Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognize the author’s right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author’s permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the Library Thesis Consent Form and Deposit Licence.
KO ‘API KO E KAMATA’ANGA ‘O E ME’A KOTOA PE

Exploring the significance of Tongan parent-child relationships and its impact on the education prospect of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand

Linda-Lee Fatani

ABSTRACT

Pasifiki migration of Tongan kāinga to westernised societies such as New Zealand was considered pivotal towards a prosperous lifestyle, which included better money, and accessibility to higher education. However this high aspiration towards greater prosperity for the family also led to displacement and dysfunction of family members. As developing research continuously explores the education of the Pasifiki people, addressing the realities of the educational gap that impact the Tongan wellbeing and fāmili system is an enduring taboo. This is highly influenced by the complex collective nature of tauhi vā in the Tongan culture.

By adopting a critical approach, this qualitative study illuminates the voices of Tongan parents and youth in Auckland, New Zealand regarding the contributing factors that impact the parent-child relationship and aspirations for higher education of Tongan youth. Through the integration of talanoa, data was collected and analysed through semi-structured interviews from six Tongan parents and six Tongan youth, which focused on their life-stories and perspectives. Results indicate that the Tongan parent-child relationship and education of Tongan youth are impacted by several factors associated with the entrenchment of a neoliberal environment. This can be examined at three levels: the wider environment (fonua), community (komiuniti) and family (fāmili) levels, which influence the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga. This research illustrates the significance of social work practice in the Tongan fāmili system, and reiterates the value of understanding that “Ko ‘api ko e kamata’anga ‘o e me’a kotoa pe” (Home is the beginning of all things). In particular light is shed on the opportunity of social work practice and further research to holistically explore how to strengthen the fāmili ‘api (home), particularly the significant role of the parent-child relationship on the education of Tongan youth.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wonderful parents JWells Nielsen and Lesiel Atumeiama Fatani. We acknowledge the giants on whose shoulders we stood on, with eternal love and gratitude to our parents.

Mum, I am extremely blessed to have you in my life. You are the epitome of strength, love and humility. My pursuit of an education is highly driven by your dream as a young Pasifiki migrant in New Zealand who was working as a cleaner at the University of Auckland in the year 1987. As you fulfilled your tedious responsibilities you prayerfully hoped for your children to attend this University with the purpose of seeking a prosperous life. Mum as we continue to fulfill this dream of yours, I have felt and witnessed the blessings of your faith today. Each moment that I have wanted to give up on this journey, I find myself in deep reflection of the unceasing sacrifices made by yourself and Dad; it has carried me through this thesis and will do so for the rest of my life. I love you eternally Mum.

Dad, I am lost for words as there is nothing that I can say or do to suffice the sacrifices you continuously endure. I cannot compare the stress and fatigue I have experienced throughout my educational journey, particularly this one-year research project, to the sweat and tears of your labours. I have embraced your heartful prayers throughout my life and I am eternally appreciative of you Dad. I will always be your Papa. I love you.

I also dedicate this work to the young people of the Tongan community in Auckland, New Zealand who are in a generational battle with structural oppression, discrimination and inequalities deep rooted within their wellbeing. This work embraces the potential of my Tongan brothers and sisters to break free from the shackles that imprison our people to the stigma of Pasifiki populations in New Zealand. This work is also a reminder for the young Tongan people that education is a powerful weapon we can embrace, a weapon utilised to fight towards change we deserve and empower our future Tongan kāinga. We’re not a statistic, we’re kāinga to’a.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost I thank my Heavenly Father for his unconditional love. Through his grace and the companionship of the Holy Spirit, I have been able to fulfill this ancestral goal for my fāmili and kāinga.

To my Tongan kāinga that I was blessed to talanoa with in this research, mālo aupito. Your voices have been imprinted within my heart and play an important role in this research. I pray that your stories are heard and that as Tongan kāinga, we all seek change together.

To my dearest eternal companion Soma Sila. You are my true definition of love. You have tolerated my stressful behaviour, wiped my tears during my breakdowns and have not only continuously reminded me of my purpose, but have helped me centre this journey upon God. I love you.

To my brother Rad Fatani, I am extremely grateful for you. You have never left my side even at times where I did not deserve your support. Thank you for always encouraging me to reach my fullest potential in life. I am grateful for you and your beautiful wife Dannica Fatani. I love you both.

To my beautiful aunty Moana Kupu and my namesake Linda-Lee Pongi. Thank you my Mehikitangas for your support in this study, from tolerating my broken Tongan to your words of wisdom throughout this thesis. I appreciate you both.

To my wonderful support systems; my family, relatives, friends and colleagues at Corrective Services NSW – IDATP, thank you for your continuous support in this journey. Your encouraging messages from near and far have pushed me to the finish line.

Lastly, I want to acknowledge my supervisor Dr Matt Rankine and my co-supervisor Professor Liz Beddoe. You both have been a pillar of light within this study and I am lost for words in attempt to describe the unceasing amount of knowledge and passion you both have for the learning and development of the social work profession. I am tremendously blessed to have such wonderful supervisors. Thank you for supporting me throughout this roller coaster of a thesis.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT ........................................................................................................................................... i
DEDICATION ........................................................................................................................................ ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ...................................................................................................................... iii
TABLE OF CONTENT ........................................................................................................................ iv

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND APPENDICES ........................................................................ vi
  Tables ................................................................................................................................................. vi
  Figures ............................................................................................................................................... vi
  Appendices ....................................................................................................................................... vi

GLOSSARY ........................................................................................................................................ vii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND ........................................................................ 1
  The emergence of education in the kingdom of Tonga ............................................................... 2
  Tauhi Vā ........................................................................................................................................... 3
  The colonisation of education in the kingdom of Tonga ............................................................. 4
  Tongan people in New Zealand ................................................................................................... 5
  The education of Tongan people in New Zealand ..................................................................... 7
  The Pasifika Educational Plan (PEP) ............................................................................................ 9
  Social work practice in the New Zealand Tongan population ................................................... 10
  My journey to this study .............................................................................................................. 11
  The significance of this study ........................................................................................................ 14
  Aim of the study ............................................................................................................................ 14
  Structure of thesis ......................................................................................................................... 14
  Summary ........................................................................................................................................ 15

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ................................................................................... 16
  The educational gap in New Zealand ......................................................................................... 16
  Fāmili and kāinga in the education of Tongan young people ................................................... 21
  Culturally Responsive Practice ................................................................................................. 24
  Social work with the Tongan population .................................................................................... 27
  Summary ........................................................................................................................................ 30

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY ..................................................................................... 32
  Teu- Epistemology and Theoretical perspective ....................................................................... 34
  Toli – Participants, Data Collection and Ethical Consideration .............................................. 39
  Participants .................................................................................................................................... 39
  Data Collection ............................................................................................................................ 41
**LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND APPENDICES**

### Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>THE NCEA ACHIEVEMENT OF PASIFIKI STUDENTS IN THE YEAR 2011 TO 2015</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>FOUR KEY EMERGING THEMES FROM TALANOA SESSIONS</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PSEUDONYM NAMES OF PARTICIPANTS</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PARENT RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>YOUTH RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>THE KAKALA FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>THE THREE KEY THEMES OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>FAKAFEKAU’AKI MO E KĀINGA PRACTICE FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Appendices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEETS</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>CONSENT FORMS</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>INTERVIEW GUIDE</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE - APPROVAL LETTER</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>RESEARCH ADVERTISEMENT</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>THEMATIC MAP</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

‘ako
angā fakatonga
‘api
fāmili
faka’apa’apa
fakafāmili
fakafekeau’aki
fakatōkilalo
fatongia/ fua fatongia
fe’ofa’ofani
fetokoni’aki
fonua
kāinga
komuniti
lea fakatonga
laupisi
mamahi’i mea
maumau taimi
‘ofa
pasifiki
pule’anga
PōAko

PōTalanoa
Siasi
talanoa
tauhi vā
vā

School, learn
Tongan way
Home, house
Family
Respect
Family meeting
connecting
humility
Social duties, responsibilities, obligations
care
Partnership, commitment
Society, wider environment
People
Community
Tongan language
Childish
loyalty
Waste of time
Love
Pacific
System, Government
Night school, study clinic,
homework centre
Night conversations
Church
Talk, converse, discuss
Maintain relationship/s
Relationship/s
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

“’Oku ou tui ‘oku fia’u mahi’inga ‘aupito ho no fakalotolahi’i mo ho no poupou’i e ‘a hotau pule’anga Tonga ke nau tokanga makehe ki he ako ko e ‘uhi ko e kaha’u kinautolu ‘a ho nau fāmili, komuniti, siasi mo pule’anga “ (Koe âelea faka-fāmili ā eku tangata’eiki, J Wells Nielsen Fatani ‘o Kolonga, Tongatapu).

“I truly believe that it is very important to encourage and support the Tongan youth to focus on achieving an education as they are the future of their families, communities, church and society” (The family counsel of my father J Wells Nielsen Fatani of Kolonga, Tongatapu).

Education is a fundamental concept that is continuously instilled within the lives of Tongan people. Historically, the emergence of education within the kingdom of Tonga was emphasised as a paramount factor within the ‘api (Thaman, 1995). Everyday learning and development within the ‘api was conducted in such a manner that compliments the Tongan social roles and responsibilities of kāinga (Thaman, 1997). Over time, this cultural practice of education established a long-lasting and significant reliance on the nature of vā as a pivotal concept in the learning and development of Tongan children and young people (Koloto, 2003; Mavoa, et al., 2003).

Although the changing tides of society such as the colonisation of education in Tonga (Thaman, 1997) and Pasifiki migration to New Zealand (Taumoefolau, 2005) continue to impact the perpetual restructuring of the content, processes and structure of education, the influence of vā between kāinga and fāmili remain deep rooted within the Tongan knowledge and perspective of education (Kalavite, 2012). This continuing nature epitomises the importance of culture in the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga. Knowledge of the Tongan cultural identity and roles is an instrument for Tongan kāinga to develop social networks and transition throughout the wider world (Phelps, 2018). In saying that, elders, caregivers, and parents continue to encompass a critical role and responsibility in equipping Tongan children and young people with the significance of education, and also an awareness of the potential opportunities that this brings to the wider fāmili structure (Fletcher, et al., 2008).

Success in education is fundamental to the wellbeing of New Zealand as a whole (Pasifika Futures, 2017). Many Tongan families migrated to New Zealand due to the future prospects it may bring (Mafile’o, 2004). In fact, many believed in living by a simple yet complex formula, which emphasised the importance of attaining an education. My late
Grandmother, for example, would commonly emphasise that “higher education leads to more money, more money in a place like New Zealand leads to a happier life”. Growing up in a family of working class parents, I recall many instances where my Father would say, “New Zealand is the land of milk and honey, but what you need to understand is that the milk is expensive and the honey is not sweet.” Such learning experiences developed my core belief in the significance of education towards the wellbeing of my fāmili and Tongan kāinga.

For many years, Tongan ancestors, elders and parents embodied prolonged sacrifices with the hopes and dreams of creating a path for today’s generation to live a prosperous life, through the importance of a good education. The sacrifices included the physically demanding environment of labouring, agonising financial hardship and other complex inequalities, which influence an overwhelming sense of pressure in the wellbeing of Tongan adults. Disparities within aspects such as inaccessibility to health services, poor social housing, low achievement in education and low income are social issues that Tongan people have endured in the past and in present time. Such realities are evident through statistics in New Zealand, which further illustrates a growing alarm for the unsustainable wellbeing of this population group (Pasifika Futures, 2017). In fact, this reality illuminates the significance of social work practice and services in the wellbeing of Pasifika people, particularly in addressing the complex concerns that impact their lives. The profession of social work is a crucial concept within this thesis as it works towards increasing a holistic based approach when working with Tongan kāinga. These disparities and the role of social work will be further explored throughout this chapter.

In order to develop an in-depth holistic understanding of education in the Tongan wellbeing, this introductory chapter is divided into two parts. The first section of the chapter will explore the background information about education in the Tongan population and the significance of kāinga in the education of young people in Auckland, New Zealand. The second section of Chapter One will connect this background information to the purpose of this thesis.

The emergence of education in the kingdom of Tonga

Historically, the emergence of education in the kingdom of Tonga was established upon the view that through the transmitting of knowledge, skills and values from elders to children in the ‘api and fāmili, learning and development ought to focus on ensuring the cultural continuation of the Tongan kāingaivilzed (Thaman, 1995). In the past, education in Tonga was primarily implemented through myths, legends, dance, poetry, songs, ritual and most significantly PōTalanoa with elders and parents (Thaman, 1997).
For over 3000 years, this notion of ‘informal’ education enabled Tongan people to learn and adapt to their societal gender roles and responsibilities, by maintaining knowledge of their social position. Young women were educated and expected to adopt craft-related skills, whereas young men were equipped with skills of navigation, hunting and warfare (Thaman, 1995). In the past, learning and development within the Tongan population was a method of ensuring social order and the maintenance of status quo. Such knowledge set obligations for individuals to perform their social duties (fatongia) in accordance with predetermined hierarchies, which are largely based on kinship relationships, particularly tauhi vā (Ka‘ili, 2005).

**Tauhi Vā**

Developing Pasifiki research literature acknowledges the multifaceted and complex relationships embedded within the wellbeing of Tongan people (Mavoa, et al., 2003). In the Tongan culture, an imperative perception is the critical role of kāinga and fāmili in the education of their children and youth (Thaman, 1997). In order to understand the value of kāinga and fāmili within the Tongan wellbeing, it is crucial to grasp the concept of tauhi vā, which Koloto (2016) considers as one of the four core values that underpin the Tongan language and culture. In fact, the concept of tauhi vā is inclusive of other Tongan cultural values known as ‘ofa, fe’ofo’ofani or fe’ofa’aki (love, caring and generosity); faka’apa’apa (respect); fatongia, faifatongia, fua fatongia or fua kavenga (responsibilities and commitments to the fulfillment of mutual obligations); fetokoni’aki, toka‘i and feveitokai’aki (cooperation, consensus and maintenance of good relationships); mamahi‘i me’a and talangafua (loyalty, commitment and obedience); and fakatōkilalo (humility and generosity). (Ka‘ili, 2005; Kalavite, 2012). Therefore, the integration of the core values of tauhi vā highlights the importance of vā in the Tongan wellbeing and in the education of Tongan young people today (Kalavite, 2012).

Pasifiki literature focused on the Tongan concept of vā suggests that the nature and scope of vā within the Tongan society is also dependent in the context in which the relationships exist (Koloto, 2016; Māhina, 2008; Phelps, 2018). Koloto (2016) states that maintaining vā requires resource, time and effort. Furthermore, Ka‘ili (2005) states that vā within the Tongan family system is underpinned by the concept of tauhi vā. The words tauhi vā translates into ‘maintaining relationships' and is not only perceived as a core value, but also a cultural practice that validates the significance of maintaining healthy relationships (Koloto, 2016). Tauhi vā is a powerful dynamic in an individual’s wellbeing that portrays the
importance of fulfilling their fatongia in order to maintain a balanced and functional fāmili, community and societal relationship (Ka’ili, 2008).

Historically, the introduction of tauhi vā was perceived as the predominant source of education in Tonga, as it equipped ancestors with their obligations to maintain societal hierarchies, particularly between elders and children (Thaman, 1997). In saying that, today tauhi vā encompasses principles that determine communication and tapu between children and their elders, which can potentially influence their ability to achieve an education. The degree of communication in the parent-child relationship entail complex barriers that are somewhat dictated by taboo topics and principles. Overall, through the notion of tauhi vā the historical Tongan education system was focused upon methods of educating Tongan people with specific knowledge and skills of acceptable behaviour, as well as practical skills necessary for survival. Today, this notion of education is understood as ‘informal’ education (Thaman, 1995).

The colonisation of education in the kingdom of Tonga

Tonga is one of the few Pasifiki nations that was not colonised by the Europeans, however, it is important to note that aspects within the Tongan lifestyle experienced colonisation and the impacts of westernised ideologies. In the early 1800s, the migration of European missionaries to the kingdom of Tonga saw the introduction of Christianity and what is also perceived to be a ‘formal’ structure of education. European missionaries taught the people of Tonga to read and write in English and deemed this as the 'right' path to living a ‘civilised’ lifestyle. This belief of civilised wellbeing and the introduction of formal education manifested hidden curriculum, dominant values and also ideologies of European cultures (Thaman, 1995). Essential western motives that influenced the colonising and undermining of the Tongan education system were largely based on short-term economic ends with the colonial economy.

Foreigners made it their responsibility to teach the Tongan kāinga that concepts and principles taught in the ‘api through informal education were detrimental to their purpose of religious faith and economic gain (Thaman, 1997). Sadly, important aspects of the Tongan culture relating to their informal education were devalued and European missionaries attempted to destroy their core cultural beliefs with the expectation that the Tongan kāinga were to assimilate into westernised values. In saying that, with the development of church buildings in Tonga, the construction of formal schools followed and many children were expected to attain a formal education. In fact, European missionaries immensely impacted the lives of the Tongan people, that attainment of formal education was now the ‘right thing' to
do, in accordance with civilisation (Thaman, 1995). Motivation for the Tongan people to achieve an education was no longer primarily focused on the capacity to fulfill responsibilities within the fāmili and kāinga, but was driven by the ability to live an economically productive life in western societies.

