei'umu* because they have helped him become a better husband and father. Heather now appreciates her father-in-law Samiu's persistence in teaching Roger, even though initially she did not see the value in learning about the *fei'umu*. Heather was born and raised in New Zealand and her parents did not always view Tongan activities as being important in their education.

As described by Heather, her husband Roger has influenced and changed her own attitude towards learning things Tongan.

But, the good stuff, his dad wants him to fei'umu...like being a man! That was really good. That's what I do like. We always talk about that too. Roger's dad would take him to fei'umu and all that stuff. My dad didn't want to burden my brothers with anything like that because he knew how hard it was for him. He wanted the opposite for his kids in New Zealand. Whereas Samiu, he was like you need to learn because when you become a man and you're on your own, you need to be able to do that. So it was different the way that Roger was brought up. When you see like Tim [Heather's younger brother], he used to always go everywhere with Roger, he used to be like, "Shucks man". Like he doesn't know how to do any of that stuff [laughs]. "Far Roger's the man!", he says...Roger was always good at doing the fei'umu stuff and gutting a pig and tunu puaka. The way that Roger is like now. The way that he is with making food and how he is around the house working. Samiu was always like this to him, "You're the oldest, you need to learn how to do all this stuff." Ever since Roger was little, see that stuff you see it has stuck inside him and he does it.

Ko e koloa 'o e va'inga 'akapulu – the value of playing rugby

Being the eldest son of the *'ulumotu'a*, Roger's role is to lead. Leadership is a valuable skill Roger Simone learnt while playing rugby. As a popular sport amongst Pasifika males in New Zealand, rugby has taught Roger the value of leadership within a team (Schaaf, 2006). Roger is a gifted sports person who possessed natural talent at an early age. In high school he was described by the director of sport as having the potential to one day make the 'All Blacks', a dream aspired to by many young boys in New Zealand.

His father Samiu did not always see the importance of sport in schooling. Roger's parents wanted him to become a doctor. Although Roger still valued learning in the classroom, his focus shifted to rugby in high school. The only subjects he enjoyed were physical education (PE), human biology and English and this was because they were taught either outdoors or through field trips. He tried to balance his

school work, rugby training and games however, it all became too much for him to handle. *“I should have tried to balance it out”*, said Roger. His parents expected him to do well at school and pass his exams. They wanted their eldest son to set the standard for the rest of his brothers.

“They told us stories about being back in the islands and never having had the opportunities that we had. So make the most of everything they said. That went through one ear and out the other.”

When he was selected for the Auckland Rugby development team at sixteen years of age, Roger saw this as the beginning of his rugby career. Roger opted to focus more on rugby than his school work. He described one of the reasons why he lost interest in classroom learning:

“I think I just got too lazy. I was like I’m good at this [sport], I don’t need that [academic]. So I’ll leave that, and this is where my money is going to be. I was going to be a famous sports star.”

Koloa’ia ‘i he ‘ilo mo e poto ‘o e va’inga ‘akapulu

Knowledge from va’inga ‘akapulu internalised

Roger Simione wanted to make his parents and *kāinga* proud of him on the rugby field. Like many Pasifika students he wanted to provide and give back to his parents and extended family. Roger saw rugby as a way to achieve this.

Playing rugby at school gave him more confidence to lead. He felt good on the field knowing he had 14 other boys to look after him. His rugby coach as well as PE teacher saw a lot of potential in him and made sure he not only made it to training, but also went to all his classes at school.

However, when he became a young father, Roger made the decision not to pursue playing rugby. Two years after their eldest daughter was born in 1996, Roger was encouraged by his rugby coach and wife to return to high school to play for their First XV team. The idea of pursuing rugby as a career was becoming more attractive to young boys in New Zealand (Schaaf, 2006). For Roger, going back to school to play rugby was an opportunity to pick up a contract with a club and perhaps later a contract with a team outside of New Zealand. Despite his efforts, after the rugby season ended, the prospect of pursuing rugby as a career became less attractive.

Even with encouragement from his wife to continue playing rugby, Roger's priorities had changed.

It was always like the beginning of the year, I'd be like: "Why don't you try and get in touch with whoever it is you need to go and join a club. He'd be like, "neh". Like, hello! I was like his biggest fan [laugh]. I wanted him to go and play and even when he kind of stopped when I was carrying with our eldest daughter, I kept encouraging him to go. Come to the weekends, when it was time to play. He just didn't go.

Fakakoloa'aki 'a e 'ilo mo e poto 'o e va'inga 'akapulu

Knowledge from va'inga 'akapulu transmitted to the next generation

Roger values sharing his rugby knowledge with young people. During sports events for church, Roger not only played but also coached teams as well. As one of the youth leaders at church, the minister and executive members of the *akoako* (youth group) rely on Roger to lead and train the youth during touch rugby, tag and volleyball competitions against other parishes. He is often excited to share his knowledge and conducts trainings in both English and Tongan.

Roger and Heather value schooling as well as sports. They have encouraged their children to first finish school before doing anything else. Milly Simione, their eldest daughter, described a situation with her father when she came home from school wanting to give up her studies.

"Oh last year I used to talk to him and mum quite a lot, cause like I was struggling and so I'd tell them it was too hard and I'm going to fail. There was a point where I said I want to drop out of school. And then, yea my dad was like a bit angry. He reminded me why school was important, and mum was telling me to pray about it."

RJ learned the value of playing sport from his father. Although his father is not one for serious conversations, when it comes to sport however, Roger is always willing to share his thoughts and opinion with them.

"My dad is mostly about sports. He'll give us advice about sports, and then my mum will give us advice about school."

Fatai Family in New Zealand – Valued Cultural Practices

Ko e koloa ‘o ‘uta – the value of work in the plantation

In Tonga, it is the father’s role and responsibility to ensure food crops are readily accessible for his family throughout the year. Work on the plantation (*ngāue ki ‘uta*) is a common activity valued by the *kāinga*. Today in Tonga, food crops not only feed Tongan families but is also used as a source of income.

Manase Fatai valued the work in the plantation because it provided learning opportunities for his children. When he left school, Manase helped his father grow and maintain their food crops in the family plantation. Manase did not want the same for his children. Because he knew from experience the struggle to finish school, it was forbidden for any of his children, as well as those that stayed with him and Lavinia, to participate in extracurricular activities.

“Ka e kei tu’u pe ‘eku fo’i ko é he akó, pea u pehē leva keu nofo ā he akó ‘o ha’u ‘o tokoni ki he ‘eku tamaí. ‘A ia ko e fo’i ngāue ki ‘uta. Na’aku hanga leva ‘omai ‘eku fānai, pea na’e ‘ikai ko e fānai pē. Fakataha ia mo e fānau ‘a e tuonga’ane ‘o Laviniá, tokolahi ‘aupito ‘a e tamaiki, tangata mo fefine. ‘Omai ia ‘o tuku ‘ia kimaua. Pea ko e taha ia e me’a na’e to e fefeka ange ‘a e anga ‘o e lao ki he ngaahi tapu. ‘Oku ‘ikai ke tonu ke fakavaivai’i e fo’i me’a ko e tapu. Ka ko e me’a ‘oku tapu, pea tapu. Pea ‘oku pehē, neu ‘ikai keu tali ‘e au ka ako ha taha pea kau ha taha ha sipoti pe ko ha to e me’a kehe. Ako katoa pē. ‘Aho tokonaki kotoa pē te u ‘alu mo ‘eku tamaiki ki ‘uta.”

It still stands, me giving up on schooling. So I decided to leave school and come help my father. Help work in the plantation. Together with Lavinia’s brothers children, there were lots of them, boys and girls. They were brought to stay with us. This was the reason why the rules were made sacred. The rules should not to be taken lightly. What is forbidden, should be forbidden. That’s why I did not accept anyone to participate in sports or other activities. Everybody went to school. Every Saturdays, I went with my kids to the plantation.

Koloa’ia ‘i he ‘ilo mo e poto ‘o ‘uta

Knowledge from *ngāue ki ‘uta* internalised

‘Uta or the plantation was a site for learning and teaching for Manase Fatai. The plantation was where Hailame learnt the value of hard work (*ngāue mālohi*), honesty (*fai mo’oni*) and giving it their all (*fai ‘aki honau faka’osingamālie*).

“Pea ko e a’u pē ki ‘utá pea u vahevahe pē ‘a e tamaikí. Ko e ‘aho Tokonakí ko e ‘aho ia ‘o mautolu ki ‘uta. ‘Oku ‘i ai ‘a e kau tama ki he huo, ‘oku ‘i ai ‘a e kau tama ki he tufi e fefie, mo e kau tama ki he fusi lū mo e ‘ai niu motu’ú. ‘Oku ‘i ai mo e kau tama ke ta’aki manioke, fai katoa ia. Pea ko e ‘osi katoa ia teu ‘alu leva ‘o ‘a’ahi, pea kapau teu ‘alu atu au ‘oku kovi, ‘oku ‘ikai keu fiemalie ki he anga fai ko é ‘o é, ‘oku ‘i ai e kau tama ia ka ō ia ‘o huo kuo tamu e vevé. Teu to e ‘alu atu ‘o ui ke nau ō mai, ‘e tatali ‘emau foki ki ‘api kae ‘oleva kuo nau ō mai ‘o ō ki he me’a ko é ‘o ‘ai ke lelei. Pea é ‘eke ki ai pe ‘oku ‘i ai hano faikehekehe, ‘enau sio he me’a ko é na’e toe ‘ai moe me’a na’a nau ‘ai. Ko e feinga’i ia ke nau fai mo’oni, ‘oka nau ka fai ha fa’ahinga me’a pea fai’aki honau ‘osi’osingamālie. ‘Oua to e fakamu’omu’a nima ha me’a, pe fai fakava’iva’inga.”

When we arrived on the plantation, I divided the children, it was a Saturday, the day for us at the plantation. There were boys to hoe the weeds, boys to collect firewood, boys to pick taro leaves and collect coconuts. There were boys to pull cassava from the ground. They all did the work. After all the work was done, I would go around and inspect and if I get there and it is not done well, I was not happy with the standard of work. Few of the boys that did the weeding covered up the rubbish. I would go and call them back; we wouldn’t go home until the boys came back and fixed their mistake. I would then ask them whether they could see a difference after they fixed what they did initially. I wanted them to be truthful and honest in their work, and any work that they do – to give it their all. Not to be slack and half heartedly do a task and play around.

Hailame learnt a lot from his father’s teachings and hard work in the plantation. His descriptions of ‘ngāue ki ‘uta’ (work on the plantation) indicate how much he valued the experience.

“I think Manase’s koloa...he performed it, he directed us, he allowed us to see...it was hardwork and integrity. Combination of your belief; if you’re a very honest person, everything you do has integrity. What you say is what you do. You actually die for it because you believe it! It was obvious when we went to ‘uta. We used to think to ourselves, man hurry up and lets go home. Manase was always the last back and it would usually be dark. He would be the last back to the ute. He’ll always be the last back to the ute, checking that everything is done and all our tools are brought back.”

Food crops from the plantation were used to fulfill Manase’s obligation to his own *kāinga* and his wife’s extended family. Hailame described how his father’s hard work was valued by their extended family, as well as his mother Lavinia’s family.

“My grandfather, dad’s dad would often send one of my cousins to ask for some me’akai (food crops). Dad would say, yep go with the boys and fill up the saliotte (chariot attached to the horse). We’d fill it up with kumala and manioke. And Tofoa was far away from Ma’ufanga. We had a bit of money but

not enough. So sometimes we were able to fakamo'ua (loan) some sipi (lamb). We were able to help my mum's family as well. We experienced the fa'e tangatas (mum's brothers). Mum's brother would always bring us stuff and we would always go to plantation and bring back fruit and me'akai for them. That kind of relationship was very strong. I have an uncle who was married to the noble's daughter. His son, he is the 'ofisa kolo now in Puke. They remember about their father who brought all of them over to visit us. One year we had a fakaafe (feast), my uncle brought all his boys and girls and his wife, and they brought tokonaki (uncooked food) over to us to make our fakaafe. And when they went home, we fill their saliole (chariot) up with our offerings. Then everybody would cry before they leave. His daughters, they still remember how their father treated my mum – a lot of respect. They still do the same with us whenever they see us or hear that we are in Tonga. We always know where we stand with our family.”

Hailame described New Zealand as his 'uta – “New Zealand, this is my plantation where I go to work on”. At university he had to work hard to finish his studies. Remembering back to his family in Tonga and how hard life was back home motivated Hailame to complete his university studies.

“But I knew I had to do it myself. Do I have to wait for lunch to be made for me? No, I have to make it myself. So this is what I actually had in mind back in those days. Even when I was at uni, I had to remember that I'm on my own. I have to do the best I can. Given that I didn't work. All my schools fees were all done from family contributions. We struggled financially. So for me, I paid off some debts that I actually had (family paying for my fees) by finishing my degree...I'd come home very late at night. It was hard but I was determined not to finish studies with nothing. I had to stay on until I accomplished my quest to finish a degree. Took me five years of hard work.”

Fakakoloa'aki 'a e 'ilo mo e poto 'o 'uta

Knowledge from ngaue ki 'uta transmitted to the next generation

Success in education for Tongan extended families is defined within the *kāinga*. Hailame's eldest son, Manase junior (Jr) and nephew Christopher defined the value of education in relation to the expectations of their extended family: “[Our] grandparents, parents and aunties and uncles – school is everything and is very important to them. Sports comes second. To get to sport, we need an education. That's what they keep telling us.”

Both agreed that Hailame had set the standard for everyone in their family.

Christopher: Hailame is one of the ones who pushes us, like I can still remember. Mostly every night, he'd call us in and do quizzes with us – do learning stuff with us. He can see what we can do, and he helps us with our strengths. Like in that subject, that we need to work on. He never looks down on us kids...just coz we're little, he doesn't think we're dumb. He helps and teaches us. Especially because he has a degree.

Manase Jr: When I see dad's certificates, I think he's smart. I think he's the smartest out of his brothers and sister. Sometimes its hard to live up to his expectations.