With the impact of westernisation on the education system in the Tonga, it is important to note that although the colonisation of the education in Tonga introduced a formal structure of teaching through the recruitment of qualified teachers within the lives of children and young people, it is believed that today within Tongan communities across the world, elders, parents and caregivers are still entrenched within an influential role in their children’s learning. Past Tongan academic scholars have continuously stressed that in order for Tongan children and young people to survive the rapidly modernising world in which they endure, the significance of Tongan cultural knowledge must be deeply rooted within their lives (Kalavite, 2012; Kēpa, 2000; Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; ‘Otunuku, 2011; Phelps, 2018; Thaman, 1995; Thaman, 2008; Vaka, 2014; Young-Leslie & Moore, 2012).

**Tongan people in New Zealand**

When exploring and developing insight to the importance of education in the wellbeing of Tongan children and young people, its significance is generally highlighted through the extensive history of sacrifices encountered by Tongan ancestors and elders in their enduring experiences of migration to New Zealand. In fact, Tongan ancestors and elders migrated to economically developed countries such as New Zealand in the early 1950s due to the hope of accessibility to higher education alongside financial stability for today’s Tongan generation (Mafile’o, 2004; Manu’atu, 2000).

Although, New Zealand presented the Tongan population with opportunities that are not available in their homeland, unfortunately opportunities such as education and financial stability, which attracted Tongan people to New Zealand, are the very same aspects of growing concern for the Tongan population in Auckland, New Zealand today. This reality is predominantly influenced by the ideology of neo-liberalism which was introduced by the New Zealand Government in the early 1980s. Following the tenets of this approach the implementation of neoliberal reforms within New Zealand influenced the privatization of government services, the introduction of more austere welfare provision and focused upon the pursuit for individual freedom through the capitalist market, while disregarding collective goods (Strier & Feldman, 2017).
The pursuit of neoliberal policies impacted on working class families, including the Tongan kāinga. From the Marxist perspective there is an emphasis on the realism that sorrowfully shows the realities of neoliberalism in the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga. Marxism is a cohesive theoretical perspective in the framework of this research that has served as a foundation for critical exploration. Through this perspective it is understood that society is not determined to function in harmony. In saying that, society is structured in order to work through the existence of privileges in the upper class (Bourgeoisie) at the expense of fundamental rights and inequalities of the working class (Proletariat) such as the accessibility to worthwhile education (Crotty, 1998).

Unfortunately, it is understood that the Tongan kāinga alongside other minority populations make up the working class in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Although, in the past years New Zealand education statistics illustrate diminutive progression in the educational achievements of Pasifiki children and youth (see Table 1), the bridging of the education gap in the Pasifiki population is an ongoing concern (Kalavite, 2012).

Table 1: The NCEA achievement of Pasifiki students in the year 2011 to 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>NCEA Level 1</th>
<th>NCEA Level 2</th>
<th>NCEA Level 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Tongan people form the third largest Pasifiki population group in New Zealand (Mafie'o, 2004). New Zealand statistics illustrate that in a decade to 2001, the Tongan population in New Zealand increased by 76% (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). In fact, the Tongan population experienced continuous growth over the years. Between the year 2006 and 2013, the Tongan population increased by 19.5% (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). In the 2013 New Zealand Census, statistics indicate that there were approximately 60,336 people who
identified themselves to be of Tongan descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Today, as New Zealand's Tongan population experiences growth, it is worrying to see that statistics also articulate growing concerns within factors such as income, housing, health, and education, which are all concepts that attracted a gradual escalation of Pasifiki migration (Pasifika Futures, 2017).

At the conclusion of World War 2, New Zealand experienced an ‘industrial boom’ that led to an experience of labour shortages. In response, the New Zealand Government encouraged labour migration from South Pasifiki nations. This influenced an ongoing growth in Pasifiki migration from nations such as Tonga, with the purpose of pursuing job opportunities and a better lifestyle (Mafile’o, 2004). Many Tongan people were devoted to gain financial stability for their families, while also seeking educational opportunities for their children (Morton Lee, 2003). Although many attained employment, findings within Pasifiki Island statistics in New Zealand illuminates that in 2013 the median individual income within the Tongan population was approximately $15,300 (Pasifika Futures, 2017). In fact, between the years 2003 to 2013 Pasifiki Island people experienced the smallest income increase in comparison to Non-Pacific populations in New Zealand. Furthermore, it is also acknowledged that the Tongan people alongside their neighbouring Pasifiki people in New Zealand predominantly live within a low socio-economic lifestyle (Morton Lee, 2003). Research indicates that children and young people from low socio-economic status households and communities are less likely to have experiences that encourage skills of learning and development in education (Buckingham, et al., 2013). In New Zealand, the Tongan population is also known to be of a low socio-economic community. This reality requires further emphasis on the capacity and role of tauhi vā within the kāinga, particularly in the education of young people.

**The education of Tongan people in New Zealand**

Education is a primary concern for the Tongan kāinga in New Zealand; between the years 2008 to 2012 New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA) released statistics, which illustrated somewhat of an improvement for Pacific Island students across the board (see Table 1). Despite these improvements, the achievement gap between Pasifiki Island and non-Pasifiki Island students remains condemningly high. Although in the year 2013, 30% of Pasifiki Island students completed Year 13 with ‘University Entrance’, it was understood that 20% of the Pacific Island population aged 15-24 years old were neither employed or enrolled within education nor training (Pasifika Futures, 2017). It was estimated that during this year only 23.3% of the Tongan population were enrolled and participating in a form of education or
training. This a concerning matter as the New Zealand census in 2013 articulates that the median age in the Tongan New Zealand population is 19.4 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). With an understanding that the Tongan population in New Zealand is quite young, statistics suggest that perhaps secondary or higher educational prospects is an area of concern that needs attention (Pasifika Futures, 2017). The Ministry of Education (2008) acknowledges that over time Tongan students are enrolling in New Zealand tertiary education, but there are compelling concerns about their low completion rate. Prior Pasifiki Island researchers have developed knowledge of the complex influences on the education of Tongan students, which vary within a range from pule’anga (systemic) to kāinga impacts, but most importantly the cultural differences between Tongan students and the western education system (Kalavite, 2012). A highlighted influence on the education of Tongan children and youth is partially connected to the difference in learning styles (collective versus individualistic). Differences in learning styles are chiefly linked to the relationships and communication within the home of Tongan children and young people (Coxon, et al., 2002). The concepts related to the impacts on the education of Tongan young people will be explored later within Chapter Two.

Over time, successive New Zealand governments have developed a deeper awareness of the different influencing collective principles that impact the education achievements of Tongan children, young people and other Pasifiki nations (Ministry of Social Development, 2013). In comparison with the New Zealand population, Pasifiki populations such as the Tongan people have the lowest achievement rate in education (Pasifika Futures, 2017). In the past years, literature exploring Pasifiki education in New Zealand acknowledges that there is a historically endured educational gap between Pasifiki populations and other ethnic groups in New Zealand, that is still a constant struggle to address in present times (Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; Mafite’o, 2005a; Ministry of Education, 2013; Otunuku, et al., 2013; Soakai, 2016). In response to the widened gap in the education of Pasifiki Island populations in New Zealand, the Government has recognised and articulated an emphasis on establishing and maintaining supports on a community and systemic level which included an integration of cultural practices and values (Fa’avae, 2016; Mafite’o, 2004).

The implementation of educational initiatives to address these concerns and gaps related to low achievement in the education of Tongan children and young people in New Zealand are dated back to over 25 years ago. In 1992, the Auckland Secondary Schools Principals Association (ASSPA) networked with Tongan teachers from Mount Roskill Grammar School in Auckland, New Zealand and established a study clinic known as PōAko that is underpinned by the values and principles of the Tongan culture (Manu’atu & Kēpa,
PōAko (night school), was an after school homework center which was focused on utilizing the Tongan language and communication practices such as PōTalanoa to support Tongan students who are culturally marginalised and educationally alienated (Kēpa, 2000). PōTalanoa (‘night conversation’) is a concept that is embedded within the everyday communication of Tongan kāinga, particularly in the ‘api with fāmili. It is believed that the sunset indicates rest from your labours and quality time with fāmili, an opportunity to share, discuss and mediate about concerns (Kalavite, 2012; Manu’atu & Kēpa, 2002). PōTalanoa is practised within Fakafāmili (family meetings) and in collective discussions. In PōAko Tongan students are given the space to enrich their cultural and academic learning (Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008). PōTalanoa was central within PōAko as it enabled Tongan students to develop a culturally respected and learning relationship with teachers; it was described by Kēpa & Manu’atu (2008) as a project which established relationships of excitement, love and hope. The opportunity PōAko provided for students to perform at a higher level than expected created a ripple effect over the years in the implementation of more culturally specific projects within the school. This encouraged a liaison and partnership of Tongan students with teachers and teachers with Tongan parents (Ministry of Education, 2013).

The Pasifika Educational Plan (PEP)
Ultimately, over the past years, the New Zealand government implemented plans, initiatives and supports that promoted the role and responsibilities of helping professionals such as social workers. In fact, the growing interconnected concerns of income, health and education in the Pasifiki population influenced the development of social research practice knowledge, which articulated the importance for social work practitioners to integrate effective culturally responsive practice when working with Pasifiki people (Mafile’o, 2004). Concerning statistics in the education of Pasifiki people in New Zealand, further suggests the need to establish holistic practice in order to address the disparities in the wellbeing of Pasifiki population, particularly the education of children and young people (Pasifika Futures, 2017). In recent years the Ministry of Social Development (2013) implemented a variety of community and systemic scheme known as the ‘Pasifika Educational Plan’ (PEP) in order to address the diverse concerns entrenched within the education of Tongan children, young people and fellow Pasifiki nations (Pasifika Futures, 2017). Principles in the PEP were integrated into social services such as Fonua Ola. Fonua Ola is a social service for Pasifiki by Pasifiki, which aims to journey with Pasifiki families on their voyage to a sustainable future (Fonua Ola, 2014). Fonua Ola signifies the importance to re-empower children and young people through a holistic and culturally appropriate approach in their ‘Life’ – Fit Youth Programme, in order to encourage positive engagement in education (Fonua Ola, 2014). Fonua Ola like many other
community based Pasifiki social services are all influenced by the systemic initiative known as PEP.

PEP was introduced by Ministry of Education with the support of their partnering agencies such as the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, NZQA and New Zealand Teachers Council. The Pasifika Education Plan originates on the aim to reduce the achievement gap within Pasifiki education in New Zealand. The PEP proposed supports and services portray a strength-based and culturally responsive approach to working with Pasifiki children, young people and ʻāmili within the community (Ministry of Education, 2013), a concept that will be further explored within Chapter Two of this thesis. Services and supports encompass principles that aim to reduce truancy, increase engagement with learning and also encouraging educational prospects (Pasifika Futures, 2017). New Zealand educational statistics illustrate that over time there has been a shift in the educational achievements of Tongan youth. Unfortunately, due to diminutive progression in the bridging of the educational gap in the Pasifiki population of New Zealand, there are unresolved concerns about the educational prospects of Tongan youth, particularly students completing secondary level education and entering tertiary education (Ministry of Education, 2008).

Social work practice in the New Zealand Tongan population

Over the past decades, the profession of social work and the changing society has influenced the continuing reconceptualization of social work practice knowledge (Payne, 2005). Social research illustrates awareness that social work practice is a product of time (Hick & Pozzuto, 2005). In saying that, over time culture has become a critical factor within social work practice knowledge. Exploration of social practice in the Tongan kāinga of New Zealand illustrates the importance of utilizing relevant cultural concepts as the foundation for holistic practice (Mafile’o, 2004). The introduction of the PEP also influenced a shift in social practice approaches in Pasifiki communities in New Zealand. The acknowledgment of the inclusive and collective nature of the Tongan culture continues to underpin the significance of community support within the Tongan kāinga of New Zealand (Kalavite, 2012).

In order to implement supports congruent to the goals of PEP, the New Zealand government increased their focus and reliance on community level supports for education through a variety of social services (Pasifika Futures, 2017). Social work practitioners within Pasifiki communities implement strategies such as mentorship practice as a source of empowering and encouragement for Tongan children and young people to engage in education (Donlan, et al., 2017). Mentorship approaches include primary values of positive role modelling as encouragement of recognising potential and also enabling individuals to seek opportunities
within their learning and development. Principles within a mentorship approach are highly exemplified in the values of a long-lasting Tongan communal organization known as ‘To’utupu Tongan Youth Trust’ (TYT) which is currently operating in Onehunga, Auckland. TYT is a community organization funded by the PEP initiative, which utilizes mentorship in order to equip Tongan secondary students with skills, education and confidence in becoming positive, successful and productive members of the community. Over time, the growth of social services in the Tongan community also highlights the growing interest of Tongan kāinga in becoming social work practitioners. This reality holds great value to the Tongan kāinga as it enables the centralization of cultural principles in empowering their wellbeing.

As social work practitioners develop an understanding of Tongan cultural values and knowledge in regards to tauhi vā practice becomes grounded in the significance of tapu when working within the Tongan community. Furthermore, social practice becomes increasingly complex when addressing the root cause of social issues impacting the education of children and young people in this population. Given that social work is a profession that is central to this thesis, it will be explored in more detail within Chapter Two and Five.

My journey to this study

As a New Zealand born Tongan woman, I inherit a history of struggles and sacrifices by my ancestors with the hope for our generation today to live a affluent life, particularly through education. Unfortunately, this prosperity they dreamt of for my fellow brothers and sisters today is deteriorating from our sight. One of my greatest concerns and motives for this particular study originates from a life lesson that was entrenched into my upbringing by my parents, this is known as “Ko ‘api ko e kamata’anga ’o e me’a kotoa pe”. This translates into “Home is the beginning of all things”, a philosophy that is constantly embedded within the everyday life of Tongan kāinga, but is yet still disregarded in many aspects. Over time, as I explored literature and reflected upon my social environment, I became quite critical of the impact a ‘collective’ identity may have on the ability for fāmili, specifically parents and children to develop a relationship of open communication about education, whether it is positive or negative. As previously discussed, in the Tongan fāmili system the significance of education is immensely rooted within the everyday learning of the ‘api. Therefore, with an insight to the historical struggle and sacrifices of our Tongan ancestors for the education of children and young people today, it is important to understand how these experiences and the reality of low achievement rates in Pasifiki education can influence the communication in parent-child relationships. Growing up, I remember many instances in fāmili, komiunitì and also siasi gatherings; I would often feel that counsel passed onto my generation was influenced
from an underlying emotion of fear for the future of Tongan children and young people. Many Tongan parents continuously battle with feelings of fear that the adversities they experience will transpire throughout the next generations due to the lack of education.

My upbringing in a working class Tongan fāmili in New Zealand was one of my utmost learning experiences in life and as a social work practitioner. For eighteen years, I witnessed the wearisome sacrifices lived by my parents in order to guarantee financial stability for our fāmili. My father laboured on 12-hours graveyard shifts and returned home every morning to my mother leaving to fulfill her responsibilities as a machine operator. Sadly, the absence of my parents due to their labours is a common sacrifice experienced by many elders and parents in the Tongan population. Growing up, the tedious sacrifices of my Tongan elders and parents were engraved into my mentality as constant reminders of the significance of achieving a good education as a life-changing gateway to a successful life. I recollect being counselled by my elders, and most importantly parents that attaining an education is crucial in order to prevent such wearying work commitments and responsibilities. Due to their sacrifices, success through education was the only expectation of me. Personally, I utilized such counsel as motivation and struggled to understand why my relatives felt a sense of pressure from their parents to attend school and push themselves towards success in education. Today, as I reflect upon the methods of which the value of education was instilled within my life, I recognize the different communication styles in my parent-child relationship compared to others in my social environment. Eventually, I have developed an awareness of the extensive impact communication embodies in parent-child relationships, in the education journey of Tongan youth and furthermore how this particular concept led me in a different direction in comparison to my relatives.

As migrants in New Zealand, who are not only witnessing the modernization of the Tongan culture, but also experiencing the changing tides of neo-liberalism; my parents established an understanding to the importance of communication within the fāmili as a crucial concept in the wellbeing of children. My father often shared that the impact of modern society will continuously introduce more intense obstacles, challenges and expectations to individuals and fāmili that will require a revisiting of the notion of vā between parents and children. Although my parents often referred to their struggles as a source of motivation for my education, they also realized the importance of walking through the journey of learning and development with me. Fakafāmili in our 'api was established as a safe space for discussions about struggles in school and strategies to overcome the difficulties we faced. Growing up within a Tongan social environment, I understand that many Tongan children and
young people draw upon the sacrifices of their ancestors, elders and parents as motivation towards success in education. However, there are also many others who feel a sense of pressure and guilt due to the inability or struggle to meet the educational expectations from their elders and parents. I have witnessed young people close to me feel the overwhelming pressure of the financial difficulties experienced by their parents, which has led them to drop out of school and seek employment for financial support. Today, many of my relatives who have chosen this path don't realize the cycle that they are in and continue to live with regret of not pursuing their education. Unfortunately, this is a common factor within the Tongan population, which will be further explored throughout this study.