Christopher: He was diligent and hard working. In my point of view, Hailame set the standard. After Hailame got his degree, that persuaded his older brother to get his degree. Hailame set the bar. My dad told me that grandpa always took them to 'uta every Saturday. Sometimes the boys would come home from school and then go 'uta.

Hailame took Manase Jr. back to Tonga as a way of sharing with him what life was like for him and his grandfather. He wanted to show his son where he grew up.

“For my boy, it's the adventure of finding out and to experience what they have heard. So they want to experience. It's more like an adventure for them. Going to Tonga and putting their feet on my footprints. Our trip to Tonga, Manase Jr. enjoyed it.”

Ko e koloa 'o e pō talanoa mo e ongo kui – the value of pō talanoa with grandparents

During *pō talanoa*, Hailame learnt about the things that mattered most to his parents. They often engaged in lengthy conversations with Hailame about the things that were important to them – things they valued. The things he learnt from *pō talanoa* with his parents related to sacrifice and hard work, having a good education, and faith in God.

We didn't have money, but we had that koloa – working hard for a good education. Church helped shape our behaviour. 'A e teke mautolu ke mau ō kihe lotu (pushing us to go to church). When we get together, mum, dad and I would talk about church. I think that belief factor is up to the person. What you learn, it's up to you to learn it. Up to now, I had my own belief, my belief won't be the same with the rest of my siblings. It's not even the same with my dad. We sometimes conflict in our own beliefs. It's like we planted the same tree; his tree is too old and mine is younger. His one, is working for church, as part of structure, there is no “yes” now – and the “no” later. To dad, if it's a

“yes” now, then it’s a “yes” later. He is into his work and deeds. There is no half doing it or not. It’s one standard, very straight, no double standards. But that’s ok because he has a lot of faith in God.

Hailame values being open minded. *Pō talanoa* about God and faith with his father Manase Sr. were valuable and appreciated by Hailame. Although his father was very “black and white” in how he worshipped and praised God, Hailame described his own worship methods as being more open. However, he always respected his father for his strong faith in God.

Koloa’ia ‘i he ‘ilo mo e poto ‘o e pō talanoa mo e ongo kui

Knowledge from pō talanoa with the grandparents internalised

Through *pō talanoa*, Manase Jr. and Christopher learnt and were reminded by their grandparents of their obligations to their *kāinga*. When Manase Sr. fell ill in 2013, rather than going to the doctors he requested a massage from his grandsons instead. Manase Jr. and Christopher described the moment as an emotional experience for them. The room was very small and each grandparent had a bed which divided the room into two. There was a small pathway in the middle; enough for a person to walk through. Christopher sat on one side of the bed massaging his grandfather’s toes. Manase Jr. sat across from them on his grandmother’s bed and massaged his grandfather’s fingers. As they sat and massaged, thoughts of what life would be like without their grandfather started to cross their minds. Christopher looked out into the garden and wondered what it would look like in summer time without their grandfather around to plant flowers and remove the weeds. Suddenly, the images in their head disappeared from their minds as their grandmother opened the door and walked into the room. When Lavinia spoke, immediately, Manase Jr. and Christopher hung their heads low. She spoke about the fact that when she and Manase Sr. are no longer around for them, it would be their responsibility to encourage the younger grandchildren with their schooling and to remind them of times like this when their grandparents were still alive. It was their responsibility to share the stories told to them. At that point in time, the young boys struggled to hold back their emotions.

Fakakoloa'aki 'a e 'ilo mo e poto 'o e pō talanoa mo e ongo kui

Knowledge from pō talanoa with the grandparents transmitted to the next generation

As a retired church minister and policeman in Tonga, Manase Sr's role was to share with others his faith in God. He always tried to live an honest life, and he encouraged people around him to do the same. Hailame has a similar regard to living an honest life. Despite both sharing similar values, Hailame is more open in terms of methods of worship.

“We have to keep our mind open so that we can learn things. Keep an open mind, not just bounded by traditional christian things or ways. My spiritual practice is more open now. For example, going to church every Sunday in order to maintain a relationship with God – I don't always agree. A few times on Sundays I have not gone to church because I have taken my kids to events and not feel bad about it.”

Being a manager and leader in the workplace, Hailame spends time teaching his colleagues about key values learnt from his *pō talanoa* or discussions with his father. Maintaining respectful relationships with his work colleagues is an important value practiced by Hailame.

Sometimes I tell my workers off for being late and not doing stuff right. If I see them walk pass me and they don't want to talk to me, (like he's pissed off) I won't continue to make things worse for them. If they swear at me, I won't walk away. I stay there to make sure that person voices his opinion (so that he feels like he's winning) and gets things off his chest. I will let him be angry. That's my role as the manager. I make sure that my tone and mood are right. My role as a leader is important to me. If I let my mind be poisoned with anger, it will control my emotions. It's about mental toughness and it's not an easy thing to do.

Finau Family in Tonga – Valued Cultural Practices

Ko e koloa 'o e fakafāмили – the value of family prayer

The *fakafāмили* is a site where Tongan males learn about their extended family's aspirations for them. During *fakafāмили*, the elders encourage and motivate their grandchildren to focus and study hard at school. It is within this space that members can also share their concerns and disappointments.

During *fakafāmili*, Viliami’s father, Alamoti Finau, encouraged his children to work hard at school. Although Alamoti was generally a quiet (*fakalongolongo*) man, during *fakafāmili* he actively voiced his expectations for his children to persevere in schooling. When talking about his own father, this always made Viliami emotional. His emotions and descriptions of Alamoti’s sacrifices for him and his siblings indicated how much Viliami valued and missed his father.

Koloa’ia ‘i he ‘ilo mo e poto ‘o e fakafāmili

Knowledge from fakafāmili internalised

During *fakafāmili* with his grandfather Alamoti, Paula Finau received advice about pursuing and studying subjects he had passion for. Taking his grandfather’s advice, Paula followed his heart and pursued electrical engineering, a career which has brought him success.

“Pea na’e lahi ‘ema fa’a talanoa pea ‘oku ou sio ki he ‘eku ki’i lavame’a ko ia he taimi ní. Na’e ‘i ai ‘a e me’a ‘oku ou kei manatu’i ai. Na’a ne pehē, “Ko e hā ‘a e me’a ‘oku ke manako ki aí, ako ki ai. ‘Oua e hanga ho’o fiema’ú ‘a koe pē ko ho’o matu’ā ‘o ne fakamālohi’i ko e ke ke ‘alu o ako ki he me’a ‘oku na fiema’ú. Ko e hā ‘a e me’a ‘okú ke manako ki aí, ako ki ai he ko e me’a pē ia teke ikuna ai.”

We had a lot to talk about and I look at my success now. There is one thing I still remember. He said, “whatever you are passionate about, study it. Do not let your wants or your parents force you to study what they want you to do. Whatever you are passionate about and choose to do, study it because that is what will make you successful.”

Fakakoloa’aki ‘a e ‘ilo mo e poto ‘o e fakafāmili

Knowledge from fakafāmili transmitted to the next generation

Learning from his father Viliami, Paula Finau has used the *fakafāmili* as an opportunity to not only discuss schooling with his sons Miguel and Dante, but also to talk with them about their personal concerns.

“Ka ‘oku ou feinga pē ke mahino kia kinaua; ki he ongo māhanga, ‘a e palopalema mo e ngaahi me’á. He na’e lahi ‘a e ngaahi fakafāmili mo ‘eku tangata’eiki, ko e talanoa pē he akó....Ka ko au ‘oku ou feinga ke u to e ki’i mahino pea tau’ataina ange ‘eku talanoa mo ‘eku fanai. ‘Oku ou talaange sai pē ‘a e kaume’a ka ‘oku kovi koe’uhí ‘oku pehē mo pehē mo pehē. ‘Oku ou feinga keu talanoa ma’u pē mo kinaua.”

But I'm trying to make them understand, the twins about the problems and that. The many *fakafāmilī* with my father, it was all about schooling...I'm trying to be more open with my children. I tell them, its ok to have a girlfriend but its not good because of this and that. I'm trying to talk with them.

Miguel and Dante Finau have also learnt about being *fakapotopoto* (wise) during *fakafāmilī* with their grandfather. Their grandfather Viliami does not like to squander money. Rather, a wise person spends their money on worthwhile things. Viliami bought land and built a house on each piece of land for each of his children.

“Talamai ma’u pē ‘i he’emau fakafāmilī ke fakapotopoto mo tokanga ki he lotú. Mo e me’a ma’u pē ke tokanga ki he akó, he ko e me’a pe ia te ma mo’ui aí.”

He [Viliami] would tell us every *fakafāmilī* to be wise and to focus on church. And always to focus on school because we will live off it.

Ko e koloa ‘o e ngāue fakapisinisi – the value of owning and running a business

Owning and operating a business runs in the Finau family’s blood. Viliami and Paula both value knowledge and understanding about owning and running a business. Paula’s grandmother, Mele, managed their family *falekoloa* (shop) which was successful at the time. He described Mele and his mother Lātū as being extremely hard working (*fu’u ngāue mālohi*) and both possessed lots of energy and determination (*fu’u ivi lahi pe ia*). Most of the time they stayed up late preparing for the next day and then be the first to wake up early in the morning.

“Na’e a’u ia ki he tu’unga na’e falekoloa mo eni, taha i Tataka-mo-Tonga mo ‘Eua. He na’e ‘alu e pisinisi ia ‘o sai ‘aupito. Ikai ke lava e fānau ia ‘o tauhi lelei. ‘Osi pe mālōlō ‘a Melé pea hoko mai ko e he kauleka. Aia na’e kehe ‘aupito pē a Mele, tatau mo ‘eku fa’ē he na’a na fu’u ivi lahi pē mo ngāue mālohi. Ko e sio ia ko é ‘a e kakaí, pehē ‘e kinautolu ko au ia ‘i he fāmilī, ‘i he fānau ‘oku hoko kia Mele. Ki he fine’eikí ‘o ngāue mālohi.”

It got to a stage where there were three shops – one in town, one in Tataka-mo-Tonga and ‘Eua, an Island near Tongatapu. The business was at a stage where it really prospered, but the children could not manage the shop. After Mele passed away, the shop went to the kids. Mele was really different, just like my mother Lātū because they had a lot of energy and determination and were extremely hard working. When people look at us, they say that out of all the kids, I am more like Mele and Lātū.

Koloa'ia 'i he 'ilo mo e poto 'o e ngāue fakapisinisi

Knowledge from ngāue fakapisinisi internalised

The knowledge gained from completing his qualification overseas helped Paula in his decision to venture out on his own and start a new business. Without his father Viliami's financial support, Paula would not have been able to complete his studies overseas. Viliami had made a promise to his children that whoever completed their schooling in Tonga, he would provide fund for them to complete further studies abroad.

Viliami and Paula engage in *pō talanoa* about business related matters. Most of Viliami and Paula's conversations were related to business. Viliami owns a private construction company which he manages on top of his responsibilities as the CEO of the government-funded organisation.

“Meimei ko e 'aho Sāpaté pē homau 'aho talanoa fakafāmilī. Ko e taimi ni, 'oku kehe. 'Okú ma lava 'o talanoa ki he me'a lahi. Hangē ki he fakapisinisi. 'Okú ma mei talanoa ma'u pē 'i he 'aho kotoa. 'Oku lahi 'a e taimi 'oku fie tokoni mai, 'o tala mai ke 'ai 'e hā mo e hā. Ka 'ikai, 'oku ne kole mai keu tokoni ange. 'A ia 'oku lahi 'ema talanoa he taimi ni.”

Usually on Sundays we have our family discussions. Now it's different. We are able to talk about a lot of things. Like business. We almost talk every day. A lot of the time, he wants to help. Tells me to do this and that. If not, he will ask me to help him. So we talk quite a lot now.

Fakakoloa'aki 'a e 'ilo mo e poto 'o e ngāue fakapisinisi

Knowledge from ngāue fakapisinisi transmitted to the next generation

Paula's expectation is for his son Dante Finau to take over the family business one day. His other son, Miguel Finau, is to become a doctor.

Dante: 'Uluaki pē ke lava lelei 'a e akó pea te u ha'u leva ke feinga ke fakalele 'a e pisinisi. Ko 'ene taumu'á ke tatau mo iá o ako ki he tafa'aki e 'uhilá, ka e feinga ke to e laka ange ai, pea to e ha'u 'o fakalele 'a e pisinisi 'ke to e sai ange.

Firstly, to do well at school. And then come and try and run the business. Dad wants me to learn about electrical engineering, but to try and better him. Then come and run and improve the business.

Miguel: Dad always tells us to finish our schooling. Once we finish, we can come back to Tonga and help him because of all the work that he has to do.

Paula has encouraged his sons to pursue careers based on their abilities and strengths. Miguel shows interest and ability in science, while Dante is good at building and making things.

Miguel: Yes, the whole reason why my parents wanted me to be a doctor was because in primary school science was my strongest subject.

Dante: When I was about 10 or 11, dad has had the same expectations for me. Our parents have always told us, “ko e me’a pē te ke sa’ia aí, teke sai ai” (The things that you like are the things that you will be good at). I’ve always liked carpentry and building things. That’s why I like carpentry. When I was growing up he’d [Paula] ask me if I like this, and I’d say yes. He encouraged me to keep at it.

Continuing further studies outside of Tonga is a valued experience for the Finau family. Paula and his wife ‘Emeline decided to send their boys to an all boys school in New Zealand to complete their final two years of high school. At Patterson High School, the boys struggled with some of their subjects and have had to quickly learn how to adjust to their new learning environment. Although they see clear differences between teachers’ expectations of them compared with other students in the class, their parents’ words of encouragement and sacrifices in sending them abroad for a better education is motivation for Miguel and Dante to persevere and not give up. The boys board at the school hostel and have found the environment rewarding for them. A couple of the house masters who also board at the hostel are Tongan and the boys have developed strong friendships with them.

Maile Family in Tonga – Valued Cultural Practices

Ko e koloa ‘o e ngāue fakafaiako – the value of teaching

Teaching is a family legacy that has been maintained over generations within the Maile *kāinga*. Teaching, or *ngāue fakafaiako*, is a valued profession in Tonga. Feleti Maile talked about his father’s advice for him before joining the profession.