While completing my undergraduate study as a student social worker, I dedicated my time to mentoring Tongan young people through their secondary education, particularly in their stages of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). My experience as an aspiring social worker in this learning environment helped me understand the complex influences on the education of Tongan young people from a holistic perspective. In my three years of mentoring, I have had many interactions with young people, which helped me recognize my passion to create a safe environment for Tongan young people to explore their potential and seek support. On many occasions when working with the Tongan youth, conversations in regards to their perspective of education was highly influenced by their fāmili, particularly parents. In fact, some young people expressed their disinterest in learning, but also shared that they remain within secondary education due to pressures of expectations and guilt for their parent’s sacrifices. When encouraging open communication with parents, many students disclosed their fear of being perceived as a failure and becoming a burden to their parents. Therefore, I have wondered whether much of the difficulties young people experience in their learning and development through formal education would either be disregarded or at times result in rebellious behaviour.

As my awareness of this particular dimension within the Tongan wellbeing continues to grow, I saw the importance of exploring the nature of communication in the Tongan parent-child relationships and its extensive impacts on the capacity for young people in Auckland, New Zealand to seek success in education. Exploring the notion of communication is vital to the vā within the fāmili as it can create an environment that addresses the unresolved and unaddressed areas within the education of Tongan young people in New Zealand. The purpose of this study is to inform social work practitioners and other helping professionals with a better understanding of a family centered approach in addressing educational factors related to Tongan children and young people in Auckland, New Zealand.
The significance of this study

Education is a crucial factor to the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga in New Zealand. Although over time, community and systemic level supports for Tongan children and young people in education has amplified throughout New Zealand, educational progress in this population is slow and still embedded within growing concerns. In saying that, there is also a need to holistically explore the diverse impacts on the wellbeing of parent-child relationships. The importance of establishing an awareness of a family centered approach in this concept is essential for a developed holistic approach in social work practice.

Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to explore the impact of Tongan parent-child relationships in Auckland, New Zealand on the ability for Tongan youth to seek further educational opportunities. By utilizing a qualitative cultural approach of research this study focuses on respectfully exploring and challenging the nature of parent-child relationships within the Tongan fāmili systems, and how it further impacts the education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand. This study anticipates influencing a developing foundation of knowledge for social work practitioners in the Pasifiki community of New Zealand, to implement approaches, practices and interventions focused on strengthening vā within Tongan fāmili systems and 'api.

This study explores Tongan parent-children relationships and its impact on the education of Tongan youth through critical discussion concerning:

- How Pacific migration influenced communication in parent-child relationships;
- How education is discussed between parents and children;
- What impacts the ability of children to seek support from parents in regards to their schooling;
- How social work practitioners can support strengthen communication in the home.

Structure of thesis

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. This introductory chapter articulates the rationale and motivation for the research. Furthermore, it also provides some background information for the purpose of contextualizing this thesis and illuminating its significance and contribution to the wellbeing of the Tongan kāinga in Auckland, New Zealand. Chapter Two is a review of literature, which focuses on the areas of the educational gap of Pasifiki people in New Zealand; the role of Tongan kāinga in the education of Tongan young people; culturally responsive practice within the Tongan wellbeing and also the social work role in the Tongan
kāinga. Chapter Three outlines the methodology of this thesis. This includes a focus on the epistemology and theoretical perspective that influences the thesis. This chapter also considers the implications of this research. The process of data collection and data analysis is also described. Chapter Four presents the findings from the data and illustrates the stories and voices of the Tongan parents and youth in talanoa sessions. Chapter Five is comprised of a discussion focused upon the research findings and existing literature in relation to addressing the research questions of this study. Lastly, Chapter Six makes conclusive comments and further recommendations identified from the thesis. Alongside the concluding remarks, this chapter will also include the researcher’s reflection and recommendations for future avenues of research.

**Summary**

The challenges of education in the Tongan wellbeing is continuously illuminated by the sacrifices of Pasifiki migration to a neoliberal country such as New Zealand, where disparities continuously influence the capacity for Tongan youth to achieve an education. As the collective principles of the Tongan culture are illuminated throughout community and educational supports for Tongan youth and their families, the awareness to the importance of parent’s in the education of their children is stressed as a vital component in educational achievements of Tongan youth (Kalavite, 2012). As this research is set to explore the Tongan parent-child relationship and its significance in the education of Tongan, it is crucial to also understand that Pasifiki Island research is an increasingly explored notion within the research environment. It was highlighted that literature focused on Pasifiki nations such as Tongan, Samoa, Cook Islands, Tokelau and Niue are impacted by what Manu’atu (2000) describes as the effects of erasing differences. As a result, the uniqueness of each Pasifiki nation limited by the common term ‘Pasifiki Island’; assumes the same history, cultural values and principles. Although Pasifiki people can connect upon common principles, each nation is embedded within their own history, story, values and experiences. Therefore, this thesis acknowledges the Tongan history, culture and kāinga explored by the Tongan parents and youth participants.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The concerning nature of the Pasifiki wellbeing in economically developed societies such as New Zealand has received extensive attention in academic research, particularly within education (Pasifika Futures, 2017). The complex disparities impacting the wellbeing of Pasifiki communities and how these may be addressed has also received particular attention. Chapter Two of this thesis provides an overview of the literature, which explores the diverse influences on the education of Tongan youth and examines the significance of culturally responsive practice, particularly in the role of social workers.

This literature review will explore four key themes, which are primarily demonstrated within academic literature and perceived as an influence in the development of initiatives focused on the education of Pasifiki students in New Zealand today. This chapter will firstly begin with an overview of the education gap in New Zealand, in order to understand the primary concerns within the education of Tongan young people. The second theme of this literature review will explore literature concentrated on the impact of kāinga and fāmili in the education of Tongan young people. Thirdly, this review will elucidate the realm of culturally responsive practice in addressing the education of Tongan young people. The fourth theme will connect culturally responsive practice to the role of social work practice in Tongan communities in New Zealand.

The educational gap in New Zealand

Education is a powerful tool and a fundamental human right, however UNICEF’s “Innocenti report card 15” reveals that due to the effects of poverty, New Zealand is known to have one of the most unequal education systems in the world (UNICEF Office of Research, 2018). The Ministry of Education (2003, 2004, 2008, 2013) have acknowledged the education gaps in New Zealand for a number of years and its impacts on the deteriorating wellbeing of children and young people, particularly in minority populations. Over the past decade, the development of a significant body of research literature illustrates that the long-lasting educational gap between the Pasifiki populations with other ethnic groups in New Zealand is overwhelmingly impacting the future of Pasifiki children and young people (Anae et al., 2002; Fa’avae, 2017; Kalavite, 2012; Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; Mafīle’o, 2005a; Mafīle’o, 2005b; Māhina, 2008; Pasifika Futures, 2017; Thaman, 2008).
Soakai (2016) elaborated that although Pasifiki participation rates in education have steadily improved, there are still some concerns regarding achievement rates. Fletcher, et al. (2018) stresses that this gap is evident throughout the increased disengagement and alienation of Pasifiki young people in schools. Alienation and disengagement are the very same factors that are identified by Pasifiki researchers to be the predominant reason for the growing educational gap in New Zealand (Kalavite, 2012). Meehan, et al. (2018) study consists of following a population cohort born between 1990 and 1994 from school through to their young adulthood with the purpose to establish an understanding of what contributed to their academic performance. From this study, Meehan, et al (2018) recognise that while socioeconomic status and parental education is a contribution to this educational gap, one of the greatest concerns in the Pasifiki population is school performance and participation within western education systems. Kalavite (2012) acknowledged that the educational gap dwells within the learning and development of Pasifiki primary and secondary students. Additionally, due to a variety of historical, social, economic and political factors, the education of Tongan and neighbouring Pasifiki population in New Zealand are generally impacted by their over-represented in adverse health and social statistics, such as poverty and low socio-economic status (Cowley et al., 2004).

The Tongan cultural identity

The identity of Tongan people is encapsulated within the Tongan cultural history and values. Phelps (2016) conveys that, “Cultural identity and cultural roles have helped to define and articulate Tongan values and to describe who Tongan people are.” (p. 162) Furthermore, Soakai (2016) compliments the significance of the value of a collective wellbeing as a pivotal concept in the identity of Pasifiki people, her study illustrated the importance of Tongan social roles in the development of the Tongan self-identity alongside collective identity of the younger generations. Soakai (2016) refers to the identity of Pasifiki young adults within her research, as legacies of migration. This metaphorical connection to migration was explored within four key emerging themes, value systems, family dynamics and structure, significant experiences and institutional factors. These themes are embedded upon the narratives, learning experiences and history of Pasifiki ancestors that have been passed down through generations and instilled within the identity of Pasifiki people today (Soakai, 2016). This finding illustrates the powerful connection of young people through their collective cultural values.

Extensive research into the education of Tongan children and young people in New Zealand has illuminated other concepts of concern that influence this widening educational gap (Fa’a’avae, 2016; Fusitu’a, 2012; Kalavite, 2012; Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; Mafile’o,
2005b; Māhina, 2008; Manu’atu, 2000; Pasifika Futures, 2017; Siteine & Samu, 2009; Thaman, 2008). According to Soakai (2016) and Kalavite (2012) these concerns are rooted in the effects of a westernised education system that does not acknowledge the primary factors Tongan children and young people encompass in order to survive. This is the notion of culture, particularly the cultural identity of Tongan children and young people. The challenge in understanding the educational gap and its impacts on the learning and development of Tongan young people in the New Zealand education system is the ability to encapsulate the significant role of ‘culture’ in their learning (Fa’avae, 2016; Fusitu’a, 2012; Kalavite, 2012; Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; Mafile’o, 2005b; Māhina, 2008; Manu’atu, 2000; Pasifika Futures, 2017; Siteine & Samu, 2009; Thaman, 2008).

Konai Helu Thaman (1992; 1995; 2002; 2006; 2008) is a Tongan academic who has explored the notion of education in the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga for more than 25 years. Thaman has explored the impact of westernisation on the learning and development of Tongan young people and has highlighted the significance of culture in the education of Pasifiki people. Through the concept of informal and formal education in Tonga, Although, Thaman’s work illustrates greater insight to the reality that many Tongan young people utilise their Tongan traiditonal and cultural knowledge in order to survive the rapidly modernizing world within the education system. This was distinguished through the concept of formal and informal education in the Tongan culture. Thaman also brings awareness to the limitations of western education systems due to their lack of cultural integration. Thaman argues that the concept of culture needs to be inclusive to the core fibre of the education system, particularly for Pasifiki communities as it is an aspect that is continually entrenched within behaviour and performance. In acknowledging the importance of culture in the education system, it was highlighted that it creates a holistic learning environment for Tongan children and young people. Additionally, Thaman expands upon the impact of both types of education in the wellbeing of the Tongan people, by emphasising that formal education is predominantly focused upon the western ideologies. Thaman (1995) states that:

Contemporary education, from primary to tertiary, continues to be mainly concerned with training the peoples of Oceania for a career in the urban industrial sector or, more generally, in the cash economy. It is not concerned with cultural development... Instead of providing our societies with a means of cultural renewal, formal education is providing them with a means of assuring their cultural demise (p. 724).
Although culture holds a significant value to the education and wellbeing of Tongan people, it is evident through Thaman’s study that in a westernised society such as New Zealand the value of culture being in harmony with education is dominated by a hegemonic European approach. Taufe’ulungaki (2003; 2008) stresses that the underlying purpose of western education is to create personal wealth and capital, whereas for the Tongan culture it is primarily focused on social capital and relationships. According to Fusitu’a and Coxon (1998), Kalavite (2012), Māhina (2008) and Manu’atu (2002) the awareness of the growing gap in the education of Tongan children and young people articulates an entrenched bearing within a western education system. Siteine and Samu (2009) bring our attention to the fact that minority populations such as Pasifiki people are invisible to the education curriculum and are not given the opportunity to utilise their knowledge within their formal education.

**Pasifiki cultural learning styles**

While Manu’atu (2000) stated that in the 1970s the introduction of ‘Pasifiki Island education’ enriched the awareness that the integration of ethnic and cultural difference in the education system is important. There are still cultural limitations throughout the Pasifiki education in New Zealand, distinctly within the capacity to holistically integrate Pasifiki learning styles within the educational curriculum (Fa’avae, 2016; Mavoa, et al., 2004). Banks and Nguyen (2008) emphasise the different learning styles between Pasifiki and European, and the reality that the inclusive learning styles of Pasifiki young people are not catered to in the education system. This is primarily due to the differing cultures of Tongan young people in comparison to a western culture focused on an individualistic and exploratative approach in learning, which is the foundation of the New Zealand education system. Mavoa, et al. (2004) elaborated on the conflicting nature embedded within the behaviours of Tongan children throughout their interactions in the education system. Mavoa, et al. (2004) defines Tongan cultural learning styles as an unquestionable, one-way type of communication from adults towards children and young people. It was further highlighted that this learning and communication style embedded within the social environment of Tongan children, such as the ‘api and siasi, created foreseen impacts on their education. This exploration identified the difficulties Tongan young children encounter within school, as their perception of appropriate behaviour is perceived as a communication and learning barrier and a problematic factor in their capacity to effectively within school. Findings within this literature does not only illustrate that the learning style of Pasifiki children and young people are disregarded and perceived as ‘unacceptable’ within a western educational system, it also brings an awareness to an exploration of the common perceptions of the Pasifiki learning principles.
To date, Coxon, et al. (2002) have explored the aspects of learning in the Pasifiki wellbeing and stressed that Pasifiki learning principles are commonly perceived as a deficit or tend to be overlooked in the education system. Fa’avae (2017) stresses that Pasifiki students’ cultural knowledge and practices have had low value in New Zealand for a number of years. In Fa’avae’s (2016) doctoral thesis, which explores the intergenerational educational experiences of Tongan males in New Zealand and Tonga, he argues that Pasifiki education is predominantly perceived from a deficit viewpoint. He further emphasises that government-funded initiatives and proposed interventions to the education gap in Pasifiki young people are primarily after school hours and out of the classroom and therefore disregards the significance of integrating cultural knowledge and values within the learning curriculum. This reality is illuminated within Manu’atu and Kepa’s (2002) study in regards to Tongan community study clinics. Their exploration of the PōAko in Mount Roskill Grammar School of Auckland, New Zealand articulates that although this approach entails a sense of cultural practice of learning and development, there is a disregard to the inclusiveness of these learning principles in the education curriculum. Thaman (2002) argues that with the lack of cultural identity in the learning environment, the aspiration of Tongan young people cannot be met. It has also become apparent that the lack of cultural knowledge and value of Pasifiki people in the education system also estranges the importance of a child or young person’s social environment in their ability to learn and develop.

The effects of poverty and low socio-economic status

UNICEF Office of Research (2018) stresses that the growing education gap is predominantly impacted by the long-lasting poverty cycle. Thaman (2008) further elaborates on deprivation of poor people from their fundamental rights to education and health as a consequence of poverty. Walker and Walker (2009) describe poverty as a state of deprivation resulting in a generational risk of low socio-economic stressors such as the lack of accessibility to resources, low income and health disparities. In fact, these aspects are entrenched within the poverty cycle that many Tongan people and other minority populations in New Zealand struggle to escape (Pasifika Futures, 2017; Thaman, 2008). Social research literature focused on exploring poverty and its interrelated factors within the wellbeing of society, illustrates that people living in poverty encompass reduced educational opportunities as they are only able to attend deprived schools, are continuously experiencing social segregation caused by housing and parents are struggling to maintain school funds and activities for their children (Walker & Walker, 2009). As a result of such disparities, the capacity for young people of low socio-economic lifestyles to achieve an education is reduced due to their social disadvantages.
The effects of the poverty cycle coincide with the education gap experienced by Tongan youth and their neighbouring Pasifiki nations, Thaman (2008) states that the increasing dropout rate within New Zealand, particularly Pasifiki populations is largely influenced by increased poverty. Mafile'o (2005b) highlights that Pasifiki students in New Zealand leave school with lower levels of qualifications than non-Pasifiki students. This reality is known to have a significant impact on the wellbeing of Pasifiki people living in poverty as it strengthens the cycle. Soakai (2016) illustrates the powers embedded within the low levels of qualifications in the Pasifiki wellbeing within her study through the comparison of employment and income. As Soakai (2016) explores the employment patterns in New Zealand, it becomes apparent that Pasifiki people are less likely to be represented in higher levels of employment due to the lack of required higher or formal education. Pasifiki people are generally over-represented in lower skilled labour and employment. It is further stressed by Soakai (2016) that these positions are of working class and not often paid well and reflects the economic and education disparities.