“Ta’u ‘osi koia ‘eku ako ‘i he kolisi he ta’u 1961, na’e kei faiako pē ‘a e tangata’eiki ‘i he lautohi Pule’angá. Na’á ne fakahoko mai pē kiate au, kapau te u fie faiako, ‘oku pau ke fisifisi ‘i hoku keté pea toki ‘alu leva ‘o faiako.”

In my final year of high school in 1961, my father was still teaching at a government primary school. And he told me if I wanted to become a teacher, I had to flick my stomach before I went into teaching.

According to Feleti Maile, teaching requires strength and determination. Flicking one’s stomach is a test of a Tongan male’s strength and perseverance.

As described by Feleti, teaching is a blessing from God. With forty years of teaching experience, Feleti Maile believes teaching was a blessing bestowed by God on their family. Not only were he and his father teachers, but his brother as well as his sister also became teachers. Feleti decided teaching would continue as a legacy for all first-born sons that came after him. Not only did Soane, his first-born son, become a teacher, but Soane’s eldest son Malakai is also to follow the same path.

“Pea ‘oku ou tui pē ko e fatongia totonú pē ia, ma’u leva ‘a e tapuaki ‘a e ki’i famili ni [loto māfana]. Na’e ‘ikai ke to e fiema’u ha lakanga kehe ia. Ko ‘ema fānau e toko fā – tolu tangata mo e taha fefine. Ko Soane ‘a e lahi tahá pea ko ia pé mo e si’isi’i ai ‘okú na faiakó.”

I believe it is the right obligation, a blessing given to this family [emotional]. No other job was needed. We had four children – three boys and one girl. Soane was the eldest, only he and his younger brother are teachers.

Feleti has encouraged his son Soane and grandson Malakai to follow the same path and become teachers at the mission school in order to maintain their *veitapui* (sacred space) and obligation to God and the church.

“Na’aku ‘osi talanoa pē mo Malakai ‘i he tui pe ‘a ‘aku. Ke u teu’i ‘a e masi’i lahi ke hoko mai ‘i he fo’i laini. Ke hoko ko e faiako. Ke hoko ‘a e faiakó ko e fatongia ia ‘a honau ki’i fāmili. Na’a ku lotu pē ki he ‘Eiki ke ne tokoni mai, ke hoko ‘a e faiakó ko e fatongia ia ‘a homau ki’i famili. Neongo ‘a e ngāue ‘i he siasí, ka mau ha’u pe ‘o ngāue fakafaiako mai ki heni (mission school). I believed that although we didn’t get a lot of money, but I left it to God to fulfil my family’s needs.”

I have already spoken with Malakai about my own belief. To prepare the eldest son to continue the line. To become a teacher. For teaching to become our family’s obligation. I prayed to God to help us and for teaching to become our obligation.

Feleti sacrificed teaching at the government school where he received regular income to teach at the church mission school. When a prominent church leader approached him in 1968 to help lead the newly formed mission school, Feleti saw this as a calling from God.

Koloa'ia 'i he 'ilo mo e poto 'o e ngāue fakafaiako

Knowledge from ngāue fakafaiako internalised

Feleti's father's aspirations were that he and his siblings become educated in order to help their *kāinga* and other members of their village.

“Ko e taumu'a 'emau tamaí ke mau ō 'o ako ke mau poto 'o ngāue ma 'a e siasí. Na'a ne ngāue 'aki pē 'a e fo'i me'a ke mau ako 'o ma'u ha fa'ahinga ngāue ke mau 'aonga ai ki he kakaí. Tatau pē 'a e ngāue fakafaiakó. Koloa ke mau ngāue mo 'aonga ki he kakaí. Ko e faiakó, ko e ngāue mahu'inga taha ko e ngāue tokoni. Pea mahalo na'e hangē pē 'eku fakakaukaú mo 'eku tamaí. 'A ia 'oku ou tui ko e faiakó, 'e lava 'o tokoni'i 'a e kakaí. Tatau pē mo e toketaá...”

My father's goal was for us to become educated and work for the church. He wanted us to be educated and to find work that would allow us to be useful to the people. The same as working as a minister and working as a teacher. As long as we work and are useful to the people. Teaching is the most important job because it is a job that helps [others]. So maybe my thoughts were like my fathers. Therefore, I believe teaching can help other people. The same as a doctor...

Learning moral virtues such as honesty and respect towards others is valued knowledge within the Maile *kāinga* in Tonga. Soane Maile learnt from his father Feleti about the value of teaching students how to behave and act appropriately towards others, as opposed to just learning academic principles and ideas from the curriculum.

“Ko e taimi ko ia te ke faiako ai 'oku kau moe 'ulungāangá ka e 'ikai ko e 'atamai 'atātā pé. Ko e faiako 'a 'akú, na'e mu'omu'a kiate au 'a e 'ulungāanga ki he tamasi'i mo e ki'i ta'ahine. Toki kimui mai e lēsoní ia. Ko e 'ulungāanga ko e 'uluaki ia kiate au koe'uhi ko 'eku sio lōloa atu ke teu'i kinautolu ki aí...”

When teaching its about habits and behaviour and not just thinking. In my teaching, how to behave was the most important to me because I look at the future and preparing them for it....

The value of teaching is about giving service to people in the community. Soane Maile learned from his father that work is not all about earning money; it is also about working for other people. “*Ko e tu’unga ‘o e vahenga, neongo pe ‘ene si’isi’i ka na’a nau fai pe ‘a e ngāue [fakafaiako] ‘aki honau loto mo honau ‘ofa*” (Although the pay rate was low, they continued to do their work as teachers with their heart and with love).

Being punctual to school and working hard are important values passed-on from Feleti and Soane. Malakai and ‘Etimani Maile see these values in their grandfather and father.

Malakai: Ko Feleti...motu’a fakato’oto’o mo tokanga ke fai e ngāue mo tokanga pe ki he lotú. ‘Ita ma’u pē ‘i he ‘eku ‘alu ko é ‘o ‘eva ‘o fakatamaiki pea fa’a ‘ita mai. Ko Soane ‘oku fakato’oto’o pē mo ia. Pongipongi, ikai ke lava lelei ‘eku mohe ia ‘akú kuo ‘osi fafangu mai ia ke teuteu ki he akó. Mahalo ‘oku tei ke ‘alu hake e la’ā, mau ‘osi’i heni mautolu.

Feleti is a man who is punctual and likes working and getting things done as well as church. He gets annoyed when I muck around. Soane is also punctual. In the morning, when I haven’t had enough sleep, he wakes me up early to get ready for school. The sun probably hasn’t risen and we are here at school.

‘Etimani: Tangata pe ‘oku ngāue mālohi. Te ne feinga’i pē ‘ene ngāue kotoa pē ke lava ‘i he taimi kotoa pe. ‘A ia ko e tokanga he taimi ní ko ‘uta. Ki’i ma’ala ‘a Soane na’e vaoa pea na’e ‘i ai pē mo e ma’ala ‘a Feleti ke ne tokanga’i, pea ne tokanga’i pē ‘o ‘osi. Pea sio mai leva ‘a Feleti ki he ha’u pē a Soane ko e o faiakó pea ‘alu pē a Feleti ‘o to e huo pē e ki’i ma’ala ‘a Soane ‘o ‘osi. ‘Osi pea hanga ‘e ia ‘o tō ai e kumala mo e manioke. Feinga’i pē ha me’a ke mo’ui ai e ki’i fāmili.

A man who works hard. He tries to always get his work done every time. At the moment he is focused on the plantation. Soane’s plantation was overgrown with weeds and he [Feleti] had his own plantation to look after. Feleti saw that Soane had school so he took care of his plantation as well as his own and also planted kumala and casava. His way of providing and helping the family.

Fakakoloa'aki 'a e 'ilo mo e poto 'o e ngāue fakafaiako

Knowledge from ngāue fakafaiako transmitted to the next generation

According to Feleti, children are the most significant treasure within extended families in Tonga. This was a reason why teaching has been encouraged by him and passed down to his son and grandson.

“Oku ou fiema'u ke mahino pē kiate kinautolu. Ko e koloa mahu'inga tahá pē 'a e fanau, 'a e ko e koloa 'oku foaki mai he 'Otuá ma 'a e tangatá.”

I wanted them to understand. The most important treasure of all is children. So this is the treasure God has given to people.

To fulfill their role and responsibilities as the eldest son and grandson, teaching has been passed down to Soane and Malakai because it provides leadership skills for them to use within their *kāinga*. Through teaching, Feleti aspired for his son Soane and grandson Malakai to learn leadership skills that can be used to help the *kāinga* as well as other people within their village.

“Ko e fo'i ua koeé [Malakai mo 'Etimani], 'oku ou nofo pē 'o fakakaukau mo tokanga ki ai, koe'uhi ko kinaua te na hoko 'o tataki 'a e fāmili. 'Alu leva 'a Malakai 'o faiako ka e 'alu e masi'i e taha ki he tafa'aki mo'uí. Ko e ongo tafa'aki lalahi 'e ua ko iá tena lava 'o tokoni ai ki he kakai mo e fāmili.”

The two boys, Malakai and 'Etimani, I sit and think and take notice because they will continue to lead the family. Malakai will go and teach and the other to the area of health. These are two major areas they can help the people and the family.

As a church minister, Feleti shared his knowledge with other parents as well as the youth within their church congregation as a way to encourage teaching as a worthwhile profession. Soane can still remember his father Feleti referring to his own experiences about teaching at church.

“Pea na'á ne 'osi fa'a malanga'i pē 'e ia mo fa'a talanoa'i 'i he siasi. Ko e kakai faiakó ko e kakai lelei. Kapau 'e tokolahi 'a e kau faiako 'i he siasí, 'okú ne tui ko e siasi ko ia ko e siasi lelei ia. 'Oku ne pehē ma'u pē kapau 'e 'i ai ha taha 'e faiako he fāmili, ko e toko taha lelei ia koe'uhi ko e toko taha ko ia te ne fai hono huluhulu mo taki 'a e fāmili.”

He used to preach and talk about it at church. Teachers are good people. If there are a lot of teachers in the church, he believed that church would be a

good church. He always used to say if someone in a family becomes a teacher, that person is good because he or she will give light and lead the family.

Both Feleti and Soane have shared their teaching skills and knowledge with other men at *kava* clubs in their village. Teaching has provided Soane with leadership skills that he utilises in his community. The men in the village often discuss matters related to the schooling of their children. One obvious outcome of *kava* clubs in Tonga has been the buying of buses to transport their children to the high schools which are located in town. As the president of the *kava* club in the western district of Tongatapu, Soane has used the skills learnt through teaching to lead and educate Tongan males in his village.

Conclusion

Talanoa'i tatala 'a e koloa 'o e to'utangata is a discussion of Tongan males' lived experiences, that is, the knowledge and practices valued by the four families in this study. The *kāinga* have highlighted particular learning experiences that have been rich and useful in their education in New Zealand and Tonga. Furthermore, these rich and descriptive learning experiences and activities provide useful knowledge for teachers of Tongan males.

Meaningful learning relates to practices and processes specific to an individual's context (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008). This chapter has *fakatatata* (unfolded) the cultural practices and activities where cultural knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation. It is within these practices that learning and teaching takes place. Not only do Tongan males learn about specific skills related to the activity involved, they also learn values, beliefs and ideals that are important to fulfilling their role and responsibilities within their *kāinga*. The *kāinga* is where such valued knowledge is defined and passed down from grandfather to father and grandson.

Chapter 12: Talanoa’i Tatala ‘a e Koloa ‘o e To’utangata Tonga i Aotearoa mo Tonga: Tongan Cultural Capital as Values for Identity Formation Amongst Tongan Males in New Zealand and Tonga

Introduction

Chapter 11 unfolded family cultural capital as the types of practices and activities as well as knowledges valued by Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. The active process of *talanoa’i tatala* continues in chapter 12 and it is focused on another layer of discussion in the form of cultural values significant in Tongan males’ identity formation. Through the unfolding and discussion of the valued practices, the families identified cultural values and learning that have been operationalised by Tongan males in their education. The elders within the *kāinga* are significant in the use and transmission of the cultural resources for Tongan males in Aotearoa and Tonga.

Cultural Survival and Continuity

The previous chapter reviewed the family cultural capital unfolded by the families in this study, that is, the collective wisdoms, values, beliefs and ideas that are important in the lives of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. Through specific cultural activities and practices that reflect traditional Tongan ways such as *fei’umu* (preparation of food to cook in an underground oven), *va’inga ‘akapulu* (playing rugby), *ngāue ki ‘uta* (work in the plantation), *pō talanoa mo e ongo kui* (discussion with the grandparents), *fakafāмили* (family prayer), *ngāue fakapisinisi* (running and owning a business) and *ngāue fakafaiako* (teaching) – the Tongan families in this study have been able to transmit or pass down shared collective knowledge significant to their “cultural continuity” (Shipman, 1971, p. 70) in New Zealand and Tonga.

Shipman (1971) claimed in every society there are important attitudes and behaviours taught to the young to ensure their survival and continuation. Men grow up expecting to take a “similar place in society, and behave in a similar way to their parents.” (p. 70). Given that Tongan people now live in the diaspora, particularly in New Zealand, Australia and the US, their adopted societies are diverse and their

taken-for-granted knowledge is not always valued in education. In this chapter, having been *fakakoloa* or passed down the families' collective knowledges, it is now my purpose as the researcher to discuss how such taken-for-granted knowledge is mobilised (how family culture is prepared, organised and used) by each family in relation to formal schooling.

A Collective Cultural Identity

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga as family cultural capital is framed within Tongan males' *kāinga*. As the *kāinga's* collective knowledges, wisdoms and practices, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is varied and carries with it real significance in how families educate their children in New Zealand and Tonga. *Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is internalised and passed down from generation to generation. As collective cultural identity, the extended family's shared knowledge and practices enable Tongan males to fulfil their *fatongia* (obligations) to members of their extended family in New Zealand and Tonga. The worthwhile learnings significant to the Simione and Fatai families resemble both ethnic Tongan values as well as values within the New Zealand context.

Worthwhile learning for Tongan males is learning that benefits the *kāinga*. It is learning that helps Tongan males fulfil their obligations within their extended families. Such worthwhile learnings are significant and thus valued because they are internalised within their *loto* (hearts).

Importance of Elders and Their Use of Cultural Knowledge

As elders and leaders, the grandfathers' *fua fatongia* (fulfilling obligations) is to ensure knowledge is passed down (*fakakoloa*) to their sons and grandsons. Such family cultural knowledge is transmitted through cultural activities which Tongan males normally take part in, for example the *fei'umu* (preparing of food using an underground oven) and *va'inga 'akapulu* (playing rugby) among others.

Each Tongan male defines education in relation to their roles and responsibilities within their extended family in New Zealand and Tonga. As a grandfather, father and 'ulumotu'a (highest rank male), Samiu Simione's *fatongia* is to ensure Roger and his grandson RJ are equipped with the knowledge to carry on the role of 'ulumotu'a. Making sure Roger and RJ understand their role and

responsibilities as the ulumotu'a is Samiu's obligation as the grandfather. For Samiu Simione, learning that is worthwhile to the "cultural continuity" (Shipman, 1971, p. 70) of his *kāinga* relies on knowledge and practices that are aligned with their roles as the highest ranked males.

In comparison, Viliami Finau has various roles that are diverse in the context of Tonga. As a grandfather, father, CEO and owner of a private construction business, his *fatongia* is to ensure that knowledge is meaningful and worthwhile to the continuation of their *kāinga* in Tonga, and that it is passed down to his son Paula and grandsons, Dante and Miguel. Learning for Paula Finau is related to knowledge and practices that are aligned with his roles as a father, husband, and business leader.

As cultural resources, the worthwhile learnings are the values, ideas, skills, aspirations, hopes, expectations and motivations that enable Tongan males to fulfill their obligation and diverse roles within the *kāinga* in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga. In relation to Western education, I seek to highlight and unfold in this chapter the ways in which Tongan males mobilise their cultural resources in their education.

Ways of Being Tongan

This study focuses on the 'ways of being' of each individual Tongan male within the *to'utangata* (generation), because each person interprets their existence in relation to others within their *kāinga*.

To understand a person's state of existence or 'ways of being' is to make sense of their position or role within the world they live. Understanding or making sense of our world not only resides in our thoughts or representations, but also in our actions. As described by Taylor (1999), a person is understood not by his or her thoughts or representations of the world, but by the practices they engage in:

"A person is understood as a being who acts in and on the world.....To situate our understanding in practices is to see it as implicit in our activity, and hence as going well beyond what we manage to frame representations of....Our understanding itself is embodied in our bodily know-how and the way we act and move can encode components of our understanding of self and world" (p. 33 – 34).

‘Being Tongan’ relates to a conscious awareness of culture. Thaman (1993) defined culture as:

“...the way of life of a discrete group of people, including its body of accumulated knowledge and understandings, skills, beliefs and values.....culture is seen as central to the understanding of human relationships and acknowledges the fact that members of different cultural groups have unique systems of perceiving and organising the world around them. This means that the ways in which we are socialised, to a very large extent, influence our behaviour and ways of thinking—in other words, the way we see the world around us.” (p. 249).

Being Tongan in New Zealand

Eisner (2002) claimed that people’s experiences are the life processes that have been shaped by culture and influenced by language, beliefs and values. To understand what ‘being Tongan in New Zealand’ means, we look at how each individual Tongan male interprets and perceives their existence in the world they live. Being Tongan in New Zealand looks at understanding how each Tongan male interprets and perceives their existence within their *kāinga*; who they are, and how they define themselves. We look at particular activities they practice and engage in within their *kāinga* in New Zealand.

Being Tongan in New Zealand encompasses ‘ways of being’ that relate to their ethnic knowledge and values, as well as knowledge and values that reflect mainstream New Zealand culture. The grandfathers in this study were all born and raised in Tonga. Three of the fathers in this study were also born and raised in Tonga and one was raised in New Zealand. Three of the families in this study have grandsons who attend school in New Zealand.

Across the four families in this study, ‘family culture’ is diverse and varies in terms of their connection to traditional Tongan ethnic culture and the culture of their new environment in New Zealand. As ‘family cultural capital’, *koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga* is symbolic of the diverse family cultural values that represent ‘ways of being’ for each of the four families in this study.

Being Tongan for the Simione and Fatai grandsons who were born and raised in New Zealand is different to the Finau and Maile grandsons who were born and raised in Tonga. Cultural abilities and knowledge therefore can vary based on “cultural

identifiers” (Faaea-Semeatu, 2013) that do not relate only to one’s ethnic culture. *Koloa ‘o e to’utangata*, as cultural abilities and knowledge, varies across the families involved in this study in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga.

Tongan male’s ‘ways of being’ is defined in relation to being in New Zealand, in Tonga, or both. Education for Tongan males is diverse because it reflects the multiple worlds they live in. For example, RJ Simione defines himself as Tongan Niuean. The definition of RJ’s identities reflects the multiple worlds he exists in as a Tongan and Niuean in relation to his dual ethnic affiliations. His multiple worlds also take into account the context of New Zealand and can contribute to complexities in Tongan males’ education. This study however, has highlighted knowledge and practice that relate to RJ’s Tongan ethnic culture and that of the New Zealand culture. There are possibilities for future studies that focus specifically on the multiple cultural identities of Tongan males in New Zealand.

The Cultural Identity of Tongan Males in Education

The cultural identity of Tongan males in education relates to their sense of belonging in New Zealand and Tonga. A person’s sense of belonging or ways of being relate to the practices they engage in (Taylor, 1999). Tongan males’ sense of belonging is defined within the collective. In this study, the valued activities and practices within the *kāinga* clearly frame Tongan males’ descriptions of their cultural identity within New Zealand and Tonga. The way Tongan males see and understand their world is through their conscious awareness of knowledge, values, beliefs and practices inherent in the Tongan culture.

The education of Tongan males is to ensure their families’ cultural continuation and survival. To understand what Shipman (1971) described as the “...important attitudes and behaviours taught to the young to ensure their survival and continuation” (p. 70), this chapter is focused on unfolding the worthwhile learnings that have been passed down to ensure the families’ survival and continuation in New Zealand.

Tongan elders play an important role in how their sons and grandsons frame their cultural identity. The grandfathers in this study are the holders of the *kāinga’s* valued knowledges brought from home. As described by Toetu’u-Tamihere (2014),

embodied within individual beings are the linguistic, social and cultural resources that come in the form of *lea faka-Tonga* (Tongan language), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *'ulungāanga faka-tō ki lalo* (humility), *tauhi vaha'a* (relationships) and *fatongia* (obligation), that are transmitted by the extended family to young Tongans as part of their education.

The grandfathers in this study share their values, beliefs and ideals in the form of aspirations and expectations that are worthwhile learnings in Tongan males' lives. They also share their experiences with their sons and grandsons to motivate and inspire them to fulfill their roles and obligations within their *kāinga*. Manase and Lavinia Maile often *pō talanoa* with Manase Jr and Christopher and remind the boys of their *fatongia* to look after their younger brothers and cousins when their grandparents are no longer around.

The grandfathers in this study rely on other male members within their *kāinga* to teach and *fakakoloa* knowledge to their young. It is within the extended family's valued practices and activities that such worthwhile knowledge is *fakakoloa* (shared) and passed down to their young. As the grandfather, it is Samiu's obligation to teach Roger and RJ all that he knows.

“A ia 'oku ou fa'a lea pē kia Roger. Ko e me'a kotoa pē, ke ofi 'i hoku tu'á. 'Aho koia te u mate aí, kuo ne 'ilo 'a e me'a totonu ke ne fai, he koe fatongia ia 'o e tamaí.”

So I always try and talk to Roger. With everything that we do, I want him close to me. When I pass away, he will know what needs to be done. It is my obligation as his father.

Ways Tongan Males Operationalise their Family Cultural Capital in a Variety of Contexts

Tongan parents have a vague understanding of what schooling means in New Zealand (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008, p. 17). This chapter is focused on the *tatala* as a way of drawing together aspects of each Tongan male's knowledge and experiences within the *kāinga* to understand and clarify the ways in which schooling and culture is understood from their perspective. The overall focus of this thesis is to not only remind Tongan parents of the strengths in their knowledge and practices, but also to increase their understanding of schooling in New Zealand.

The teaching and learning of Tongan students is a collective responsibility (Otonuku, 2011). The teaching and learning of Tongan males is a shared goal for members of the *kāinga*. Tongan males learn moral, social and spiritual values and ideas which are important elements of their *kāinga's* culture (Vaioleti, 2011). This study is focused on the valued knowledge passed down from the grandfather and father to the grandson. Identifying the types of valued knowledge in terms of the worthwhile learnings and practices within the collective can provide teachers with understanding of what Tongan cultural knowledge and practices look like in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga. A focus of this study is how such cultural knowledge and practices are perceived by each generation and used in schooling.

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga are the ways in which Tongan males operationalise their family cultural capital in the context of Western education. Family cultural capital shares some similarities across the four families in this study. In this chapter I want to highlight how each Tongan male use their family cultural capital.

Learning to be a good leader

Learning to lead is worthwhile knowledge for Tongan males within their extended families. As described by Kēpa & Manu'atu (2008), worthwhile and meaningful learning for Tongan males is within the “context and practice[s]” (p. 17) of the *kāinga*. Tongan males' ability to lead is understood in relation to their role and *fatongia* within their extended family in New Zealand and Tonga. For example, as the *'ulumotu'a* of the Simione family who reside in New Zealand, Samiu's obligation is to share and pass down knowledge to his son and grandson, that is the worthwhile teaching and learning that will help Roger fulfill his role as Samiu's first-born son and the future *'ulumotu'a* of their *kāinga*.

Trust and the confidence to lead within the *kāinga* are worthwhile learnings within the Simione family. Roger's father Samiu and his uncles trust and rely on Roger's physical strength and intellectual ability to carry out tasks at the *fei'umu*. The task of maintaining the huge external gas oven built by his uncles to cook large quantities of food has been given to Roger. As one of the eldest male grandsons and Samiu's first-born son, Roger Simione has gained confidence in leading through teaching his brothers and cousins how to gut a pig during the *fei'umu*.

In Roger's role as one of the eldest grandchildren within his *kāinga*, he has capitalised on meaningful learning from earlier on in his education. As a youth leader within the church, Roger coaches touch rugby and tag rugby with members of his youth group. He also coaches his eldest daughter's and RJ's teams during the annual church youth games held at the beginning of every year. Roger's confidence to lead has grown from valuable learning within the *kāinga* and church groups that he was involved with.

Roger Simione also gained confidence to lead as part of the First XV rugby team in high school. Roger's confidence to lead became capital in the context of schooling when his teacher valued his ability and knowledge from home (Fasavalu, 2015). Roger's physical education teacher and rugby coach believed in him and gave him the opportunity to coach others at school. His First XV coach not only valued Roger's ability to lead on the rugby field; he also understood the significance of schooling to Roger's family.

Learning to lead requires mental toughness. Work in the plantation is a valued practice which has taught Hailame the value of *ngāue mālohi* (hard work) and *faitotonu* (honesty). Manase Sr. taught Hailame and his brothers to work hard in the plantations. He instilled mental toughness in his children by ensuring that all tasks at the plantation were completed to the highest standard before anyone was allowed to go home.

As a manager at an aluminium company in Auckland, Hailame values his role and responsibilities as a leader within his department. Learning to lead has required him to be honest and empathetic when it came to making decisions that were difficult. During a work situation when his boss had asked him to dismiss a young worker in his department, he consulted with his team for advice. Hailame was empathetic towards the young man and decided to keep him because he showed an eagerness to learn from his colleagues. Although his boss did not approve of his decision however, Hailame remained firm because he valued the young man's hard work and willingness to learn.

Learning to lead as a father and husband

Learning to lead as a father and husband, and provide for the family is worthwhile knowledge for Tongan males. As a father and husband, Manase Fatai's obligation has been to provide for his immediate and extended family. *Ngāue ki 'uta* (work in the plantation) and the growing of food crops was a way Manase Sr. provided for his extended family. When his wife's family visited, he maintained his *tauhi vā* (relationship) with them by reciprocating the exchange of food crops. Manase made sure his sons filled his brother-in-law's cart with food from his plantation before the family returned to their home. For Roger Simione, Samiu's son, despite his wife Heather's encouragement to pursue club rugby, Roger made the decision to work with his uncle in order to earn money and provide for his wife and young daughter.

As a father and business leader in Tonga, Viliami Finau's goal was to provide for his children and grandchildren. He bought land and built homes for all his children and their families. Even though some of his children and their families live abroad, Viliami is happy and content that he was able to fulfill his obligations to his children and grandchildren.

Public speaking is worthwhile learning for the Maile family in Tonga. As a former deputy principal, learning to lead is valued knowledge for Feleti Maile. Experience as a middle management leader has helped Feleti fulfill his other roles as a grandfather, father and church minister. His confidence in public speaking was developed through his leadership role at school. Soane Maile, Feleti's son received knowledge from his father that contributed to his leadership as the president of a *kava* club in his village. Learning to speak in front of others and lead a meeting is useful knowledge learnt from his father and through teaching. Following his father Feleti's path, Soane is also a church minister and preaching in front of the congregation is one of his key responsibilities.

Punctuality to meetings is valued learning passed down from Feleti to Soane. Soane and his family are always punctual to school and meetings. As a pastoral leader at the church mission school in central Nuku'alofa, Soane and his wife and children regularly wake up at five in the morning to catch the first bus into town. During professional learning and development training for teachers, Soane and his wife are

always punctual to the meetings. As the president of one of the *kava* clubs in their district, Soane has instigated and organised programmes that focus on improving the education of children in the community.

As business leaders, learning to save money is valued knowledge for the Finau family in Tonga. In his role as the CEO of a government based organisation, Viliami Finau's learning is related to fulfilling his role as a business leader. Saving money is valuable learning that he has passed down to Paula. During weekend *faikava* (kava drinking ceremony) at his home, Viliami encouraged his friends to get together, *pō talanoa* about key issues in Tonga, watch rugby games and collect money as saving for Christmas. Learning to save money and finding ways to reduce spending is valued knowledge learnt by Viliami from his father. Owning and running businesses has brought Viliami and his son, Paula closer. They engage in *pō talanoa* about business related matters. Viliami often seeks assistance from Paula about the development of his own construction company.