**Fāmili and kāinga in the education of Tongan young people**

The significance of kāinga and fāmili is central to the wellbeing of Tongan people (Kalavite, 2012), and also a key theme surrounding the education of Tongan young people. Mafile’o (2005a) and Helu (1999) offer us a brief description of kāinga in two meanings. Firstly, it refers to the unit built around the chief and, it is also a term used for extended fāmili. In congruence to the terminology of kāinga meaning extended fāmili, it is also second commonly used in association with an individual’s social relationships with their fāmili, siasi (church), pule’anga (government) and fonua (wider society) (Kalavite, 2012). Fa’avae (2017) illustrates that the kāinga are not only central to understanding the collective aspirations and motivations in the education of Tongan young people. However, the value of education for Tongan young people is highly embedded within their social position or role within their kāinga.

**Fāmili and parent-child relationships**

*Research has shown convincingly that parent involvement is important for children's learning, attitudes about school, and aspirations. Children are more successful students at all grade levels if their parents participate at school and encourage education and learning at home, whatever the educational background or social class of their parents. (Dauber & Epstein, 1993, p. 53)*

In order to understand the influence of fāmili on the education of Tongan young people, MacIntyre (2008) explored the contribution of Tongan mothers to the education of
their children in New Zealand. MacIntyre utilises a western framework known as Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory in order to articulate the impact a Tongan mother’s traditional role can have on the education of their children. Vygotsky (1987) argued that thinking within children and young people is developed in their social context and that the unique interaction between children and adults is a vital element within the educational process. Through a summary of Vygotsky’s theory, MacIntyre (2008) portrayed a connection between the Tongan cultural meaning of kāinga and an individual’s social context in their learning. As MacIntyre (2008) connects Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory with the Tongan culture, it was illustrated that adults have a fundamental influence in the cognitive development of children. MacIntyre’s (2008) exploration illustrated that Tongan mothers encompass direct and indirect contributions to the education of their children through three social contexts. This is the home, centre and primary school and also community. MacIntyre’s (2008) findings further articulate that the mother’s contributions within the identified context has a greater impact on the learning and development of their children due to five common values which are (1) Mother’s strong faith, (2) Absorption and immersion in the Tongan culture, (3) Contribution through mother’s role, (4) Commitment to involvement in children’s life, (5) Education is key to children’s future successes.

Mavoa, et al. (2003) offers us an exploration of Tongan and European children’s interaction in their homes in the context of urban New Zealand. Like MacIntyre (2008), Mavoa et al. (2003) identified the influence of interactions with kāinga and fāmili in the development of what children perceive as appropriate behaviour. Mavoa, et al. (2003) emphasised the significance of a child and young person’s social environment in their development, especially within their schooling. It is further noted that fāmili interactions is also a predicting factor of the nature of parent-child relationships and interactions with the kāinga. In fact, Mavoa, et al. (2003) elaborate upon the constant struggle of adults in minority populations to reconcile their ideas of appropriate behaviour, particularly in striving to find a balance of western and Tongan cultural expectations of interactions.

The concepts of kāinga and fāmili, particularly parent-child relationships have an important influence in the education of Tongan youth as well as also being acknowledged as foreseen detrimental consequences to their education. For instance, in Kalavite’s (2012) study, findings acknowledge that some Tongan parents tend to prioritise their responsibilities to their church, and in the process of this neglect their children’s educational needs, such as not providing lunches, stationary, school fees and uniform. Jones (1991) stresses the difficulties encompassed by Pasifiki young women due to the high expectations of their parents.
Furthermore, these young Pasifiki women experienced problematic consequences in their learning and development due to the prioritisation of domestic responsibilities in the home, which led to academic concerns being disregarded. MacIntyre (2008) stresses that:

Many Pacific girls were expected by parents to perform domestic tasks outside school hours; to complete chores in the house before and after school; host visitors or look after younger siblings in the weekends, and spend a lot of time ‘ako (studying). (p. 51).

This reality is further supported in Fletcher et al. (2008) research study, which is focused on the exploration of home and school influences in the education of Pasifiki students highlighted that in high-achieving Pasifiki students, their parents play an active role in their learning and development. In fact, they often referred to their parents as a role model. However, for low achieving students they report a lack of tā and vā dedicated to their education due to other fāmili fatongia (responsibilities or obligations). This highlights Koloto’s (2016) point in regards to the vital concept of nurturing relationships (vā) between students with their teachers, current students with former students, and also between teachers and parents and their communities, as a key concept in the ability for Tongan students to flourish in their education. Kalavite simplifies this into understanding the different levels of kāinga, particularly the fāmili in the wellbeing of Tongan young people in education, as their lives are highly interwoven by spiritual, social and physical environments in their relationships with their kāinga. Vā within the different levels of kāinga is the core of the Tongan culture that unites all aspects of their wellbeing and human existence. Therefore, as diverse professions continue to have a presence in the Tongan population, the establishment and maintenance of this awareness is vital in effective practice.

Kāinga

Kalavite (2012) offers us a critical discussion, which explores the impact of kāinga and fāmili in the education of Tongan young people in tertiary education. Kalavite expressed that a common goal within the education of Tongan young people is driven by the ability to help our kāinga. She further emphasised that:

In the state of affairs the Tongan society and civilisation is based on Tongan relationships with their kāinga, where education is a shared responsibility in which parents and families or their kāinga play a vital role in caring, nurturing and providing for the emotional, social and physical welfare of the individual
as she or he grows and develops from infancy to adulthood (Kalavite, 2012, p. 2)

Kalavite (2012) elaborates upon this by identifying key points that signifies the concept of kāinga in the education of Tongan young people in New Zealand. Firstly, Kalavite points out that although society understands the impact of the Tongan culture on the education of children and youth, professionals within educational system don’t realise that the kāinga is a focal point of the Tongan culture. Therefore, kāinga has an overarching core value in the Tongan culture and education. Secondly, it was acknowledged that as Tongan students continue to learn within their sociocultural context, due to the difference of tā (time) and vā (space) within their kāinga in a westernised society, they are able to connect to multiple realities while working towards their educational achievements. Lastly, findings in Kalavite’s study explains the prioritisations that Tongan young people need to make in order to maintain commitments to their kāinga, including siasi (church) and fāmili, while also having time for their education commitments. Kalavite also stresses that:

Kāinga is the very core of the Tongan culture, and when relationships within the kāinga in terms of tā and vā are in serenity with both New Zealand and Tongan cultures they enhance Tongan student’s academic achievements, but when they are not they become constraints (Kalavite, 2012, p. 3)

It was identified that the continuous juggling of social roles alongside education is a potential constraint for Tongan young people. In Kalavite’s (2012) study, many Tongan young people spoke about their struggles of upholding their responsibilities in anga-fakatonga within a community level, such as financially contributing to community functions; Kalavite (2012) further stressed that as the collective nature of Tongan kāinga impact the education of Tongan youth, it is also important to understand that the fāmili level of the Tongan wellbeing also encompass an imperative influence in the academic achievements of Tongan youth.

Culturally Responsive Practice

We need to continue the process of reclaiming indigenous discourses by placing greater emphasis on our cultures and their languages in teaching and curriculum planning, as well as in the management and administration of education. (Thaman, 2003, p.77)

With growing knowledge of the educational gap in New Zealand and its effects on the learning and development of Tongan young people, many Pasifiki academics have argued for the integration of culturally responsive practice in addressing the educational disparities.
experienced by Tongan young people (Fa’avae, 2017; Fasvalu, 2015; Fusitu’a, 1992; Kalavite, 2012). ‘

According to Te Ava, et al. (2011) culturally responsive practice is a collaboration and respectful relationship with minority and indigenous people. They further argue that culturally responsive practice is also entrenched within the importance of promoting social justice, human rights and the cultural identity of Pasifiki people. Minkos, et al. (2017) elaborates upon its significance and relevance by connecting the concept of culturally responsive practice to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) ecological system and Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural theory. Minkos et al. (2017) utilises these theories to stress the significance of culture in the learning and development of individuals, while acknowledging their existence and belonging within multiple cultural contexts. This knowledge emphasises the crucial concept of relationships in their social environment and the capacity relationships encompass in learning.

Culturally responsive practice is a worldwide aspect utilised to work within diversity (Harcourt, 2015). Minkos et al. (2017) explore the role of school administration in culturally responsive practice in the United States of America. Minkos et al. utilises a critical elaboration regarding culturally responsive practice within minority populations. They accentuate the need for educational professionals working within minority populations to build relationships with students and communities, which creates the space to explore diverse communication styles, behaviours, cultural values and learning styles. Green, Bennett, and Betteridge (2016) explore culturally responsive practice in Australia by emphasising its focus on cultural competence, safe and sensitive practice. They further amplify that within the Australian context, culturally responsive practice is the development of collaborative and respectful relationships with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Culturally responsive practice creates effective responses to the issues and needs of the community, while also promoting social justice and human rights. Green, Bennett, and Betteridge (2016) emphasise that culturally responsive teaching is a multi-faceted process in the Australian education system. However, a component in culturally responsive practice is the ability to integrate cultural knowledge, prior experience and performance styles of diverse students, which allows learning to be more effective.

Over time, within New Zealand’s increasingly diverse society, Gay (2010) describes the essential notion of culturally responsive practice in miscellaneous professions such social work, as a critical concept that ensures the integration of cultural values embedded within the Pasifiki kāinga. With awareness to the connection between the western and Tongan culture,

In the New Zealand context, Fa’avae (2016) explores culturally responsive practice in the profession of teaching and identifies the vital aspect of maintaining cultural capital with Pasifiki students as it creates value on their existing knowledge. Fa’avae (2016) refers to ‘cultural capital’ to articulate the effects of culturally responsive practice in the education of Tongan young people. Bourdieu identifies cultural capital in three categories, (1) institutionalised (education or specialized knowledge), (2) embodied (personality, speech and skills), (3) objectified (clothes and belongings) (Bourdieu, 1986). Fa’avae (2016) builds upon Bourdieu’s perspective of cultural capital, which is focused on allowing individuals to encompass social mobility without the concepts of income and financial assets. Through the integration of cultural capital, he elaborates upon the need for Pasifiki students in education to develop the sense of capital value within their classes and curriculum. It was also suggested that culturally responsive practice takes into account how Tongan students live and learn, therefore enables the capacity to empower their sociocultural environment.

According to Manu’atu (2000) in congruence to the gradual escalation in Pasifiki migration to New Zealand in the 1970s, the education system acknowledged the significance of ethnic and cultural differences in learning and development. Manu’atu further emphasised that with culturally responsive practice at the forefront, ‘Pasifiki Island Education’ was established and had created approaches and initiatives to support Pasifiki students in their educational achievements. However, there are concerns in regards to the lack of culturally responsive practice embedded within the skeleton and curriculum of the education system (Gay, 2009; Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; Siteine & Wendt-Samu, 2009). Kēpa and Manu’atu (2008) explore the degree of impact the European society on the education of Tongan people in New Zealand by unpacking the Auckland Secondary Schools Principals Association (ASSPA) conception of culture. Kēpa and Manu’atu identify that cultural practice is embedded within the ASB Bank Festival and study clinics (pō ako). Their findings emphasise the benefits of cultural school programmes focused on enriching the lives of Tongan young people and provide a deeper meaning to their cultural knowledge. However, limitations of culturally responsive practice exist in the reality that the Pasifiki and Tongan related programs is that they take place outside of school hours and is not embedded within the skeleton of the education ciriculum. Gay (2000) elaborates upon the characteristics necessary for culturally responsive practice in education, which include the utilisation of cultural knowledge, historical experiences and diverse performance styles. Fletcher et al. (2008) argue that when the
education system acknowledges and accommodates to the Tongan culture, it can create a purposeful learning environment for the children and young people.

**Social work with the Tongan population**

Social work needs to move beyond its traditional professional boundaries to embrace a broader framework of development and social change (Tan & Dodds, 2002, p., 5)

The final key theme discussed in this literature review is the concept of social work and practice within the Tongan population in New Zealand. Social work in the context of the Tongan New Zealand population experienced a complex journey towards becoming what it is today. Social work is a practice-based professional discipline, which has been historically and continuously reconceptualised in a range of different ways. Payne (1997, 1999) articulated social work knowledge as a concept that is socially constructed, and is susceptible to the changing tides of the social, economic and cultural environment. Healy (2005) described social work as a profession, which was established in a westernised context and is therefore entrenched upon European cultural knowledge of welfare. Healy (2005) further emphasised that contemporary social work knowledge is developed from dominant bio-medical, neo-liberal and legal discourses. Unfortunately, social work knowledge undermined the wellbeing and social change in indigenous and marginalised social groups, as it tends to neglect their needs from a perspective that enhanced their wellbeing and community (Mafile’o, 2004; Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2005; Payne, 1999). Additionally, this realisation of social practice dictates the governing social work principles entrenched in the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work (ANZASW) Code of Ethics (2013), which articulates the importance of inclusive and holistic practice. Social work being a field of practice that is immensely entrenched within the systemic level of society, it is further understood that due to the power dynamics of western ideologies, the distribution of funding and resources throughout the field of social work practice is a dilemma that impacts the capacity for practitioners to effectively address the wellbeing of Pasifiki people and other marginalised populations (Mafile’o, 2009; Ruwhiu, 2009; Payne, 1997).

**Social work in New Zealand**

Historically, the profession of social work experienced reforming neoliberal regimes which continuously restructured practice knowledge and approaches (Ferguson, 2008). Social work practice has been known to neglect the wellbeing of the indigenous and minority populations of New Zealand as it was predominantly underpinned by the European cultural knowledge (Healy, 2005; Mafile’o, 2005a). This disheartenment in social work history is
highly articulated through New Zealand’s Department of Social Welfare’s (1988) report known as ‘Puao-te-ata-tu’ (A day break). This report was established upon the Māori perspective of social welfare in New Zealand and established a stronger awareness to the need of bicultural practice in New Zealand. Today, social work is a profession that is governed by ethical principles embedded within the underlying foundation of principles in Te Tiriti o Waitangi which are focused on the responsibilities of protecting the rights of Tangata Whenua in their partnership and participation with Tauiwi (ANZASW, 2013). The significance of cultural responsive practice transpires throughout social work principles, values and expectations. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work (ANZASW) Code of Ethics and Social Work Registration Board (SWRB) Code of Conduct, practice principles recognise are the treaty relationship and the importance of growing bicultural practice in New Zealand social work (ANZASW, 2013).

Biculturalism is a concept referred to as “being at home in two cultures” (ANZASW, 2014, p. 12). Biculturalism is embedded within the recognition of the treaty relationship between Māori people as Tangata Whenua and European people as Tauiwi. The purpose behind biculturalism is for people to not only acknowledge their culture, but also recognise and respect the existence of another culture within society (ANZASW, 2014). Biculturalism in New Zealand serves as a pivotal practice in society and within the social work profession. Over time, the diversity of New Zealand in the context of biculturalism identified the Tongan people as Tauiwi (Mafile’o, 2005b). However, bicultural practice struggles to acknowledge that the Tongan kāinga and Māori people experience racial discrimination and marginalisation in New Zealand; therefore, the notion of biculturalism is not adequate for the Tongan wellbeing, alongside the social work practice specific to this population group(Mafile’o, 2005b). Tongan journalist Hao’uli (1996) wrote a provoking piece known as “We Didn’t Come To Hongi Māori”, Mafile’o (2005a) stressed that Hao’uli’s (1996) work illuminates that Tongan kāinga migrated to New Zealand with a vision embedded within the European context, such as the social and economic advancement of their families.

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2004) explore the relationship between community development and bicultural practice in the context of New Zealand; they stress the significance of multiculturalism in social work. Payne (1997) builds upon the notion of multiculturalism as he discusses the apprehensions that social work is being built upon the dominance of a western culture. Multiculturalism is a concept that enlightens the significance of diversity and the ability for social work practitioners to acknowledge and practice in a diverse society (Payne, 1997). He further argues the limitations of social work in the wellbeing
of people that are of diverse cultural backgrounds and concerns about cultural imperialism. Mafile’o (2005b) re-emphasises Payne’s (1997) findings as she stresses that if social work practice cannot build on an understanding of the relationship of indigenous population with all others living in this land, the value of social work disregards differing societies and their differing problems. Within the ANZASW Social Work Practice Standards (2014) it states “one needs to learn to be bi-cultural before one can become multi-cultural” (p. 12). Furthermore, Mafile’o (2004) and Tuumalu-Faleseuga (1993) illustrates a social work shift from clinical based to a community and social development approach which is more suited to practice with marginalised cultural group such as the Tongan kāinga.

Social work in the Tongan community

Mafile’o (2004, 2005a, 2005b) has extensively explored social practice within the Pasifiki and Tongan populations and builds upon knowledge of academics such as Payne (1997, 1999) and Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2004) to articulate the shift in social work practice from a cultural hegemonic approach to a more culturally responsive perspective. Mafile’o (2005b) acknowledged that, at the time of writing, social work academic literatures have focused predominantly on the Tongan wellbeing and social work need in a westernised context. This focus raised awareness that social work within diverse societies such as New Zealand, social work practice knowledge require theories and methods for practice that is grounded by cultural relevant worldviews (Autagavaia, 2001). Therefore, Mafile’o (2005a) alongside Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) argue that the development of culturally responsive social work practice is essential in order to effectively work in the Pasifiki and Tongan community. Mafile’o (2004) stresses that the Tongan culture is a critical factor in social work as it enables the capacity for the profession to facilitate effective social change. Such knowledge also plays a pivotal role in addressing the education of Tongan youth within Auckland, New Zealand. Fa’avae (2016) stresses that culturally responsive practice requires an understanding of how Tongan kāinga and fāmili live as Tongans in their daily environment, particularly the establishment and maintenance of relationships.

Mafile’o (2005b) explored the key factors that are vital in working with Tongan kāinga; these very same factors are highly influenced by the principles embedded within tauhi vā, in understanding the Tongan people and their culture, but also maintaining an effective professional relationship between the social work profession and the Tongan kāinga. Through Mafile’o’s (2005b) exploration it becomes more apparent that culturally responsive practice within the Tongan wellbeing involves the ability to understand and incorporate the principles of tauhi vā. Thaman (2008) stresses that the notion of nurturing vā is knowledge and
understanding of relationships amongst kāinga. For instance, Mafie’o’s (2005b) discussion of faka’apa’apa (respect) within kāinga is also relevant to the professional relationship of social work practitioners with the Tongan population. Thaman (2008) states that it is a principle involved in practice as well as:

“.... mutual respect and responsibilities for keeping vā intact. It follows therefore that the value of vā lelei (good relationships) underlies the complex and often-unwritten codes of conduct and appropriate behaviour expected of the ideal Tongan person” (p, 179).

Tecun, et al. (2018) emphasise that the values of nurturing relationships in the Tongan culture are crucial in effective engagement in Talanoa with the kāinga, fāmili and individuals. Mafie’o (2005b) further stresses that as social work practitioners have the capacity to encompass a sound understanding of the Tongan cultural principles of wellbeing, it enables the capacity to ensure what Adams, et al. (2005) portray as the three key factors that describe the purpose of social work. These are (1) improving social life, (2) increasing cooperation amongst human beings, (3) increasing solidarity in society. Such knowledge is also emphasised in social work practice with Tongan kāinga in Auckland, New Zealand, particularly in addressing the education of Tongan youth. As authors such as Fa’avae (2016), Kalavite (2012) Kēpa and Manu’atu (2008) and Mafie’o (2004, 2006) explore the significance of relationships in helping professions such as teachers and social work with the Tongan population and in the education of Tongan young people, it becomes more apparent that prior literature research focuses predominantly on the relationship between professionals in the education system with students and also with parents. However, exploration of this theme reiterates the significance of social work practice exploring the concept of relationships within the fāmili in regards to the education of Tongan young people.

Summary

Literature reviewed in this chapter illuminates the significance of culture as the key factor that is overlooked within the education system. Pasifiki academics stress the importance of claiming the Pasifiki culture that exists within a westernised society, in order to address the issues and concerns that Pasifiki people encounter within the fast modernizing world. The minimal presence of Tongan cultural principles in the education system continue impacts the growing educational gap. The key instrument described when working effectively within Pasifiki, particularly Tongan kāinga is ‘culture’ itself. The power of ‘culture’ in the well being of Tongan kāinga emphasizes the importance of relationships in the learning and development of individuals. The exploration of literature articulates that social work needs be more than the
acknowledgement of culture in the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga. In saying that, this thesis aims to bring awareness to the need of intensifying the presence of social work practice in the fāmili, particularly in parent-child relationships. The next chapter embraces the significance of the Tongan culture in the research design of this thesis.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodological framework, methods and research design of this thesis. This methodology chapter is underpinned by the work of Konai Helu Thaman (1988, 1997) who introduced a metaphorical research framework known as ‘Kakala’ as an articulation of her conceptualization of teaching and learning. In the Tongan culture, kakala refers to a “collection of fragrant flowers, woven together as a garland for a special person or a special occasion” (Thaman, 2007 p. 62). Thaman introduced the ‘Kakala’ framework in order to open the doors for Pasifiki people to take courage in conceptualizing their distinctive worldview and illuminate the value of Pasifiki philosophies, values and customs (Thaman, 1997). In saying that, this is a culturally meaningful framework and an inclusive approach that I have integrated in the methodology of this thesis with an intention to illustrate a sense of wholeness. I have utilized Thaman’s first three stages of kakala for the structuring of this chapter, these stages are known as teu, toli and tui (see Figure 3.1). The fourth stage of Thaman’s framework, which is luva, will be integrated within chapter five, the discussion of the research.

![Kakala Framework Diagram](image)

**Figure 3.1: The Kakala Framework**

I firstly begin this chapter with stage one of kakala, which is teu. This stage consists of a conceptualization of the study; therefore I will be providing knowledge of the epistemology and theoretical perspectives, which underpin the aim of this thesis. Although, this study was driven by a Tongan theoretical perspective and research method such as Talanoa, it also included western theoretical perspectives such as critical theories. This was relevant as
Tongan participants are also within the New Zealand western context. I will then move into stage two which is known as *toli*, a section that will explore the data collection methods and procedures in this study. Thaman’s kakala framework encourages the integration of talanoa, a research method that is utilised within this thesis. This will also include an explanation of my sampling strategies, and the ethical considerations of this study. I will then explain the thematic analysis method and steps used in order to analyze data that was collected in this study. In Thaman’s kakala framework this stage is known as *tui*. To end this chapter, I will provide some commentary on the limitations that arose from the methodology of this research.

The research aim for this thesis is to explore the contributing factors to the wellbeing of Tongan parent-child relationships and its impacts on the capacity for young people in Auckland, New Zealand to seek further educational opportunities. The notion of education has been instilled within the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga for many centuries. However, with the changing tides of society, today the attainment of education in the Tongan community is a continuous struggle. This research will provide a developing foundation of knowledge for social work practitioners within the Tongan kāinga; particularly fāmili to implement approaches, practice and interventions which are embedded within a fāmili centered and strengths-based perspective.

The aim of this thesis is to assist in establishing an awareness and understanding of the influence parents have on the education of their children. This thesis will explore the nature of communication in the parent-child relationship and the different contributing factors in these relationships that continue to influence the capacity for young people to complete secondary level education and seek tertiary education. Findings from this study will assist within two areas of the Tongan wellbeing: challenge the barriers that prevent exploration of communication styles in the Tongan parent-child relationships and; improve social work practice within the ‘api of Tongan kāinga by addressing the significance of communication in the notion of tauhi vā in today’s society.

Tongan parent-child relationships and the education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand are entrenched within social and cultural knowledge. Due to the collective emphasis on research focused on the Tongan kāinga, there is little exploration of the complex nature of Tongan parent-child relationships and also social work practice within the Tongan fāmili system. Patton (2002) stresses the importance of utilizing a qualitative inquiry within fields of study where few definitive hypotheses exist. Bryman (2012) further states that qualitative research is perceived as what quantitative research is not: quantitative research is concerned with coding and measuring values of numbers, whereas the unique nature of
qualitative research is built upon the experiences and voices of people. Therefore, this thesis will employ a qualitative approach for the purpose of uplifting the voices, stories and experiences of the Tongan kāinga involved in this study.

**Teu- Epistemology and Theoretical perspective**

*Constructionism*

Epistemology is vital in social research as it frames the way we perceive knowledge. Crotty (1998) amplifies our awareness to the reality that knowledge can be comprised through two perspectives, a social constructionist viewpoint and also from a scientific and technical rationality. For the purpose of this thesis I am considering a social constructionist viewpoint of knowledge because it has relevance to the thesis and social work practice (Payne, 1997). As time changes, the needs and struggles of individuals, families and communities also change (Meyer, 1993). Therefore, social work is a profession that is perceived differently due to its contentious nature, which is highly dictated by complex forces in society, or in other words ‘social construction’ (Pease, 2009).

Constructionism postulates that individuals construct knowledge through their engagement with the world they interpret (Crotty, 1998). Furthermore, constructionism is an approach understood within research as:

... the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context. (Crotty, 1998 p. 42)

The philosophy of constructionism evolved from the dissatisfaction with traditional unitary western theories of knowledge (Yilmaz, 2008). As constructionism replaces the traditional conception of ‘truth’, it is not a single or unified theory; it is in fact a theory that is depicted by multiple perspectives. Constructionism is known to advance the making of meaning and construction of knowledge. In saying that it is important to acknowledge that although individuals are assumed to construct their own meanings and understanding of the world, their experiences and meanings are processed through interplay with existing knowledge, beliefs and their social context (Crotty, 1998).

The concept of culture is a vital aspect of social constructionism and also essential to the wellbeing of the Tongan kāinga. Fosnot (1996) elaborates upon the construction of knowledge being socially and culturally mediated within individuals. Crotty (1998) stresses
the crucial need to perceive culture as a source of knowledge instead of the result of human thoughts and behaviour. He further states “our culture brings things into view for us and endows them with meaning and, by the same token, leads us to ignore other things” (Crotty, 1998, p.54).

When exploring the Tongan parent-child relationships, a constructionist perspective provides a foundational approach, which enables the researcher to become mindful of the participants’ knowledge of principles that underpin the communication between parents and children. This perspective also explores the influence of parents in the teaching of their culture which is reconciled by their interpretation of past, new and experienced cultural knowledge. In this thesis, Tongan parent participants are interviewed individually in order to understand how their knowledge of appropriate and relevant communication styles with their children and also knowledge of the value of education are constructed. Whereas Tongan youth participants are also interviewed individually, but with the purpose of exploring how the value of seeking educational prospects is constructed within their ‘api, particularly vā with their parents.

With the underlying foundation of constructionism in this thesis, it is essential that as the researcher I am able to capture an understanding of the complex world and lived experiences of Tongan parents and young people from their point of view (Mafîle’o, 2005b; Schwandt, 1994). With further reference to Crotty (1998), the construction of an individual’s knowledge requires an understanding that social constructionism is embedded within the concept of place and time. In saying that, as participants in this thesis will consist of two different Tongan generations, exploration in this thesis will draw upon lived experiences within Tonga and also in New Zealand. This knowledge will also amplify the changes of the Tongan culture in a westernised environment. It is also important to note that:

".... it is possible to make sense of the same reality in quite different ways. Not that we need to be taught that lesson. Moving from one culture to another, as no doubt most of us have done at one time or another, provides evidence enough that strikingly diverse understandings can be formed of the same phenomenon. (Crotty, 1998, p. 47)

Prior to establishing knowledge of the connections between this study and the foundation of constructionism, it was important to distinguish the difference amongst the notion of constructionism and constructivism. In this research, I make reference to constructionism as one of the crucial epistemological approaches that underpin this study. Constructionism elucidates what Crotty (1998) describes as the ‘hold our culture has on us’ (p.
On the other hand, constructivism is focused on an individualistic approach in which illuminates the unique experience of individuals. This perspective reduces the ability to integrate a critical spirit within the social phenomena of the construction of knowledge. Therefore, with the distinguishing critical nature of constructionism, it was also important to integrate a critical theoretical perspective within this study, in order to holistically explore wellbeing of Tongan kāinga.

**Critical perspective**

A critical perspective strengthens the capacity of research to inform exploration focused upon challenging conflict and oppression, and most significantly bringing about change (Crotty, 1998). A critical perspective is also principally valued for its analysis in understanding and challenging ideologies that continuously inform human behaviour (Bryman, 2012). Lincoln and Guba (2003) acknowledge that the emergence of ideas and elements of a critical theory is primarily linked with the constructionism perspective, as they both seek to understand how humans construct and interpret knowledge.

Although the commensurate essentials in the critical theory and constructionism perspective influenced the foundation of this research, one of the differing characteristics of critical theory is within a concept, critical theorist Karl Marx refers to as the idea of ‘relations of production’ (Crotty, 1998). Karl Marx is a critical theorist embedded within the concept of structuralism. He believed that structures in society such as race, gender and class are all aspects rooted in the economy (Cree, 2010). Marx elaborates on the means of production (the resources used to create things – including cultural knowledge) as the way individuals produce meaning of life. Marx argues that the means of production people create, such as cultural knowledge, differs from era to era. Therefore, over time with the emergence of new forces, there needs to be change of production in order to accommodate to these needs (Crotty, 1998).

A critical perspective is a significant foundation of this research as it enables the capacity to explore and challenge the unconscious and conscious taboo implanted in the communication of Tongan parent-child relationships. Additionally, a critical approach recognises that there is room for change when exploring the Tongan parent-child relationship, particularly in its influencing nature on the education of Tongan young people in New Zealand. Therefore, I approach this study with a critical perspective in exploring and respectfully critiquing the Tongan parent-child relationship and other contributing factors that arise from talanoa. This is necessary so that there is positive change for the wellbeing and education of Tongan young people and their fāmili in the context of New Zealand, particularly through social work practice.
The foundational critical elements are also a significant aspect in the social work role of this exploration. Social work is a profession that is conceptualized in a range of different ways due to the influence of neo-liberal reforms, which have led to the privatization of the profession (Pease, 2009). Therefore, the nature of social work practice knowledge is increasingly contentious (McLaughlin, 2012). As discussed in Chapter Two we are already aware of the socially constructed nature of social work practice (Payne, 1999), it is also important to understand relations of power in social work (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994).

A fundamental concept that is integrated into social work ethical obligations is the notion of social research (ANZASW, 2013) as an underpinning of practice. Social research adopts a systematic and scientific approach in exploring knowledge of the social world. Through this process social researchers have the capacity to identify and address gaps within social work practice (Bryman. 2012). Mafile’o (2005b) stresses the significance of social research within social practice in the Tongan population. Mafile’o (2005b) emphasizes Tan and Dodd’s (2002) perspective on the need for social work to challenge traditional professional boundaries that reduce the capacity for practice to embrace broader frameworks of development and social change. This emphasis elucidates the significance of critical social work practice, as it is most suited to the social context of indigenous and marginalised population groups such as the Tongan people (Mafile’o, 2005b). Shaw and Gould (2001) have expressed that “our vision of the relationship between social work and research must never be Utopian – but it must always be radical” (p. 187). In saying that, social work research embedded within theoretical knowledge such as critical theory enables a challenging and critiquing capacity of practice that impacts the wellbeing of Tongan people and their neighbouring Pasifiki nations.

Although this research is focused upon the understanding of Tongan parent-child relationships and the education of Tongan youth, I was mindful of the role social work practice holds in empowering positive change in the education and wellbeing of the Tongan people. With this awareness, I conducted research in a manner that exemplified stories, experiences and knowledge of the Tongan kāinga for their own benefit.

Talanoa – A Tongan theoretical perspective and research method

As this research primarily focuses on exploring Tongan kāinga, it is important to understand that the integration of western methodological approaches alone is detrimental and silencing to the voice of Tongan kāinga (Mafile'o, 2005a). For this reason, a Tongan methodological approach was an essential concept in the development and facilitation of this research.
Over the past decade, the growth of Pasifiki research promoted an alternative perspective for research that involves indigenous people and issues. Pasifiki research developed a foundation of guiding principles for researchers to ensure that “we put our ancestors and communities at the center within this ology, rather than research goals in dominant paradigms.” (Tecun, et al., 2018, p.156). These guiding principles focused on the importance of maintaining ethical relationships through the values of respect, cultural competency, meaningful participation and engagement (Sanga, 2004). Vaioleti (2006) reminds us of the connection of tauhi vā to the notion of talanoa, as he elaborates upon principles of ‘ofa (love) and faka’apa’apa (respect) alongside principles of ‘ofa fe’unga (compassion) and anga lelei (well mannered). Therefore, an essential approach in this qualitative research is to put a distinction on the experiences, stories and most importantly the voice of Tongan people through the integration of talanoa.

Talanoa is a Tongan methodological approach that takes a critical stance for the emancipation of the Tongan wellbeing (Otunuku, 2011). The philosophy of talanoa is about centralizing the Pasifiki way and values within research methodologies, while also ensuring that the results of the study is beneficial for the Tongan wellbeing (Vaioleti, 2018). As we acknowledge talanoa as a concept rooted within this theoretical approach, it is also important to understand its role as a research method. Talanoa being a nonlinear and responsive approach to research creates the opportunity for data collection in this research to be led by authentic knowledge (Vaioleti, 2006). By utilizing a Tongan methodological approach this research anticipated a collection of knowledge that illustrates a deeper description and awareness of the Tongan fāmili system as a paramount concept in the need for a holistic and home-centered approach in social work practice with the Tongan kāinga of Auckland, New Zealand.