Learning teamwork within a group

The capacity of Tongan people to learn and relate within the group or *kāinga* is valued learning (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008). Learning with other young boys in a group was a worthwhile experience that Hailame Fatai and his brothers valued and capitalised on at a young age during work in the plantation. *Ngāue ki 'uta* (work in the plantation) was where his father Manase taught the value of *ngāue faitotonu* (honesty). The boys were grouped and then allocated specific jobs in the plantation. Manase gave instructions to each group before he moved on to start his own task. Before the family left the plantation, Manase would evaluate the boys' performance. If a group's performance did not meet the standard expected, they were made to correct their mistakes before the family was allowed to leave.

Teaching and learning within a group is valued knowledge for Roger Simione during the *fei'umu*. Learning and teaching occurs within the *kāinga* and the young learn from other males within their extended family. Roger, his brothers and cousins have all learnt to co-operate and have gained confidence to complete tasks with assistance from their fathers and uncles. Groups of boys are allocated to specific tasks during the *fei'umu* such as peeling *me'akai* (crops like taro or cassava), *tānaki mo*

fokotu'utu'u e ngaahi maka mo e fefie (gather and put together rocks and firewood), and gutting the pigs. Rarely was an individual allocated a task on their own.

As one of the eldest grandsons, Roger taught his younger cousins by demonstrating how to gut a male pig, often a challenging task that was usually reserved for Roger's uncles. Despite this, Roger was taught the skill so that he could teach others in his *kāinga*. Samiu's younger brothers, Roger's uncles, were always around to help direct their nephews. While the boys worked, Roger's father Samiu and his brothers stay in the background and monitor the boys' learning and progress at the *fei'umu*.

Learning values of loyalty and sacrifice

Loto mateaki (loyalty) and *mamahi'i me'a* (sacrifice) are key values passed down from Paula's grandparents, Alamoti and Mele Finau. Paula left his job at a state owned company in Tonga to run his own private electrical business. When he was growing up, Alamoti encouraged Paula to pursue a career that he was passionate about, rather than undertake a path that others wanted him to take. Being loyal to his father Viliami and grateful for his support in paying his fees to complete study abroad, Paula went to seek his father's advice before making his decision. Although Viliami aspired for his son Paula to eventually become CEO of the company, which would have allowed them to work closely together, Viliami valued his son's decision to leave. Despite feeling apprehensive about the departure from regular paid employment and not having a steady income, Paula took the risk and left his job. Instead, Paula chose to pursue his area of passion and was prepared to work hard to grow and develop his electrical engineering business.

Learning to make sacrifices and take risks are attributes Paula Finau acquired from his grandmother, Mele and his mother, Lātū. It involved risk-taking and them having to make difficult decisions. Paula's decision to focus on his business rather than work for someone else was a huge risk to take. His business has grown and he often travels overseas to meet with his clients. Viliami trusts and values his son's business knowledge and skills. As a result, their relationship has grown because they often get together to discuss matters related to their businesses. Paula feels that he and his father are a lot closer than they were previously because his father often seeks advice from him and values his opinion.

Dante and Miguel Finau have learnt from their father's struggles to complete schooling. This provided motivation for the boys to work hard at Patterson Boys High School, a single-sex school in New Zealand. During *fakafāmili* (family prayer) on Sundays, their grandfather Viliami encouraged them to be *fakapotopoto* (wise). Paula also used the *fakafāmili* as an opportunity to encourage the boys to persevere with their schooling. As their father, Paula desires to use *fakafāmili* as a way for his sons to share their concerns not only about schooling but their personal matters as well.

Dante and Miguel Finau value their parents and are loyal to their expectations of them. Sometimes they feel the pressure to succeed in schooling from their father and grandfather. However, their mother 'Emeline understands and often provides encouragement for the boys. She maintains regular contact and sometimes flies over to see Miguel and Dante at their boarding school. When I asked the boys whether they see themselves working overseas, both mentioned their parents' expectations which were for them to return to Tonga and help their family. Despite some teachers at Patterson High School ignoring Dante and Miguel's needs in the classroom, the boys continue to practice *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and maintain *tauhi vā* (relationships) with them because they value their parents' sacrifices to send them abroad for better educational opportunities.

Dante and Miguel know their father's aspirations for them is to finish their high school education. His expectation is for the boys to continue with tertiary studies and eventually return home to Tonga. As described by Miguel, his father's aspiration for him is to one day take over the family business.

“Uluaki pe ke lava lelei 'a e akó. Te u ha'u leva ke feinga ke fakalele 'a e pisinisi. Ko 'ene taumu'á ke tatau mo iá, ka e feinga ke to e laka angé i ai. Pea to e ha'u 'o fakalele 'a e pisinisi 'o to e sai ange.”

The first thing is to succeed at school. And then come and try to run the business. His goal is for us to be like him, but better than him. And then come and run the business so that it can be even better.

Because of all the contract work in Tonga and abroad, Paula wants his boys to finish their schooling and return to Tonga to help him and the family.

Learning the importance of determination

Learning to 'give it his all' is worthwhile learning for Hailame Fatai. Although Hailame struggled with university studies in New Zealand, his father's teachings always reminded him, "...*ke fai 'aki honau 'osi'osingamālie*" (to always give it their all). He was determined to finish his university degree because his parents and extended family had invested a lot in him. Hailame learnt from his parents not to give up – even when things appeared difficult.

"Sometimes when friends give me some money for lunch, I would save it for my bus fare. I would sometimes ask for a lift, to be dropped off somewhere and then go home. Some people finished their lectures at 9pm and they would then give me a lift home. It was like that. Later, my uncle gave me a bicycle. It was done up ready for me. I'd bike to school in town and then bike back to Ellerslie."

Manase Jr. knows that he must work hard if he is to do well at school. He wants to succeed like his father Hailame. Even though he feels pressure to be like his father and do well at school, Manase Jr. relies on his grandparents and aunt, Velonika to remind him of his *fatongia* to lead and guide the way for his younger cousins. Having passed NCEA Level 1 with a Merit endorsement in 2014, he is determined to complete high school and join the army.

"I'm thinking about going into the military. My granddad was in the police. Something like that I'd like. Respect and discipline and stuff – I need that. I've been told to stop and ask God if I'm stuck with stuff. I feel good afterwards. My Sunday school teachers told me this and my parents."

In Manase Jr's struggles at school, he has relied on his extended family for support. *Loto 'ofa* has been a key value in his determination to face his struggles. His love for his grandfather, Manase Sr. and aunt Velonika have guided and strengthened him throughout his journey. His Sunday school teachers have also encouraged him. Rather than keeping his feelings to himself, he knows why it is important to talk to people he can trust. He also wants to learn the Tongan language because it will help him communicate more with his grandparents and other family members.

"My struggle is not being able to speak Tongan. I regret not speaking the language. It's not too late though. I think the only way is to go to Tonga."

Christopher has found strength and determination in his grandfather's sacrifices to deal with the struggles at school. His experience with teacher deficit views of Tongan people has indicated to Christopher that not all teachers think highly of him and other Pasifika students. However, the *vā* (relationship) between him and his teachers is strengthened when the level of trust is high (Hill & Hawk, 2000). Christopher trusted Mr Fei, an Asian teacher in his sixties who was fair and just in his practice regardless of students' ethnic backgrounds. Mr Fei looked after the Tongan group at Polyfest and also taught Christopher mathematics. Some teachers however, were not so understanding because according to Christopher they treated Pasifika students differently and in a negative way.

“Other teachers treat us (Pacific Islanders) differently. For example, if we don't finish our homework, some teachers are pretty harsh and say, ok, that's strike one. But when non-Pacific Island students do the same, they're not treated that way. I don't think this is fair.”

Learning to value tauhi vā

Learning to maintain respectful relationships is valued knowledge for Tongan males in accordance with their roles and status in Tongan society (Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2006). The worthwhile learning for Tongan males is observed in how they acquire and practice knowledge used to maintain important relationships with others in their *kāinga* as well as the community.

Maintaining *tauhi vā* (respectful relationships) is valued learning within Manase Fatai's *kāinga*. As a former policeman, Manase Sr. maintained *tauhi vā* with his extended family members, as well as with people within the village. When some of the fathers in his village asked him to help educate their children, he and his wife willingly took them into their home. They were treated the same as his own children. During a recent *talanoa* I had with Hailame Fatai, he appreciated his father's ability to establish strong relationships with the children that stayed with them and their families. When Hailame visited Tonga, he met up with a few of the men at a *faikava* (kava drinking) session in Tofoa. The *pō talanoa* within the *faikava* was *mālie* (pleasant) and *māfana* (inwardly warm). The men discussed how much they valued Manase Sr's teachings. Without Manase's care, trust and commitment to instilling the value of learning and schooling in their lives, they would not be in the jobs they have

today that provide for them and their families. Hailame could not help but feel proud of his father and his father's practice of *tauhi vā* with other Tongan people.

The grandfathers in this study are respected for their knowledge and care. Maintaining *tauhi vā* with Manase Sr. and Lavinia Fatai is worthwhile learning for Manase Jr. and Christopher because of the valued time spent with them. As described by Manase Jr., he loves and respects his grandfather because of the man that he is. He described his grandfather as *ngāue mālohi* (works hard) and is *faitotonu* (honest) in all aspects of his life. Manase Jr. and Christopher value their relationship with their grandfather and Hailame. They respect and maintain *tauhi vā* within their *kāinga* because it is a valued practice amongst Tongan people.

The maintenance and practice of *veitapui* (sacred space) is represented in how Tongan males value and honour God's role in their lives. According to Feleti Maile, teaching is a blessing and is a gift from God. Feleti honours God by ensuring that his legacy of first-born sons as teachers continues within his own family. He reminds his grandsons Malakai and 'Etimani of the value of faith in God and to honour him in everything they do.

Learning the importance of service to others

Service to others is a key learning in Tongan males' education. Education for the Maile family involves learning related to fulfilling their obligations to their church, *kāinga* and village. Feleti perceives teaching as a way to serve his God, *kāinga* and the community. He perceives teaching as a blessing from God upon his family and has bestowed teaching upon all first-born sons after him in order to continue the tradition. Feleti's son Soane became a teacher and his first born son Malakai is expected to follow the tradition.

“Mahalo pē 'oku kehekehe pē au mei he ongo matu'ā, ka na'aku nofo au 'i he fo'i tui tukufakaholo. Ko Malakai 'e hoko 'o faiako. 'Oku ou sio atu na'e malava pē ia 'e Soane. 'Ikai ke 'i ai ha pale 'eku ngāué. Ko Soane pē 'e hoko atu 'a e fatongiá. Na'a ku poaki au ia mei he ngāue fakafaiakó 'i he 2004 'a ia ko e ta'u 'e 40 'eku ngāué.”

Maybe I'm different to his parents, but I stayed with the belief of an inheritance. Malakai was to become a teacher. Looking at it, Soane was able to do it. There is no reward for my work. Soane will continue to fulfill the obligation. I retired from teaching in 2004 so that was 40 years of work.

As described by Soane Maile, teaching is a valued profession because the knowledge learnt is useful in all parts of peoples' lives. To fulfill his own father's obligation for him to serve his village and community, Feleti wanted his son Soane to take up and value teaching as a career rather than just a job.

“‘Ohovale he fo’i ‘aho ‘e taha ‘oku talamai ‘e ia kia au, ‘oku mo to’o ‘a e faiako ko ha ngāue pē ko ha fatongia? ‘Ohovale maua ‘i he ‘ene ‘ai mai kia kimaua....nau pehē atu, kapau teu to’o ‘a e faiako ko e ngāue pe ‘oku mahino leva ‘oku hala ia. Kiate au ‘io, ‘oku ou to’o ‘a e ngāue faiako ko e fatongia koe’uhi pē te u faiako, te u faifekau, te u to e toketā, te u ma’u katoa. Kapau te u to’o ‘a e faiako ko e ngāue pē, te u ha’u pe o faiako, ‘osi pē ‘a e fo’i kalasi pea u ‘alu. Pea lahi ‘a e taimi te u tokanga lahi ai ki he pa’angá.”

He surprised me one day. He said, “do you take teaching as a job or as a career?” We [Soane and his wife] were surprised when he asked us....i replied, if I take teaching as a job then I know it’s wrong. To me, yes I take teaching as a career because I’m a teacher, I’m a minister, I’m also a doctor, I am all. If I take teaching as a job, I go to school and teach, after class I leave. And most of the time I will focus mainly on money.

In living as Tongans, grandparents pass down knowledge with the hope their children and grandchildren will serve and give back to their village and nation. As Soane’s eldest son, Malakai is aware of his grandfather’s and father’s expectations for him. As described by Malakai and his younger brother ‘Etimani, their father Soane expects them to go to school and learn so that they can serve the church and the village. *“Becoming educated is a way to get jobs so we can be useful to the people”*, says Malakai. He further explains that being a church minister and a teacher are the same because the responsibilities relate to serving other people.

“And maybe my [Malakai] thoughts are the same with my fathers. I believe a teacher can help people. The same as a doctor and ‘Etimani [younger brother], he has the intelligence to become a doctor.”

Feleti’s expectations are also for his two eldest grandsons to give service back to the church, *kāinga* and village. He sees this as a way for him to give back to God for the blessings bestowed upon his own family.

“Na’aku lea ange pē kia Malakai he fakafāfili ‘i he uike kuo ‘osi. Tamasi’i ko ho’o ongo matu’á ē. Tokoni ke ke mo’ui ai. Pea na’a ku lotu pē ki he ‘Otuá pea ‘oku ou tui ‘e hoko ‘a e tamasi’i ‘o faiako ha taimi. Ko ‘Etimani, ‘oku ‘i ai ‘a ‘eku taumu’a ki ai....’e ‘alu ia ki he Pule’anga. Na’a ku talaange ki ai, te ke

feinga ko e ke ke toketā he 'oku 'i ai 'a e 'api toketā 'i homau koló ka 'oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha taha 'oku ngāue ai."

I spoke to Malakai during our *fakafāmilī* last week. Young man there are your parents. Help them so you can live. So I prayed to God and I believe this young man will become a teacher one day. 'Etimani, I have a goal for him....he will go to the government. I told him, you will try and become a doctor because there is a clinic in our village but nobody works there.

Conclusion

As family cultural capital, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* varies but carries with it real significance in how families educate their children in New Zealand and Tonga. *Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* are embodied in the *kāinga's* aspirations, expectations and hopes for their young to be successful in schooling.

Each family's culture or *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is different. The education of Tongan males is diverse but their education is to benefit the *kāinga*. The worthwhile learnings help Tongan males fulfill their *fatongia* (obligations) to the members of their extended family. The family culture of the Simione and Fatai families resembles both ethnic Tongan values, as well as values within the New Zealand context. The worthwhile knowledge transmitted relates to each individual person's *fatongia* within their *kāinga*. As elders and leaders, the grandfathers' *fua fatongia* (fulfill obligations) is to ensure knowledge is passed down (*fakakoloa*) to their sons and grandson/s. Worthwhile learning is knowledge that will help Tongan males in their various roles as grandfathers, fathers, husbands, teachers, ministers, business leaders and or *'ulumotu'a*.

Chapter 13: Talanoa Koloa'ia: Worthwhile Knowledge to Share with Schools and Academia

Introduction

In this final chapter, I discuss and share what I have learnt as valued knowledge and practices inherent in the *kāinga* in New Zealand and Tonga. Such cultural knowledge and practices within the *kāinga* are significant in understanding the educational experiences of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga.

While the perceptions of what constitutes *koloa 'o e to'utangata* (family cultural capital) varies from *kāinga* to *kāinga*, the perceived importance of Tongan cultural capital for the education of Tongan males is that it is shared. That is to say, the embodiment of family cultural capital in a *kāinga* is in their shared and collective aspirations, expectations, and the hope for their young to succeed in education. As Thaman (1988) argued, to be *poto* (educated) is to use *'ilo* (knowledge and values) for the benefit of the collective. Despite the diversity of perceptions as to what constitutes family cultural capital, the purpose of education is linked to the cultural survival and continuity (Shipman, 1971) of the *kāinga*.

When I think about my father's response to my learning of Tongan knowledge as only being appropriate in the contexts of home and church, it is necessary to remind and encourage Tongan parents about the strengths and value of their home knowledges in Tongan males' education because they provide capital that can be utilised in their schooling. The four *kāinga* in this study have shared valuable and worthwhile knowledge and experiences that have been used by them to encourage, motivate and inspire their young in schooling.

The focus of this study is to remind Tongan parents and the community about the richness and value of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* in Tongan males' education. As well, this study has sought to highlight for teachers what *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* looks like and the ways in which family cultural knowledge is operationalised in relation to Western schooling. Moreover, this study has unfolded the ways *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is inherent in the everyday activities of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. My aim in doing this work has been to indicate aspects of

students' home culture that might be understood by the teachers of Tongan males in order to enhance their successful engagement with schooling.

Purpose of Tatala 'a e Koloa 'o e To'utangata in this Study

Rather than focusing on the things that Pasifika people lack in New Zealand education, as outlined in Chapters 1, I want to divert our focus from the deficit discourse related to Tongan males 'not knowing' or 'not having', toward a mindset and discussion that is motivated by Tongan peoples' strengths. A shift in focus to the strengths and value of Tongan males' home knowledge and practices provides rich understanding and valuable learning for teachers and schools. In other words, when our thinking and discussions are based on the rich knowledge and meaningful experiences that Tongan families bring from home, we are more likely to value and respond to Tongan cultural knowledge as having capital in the learning of Tongan males in the classroom.

At the start of this doctoral journey, my focus was to find out more about the kind of knowledge that is valued by the *kāinga* and how such knowledge is passed down from Tongan elders to their young within the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga.

Koloa 'o e To'utangata Tonga i Aotearoa mo Tonga – Family Cultural Capital in New Zealand and Tonga

As a representation of family culture, family cultural capital are the values, beliefs, ideas, wisdoms, practices and activities of Tongan males that are worthwhile and valued learnings within the *kāinga* in New Zealand and Tonga.

The forms of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* vary in terms of their significance within the *kāinga*. The forms of family cultural capital or *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* are diverse, based on each Tongan male's roles and responsibilities within the *kāinga*. The significance of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* relates to its multiple meanings that are philosophical, spiritual, social, cultural and economic. This is what makes Tongan cultural knowledge rich and meaningful in the lives of Tongan males. Within the *kāinga*, the meanings and value of family cultural capital is constructed and passed down from generation to generation.

In Tonga, for example, Viliami Finau's valued knowledge and practices are based on his multiple roles and responsibilities as a business leader, grandfather, father and leader within his community. In Viliami Finau's role as the CEO of a government-based organisation, *ngāue mālohi* (hard work), *mamahi'i me'a* (sacrifice) and *ngāue mateaki* (loyalty) are valued knowledge required for him to fulfill his obligation within his *kāinga*, within his workplace and in the community in Tongatapu. Such worthwhile learnings have been passed down to his son Paula and grandsons Miguel and Dante.

What are the family cultural capital understood by each generation of Tongan males and how do they apply it in their cultural world and in schooling?

The kinds of 'family cultural capital' identified differ across the four families in this study. Within each *kāinga*, each generation of Tongan males has operationalised their worthwhile learnings through the values, beliefs, ideas and activities inherent in their lives in New Zealand and Tonga. For the Simione and Fatai families who reside in Tonga, the kinds of family cultural capital they possess, practice and use in their teaching and learning relate to their ways of being in the context of Tonga. It is necessary therefore, for teachers to dig deeper and find out more about each Tongan male that sits in front of them because each bring with them knowledge and values that are unique to their upbringing and family environment. To assume Tongan boys are the same in terms of upbringing and family context is detrimental to having a positive relationship with students.

Living up to family's expectations and to fulfil their fathers' and grandfathers' expectations for them, Tongan males rely on other members of the *kāinga* to support and guide them throughout their education. For Manase Fatai Jr. who is educated in New Zealand, living up to his father Hailame's schooling success as a university graduate has been stressful at times. Dante and Miguel Finau also feel pressure to succeed in schooling and live up to their father's and grandfather's expectations. Although the grandsons described their anxieties to succeed as being a stressful experience, all of the boys stated the value and significance of other family members in encouraging them to persevere and succeed. The *kāinga* and its members contribute to the teaching and encouragement of their young.

As a father, uncle and manager at an aluminium manufacturing company in New Zealand, one of Hailame Fatai's responsibility is to lead and pass down knowledge and worthwhile learnings that will benefit members of his wider extended family as well as the adults he manages at work. Hailame Fatai, a university graduate, values *ngāue mālohi* (hard work) and *faitotonu* (honesty) because these are values he learnt from his father Manase Sr's teachings during *ngāue ki 'uta* (work in the plantation). His son Manase Jr. and nephew Christopher observe the values of hard work and honesty in their grandfather Manase Sr. and Hailame.

Manase Jr. and Christopher Fatai define education based on *ngāue mālohi* (hard work) and *faitotonu* (honesty). To fulfill their obligation as the eldest males, their grandparents have placed upon them the task of sharing what they have passed-on to them with their young brothers and cousins. They are motivated to work hard at school because of their grandparents. Hard work requires them to be honest in all their practices. These are values observed by the boys through their interactions with Manase Sr. and Hailame.

Knowing their parents' and grandparents' sacrifices is motivation for the boys to do well at school. Perseverance to succeed despite their struggles is worthwhile learning within the Finau *kāinga* who reside in Tonga. Dante and Miguel Finau define education through *ngāue mateaki* (loyalty) and *mamahi'i me'a* (sacrifice). Dante knows that he will one day take over the family business and Miguel is expected to become a doctor. Despite often being ignored in the classroom by his maths teacher, Dante continues to show her *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *loto tō* (humility) because he values his parents' *mamahi'i me'a* (sacrifices) in sending him and his brother overseas to pursue further study.

Trust and high expectations are worthwhile learnings valued in the education of Tongan males. When trust is high between teachers and Pasifika students, the relationship and learning environment is positive (Hill & Hawk, 2000; Toloa, 2014). In the context of Roger Simone's *kāinga* in New Zealand, his father and uncles trust and value Roger's strength, intelligence and hard work during the *fei'umu*. He was taught the skill of gutting a male pig with the expectation that he will pass-on this knowledge to his brothers and young cousins.

In the context of schooling, Roger Simone's high school physical education (PE) teacher valued his skill and knowledge and encouraged Roger to help lead the First XV team. Now at thirty five years of age, Roger can still remember clearly how much his teacher valued his learning at school. Roger's PE teacher encouraged him to share his knowledge with other players in the First XV team. Roger learnt to trust his teacher and coach and respected his high expectations of him.

How teachers respond to students' culture in the classroom determines whether culture is capital or not (Fasavalu, 2015). In a recent schooling experience at Year 10 (Form 4), Christopher Fatai described a lesson where his English teacher responded to his Tongan culture from a deficit lens. Christopher's English teacher used content in the form of a video that was accessible through Facebook to teach the topic of abuse. The video showed a Tongan teacher and students at a secondary school in Tonga. Christopher felt ashamed and moved himself from where he was sitting to the back of the classroom. In contrast, Mr Fei, Christopher's maths teacher, valued his cultural knowledge and practices. As the teacher in charge of their Tongan group at the ASB polyfest, Mr Fei understood his culture and showed eagerness to learn things Tongan. Mr Fei responded to Christopher's Tongan culture as capital or valued knowledge in schooling.

The transmission of cultural knowledge from generation to generation

The *kāinga* is a collective unit where valuable learning and teaching is framed and understood (Helu, 1995). The *kāinga* is an important site to understand how Tongan males value education. In other words, the teaching and learning of Tongan males is framed in relation to their diverse roles and obligations within the *kāinga*. Tongan grandfathers and fathers occupy several roles within their *kāinga* and the community. They *fua fatongia* (fulfill obligations) based on their multiple roles.

The cultural activities and practices are sites of learning and teaching where knowledge is transmitted from members of the *kāinga* – the elders to their young and differed across the four families in this study. The cultural activities practiced varied based on the contexts in which they grew up. This study has highlighted the practices required in Tongan males' learning and education, such as *ngāue fei'umu* (preparing food to cook in a *ngoto'umu*), *va'inga 'akapulu* (playing rugby), *ngāue ki 'uta* (work in the plantation), *pō talanoa mo e ongo kui* (discussions with the grandparents),

fakafāмили (family prayer), *ngāue fakapisinisi* (owning and running a business) and *ngāue fakafaiako* (teaching).

It is through these cultural sites of learning that knowledge is transmitted and shared (*fakakoloa*) between males within their *kāinga*. When knowledge is valued and internalised (*koloa'ia*), Tongan males engage in the process of teaching and passing down (*fakakoloa*) knowledge to others. As cultural sites, these activities and events provide understanding of the socialisation processes that are useful to how each define 'being Tongan' in New Zealand and Tonga. To become the '*ulumotu'a*, a leadership role within his *kāinga*, Roger Simione perceives *ngāue fei'umu* and *va'inga 'akapulu* as practices that have allowed him to fulfill his leadership obligations. While at school however, Roger saw 'rugby' as a way to provide financial support for his *kāinga*. Success in playing rugby would bring prestige and honour to his family. As valued knowledge, Roger's aspirations for them to pursue rugby as well as education were passed down to his son RJ and his other children.

What Can This Research Teach About Koloa 'o e To'utangata Tonga for Families and Teachers?

As family culture, *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* is diverse and defined by the contexts in which the families live. Family culture is often constructed by the *kāinga*. To understand how families "conceptualise academic success" (Otunuku, 2010) for Tongan males, getting to know wider members of the *kāinga* is a worthwhile engagement. The Tongan families in this study are diverse in terms of how they define educational success. For Tongan males, success in education is related to their *fatongia* (obligation) within their *kāinga*. A person's position or role within the extended family defines educational success. Whether it be as the eldest son or second eldest, their family's expectation for them depends on their role within the family.

I was *fakakoloa* with the stories shared by the families and in turn it is my responsibility to *fakakoloa* teachers who have an obligation to meet the "diverse learning needs" (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 2) of students in New Zealand classrooms. Tongan concepts and values need to be understood in the context of the activities and events practiced by the extended family in New Zealand. In undertaking this study, my aim has been to encourage teachers by bringing their *tokanga* (attention and

focus) to the “home culture students bring with them to schooling” (Fasavalu, 2015, p. 65). The *kāinga* in this study have *fakakoloa* (shared) with us what they believe to be useful knowledge and practices in their sons’ and grandsons’ education.

Transmitting knowledge from elders to the young ensures the family’s “cultural continuation and survival” (Shipman, 1971, p. 70). Being Tongan in New Zealand relates to ways of living that reflect Tongan ethnic values and beliefs, as well as values that reflect New Zealand culture. Tongan males’ cultural identity and sense of belonging is framed within their *kāinga*. As a second generation New Zealand raised Tongan, RJ Simone’s cultural identity reflects Tongan cultural values as well as values inherent in growing up in New Zealand. His connection to Tongan cultural knowledge is through the *kāinga* and their cultural ways of living.

Education for Tongan males is an emotionally felt experience. Learning is felt and internalised (*koloa’ia*) within individual’s hearts and spirits (*loto*) and minds and through their memories and interactions with other members of their *kāinga*. The deeply felt experiences often within their *kāinga* have provided insights as to what motivates them. *Tauhi vā* (relationship building) that is collaborative and success oriented contributes to “learning that is both responsive and adaptive” (Si’ilata, 2014, p. iii) to Tongan males, their parents and other members of their *kāinga*. Building collaborative and strong relationships with Tongan and other Pasifika families in New Zealand is valuable learning and practice for teachers and schools (Evans, 2011; Gavet, 2011). I have shown activities in this study that are valued by Tongan males and their families.