...both researcher/s and participants are active in the process and are involved in defining and redefining meanings in order to arrive at agreed knowledge. (Vaioleti, 2016, p.4)

Otunuku (2011) stresses the significance of the researcher’s preparation, knowledge and capacity to ensure validity and reliability while also being able to connect with the stories of participants in the talanoa approach. Through the notion of talanoa, researchers create a safe space for Tongan kāinga to advocate for control of authentic discussions and create trustworthy knowledge (Vaioleti, 2016). There is a further emphasis on the importance of grasping onto knowledge of Tongan protocols that are essential within the notion of talanoa in order to portray the values embedded within tauhi vā.
As a young Tongan woman who encompasses the role and responsibility of ‘researcher’ in this study, I have developed this research with a sense of mindfulness to the Tongan knowledge and its imperative nature within the wellbeing of my Tongan kāinga. The Tongan methodological approach in this research also illuminates an important aspect in this study, as failure to implement talanoa in a cultural and ethical appropriate manner will not only create disconnection with participants, but will also cause the results of the study to become ineffective information for social work practice. Therefore, moving forward with this research with the integration of this methodological approach reiterates the significance of enhancing and benefit of Tongan kāinga and knowledge.

**Toli – Participants, Data Collection and Ethical Consideration**

Shaw and Gould (2001) emphasise that “qualitative theory and research should persistently entice us with glimpses of the possibility of seeing the world differently” (p. 187). In order to seek an in-depth exploration and understanding of the Tongan parent-child relationship and its impact on the education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand; this thesis utilises the integration of constructionism as the epistemological stance, critical theory and Talanoa as the theoretical perspectives in this qualitative research design. This exploration includes the use of semi-structured interviews through talanoa with two participant groups. This section is known as toli, which is primarily focused on exploring the sample, data collection and ethical consideration of this research.

**Participants**

*Participant Criteria*

This research involved twelve participants, consisting of three sets of Tongan parents (six participants) and six Tongan youth. Purposive sampling was utilized in the process of selecting Tongan parents and also young people for this study. Purposive sampling informed participant selection “in order to ensure that there is a good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question” (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). In order to encourage a rich establishment of relevant knowledge from data, I utilized the approach of ‘criterion sampling’ (Patton, 1990). Patton (1990) describes criterion sampling as a process that involves selecting participants that meet a predetermined criterion. This process of purposive sampling ensures that participants within the study can provide data that is relevant to the study and was important when selecting research participants.
The main characteristic of the participant criteria for all participants is that each individual must identify of Tongan descent and residing in Auckland, New Zealand. The geographical scope of this research took place within Auckland, New Zealand as census statistics illustrates that in the years 1996 and 2001, approximately 78% of the Tongan population resides in Auckland, New Zealand (Pasifika Futures, 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Initially, this research required adult participants to have a birthplace of Tonga for the purpose of exploring the value of their education from a Pacific migration perspective. However, I have decided to broaden this to include ‘New Zealand born Tongan’ adults. The rationale behind this was influenced by the knowledge that as a collective culture, the impact of Pacific migration can prosper through different generations. This was also integrated for the purpose of developing a greater comparison of knowledge in regards to education and communication in the fāmili vā.

Tongan parents in this study refer to the generic ‘mother’ and ‘father’ role in the family system. I am mindful that in the Tongan cultural fāmili system it is common for grandparents to raise their grandchildren. However, it is important to note that the vā between parents with their children is different in terms of communication principles and styles to the vā of grandparents with their grandchildren (Kalavite, 2012). Parents/couples were interviewed in this study with the purpose of exploring the balance of core beliefs towards communication within parenting with the hopes to amplify the balances and possible imbalances within their perspectives.

Tongan youth required for this study were of the age range of 16 to 18 years old and enrolled within a secondary school in Auckland, New Zealand. This age range was crucial to the participant criteria for two reasons: (1) Tongan youth in this age range attending secondary education are enrolled in NCEA, and therefore potentially have the choice of ‘further education’ at the forefront of their learning and development. (2) It is believed that Tongan youth in this age range also have a greater understanding of the different impacting principles on their education.

In order to protect the vā of participants within their immediate fāmili and also kāinga, this research is set out to avoid participation of siblings, relatives (children and their parents, aunties and uncles) and community associates and friends. As talanoa is predominantly focused on a deeper exploration of communication within the fāmili vā, it is crucial that as a researcher I am mindful that I have not only created a safe space to talanoa, but also conducting critical discussion that empowers the knowledge of participants.
**Participant Recruitment**

The locating of participants was an important part of this study as it ensured that recruitment was conducted in accordance to the participant criteria. In order to recruit participants, three channels of advertisement were used in this study; these were the church notice bulletin boards, gatekeepers in the local Tongan community and the social media of local organizations. The first channel involved posting the research advertisement on various notice bulletin boards within four church meetinghouses in which Tongan congregations meet on a weekly basis. The chosen noticeboards offer high exposure in the four chosen locations, which included Central, South, East and West Auckland, each location of which encompass a diverse range of Tongan population. Each meetinghouse also facilitated Tongan language speaking services every Sunday and Youth Programmes throughout the week. The notice bulletin boards within each meetinghouse were the main source of announcements within the congregation. In addition to this advertisement, the church leader also reminds the congregation to refer to the notice board often in order to stay up to date with church community news. Therefore, it was believed this channel of advertisement would attract the intended sample of participants for this study.

In order to ensure that ethical privacy and considerations were met in the next two channels of advertisement, and ethical transgression was avoided I was fortunate to obtain assistance from what Devers and Frankel (2000) refer to as ‘gatekeepers’. In this research, a gatekeeper is a Church leader from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and also the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and Executive CEO of a Tongan youth organization located in Onehunga. Through their assistance the additional channel I used to locate participants their organization social media forums and their networks within the Auckland Tongan community to share my research advertisement. The gatekeepers distributed advertisements through their local community forums and to Tongan people who receive weekly emails in regards to church and community newsletters.

**Data Collection**

Participants in this study expressed their interest in participation through email. The participants and researcher corresponded via email in regards to the participant criteria that needed to be met in order to participate in the study. Of all twenty-two expressions of interest, fourteen individuals met the criteria and were invited to set up a time, date and location for the talanoa to take place. Twelve participants responded and two potential participants were unavailable due to unexpected family commitments in the timeframe of the study. In this correspondence the researcher distributed participant information sheets (PIS) (Appendix A)
and consent forms (CF) (Appendix B) to individuals who came across the advertisements posted on their church meetinghouse notice bulletin board. Gatekeepers who assisted in the recruitment of this study were able to provide other participants who responded to their channel of advertisements with the PIS and CF. The distribution of the PIS and CF provided participants with information about the process and duration of the study, their rights while participating in the research and also intentions of how the data collected will be utilised.

Participants were encouraged to set a time and date that was not only convenient to them, but most importantly a location where participants felt most safe and comfortable. This is an important component of talanoa. Vaioleti (2016) expresses that effective talanoa involves research participants in the preparation of the discussions and the autonomy to set the scene. All adult participants welcomed the researcher into their home for the interviews. Therefore, in preparation for talanoa with participants in their home, the researcher organized refreshments and implemented Tongan cultural protocols for the purpose of establishing and maintaining vā and tapu. This included the removal of shoes prior to entering the home, expression of gratitude to the family and offering of an opening prayer with both adults prior to commencing individual interviews. This cultural practice of respect was also implemented into talanoa with the four youth participants who has organized to meet at their nearest church meetinghouse during their weekly youth programs. The remaining two youth participants organized for a Skype interview session. Although three adult couples/parents were chosen for this research, it was important that they were interviewed individually. This was influenced by the belief that each individual encompass their own unique learning experiences in life that have developed their perception and core beliefs of education and communication within the fāmili.

Data collection was conducted through the implementation of semi-structured interviews, which were informed by the foundation of talanoa principles. Semi-structured interviews were utilized within the talanoa with participants, as it was essential method of ensuring that their worldviews, experiences and voices were illuminated. Prior to data collection a preparation of an interview guide (See Appendix C) included topics and broad guiding question focused on exploring learning experiences, perspective of education, core beliefs embedded within parent-child relationships and its continuous impact on the wellbeing of Tongan young people. It was important that guiding questions for adult participants were different from youth participants, for the reasons that data from both participant groups would be different due to their perspectives of education and communication. Another crucial reason to this was also the respect that the researcher needed to have for elders; therefore it was
important to prevent risks of questioning in a disrespectful manner. In preparation for data
collection, I had reorganized the order of questions in the interview guide due to the possibility
that the previous order may have reduced the capacity for participants to elaborate upon their
experiences. For instance, question eight (What are the aspects that create communication
barriers?) and question nine (What are some factors that have an impact on your parent-child
relationship?) on the interview guide were swapped around in order to reduce a negative filter
on the capacity for adult and youth participants to also explore the positive impacts in their
relationships.

Dependent on the participant’s contribution all talanoa discussions varied between 55 – 70 minutes in duration. At the beginning of each talanoa session all participants were informed of the audio recording and their rights related to their participation in the research. An opening prayer was offered and a brief introduction of the researcher, which included her passion for enriching the Tongan community, was completed in order to enhance a meaningful engagement. Following this, the researcher provided one hard copy of the PIS and two copies of the CF with the means to clarify information and the opportunity for the participant to ask questions for further clarification. In this segment of the talanoa the researcher also elaborated upon the use of pseudonyms in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity (Tedlock, 2000). The research also invited each participant to create their own pseudonyms. Upon participant’s agreement to participate with knowledge of expectations and information in PIS, one copy of the CF was signed for recording keeping and another was for the participant to keep.

The talanoa discussion began with an invitation for participants to share how they perceive the notion of education and what learning experiences in their lives influence this perspective. Although, I had prepared an interview guide with questions for the talanoa, I decided to stay engaged with the stories and experiences of participants and utilized questions when there was a need for guiding the talanoa and also a deeper exploration and clarification of what was said. For example, when discussions shifted to a focus on the impacts of the broader social environment such as school and community relationships on their education, I would also ask “How about your immediate family?” This was also resourceful when participants would vaguely speak about an experience that could be fully explored, and to also create a greater insight into the connection of their family environment to the wider societal environment. I would also ask for further clarification by using questions such as “you briefly mentioned that... can you please expand more on this?”
Pilot testing was included within data collection as a source of receiving feedback from participants about the process of participation and this feedback informed the way future interviews were conducted. Bryman (2012) emphasises the significance of pilot testing as an effective approach in examining the feasibility of research approach. In the conclusion of the talanoa, the first three participants were informed of the concept of pilot testing. As the discussion created a safe place for constructive feedback, participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback in regards to questions in the interview. One of the three participants shared that she felt exposed due to the exploration of aspects in her life that she thinks about but never had the opportunity to explore. She further shared that the feeling of exposure was a sense of vulnerability in understanding her story and learning from herself. Therefore, the questions created a lot of thoughts and opportunities that many Tongan youth have to explore the thoughts and feelings potentially suppressed in today’s society. The other two participants mentioned that although it was a new experience to speak upon these certain topics, the questions were welcoming and enabled their capacity to freely share their life experiences, struggles and hopes and dreams for themselves and also their children. Therefore, this was utilized as an indication that the questions used were effective.

In the end of each talanoa, with an awareness and mindfulness to the sense of vulnerability that participants encompass throughout the talanoa discussion, the researcher utilized the method of ‘motivational interviewing’ (MI) with the purpose of ensuring a strength-based approach to moving forward with the knowledge developed throughout data collection. MI is a therapeutic technique embedded within principles of empathy and self-efficacy. This approach is utilised throughout diverse professions within the wellbeing of Pasifiki people. (Te Pou o Te Whakaaro Nui, 2010). This was carried out as the researcher invited the participants to reflect upon the talanoa and identify a strength they have spoken about in regards to self and also their parent-child relationship. This was complimented by the question “How can you utilise this strength in your current educational journey?” Following this, each interview ended with a debrief focused on the opportunity for participants in revising and confirming the transcript and an explanation on how their stories will be used in this research for the benefit of the Tongan kāinga. Participants were also informed that a follow-up interview might take place if there is a need for clarification. Following this a closing prayer was offered as a form of expressing gratitude for their time.

**Ethical Considerations**

The University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee (UAHEC) approved this project on the 17 December 2018 for the duration of 3 years (See Appendix D). This research was
focused upon the ability to enhance the voices, stories and knowledge of the Tongan kāinga therefore the ethical considerations of this study was an essential concept in empowering the Tongan people. A predominant ethical concern in this study was the possible impact that talanoa could have on the nature of tapu. The concept of tapu is ensuring cultural safety in domains such as communication principles, particularly in the fāmili and kāinga (Vaioleti, 2016). In order to prevent risks of breaching tapu as a researcher with participants and tapu of participants to their fāmili and kāinga, it was crucial that research was carried out in culturally appropriate manner. Additional measures were implemented in accordance to the following principle of ethics illustrated by Davidson and Tolich (1999), that is voluntary participation, informed consent, and the maintenance of confidentiality and anonymity.

**Voluntary participation**

Voluntary participation was a concept that was reiterated to potential participants on numerous occasions, due to the influence of recruitment channels within their lives, particularly church leaders. Many Tongan people are faithful in their vā with their church as it is a significant part of their spiritual wellbeing (Kalavite, 2012). Therefore, advertisements through this channel may leave people feeling a sense of guilt to participate. However, within the PIS all participants in this research are informed that their participation is voluntary and whether or not they choose to participate in this study, services they receive from specific networking organizations will not be impacted. This is further elaborated upon in the CF and also in the advertisement of this research (See Appendix E). When the researcher made initial contact with participants the study was verbally explained in accordance to the information they have received in the PIS, CF and advertisement. In addition to this information, the process and duration of the study were discussed with the opportunity for clarification with the researcher and also gatekeepers. Prior to signing the CF, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions based on information in the PIS and advertisement that may have not made sense to them.

**Informed consent**

The consent forms approved by UAHEC supported the autonomy of participants in this research. In order to ensure that participants understood clearly the purpose of the study and their rights while participating in the research, consent forms were signed at the commencement of interviews, as it was an opportunity for the researcher to clarify to participants their entitlements prior to gaining written consent. Informed consent illustrated their right to withdraw at any time during the study, without having to provide a reason,
having a break when needed during the talanoa, the autonomy to edit the transcript and also to stop the audio recording of the talanoa at any time without given reason.

**Confidentiality and Anonymity**

Ethical concerns in regards to anonymity were thoroughly considered throughout this research as the Auckland Tongan population is not only a small community, but with collective principles embedded in the Tongan culture, it is a population group of close networks. Thus participants were made aware that there may be a possibility of being identified due to the close network relationships in the Tongan community of Auckland, New Zealand. Participants were informed by gatekeepers in the initial approach and by the researcher in their initial contact and commencement of the interview, that all practical attempts would be implemented in order to protect the confidentiality of participants. The researcher integrated additional measures in order to ensure that the identity of participants and their personal details alongside contributions to the research remained protected and anonymous. As articulated within the PIS and CF, research will ensure confidentiality and anonymity through the process of using pseudonyms in the transcripts and body of the literature.

Talanoa in the research is structured upon a deeper sharing of life-stories and challenging topics that are of Tongan cultural taboo for the purpose of exploring the communication in parent-child relationships. In saying that, when asking youth participants about how they cope with communication barriers, it is important to note the potential disclosure of mental distress and suicidal ideation with the researcher. For instances that this happened while undertaking research, the researcher will check-in with the initial triggers, safety and wellbeing of participants and offer additional supports for future triggers such as exploring a coping strategy plan. Participants who disclose these thoughts will be advised that if it is a present battle, the researcher will seek support services for their needs immediately. Support services varied within spiritual supports from their church family services which includes counselling, to also community organizations such as Fonua Ola (Fonua Ola, 2014).

Data collected from participants was stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Auckland and also on the researcher’s password protected file and computer for the duration of six years. After six years, information from this research is to be shredded and deleted from all computer files. This process was conducted as an additional measure to protecting the confidentiality of participants in this study.
Tui- Data Analysis

In Thaman’s ‘Kakala’ framework the phase known as ‘tui’ refers to the threading together of the flowers to create a garland (Thaman 2007). In this stage this metaphorical meaning symbolizes the collation and analysis of data in this thesis. The analysis of data in qualitative research is imperative to answering the research question and ensuring that the research aims of the study is met (Bryman, 2012). In order to effectively analyze data collected in this research, a thematic approach was utilised. Thematic analysis is known as a method that identifies and analyzes patterns that are embedded within data (Bryman, 2012). A thematic approach was crucial in the data analysis of this research as it enables the ‘making sense’ of talanoa data.

The thematic approach is a commonly used method within qualitative research, however there is no ‘clear agreement’ on how it is implemented (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In order to effectively conduct a thematic analysis of data, this research integrated Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-phase process of conducting efficient thematic analysis. The six phases are 1) familiarizing yourself with your data, 2) generation of initial codes, 3) searching for themes, 4) reviewing themes 5) defining and naming themes 6) producing the report. These phases will be discussed in relation to how they were applied in the research.

Familiarizing yourself with your data

The beginning phase of thematic analysis articulates “it is vital that you immerse yourself in the data to the extent that you are familiar with the depth and breadth of the content.” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). In this phase I focused on gathering all observational notes and recordings of the talanoa discussions for the purpose of repeatedly reading and listening to them. Through this process, I was able to identify possible patterns and also commonly used words such as ‘pressure’, ‘struggle’, ‘motivation’, ‘fāmili’.