Meaningful teaching and learning for students is responsive to the values and culture in families and the community (Gay, 2010; Te Ava et al., 2011). Despite being aware of their teachers’ deficit views and practice, Miguel and Dante Finau continue to draw from their family’s aspirations and motivation in schooling. Their parents’ sacrifice in leaving them with their grandparents while they completed their studies abroad has provided motivation for the Finau grandsons to do the same. To fulfill their obligation to their parents, Dante will return home to help run his father’s business, while Miguel is to pursue medicine and will eventually return home to serve his community.

The Value of Tongan Cultural Knowledge in Research

Koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga is symbolic of the valued knowledge and practices transmitted from generation to generation. This study has foregrounded Tongan language and culture as a useful framework for understanding the complexities and nuances in Tongan cultural knowledge. To understand the educational experiences of Tongan males, *'koloa 'o e to'utangata i Aotearoa mo Tonga'* was used as a conceptual framework that allowed for an in-depth articulation of layers of stories that are contextualised within New Zealand and Tonga. These intergenerational stories were gathered using the *talanoa* method and the overall framework used to identify valued cultural knowledge, depict the experiences as well as analyse its worth were all framed within the *kakala* research framework.

This study has drawn on the strengths of several Tongan research and conceptual frameworks that are focused on highlighting the complexities and nuances of Tongan cultural knowledge. The process of *tatala* is a conceptual framework for understanding the multilayered and multiple meanings of *koloa 'o e to'utangata Tonga* (family cultural capital) in the education of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. *Talanoa'i tatala* is another conceptual approach used in this study that has allowed for analysis and discussion of the families' valued knowledge and practices in order to reveal the worthwhile learnings in relation to Tongan males' schooling.

Talanoa is a way of engagement whereby teachers, schools and Tongan parents can discuss the educational concerns of Tongan males (Lātū, 2009). *Talanoa* has proved an appropriate methodology and method of engaging with and gathering the education stories from the *kāinga* (Vaioleti, 2013). As a framework, *talanoa* enables the lived realities of Tongan families to be discussed and realised in Western education.

Talanoa'i 'a e Kaha'u – Future Research

The grandfathers in this study have shown me their *loto 'ofa* (love and compassion) for their sons and grandsons. They have passed down knowledge and aspirations to help their sons and grandsons succeed in the future. To *talanoa'i 'a e kaha'u* (talk about the future), it is significant to value and learn from our grandparents. Learning from our grandparents who hold a lot of knowledge is a way

to value our *koloa*. More studies related to generations of Pasifika families in New Zealand is useful because they capture the valued knowledges inherent in families that are passed down from generation to generation.

As well, more research is required to understand approaches associated with positive pedagogical changes, enhanced cultural self-efficacy and effective engagement with parents and Pasifika families (Chu et al., 2013). This study has highlighted the values, beliefs and ideas valued in the learning and teaching of Tongan males in successive generations within the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga. The valued cultural practices or activities highlighted in this study are ways that Tongan males pass down their knowledge and experiences within the *kāinga*.

Western knowledge is valued more than Tongan cultural knowledge in New Zealand schooling. As a response to the deficit view of Tongan cultural knowledge and practice, this study has identified ‘family cultural capital’ valued by each generation of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga. This study has unfolded the family cultural capital inherent in the everyday activities, events and practices of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga as a way of shifting teaching practices toward valuing students’ home knowledge and increasing teachers’ understanding.

A focus for future research could be to identify the kinds of cultural knowledge transmitted between generations of Tongan females to understand the intergenerational educational experiences of Tongan females in the contexts of New Zealand and Tonga.

Research focused on revealing to teachers and schools the richness of the cultural knowledges and practices Pasifika students bring from home is valuable and worthwhile work because it changes the focus to strengths and possibilities, rather than the deficit view currently prevalent in relation to Pasifika education in New Zealand.

Appendices

Appendix A – Participant Information Sheet (English version)

Te Puna Wānanga



E
P
som Campus
Gate 3, 74 Epsom Avenue
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 623 8899
Facsimile 64 9 623 8898
www.education.auckland.ac.nz
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601,
Symonds Street
Auckland 1150

Grandfather:

Father:

Son:

Title of research: Tongan cultural capital in the education of Tongan males

Date:

Dear

Mālō e lelei. ‘Oku ‘oatu heni ‘a e fakatangi mei he tokotaha vaivai koeni kihe kāinga Tonga.

My name is David Fa’avae and I am a doctoral student in Te Puna Wānanga at the University of Auckland. I am a Tongan, born in Niue, raised in New Zealand, with Samoan heritage. I was previously a secondary school teacher for eight years in Auckland.

I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project, as part of the requirements for a PhD at the University of Auckland, under the supervision of Professor Alison Jones and Dr Linitā Manu’atu.

Project aims and description:

I want to understand your experiences of being a Tongan father and grandfather of sons. In particular, I want to write about how you understand your own school experiences, how they are different from your father’s and your son’s experiences. I am writing about how Tongan cultural ideas are relevant to your experience of school and of education more generally, such as in the family and in the siasi (church). I will be talking with three families in Tonga and three Tongan families in New Zealand.

I am doing this study because I want schools – particularly in New Zealand – to be able to understand what it is like to be a Tongan male! This may help them to be able to assist our boys better in school, and to form better relationships between Tongan communities and schools. You can help with this, just by talking about your own life decisions and memories.

I do not need private information from you, and you will remain anonymous in my study. If you do not want to be anonymous, then you do not need to be. We can talk about this.

I want to audiotape a conversation between us. The conversation will be in the form of ‘talanoa’ where we talk freely, and I will have a few questions to prompt you and me to get the most relevant information. You can choose not to be taped, in which case I will take written notes. If the tape is running and you want to turn it off at any time, you can do that.

If you agree to be involved I would like to talk with you for about 90 minutes. It may be that we will have one or two further conversations if I want to check up on something or get more information on something. We can meet for this talanoa in any place that suits you.

I will transcribe our talanoa and send it back to you to check. You can change anything you want on the transcript, and once you are happy with it, I will use it or parts of it in my thesis. If you want to change anything, or withdraw from the study altogether, you can do this until 31 July, 2016.

All the tapes, transcripts and the Consent Forms will be stored securely in my supervisor’s office at the Epsom campus, University of Auckland, for 6 years and then destroyed. Interview recordings will be kept separate from the Consent Forms to reduce any possibility that you will be identified. If you want to keep your recording and transcript you can do this, otherwise they will be destroyed at the end of the study (which will be July 2017).

At the completion of the study, you will receive a copy of my thesis. A hard copy of the thesis will be accessible at the University of Auckland library, and will also be available electronically.

I want to assure you that your participation in this research is voluntary. So please say no if you would rather not take part!

If you have any further questions please contact me or my supervisors.

Mālō ‘aupito. Tu’a ‘ofa atu.

Yours sincerely,

My contact details are:

David Fa’avae

Phone: (09) 834 8608

Mobile: 021 022 88368

d.faavae@auckland.ac.nz

My main supervisor is: Professor Alison Jones Te Puna Wānanga Faculty of Education The University of Auckland a.jones@auckland.ac.nz Phone: (09) 923 2554	My co-supervisor is: Dr Linitā Manu’atu School of Education Auckland University of Technology (AUT) linita.manu'atu@aut.ac.nz
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For ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

The University of Auckland

Office of the Vice-Chancellor

Private Bag 92019

Auckland 1142

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON
20 OCTOBER, 2014 FOR 3 YEARS. Reference Number 013062.

Appendix B – Participant Information Sheet (Tongan version)

Te Puna Wānanga



E
E
Epsom Campus
Gate 3, 74 Epsom Avenue
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 623 8899
Facsimile 64 9 623 8898
www.education.auckland.ac.nz
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601,
Symonds Street
Auckland 1150

TOHI FAMATALA MA KINAUTOLU KAU MAI KIHE FEKUMI

Kui:

Tamai:

Foha:

‘Ulu’i ‘o e Fekumi: Koloa ‘o e to’utangata Tonga i Aotearoa mo Tonga

‘Aho:

Ki he _____ (kui) moe _____ (tamai).

Mālō e tau mo e ngāue mei he feitu’ú na. Kātaki pē ‘i he fakahoha’a atú.

Ko hoku hingoa ko Tevita Fa’avae. ‘Oku ou lolotonga ako ki he mata’itohi toketā ‘i he mala’e ‘o e ako. ‘Oku ou lolotonga ako ‘i he ‘Univesiti ‘o ‘Okalani ‘i Nu’usila. Ko au ko e Tonga pea ko ‘eku ongomātu’a ko e Tonga. Na’e fā’ele’i au ‘i Niue pea na’á ku tupu hake pē ‘i Nu’usila. Na’á ku ngāue fakafaiako ‘i he Kolisi ‘o ‘Okalani Saute ‘i he ta’u ‘e valu.

‘Oku makatu’unga ‘a e fakahoha’ani ko hono fakaafe’i atu kimoutolu ke mou kau mai ki he fekumi ko ‘ení. Ko ‘eku ongo supavaisa ko Palofesa Alison Jones mo Toketa Linitā Manu’atu.

Taumu’a mo e Fakamatala fekau’aki mo e Fekumi

Ko e taumu’a ‘o e fekumi ke fakamahino mai ‘a ho’o ngaahi a’usia pea mo ho’o ngaahi taukei fekau’aki mo ho’o tu’unga ko e tamai mo e kui. ‘Oku ou faka’amu keu fa’u fekau’aki mo ho’o mahino’i ‘a ho’o ngaahi a’usia ‘i he taimi na’a ke kei ako aí ‘o fakafehoanaki pea mo e a’usia ‘a ho’o tangata’eikí ‘i he taimi na’e kei ako aí kae pehe ki ho’o foha.

‘Oku fakatefito ‘a e fekumi ni pe ‘oku angafefe ‘a e felave’i ‘a e tala tukufakaholo ‘o Tongá mo ho’o a’usia ‘i he akó mo e mala’e ‘o e akó ‘i hono fakalukufuá ‘o hange ko e nofo ‘a kaingá (extended family) mo e siasí (church). Kuopau keu fepotalanoa’aki mo ha fāmili ‘e tolu ‘i Tongá ni pea mo ha fāmili Tonga ‘e tolu ‘i Nu’usila.

Koe’uhí ko ‘eku faka’amu ko ia ki he akó tautefito ki he ako ‘i Nu’usilá kenau lava ‘o mahino’i ‘a e tu’unga ‘oku ‘i ai ‘o e tangata Tongá, ‘oku ne faka’ai’ai au keu fakahoko ‘a e fekumi ni. ‘E tokoni lahi eni ki hono tataki e ako ‘etau fanau tangatá ‘i ha tu’unga ‘oku lelei ‘aupito pea mo tupulaki ai e ma’uma’uluta e vā ‘o e komiunití mo e akó. ‘E malava ke ke

tokoni mai 'aki 'a ho'o fakamatala fekau'aki mo ho'o ngaahi fili 'i ho'o mo'u'i pea mo ho'o ngaahi manatu melie ki he kuohili.

'E malava pe ke ke fili ke 'oua te ke tukuange mai ha ngaahi fakamatala fakafo'ituitui pe ia 'a koe. 'Oku mahu'inga 'aupito kemou loto'aki pea kemou kau tokotolu mai ki he fekumi ni. 'O kapau leva 'e 'i ai ha tokotaha memipa ia 'i he familí 'oku ne loto ke ne mavahe 'o 'ikai ke toe kau mai ki he fekumi ni 'oku fu'u fiema'u leva ia kene femahino'aki mo e toenga 'o e memipá pea mou fakaha mai leva kiate au 'a e ngaahi fakamatala e li'aki fekauaki moe famili. Ko e fakafisi mei he fekumi ni kuopau ke 'i ha mahina 'e ua hili ho'o ma'u 'a e lipooti tohinimá (transcript) meiate au. 'O kapau leva temou felotoi kemou kau kotoa mai he'ikai ke fakahaa'i homou hingoa totonu pē ko ha ngaahi fakamatala 'e malava ke faka'ilonga'i 'a kimoutolu 'i he'eku fekumi, kapau pe 'oku ikai ke loto kotoa kiai 'a e kau memipa 'oku kau mai kihe fekumi koeni.

'Oku ou faka'amu ke lekooti 'i ha ngaahi tepi 'a 'etau ngaahi fepotalanoa'aki kotoa pe. Ko e ngaahi fepotalanoa'aki ko 'eni 'e makatu'unga ia 'i ha'atau "talanoa" tau'ataina pea mei ai leva teu fakahoko ha ngaahi fehu'i ke malava ketau ma'u mei ai ha ngaahi fakamatala 'e mahu'inga ki he fekumi ni. 'Oku malava pe ke 'oua teke loto ke lekooti ho fakamatalá 'i ha tepi ka kuopau pe keu lekooti 'aki hano tohi 'i ha pepa. 'Oku toe malava pe foki keke fili lolotonga hono lekooti e tepi 'o kapau 'oku ke loto ke ta'ofi 'i ha fahinga taimi pe.

Kapau 'oku ke loto ke ke kau 'i he fekumi ni 'oku ou faka'amu keu talanoa mo koe fakafuofua ki ha miniti 'e 90. 'Oku fakafuofua te ta toe fepotalanoa'aki tu'o taha pe tu'o ua 'amui ange 'o kapau teu toe fiema'u ke fakaikiiki ha ngaahi fakamatala pe ko ha'aku toe fiema'u ha tanaki mai ki he ngaahi fakamatala 'oku ou 'osi ma'u. 'E lava pe keta talanoa 'i ha fa'ahinga feitu'u pe 'oku ke loto ki ai. 'O kapau leva 'e 'i ai ha ngaahi 'ilo 'oku ta'e fe'unga pe kaukovi ki ha taha lolotonga 'a e talanoá kuopau leva keu fakahā ki he'eku supavaisa pea 'oku 'i ai leva 'a e tokotaha taukei fale'i tene tokoni'i koe mo ho'o famili.