Following this, I transcribed each individual discussion with participants. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that for many researchers the process of transcription is perceived as tedious and time-consuming. However, it is a pivotal stage of thematic data analysis as it caters to a thorough understanding of data. After the completion of individual transcripts, participants had the opportunity to revise their transcripts and request any changes. Once confirmation was received, transcripts were revised again in order to remove verbal stopgaps, stuttering and also repetition of words. This was conducted for the purpose of clarity.

Once the editing of transcripts was completed, I read the transcripts of all talanoa discussions three times within numerous days. At the time of reading over the data for the first
time, it was important that I avoided selective reading certain passages that entailed keywords such as ‘struggle’ and ‘pressure’ in order to get an overall connection to the data and fully immerse myself with all aspects of the data. Following this, the second revision of data involved the exploration and highlighting of interesting passages and words. This was also aligned with the observation notes that I had made during the talanoa. The last read through of data, involved the identification of potential patterns from each transcript. By repeatedly reading the data, I became more familiar and with the entire data set.

*Generation of initial codes*

This phase in thematic analysis is initially built off the identified potential patterns explored in the previous phase. Braun and Clarke (2006) stress that this phase involved the production of initial codes. “Codes identify features of the data that appears interesting to the analyst, and refers to the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data information that can be assessed in a meaningful way...” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). After I had re-read each transcript alongside notes on the identified patterns and meaning explored, I eventually had over forty individual codes.

As I continuously explored the potential patterns embedded within the data set, it was important to also conduct data extracts while also keeping in mind that specific initial codes could lead to the meaning and context of data being lost (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2001). With this awareness, I conducted another revision of initial codes in order to ensure that they were broad and eventually the number of individual initial codes decreased to twenty-five.

*Searching for themes*

In this phase, I gathered together all the individual and initial codes that I have identified so far in this thematic analysis process. I then explored and analysed the initial codes for the purpose of collating and extracting data into broad potential themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe this phase as the opportunity for researchers to “analyse your codes and consider how different codes may combine to form an overarching theme.” (p. 89).

This step of analysis was quite difficult as I struggled to ensure that all data extracted from transcripts were included in meaningful themes. In order to overcome this difficulty and ensure that all individualistic data set and codes were included, I utilized the tool of mind maps and created a thematic map (See Appendix F). Thematic maps allowed a cohesive exploration of relationships between initial codes, themes and different levels of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). An initial thematic map was developed and illustrated seven main
themes (see Appendix F). This map includes sub themes that could potentially fit into either one or two themes. In order to ensure that sub-themes and all initial codes were included, I had explored a broader definition of the main themes.

Alongside this process in order to contextualize the understanding and perspective research participants encompass in regards to the impact of parent-child relationships in the education of Tongan youth, each main theme is embedded and expanded with examples and comments made by participants, which are extracted from the transcripts. After this, it became apparent that the themes were not only meaningful but also included all elements of the raw data that was initially coded.

**Reviewing themes**

In this step, my capacity to review and refine the established themes was a critical determinant in the ability to either move forward with data analysis or the need to revisit and review coding. In order to ensure that data within the themes were coherently meaningful, I utilized the two levels of analysis explored by Braun and Clarke (2006). Firstly, I reviewed the data, which was extracted into codes; this involved re-reading the codes twice, which allowed the identification of a cohesive pattern. In this review it was evident that the pattern of the data extracted into themes was congruent with the theoretical approach of this research. In saying that, it was connected to the constructionist and critical approach underlying this study. I read the codes twice in order to seek collated extracts that did not fit into the themes and may have possibly caused it to become problematic.

Following this review, in level two I utilized a similar process but in relation to the entire data set. This was quite time-consuming, however it was an opportunity to consider the validity of the theme in relation to the data set. This process required several attempts and a juggling around of data into different themes due to interconnected ideas. As a result of this process, it was identified that one of the themes encompassed extensively broad codes and could be separated into two broad themes, which was able to distinguish two different perspectives. This process resulted in four broad themes.

**Defining and naming themes**

“At this point, you then define and further refine the themes you will present...” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). An important concept of categorizing extracted data into themes is the ability to define and refine the essence of what each theme is about by giving it a name. While writing a detailed analysis for each theme identifies the stories and interrelated concepts of the data, naming each theme gives it a sense of attraction to readers. In this process it was
important for me to consider the Tongan kāinga and the importance of ensuring that data was analysed and defined in terms that was not complex for their knowledge. Defining and refining the themes in this research required a focus on how ideas, findings and themes contributed to the overall research question and aims. In the end of this stage, data analysis provided four key emerging themes from the stories and voices of research participants. These themes were refined through two sub-themes each, which capture all aspects discussed by participants. The key themes and sub themes of the research findings was then presented through a table (See Table 2).

### Table 2: Four key emerging themes from talanoa sessions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Theme 1: Communication** | 1. Significance of communication  
                          2. Communication barriers |
| **Theme 2: Lack of Awareness** | 1. Generational struggles  
                                2. Mental Health |
| **Theme 3: Pressure** | 1. Expectations  
                                2. Money |
| **Theme 4: Acculturation** | 1. Cultural, beliefs, attitudes and values  
                                2. Religion |

**Reporting**

The main focus of this step is the consideration of how the conducted thematic analysis could be presented in a way that (1) articulated the integration of all data, (2) provides coherent, logical and holistic accounts of the voices, experiences and stories depicted through data, (3) embedded within analytical narratives which goes beyond a description of data, and is embedded in the ability to effectively demonstrate responses or arguments in relation to the research question and aims. In order effectively report the findings, the sub-themes were merged together as they presented with interconnected factors. The presentation of the research findings is presented through the fourth stage of Thaman’s (1997) Kakala framework, which is luva. The concept of luva illuminates the significance of presenting talanoa data in an inclusive and culturally meaningful way (Thaman, 1997).

**Limitations**

The main limitation of this study lingers within the Tongan perspective of ‘parents’ in the Tongan family system. This study selected ‘parents’ as in Mum and Dad, and did not acknowledge caregivers such as ‘Grandparents’ or ‘Aunties/Uncles’ who also commonly play
the parent’s role in the upbringing of Tongan children and youth. The exclusion of other parent roles within the Tongan fāmili system also suggests that this research focused primarily on the representation of a western family system. Therefore, further research needs to include a consideration of Tongan fāmili.

Another limitation of this study dwells within the small sample size of participants in the study. Although the sample size was appropriate for the purposes of this research endeavour, future research could integrate the key themes emerged within the stories of participants and include a larger scale in order to determine if the generalisation of findings is relative to all the Tongan kānga. Therefore, this cannot be the true representations and experiences of Tongan people and youth in regards to the parent-child relationship and education. The youth participants involved within this research comprised of four females and two males and thus the research findings encompass limitations as it may not be applicable to the Tongan young men population. As such, future research require an exploration of life-stories of young Tongan men.

This study was limited to a particular geographical area. Therefore, limitations may dwell upon the findings, as it may not be generalisable for the whole of the Tongan population in New Zealand. In saying that, the emerging themes and results may be effective within another similar geographical area to Auckland, New Zealand. For instance, experiences may be different for urban Tongan residents in comparison to rural Tongan residents.

Summary

Through the integration of Thaman’s Kakala framework, this chapter outlines the qualitative research design in this study. In the teu phase, the integration of a critical perspective and constructionist approach, explores the overview of the chosen methodology which assists with addressing the research questions. The toli stage of this chapter discusses the procedures of data collection and the ethical considerations of the study. Lastly the tui stage of the research design in this chapter explored the six phases of thematic analysis utilized in order to examine the life-stories of the Tongan parents and youth in this study. Although this research design critically explores the life-stories and experiences of participants in regards to the Tongan parent-child relationship and education of Tongan youth, the research presented with limitations that need to be taken into consideration for further research opportunities.
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This chapter shares the stories and information of six Tongan parents (three couples) and six Tongan youth about their perspective of parent-child relationships and its significance in the education of Tongan youth. Findings will be presented within this chapter in two main sections. Firstly, this chapter will present the demographic and characteristics of the research participants. The second section will explore the four main themes: communication, lack of awareness, pressures and acculturation that emerged from the data analysis process. These four themes encapsulate not only the experiences of research participants, but also the diverse understanding the Tongan parent-child relationship and its impact on the education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

Tongan parents were allocated the group title of ‘TP’ including a randomly assigned number from 1 to 6, while Tongan youth were referred to by the abbreviation of ‘TY’ and also followed by randomly assigned number from 1 to 6. In order to ensure that the identity and confidentiality of research participants, the following pseudonym names were used (see Table 3).

Table 3: Pseudonym names of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongan Youth Abbreviations</th>
<th>Pseudonym Names</th>
<th>Tongan Parents Abbreviations</th>
<th>Pseudonym Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TY 1</td>
<td>Sione</td>
<td>TP 1</td>
<td>Semisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TY 2</td>
<td>Mele</td>
<td>TP 2</td>
<td>Vai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TY 3</td>
<td>Susana</td>
<td>TP 3</td>
<td>Fifita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TY 4</td>
<td>Sela</td>
<td>TP 4</td>
<td>Nita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TY 5</td>
<td>Siua</td>
<td>TP 5</td>
<td>Kalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TY 6</td>
<td>Emeline</td>
<td>TP 6</td>
<td>Tevita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participant Demographic characteristics

Adult Participants

There was a sample size of six adult research participants involved in this study. This sample size comprised of three adult couples, who were also ‘parents’. As there was a ‘mother’ and ‘father’ criterion, three participants were females and the other three were males. Of the six participants five were employed and one parent was a stay at home mother. Five of six adult participants were born in Tonga, whereas one individual was born in New Zealand.
Of the five Tongan born adult participants, three migrated to New Zealand during the industrial boom years of the 1970-80s. One couple migrated to New Zealand in the early 2000s for the educational opportunities of their children. A common characteristic that was identified in the talanoa that was not required in the participant criteria is that two female adult participants hold a qualification of some form from either Tonga or a New Zealand polytechnic. In fact, one particular female participant graduated in 2017 with a postgraduate degree (see Table Three).

It was identified through the recruitment process that one couple had a child at high school as a year 12 student completing Level 2 NCEA. One particular couple had a son commencing his NCEA journey as a Year 11 (NCEA Level 1) and their daughter was near the finishing line of her last year of high school completing her NCEA Level 3. The last couple had a son completing Level 2 NCEA and a daughter in her last year of secondary education, concluding her Level 3 NCEA. This couple also has an 18-year-old son who had chosen to drop out of school in 2018 during his Level 3 NCEA and gained employment with a labour hire company. During the interview it was mentioned that this individual is looking to return to his studies by attending a Polytechnic in 2019.

Table 4: Parent research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-55</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 &amp; over</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birthplace</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education Level</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete in Tonga</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Level in Tonga</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Level in New Zealand</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Level in New Zealand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Youth Participants

Six young people participated in the research; each varied between the ages of 16 to 18 years old and attending secondary school, all at various stages of their NCEA journey. Four of the participants were female and two were male (see Table Four). All youth participants identified with the Tongan nationality, but also mentioned that they were New Zealand born.
One research participant is working part-time, while the other participants are unemployed. Three youth participants are the eldest in their fāmili; two are the middle child and one participant identified as the youngest child in their fāmili.

Table 5: Youth research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 NCEA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 NCEA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3 NCEA</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Themes

The data analysis process and identification of the reoccurring themes and patterns captured during talanoa sessions have been synthesised into four main themes. The four themes are:

**Theme 1: Communication** – describes the critical knowledge and understanding of communication in the parent-child relationship and also the education of Tongan youth that participants had expressed.

**Theme 2: Lack of Awareness** – describes the unconscious perspective that many participants expressed in regards to their own struggles experienced in life and its association to the wellbeing of Tongan young people. This theme further explored the denial of mental health concerns within Tongan youth.

**Theme 3: Pressure** – elaborates upon the different levels of pressures encompassed by research participants that impact the parent-child relationship and also education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

**Theme 4: Acculturation** – depicts how the Tongan cultural values associated with parent-child relationships are impacted by a westernised society such as New Zealand.

These four themes will now be explored further.
Communication

Communication was depicted as an essential principle in the Tongan wellbeing, particularly in parent-child relationships. The concept of communication is illustrated as a vital aspect within the stories, experiences and perspectives of participants. The significance of communication in the parent-child relationship is a significant area that will be discussed. The findings of the research suggested that although communication is a vital aspect to the Tongan people, there are many factors that create barriers between Tongan parents and children.

Tongan parents and youth have discussed tauhi vā and the education of Tongan youth as two main concepts, which elucidates the significance of communication to them. Four parents and three youth described communication as an aspect that emphasises the capacity to connect with others, predominantly their fāmili and kāinga. In fact, the description provided by participants were highly embedded within the notion of tauhi vā.

*Communication for me is very important, especially with my own children now...It’s always important so that we show our love to them; because they will feel loved and everything will be smooth not only us but also our children.*

(Tevita)

Tongan parents elaborated upon communication as a crucial approach in maintaining ‘ofa within the parent-child relationship. Emeline complimented this as she voiced, “If there’s no love, bonding or communication or something happening there, it fades you know.”

Consistent to the value of ‘ofa other young people in this research identified the values of honesty and trust as beneficial aspects in establishing a close relationship with their parents. Additionally, Tongan youth described the connection of communication and their education.

*I also think it’s important to be close with your parents and trust them because if you feel like you can’t trust them and are not close enough, you won’t be able to talk to them about certain things.*

(Susana)

Throughout the talanoa sessions, it was observed that the participant’s understanding of communication was immensely influenced by their core beliefs, which were instilled from learning experiences in their upbringing. In fact, the most frequent defining concept for Tongan parents were their own experiences of communication with their own parents. These shared experiences of parents distinguished a mirroring of communication styles that was role modelled in their childhood. For some parents this reflection illuminated the critical changes that they wanted to make within their own parent-child relationship.
I think it’s things that I have been taught by my parents and carrying that tradition on, everything they’ve done and everything they’ve passed onto me. I know I can never do what they done, match up to what they’ve done, but I’m trying my best to carry on what they’ve taught me... (Nita)

That's when I saw the importance of the relationship between parents and children because I didn't have the opportunity to be close to my father as there were many of us living in one house. (Fifita)

Although research participants share similar knowledge about the significance of communication, a deeper exploration of the demonstration of tauhi vā principles within communication, illustrated that there are differences between the perspective of Tongan parents and youth towards communication. For instance, parents elaborated upon the importance of advising their children in family meetings to do the right things in life, achieve an education and become better than them.

Every time I advise my kids I always say this is what my parents have taught me growing up... (Nita)

It’s not only until you reach a certain age in adulthood and realize “Oh I should have done better in school”. So you try to teach your kids to do even better than you, and become better than you. Yeah, so probably just getting them to aspire to be better than what their parents were. (Kalo)

According to parents, communication is more than the governing values of tauhi vā; it is also focused on fulfilling their responsibilities in the wellbeing of their children. In saying that, another factor that contributed to the understanding of communication was their significant role in the education of their children. Two Tongan parents spoke about the ability to journey with their children in education.

I have one on one time with Seini. So most of my time when I come back home from work, I’ll say “ Seini come here, so how was school?” So it’s kind of a one on one talk and that way your kids will open up to you... (Vai)

If they’re struggling in a particular subject, what I do is I talk to them and ask them what can I do to help? Can I get them a tutor? Is there someone I can talk to that’s good at the subject that could help them? Probably ask to come and help. It’s just trying to make sure that I can get them the support...
Tevita are quite open with my kids and we do talk a lot and I think I like that, because being open with them means that they can be open with us... (Kalo)

Tongan parents discussed communication as the opportunity to seek supports for their children in regards to education and other matters in life. There is a belief that through their ability to advise and support their children, Tongan youth will become more open with their parents. It was also highlighted by Fifita that the maintenance of close relationships also has an impact on the education of young people.

I was the closest to my father and I had the best school experience. So if I think about it I don't know if I would have finished school if it wasn't for my relationship with my father. In comparison with my siblings they weren't able to finish school because of the distance in relationships when growing up. That's why I’m grateful for the opportunity I had to be with my father.

Fāmili and the ‘api of young people was acknowledged to have a great impact on their education, which also suggests that when communication in the fāmili and ‘api is not strengthened, Tongan youth struggle at school. All youth participants shared that their motivation for an education is their relationship with parents. Additionally, Tongan youth distinguished that their meaning of communication is predominantly within the capacity to seek support from their parents. Emeline emphasised the importance of honesty in communication and the significance in open communication with parents.

Everyone can learn and grow from what you have to say. But, just being able to say something is important, because if we don’t say something it will carry on through generations. But that all could have been prevented if we as the youth of today in the Tongan community started being more honest with our parents.

Analysis of research data illustrated a strong emphasis on the importance of open communication with their parents, in order to prevent the cycle of voiceless generations. In the exploration of communication and its importance to Tongan people, it became more apparent that although communication is a vital aspect to the Tongan people, there are many factors that create barriers between Tongan parents and young people. Research participants described four common communication barriers they believe to impact the capacity to communicate in parent-child relationships.