Kuopau keu hanga 'o lipooti tohinima 'eta talanoá pea 'oatu kiate koe ke ke vakai'i. 'E malava pe ke ke fakatonutonu pea mo liliu 'a e lipooti tohinimá 'oka fiema'u. Ko ho'o fimalie pe fekau'aki mo e lipooti tohinimá pea 'e malava leva keu ngaue'aki 'a e konga pe ko hono ngaue'aki kakato ki hono fa'u 'eku lipooti fokotu'u fakakaukáu (thesis). 'O kapau leva 'oku ke loto ke liliu pe fakafisi mei he fekumi ni 'oku fiema'u ke ke fakahoko eni 'i he mahina 'e taha hili ho'o ma'u 'a e lipooti tohinima.

Ko e ngaahi tepi, lipooti tohinima mo e tohi fakangofua kotoa pe kuopau ke tauhi malu ia 'i he 'ofisi 'eku supavaisa 'i Epsom Campus he 'Univesiti 'o 'Okalani 'i ha ta'u 'e 6 pea toki faka'auha. Ko e lekooti 'o e ngaahi faka'eke'eke kotoa pe kuopau ke tauhi makehe ia mei he ngaahi tohi fakangofuá ke fakasi'isi'i e faingamalie ki hano 'ilo'i ha fakamatala fekau'aki mo koe. Tukukehe 'o kapau teke loto pe koe ke ke tauhi 'a ho'o lekooti tohinimá pea mo e tepi, 'oku malava pe ke ke fakahoko eni ka 'ikai kuopau ke faka'auha ia 'i he faka'osinga 'o e fekumi ni 'a ia 'i Siulai 2017.

'I he kakato mo e aofangatuku 'a e fekumi ni kuopau ke ke ma'u 'a e fakama'opo'opo 'a e ola 'o e lipooti ni. 'E tukuange atu 'a e tatau 'o e ngaahi lipooti fokotu'u fakakaukau ni 'i he laipeli 'o e 'Univesiti 'o 'Okalani pea pehe ki he 'initaneti.

‘Oku ou faka’amu keu fakamahino atu heni ko ho’o kau mai ki he fekumi ni ko e fili tau’ataina pe ia ‘a koe. ‘E malava pe ke ke faka’ikai’i mai ‘o kapau ‘oku ‘ikai teke loto ke ke kau mai.

Kataki ‘o fetu’utaki mai kiate au pe ko ‘eku supavaisa ‘o kapau ‘oku ‘i ai ha’o toe fehu’i.

Mālō ‘Aupito. Tu’a ‘ofa atu.

Tevita Fa’avae

Phone: (09) 834 8608

Mobile: 021 022 88368

Tonga: 8478277

d.faavae@auckland.ac.nz

Ko hoku ‘uluaki supavaisa:

Palofesa Alison Jones

Te Puna Wānanga

Faculty of Education

The University of Auckland

a.jones@auckland.ac.nz

Phone: (09) 923 2554

Tokoni supavaisa:

Toketā Linitā Manu’atu

School of Education

Auckland University of Technology (AUT)

linita.manu'atu@aut.ac.nz

For ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

The University of Auckland

Office of the Vice-Chancellor

Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 24 OCTOBER 2014 FOR 3 YEARS. Reference Number 013062.

Appendix C – Consent Form (English version)

Te Puna Wānanga



CONSENT FORM

(This Consent Form will be held for a period of 6 years)

Title of research: Tongan cultural capital in the education of Tongan males.

Researcher: David Fa’avae

We have been given information about this project and have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered. We consent to participating in the study with the understanding that, our participation is entirely voluntary and we can withdraw personally at any stage, and have information we have contributed withdrawn up until the point of data analysis (31 July, 2016).

- there will be 1 - 3 discussions with Dave
- our discussions with Dave will be audio recorded
- we can have the tape recorder turned off at any time, and that any of us can ask that certain shared information not be included as part of the study
- we will have the opportunity to see and respond to written transcript of our discussion to check its accuracy and to add/change/delete it, should any of us want to
- recordings of interview/s will be transcribed by Dave and/or a third party person who will sign a confidentiality agreement
- audio data from the discussion will be kept for 6 years and then destroyed, unless we want to keep it
- our consent form will be securely stored separately from the research data for 6 years beyond the completion of the research, when it will be destroyed
- our names, or any identifiable information about us, will not be used in the research report, unless we give permission. Pseudonyms will be used instead
- the grandfather and father may be together in the discussion with Dave, but the son can choose to have a separate talk with Dave if he wants to. Dave will not ask for personal information about or from any of you
- a copy of the thesis will be available to us

We agree to participate in the research.

Grandfather		
	Name	Signature
Father		
	Name	Signature
Son		
	Name	Signature

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20 OCTOBER, 2014 FOR 3 YEARS. Reference Number 013062.

Appendix D – Consent Form (Tongan version)

Te Puna Wānanga



TOHI FAKANGOFUA KE KAU 'I HE FEKUMI

(Ko e tohi ko 'eni' 'e tauhi ia 'o a'u ki he ta'u 'e 6)

'Ulu'i 'o e Fekumi: Koloa 'o e to'utangata i Aotearoa mo Tonga

Tokotaha 'e fakahoko e Fekumi: Tevita Fa'avae

Kuo 'osi fakamatala mai pea 'oku mau ma'u 'a e 'uhinga ki he fo'i fekumi ko 'eni'. Kuo 'osi tuku mai 'a e faingamālie kemau fehu'i fekau'aki mo e fekumi ko 'eni', pea kuo 'osi tali 'a e ngaahi fehu'i na'e fai hono faka'eke'eke'. 'Oku mau tali lelei ke kau 'i he fakatoto ko 'eni' pea 'oku mahino ko 'emau kau ki he fekumi ko 'eni', 'oku fai pē 'i he 'ofa. Pea 'i he 'ene pehē, ko 'emau ngaahi fo'i fakamatala 'oku tanaki ki he fekumi ko 'eni', 'e malava pē ke mau nofo pea 'oua toe kau ki he ngāue'i 'a e fekumi ko 'eni'. Ka 'oku fiema'u ia ke mau nofo mo to'o 'emau ngaahi fo'i fakamatala hili 'a e mahina 'e ua mei he fakafoki mai 'e Tevita Fa'avae 'a e la'i transcript.

- 'E 'i ai 'a e talanoa tu'o 1 ki he 3 mo Tevita
- Ko 'emau talanoa mo Tevita 'e hiki tepi'i
- 'E malava pē ke tamate'i 'a e hiki tepi 'i ha taimi pē 'oku fai ai 'a e talanoa' pea kapau 'oku 'i ai hā ngaahi fakamatala 'oku ma'u mai mei he fepotalanoa'aki ka 'oku 'ikai ke mau loto ke kau ki he lipooti 'o e fekumi ko 'eni' pea 'e malava pē ke to'o mei he lipooti
- 'E 'omai hā faingamālie ke sio mo fakalelei'i 'a e lipooti fekau'aki mo 'emau talanoa ke toe tonu pea 'e lava leva 'o tanaki, pē 'e fetongi, pē to'o hā ngaahi fakamatala 'oku ikai ke mau loto ke kau 'i he lipooti
- Ko e hiki 'a 'emau talanoa mei he tepi na'e lekooti ai 'e Tevita pē ko ha taha kehe. Ko e tokotaha ko 'eni' 'e fakamo'oni 'a e tohi fekau'aki moe tauhi 'a e ngaahi fakamatala pea 'ikai talanoa ki ha taha kehe fekau'aki mo 'emau ngaahi fakamatala kuo 'osi hiki.
- Ko e ngaahi talanoa 'e hiki 'i he tepi', 'e tauhi leva ia 'i he loki 'o Palofesa Alison Jones 'i ha ta'u 'e 6. Hili leva 'a e ta'u 'e 6, 'e maumau'i 'a e ngaahi tepi'
- Ko 'emau tohi fakangofua ke kau 'i he fekumi' 'e malu'i mo tauhi makehe ia mei he ngaahi tepi, 'oku hiki ai 'emau ngaahi talanoa mo Tevita', 'o a'u ki he ta'u 'e 6. Hili ia pea 'e faka'auha 'a e ngaahi tohi fakangofua ke kau 'i he fekumi'
- Ko homau hingoa totonu pē, ko ha ngaahi fakamatala 'e lava nai 'o fakahā pē faka'ilonga'i 'a kimautolu, he 'ikai leva ke ngāue'aki ia 'i he tohi lipooti 'o e fo'i fekumi ko 'eni' kapau 'oku ikai ke loto kiai 'a mautolu. 'E ngāue'aki leva 'a e ngaahi hingoa kehe – pseudonyms 'i he lipooti fakamatalā. Kapau 'oku

loto ha famili ke ngaue aki homau hingoa totonu pea te mau fili leva ‘a e ngaahi fakamatala fekauaki moe famili ‘e ngaue aki ‘ihe fekumi ko eni

- Ko e tamai mo e kui ‘e ngofua pē ke na kau lōua mai ‘i he taimi talanoa mo Tevita’, ka koe tamaiki pē ‘e fili hā feitu’u ‘e lava ‘o talanoa makehe ai mo Tevita
- He’ikai ke fehu’i ‘e Tevita hā ngaahi fakamatala fakataautaha (personal information) kia kinautolu kapau ‘e ‘ikai ke nau loto ki ai
- Kapau ‘e ‘i ai hā ngaahi 'ilo ‘oku ta’efe’unga lolotonga ‘emau talanoa, pea ‘e kau kovi ki ha taha, ‘e lava leva ‘e Tevita ‘o fetu’utaki mo hā kakai (taki lotu pe ko ha taki ‘ihe famili ke tokoni mai)
- Ko e tatau ‘o e tohi thesis ‘e ‘omai ke mau tauhi

‘Oku mau loto lelei ke kau mai ki he fekumi ko ‘eni ‘a Tevita.

Kataki ‘o fakafonu mai ‘a e ki’i tepile ‘i lalo kapau ‘oku’ ke loto ke ke kau mai.

Kui Tangata		
	Hingoa	Fakamo’oni
Tamai		
	Hingoa	Fakamo’oni
Foha		
	Hingoa	Fakamo’oni

‘Aho: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20 OCTOBER, 2014 FOR 3 YEARS. Reference Number 013062.

Appendix E – Indicative Guiding Questions



DISCUSSION – GUIDING QUESTIONS

Practices

- Can you identify activities or events where you learnt about Tongan values and customs.
- Which activities or events are important to Tongan males? Can you please explain any of these activities or events and why it was important to you and others in your kāinga?

Parents' aspirations and expectations

- Explain your parents' aspirations and expectations for you at school.
- What were your father's expectations/aspirations for you.
- Please describe your grandfather's aspirations for you at school.
- What motivated you at school?
- How did your father's aspirations/expectations impact your education?
- What are/were your aspirations/expectations for your son in education?

Tongan culture and identity

- What is 'ulungāanga faka-Tonga?
- Describe the importance of 'ulungāanga faka-Tonga in your life?
- Explain the significance of Tongan culture in your education?
- What Tongan values, customs, and beliefs did you learn from your dad?
- Describe Tongan values, customs, and beliefs taught at home/ church/ kāinga.
- What Tongan values, customs, and beliefs did you pass on to your son?
- Describe values, beliefs and practices from home and church that helped you in your education.

Appendix F – Application to the Tonga Prime Minister’s Office to Undertake Research in Tonga



Tofoa
Nukualofa
Tongatapu

Friday 10 October, 2014.

To The Honourable Minister of Education:

My name is David Taufui Mikato Fa’avae and I am a PhD student from the University of Auckland. I would like to request your approval to carry out some of my doctoral fieldwork in Tongatapu. The fieldwork will involve talanoa with 3 generations of Tongan males from two kāinga living in Tonga and two kāinga living in New Zealand.

Aim of this Study

The title of my study is “Tongan cultural capital in the education of Tongan males”. The aim of my research is to collect stories from three generations of Tongan males about ako (learning), ‘ilo (knowledge) and poto (wisdom). Each of these concepts is related to knowledge and learning (Thaman, 1988), and each has shifting and complex meanings that contribute to the cultural resources available to Tongan families.

My study will foreground the rich cultural resources related to Tongan boys’ identity and education in Tonga and New Zealand. Particular cultural resources (cultural capital) are acquired by Tongan males based on their families’ social position. My study explores Tongan cultural capital as a complex notion. Such complexity needs to be explained in detail in the modern education context where much of the discourse related to ‘Pasifika’ achievement and experiences tends to homogenise and simplify the idea of culture and the cultural.

Motivation for this Study

In my position as a secondary school teacher in a large South Auckland school and my association with the wider Pasifika community, I am aware there is significant concern regarding the achievement of Pasifika boys. The Ministry of Education statistics indicate that Pasifika student achievement is much lower than many of their Pākehā and Asian counterparts (Alton-Lee, 2003). My study aims to help Tongan males and their families understand that Tongan cultural resources (Tongan cultural capital) are valued differently, and therefore rewarded differently, in particular fields such as the siasi, kāinga and schooling. The possible effects of these differences in the lives of Tongan boys and men whom I talk to in this study will be further explored and commented on in the body of the thesis itself.

Despite the deficit discourse often surrounding ‘Pacific peoples in education’, this study is positive because it aims to emphasise the richness of ‘ulungāanga faka-Tonga. Although it is strengths-based, it does not, however, ignore the differences that exist between Tongan males within their contexts of interaction – the siasi, kāinga, and schooling. The concept of cultural capital is one that draws attention to the ways that certain groups of cultural habits (ways of

being, thoughts, perspectives, practices, language and beliefs) are more or less rewarded (that is, that have better or worse outcomes) in contexts that count.

I agree to submit two completed copies of the PhD thesis to the Prime Minister's Office and to the Office of the Minister of Education free of charge.

I have attached my full research proposal and the consent form in both Tongan and English for more information.

Faka'apa'apa lahi atu.

David T. M. Fa'avae
E: dfaavae@gmail.com
M: 02102288368 (NZ)
M: 8478277 (Tonga)

My main supervisor is: Professor Alison Jones Te Puna Wānanga Faculty of Education The University of Auckland a.jones@auckland.ac.nz Phone: (09) 923 2554	My co-supervisor is: Dr Linitā Manu'atu School of Education Auckland University of Technology (AUT) linita.manu'atu@aut.ac.nz
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For ethical concerns please contact:
The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland
Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS
COMMITTEE ON 20 OCTOBER, 2014 FOR 3 YEARS. Reference Number 013062.

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