Participants stated that due to the lack of non-verbal communication such as body language alongside listening skills between parents and youth, there are barriers in the ability
to develop close relationships. Nita shared that effective communication is the ability to listen to your children, another parent shared:

_Sometimes we need to listen to our kids, because they have something important to share with us, but they think that if they talk to their parents they will not listen to me, they’ll just say...Oh shut up.... (Tevita)"

For many research participants it was highlighted that the ability to listen is a concern in their relationships. Youth expressed that listening is taught as a skill that is only expected of children, not parents. When exploring their feelings towards this, Kalo stated, “I don’t know aye, pretty stink, wish they would just listen”. Furthermore, the young people in this research shared their experiences of being ‘shut down’ by parents during encounters where they wanted to be heard.

_I’d tell my Mum and Dad something and then they’ll just tell me to go do my homework and then I’ll try but then, I’ll just do it for ten minutes and in half an hour I end up with a little paragraph and I don’t know what I’m doing.... it’s hard. (Seta)_

_They won’t allow me to go there with them. Even when I start to, we get to a certain point and then they stop it and they’re like “okay now go do that, go do this, go do your homework”. I don’t know why they’re avoiding it, but I guess its cause I don’t think they want me to get that deep with them. But I don’t know why, it’s probably just because they don’t want me to see them in that way. (Emeline)"

In addition to these experiences, one Tongan youth elaborated that communication in the family only takes place when there is a need to discuss or fix a problem. Emeline shared that communication with her parents is one-sided and it is expected that she follow their advice; throughout these discussions the young people identified the role of culture as a common barrier in their parent-child relationships.

Another non-verbal communication barrier that parents described within the _talanoa_ sessions was the lack of physical contact, such as a hug and kiss between parents and children. Tongan parents further explained that this particular barrier is an aspect they have observed in their upbringing.

_In the Tongan community it’s also huge that there is no physical contact between the parents and children. And I saw that growing up, I didn’t have that_
as much as I have now with my children. Like a hug, like a kiss on the forehead, when now that’s what I do with my kids when they were much younger and even now some of them still do it...

But it’s that physical contact that stops it; we need to encourage it at home and in our communities. Those hugs and kisses, brings people together it’s the small things. It brings the parents and children closer to each other and it will allow them to open up conversations and create opened up communication. (Tevita)

The lack of physical contact in the parent-child relationship was often discussed as an impact of the historical understanding of faka’apa’apa. It was further highlighted by two parent participants that the value of faka’apa’apa needs to change with time as the needs of children today is different from their own in their upbringing. Although participants elaborated upon the lack of non-verbal communication such as physical contact and listening, it was further understood through the experiences and perspective of participants, that the lack of listening in the parent-child relationship is not intentional. In discussing the nature of communication in the Tongan parent-child relationships, it was highlighted that there is a lack of understanding in communication, which is another barrier expressed by research participants.

Due to language barriers a lack in understanding is quite common within the Tongan kāinga, particularly in the fāmili. Youth participants are second generation Tongan migrants and spoke about their struggles in communication due to the lack of English some of their parents had and their own lack of lea fakatonga. In addition to the language barrier, there was also an emphasis on the differences of their own upbringing in comparison to their parent’s childhood. Three young people spoke about the inability to voice their struggles and seek support from their parents because of the differences in their environment of upbringing. These barriers were articulated by Tongan youth in such a way that led them to avoid communication with parents and seek supports in other people.

But you know they're Fobs [Migrant Pasifiki people], if you try to communicate with them the things that you are struggling with, it's hard because they're from a different country and they might not understand, and that's where the barrier begins! (Mele)

It’s so hard on us kids living out of Tonga, where we’ve been taught since we were little about the struggles their [parents] had in Tonga. They raise us up as
they were raised up in the Islands. And I don’t know cause some Tongan ways have been changed, like they are slowly changing, but to me there’s room for change, but it’s going to be really hard. (Emeline)

Sela and Siua spoke about the difference in their communication between both parents. Both individuals emphasised that their mothers migrated to New Zealand at a young age and had the opportunity to attend secondary level education, whereas their fathers had migrated between 21-25 years old. Both young people shared that communication with their mothers were different to their fathers. They elaborated upon how an upbringing in Tonga is different to New Zealand, therefore they felt that communication with their mothers was much easier as they had lived in NZ and can relate to one another.

It helps me [consider] the future [by] seeing my parents now, my Dad’s struggling with whatever education he gained from the Islands [Tonga]. That didn’t really help him here in New Zealand... I look up to my Mum the most. Whenever I’m struggling with school, friends and family wise, I always go to her... (Sela)

Tongan parents also highlighted that there is a lack of understanding in communication between parents and children. Nita spoke about the differences in generational perspectives that can create barriers in understanding one another and the ability to openly communicate in the Tongan famille. Tevita further elaborated on the need for parents to make an effort to understand their children, as it will not only create a closer relationship, but Tongan youth will also feel comfortable to communicate with their parents.

In addition to the lack of understanding that causes young people to avoid communication with parents, it was quite common for the youth to mention the word ‘scared’ when exploring barriers in communication with parents. In fact, Tongan youth shared experiences, which illustrated that they have developed a behaviour of bottling up many things that they cannot talk to their parents about and also a habit of only sharing good things with their parents.

Probably, if they’re really busy, or just probably being scared to tell them something in case they get angry. Those are just the big barriers about them. (Sione)

Sela spoke about feeling scared in seeking support from her parents when struggling in school. As a result, this particular individual will only receive support from her parents if offered. Susana, Siua and Emeline elaborated upon the feeling of fear as an indication to seek
support from other people prior to their parents. For instance, Susana shared that at times she
prefers to talk to her friends and church leaders prior to her parents. Siua shared that he would
go to his friends:

Because I won’t get a lecture and also my friends wouldn’t tell me what to do,
sometimes I just need them to listen and let me figure it out on my own,
whereas parents, once you struggle they try to fix everything, but it’s their way
and not the way I hoped for it to be.

Vai voiced her concerns in regards to her children’s wellbeing if they continuously
confided in their friends. It was described as a common fear that many parents encompass in
the parent-child relationship. Vai shared that she consistently reminds her daughter,
“Whatever problems you have at school or with your friends, please tell me. Don’t hide it
cause once you fall your friends are gone.” It was further highlighted that parents believe that
when their children are struggling it is their responsibility to help them find a solution because
they have their best interests at heart. Vai stressed, “It’s only me and Semisi that will run
around you and behind you and try to pick you up again.” Although many Tongan youth fear
open communication with their parents, it became more evident in talanoa sessions with
parents that they also entail feelings of fear, but the difference is that to Tongan youth it is the
fear of disappointing their parents. Susana acknowledged this as she states:

I think it’s just hard to talk to my parents about education and also things that I
may be struggling. I think it’s the fact that they don’t want to be disappointed
that we, as their children, aren’t going anywhere in life.

Vai and Nita shared with the researcher that a common barrier in communication
between parents and children is the lack of time that they have for deep and meaningful
conversations. Vai stated, “You know that the problem why parents and children don’t have a
close relationship is because of time, both parents are working”. It was highlighted that due to
the lack of time, when youth seek support their parents use common excuses of “I’m busy” or
“I’m tired from work” Mele shared:

Because they’re so busy with work and my Dad has a wife and two younger
children, right. So then they don’t want to know, they’re busy and they’re doing
whatever they’re doing.

Overall, although communication is a significance concept in the wellbeing of Tongan
fāmili systems and parent-child relationships there are a number of interrelated factors that
impact the capacity of open and effective communication. Furthermore, findings in the
analysis of talanoa data also illustrates that these communication factors also impact the education of Tongan youth.

**Lack of awareness**

The lack of awareness within parent-child relationships was a common theme embedded throughout all the talanoa sessions. Although Tongan youth and parents did not necessarily use the word ‘awareness’, their perspectives and stories based on aspects such as struggles and mental health exemplified an unconscious impact of avoidance. The lack of awareness is discussed within the generational struggles and understandings of mental health in Tongan youth. Participants often spoke about the struggles experienced by themselves, elders, and kāinga. Although both participant groups experience some form of struggle in their lives, there is an immense difference in their experiences.

Tongan parents generally perceive their struggles as sacrifices they needed to make for their children. These sacrifices and struggles varied within their detrimental employment commitments, lack of education and financial instability. Parent participants predominantly explored their experiences of struggling in their upbringing as the main motivation to sacrifice for their children’s opportunity to live a prosperous life.

_I can’t give up eh. I was thinking of their future, that’s all that I’m thinking._ (Semisi)

_So I think all together there were 20 of us staying together. It was hard for us to communicate with our parents because there are a lot of us staying together. All 20 of us were divided into 4 homes where the children will live in one and the parents and our grandparents would live in another house._ (Fifita)

_We were poor but they would never let me go to school without lunch. And I grew up having that, my Dad was a fisherman and that was hard._ (Nita)

Youth voiced that they don’t necessarily experience the same struggles as their parents, due to their continuous sacrificing and struggles they have made to prevent this from happening. However, through analysis it was highlighted that parents somewhat struggled to gain an awareness of the struggles experienced by Tongan youth in today’s society. Youth participants regularly expressed their current battles with school, friendships and peer pressure. Emeline shared:
There are so many temptations and technology, it’s just so easy for us to say no and walk away, but when the temptations surround you, it’s not. If it’s around me every single day, how can I not say no?

Although young people expressed their struggles, it was highlighted that their main concerns are within the inability to voice their struggles with their parents. Young people have emphasised their difficulties in attempting to express their struggle with parents, and feeling disregarded and shut down. Mele shared her frustration about being expected to overcome struggles in life, as her parents were able to do so. This particular individual discussed that this generalizing mindset disregards the experiences of Tongan youth today and reduces the capacity for Tongan parents to address the needs and concerns of Tongan youth from an one on one level.

Everyone has different thinking abilities, not everyone is as strong, or is as thick skinned like our parents. Just because they’ve been through worse, we can’t go through the same thing. I think it’s easier for them to push it aside than to think about it..."Oh my child is sad, she’s struggling, my child is stressing about school, but I have a job and other children to think about as well". I think maybe their own parents reacted the same, right? And they survived; they’re alive and happy, so why can’t their children be happy from the same treatment, right. (Mele)

Young people shared responses that they’ve received in regards to voicing their concerns and struggles where they were shut down and their needs were not addressed. It was commonly known that many of their responses were related to being ‘laupisi’ (childish) and other Tongan phrases that relate this concept. Emeline stated:

If I tell them, they would give me the classic response of, “oh tuku ia maumau taimi ia” (stop that, it’s a waste of time), “Tuku ho laupisi, alu o ai ha me’a oku aonga” (Stop being childish, go do something that is worthwhile). They would take it as a joke, even though what I’m saying is serious.

Mele and Emeline spoke primarily about feeling misunderstood, in the sense where the experiences of struggling are a concern that needs to be addressed, as it is not always about the extent of struggle that matters. For instance, Emeline shared:

We don’t necessarily go through the struggles of our parents, but we can relate. They may know that we don’t understand their struggles, but at the same time they don’t understand our struggles with growing up in the generation.
All they can see in our lives is school, but they don't realize that we suffer from other obstacles outside of school as well. If you were to tell them that things at school are stressful, they could react badly because they grew up in a hard life and think you only have to focus on school but they don't realize how hard and how many obstacles can get in in the way of teenagers in today's society.

Such responses and also beliefs encompassed by youth have had a great influence on their perspective towards their own struggles. It was noted throughout the data that young people also entailed a habit of disregarding their own struggles. For instance, it was common for youth participants in the research to also compare the significance of their struggle to their parent’s experiences in the past and today, which often led Tongan youth to feel like their problems are insignificant. The ability to compare with their parents influenced either their motivation for pursuing an education or the pressures they experience; for many it influenced both. The majority of young people described feelings of gratitude when speaking about the sacrifices of their parents. Sela stated, “Just seeing my Dad struggle it’s hard, if I was in his position, in his shoes, I don’t want to go through what my Dad went through, I want to do better.” Youth participants mainly spoke of their parent’s labours as struggles that they learn from and utilize as motivation in their education.

Their experiences help me and my siblings push in school.... I will never forget my Dad telling me that we can make good money, for them they have to sweat their tears to make enough money... (Susana)

Although, young people expressed their appreciation for the struggles and sacrifices of their parents, it was also evident that parents primarily utilize their experiences as stories shared within their counsels with youth. According to parent participants their stories of struggles encourages their children towards education and prosperous life. However, young people disclosed their discomfort in consistently being reminded of their parent’s struggles. Siua stated:

My Mum always tells me from time to time, I don’t see how much they’re struggling at work, it inspires me in the class to try my best. But I mainly just feel annoyed especially when they bring it [their struggles] up, because I know what they’re going through, well not really, but they don’t have to keep explaining every day over and over again.

Insight from young people further demonstrated that this strategy of giving advice has impacted their ability to communicate their struggles with parents and present foreseen
impacts on their education. Throughout the *talanoa* sessions it was also brought to the researcher’s attention by Tongan youth that the lack of awareness and avoiding nature of their struggle also prevails within the other aspects in their wellbeing. Vaka (2016) clarified in his research which is focused on the Mental health of Tongan people in New Zealand that “Pacific peoples were found to have a higher prevalence of mental illness at 25% than the 20% in the general population and were also found to have the highest levels of suicidal ideation, attempts, and plans.” (p. 130). The concept of mental health was initially introduced into *talanoa* sessions by Tongan youth, this discussion of mental health and the impact of parent-child relationships on the wellbeing of young people prompted the researcher to integrate the topic of mental health into further *talanoa* sessions with Tongan youth and parents.

Within the research it was articulated by participants that there is a lack of awareness of the mental health of Tongan kāinga. Young people stressed that mental health exists in all people and that it is a problem predominantly overlooked within the Tongan kāinga. It was highlighted by Tongan youth that mental health is a concern is highly implanted within the parent-child relationship. Mele shared:

> *Something that can affect the parent-child relationship is definitely mental health, because it seems like it’s the world that pushes you apart, but it’s all in your head. You also feel physically separated from them [parents] not just mentally.*”

Although, young people feel somewhat distanced from their parents due to communication barriers, and other factors such as time; when mental health is also disregarded, the relationship is impacted further. Tongan youth share their own experiences with mental health and emphasise the habit of ‘bottling up’ their negative emotions. Mele also stressed:

> *In the Tongan culture I don’t think they want to face the fact that mental health is real, I don’t think they want to face that people do have mental problems. But they feel like “Oh you’re puke tevolo (possessed)” You’re just crazy, you’re just crazy…*

Tongan youth talked about mental health illnesses such as depression and the inability to address their depression. As previously shared by Emeline one of the impacts on this is the belief that as a Tongan young woman there are expectations in the way they present themselves. Therefore, the Tongan culture entails a role in the way mental health is perceived to the Tongan kāinga.
Sometimes they build up just too much for you to handle. And then you just can’t deal with that, so you think a different way from when you were brought up. Pretty much on the dark side, right? Just all these thoughts they build up all these feelings that you can’t express. To anyone because you’re supposed to keep it, as a Tongan girl we’re supposed to keep it strong and independent and be able to fight your own battles, because you were raised that way.” (Emeline)

In the Tongan culture unrealistic expectations also impact on the wellbeing of men, as their emotions are commonly suppressed by the expectation that “men don’t cry, men don’t show emotions” (TY2). Although young men and women have different cultural expectations, it is evident throughout the talanoa sessions the tension related to parental expectations they experience still has an immense impact on their wellbeing and education.

*When they [parents] teach men, they just teach them to be a man and not be a fafa [feminine male], they take emotions for weakness, and they take mental health as weakness. Because it’s been taught as a weakness, cry - weakness, When boys and girls cry, that’s laupisi [childish]... (Mele)*

Mele and Emeline courageously shared past experiences of suicidal ideation as a result of not being able to address their thoughts and emotions. “Have you seen the teen suicide rates? The more you run away from mental health the deeper it goes…” (Mele). Both individuals identified depression as a struggle they encompass and the lack of awareness towards their thoughts and emotions takes them to a ‘dark place’. The dark place that was articulated to the researcher is sadly a place that continues to influence the increasing suicide rates in the Tongan New Zealand youth (Sinisa, 2013). Tongan youth shared past experiences and the struggle of not receiving support from their parents. Emeline shared:

*You start to think about the different ways to try help you get out of that situation. And you try your hardest to go through all of them, it only leave you with one option, but you don’t want to do it, because to others it’s to kill themselves, but to me I just wanted to like, disappear until things got better...*

It was also further highlighted by Tongan parents that there is a sense of avoidance in regards to mental health. For instance, Nita shared that it’s “because they don’t know how to address it [mental health]”. Due to the lack of awareness of mental health within the Tongan kāinga, the wellbeing of young people is continuously a struggle.

Throughout the discussions of struggles and mental health, the word ‘pressure’ was commonly used by Tongan youth in order to express certain factors in their parent-child
relationship. In order to further explore this particular concept, the researcher invited Tongan youth and also parents to speak about their perspectives and also personal experiences. The concept of pressure will be expanded in the next key theme.

**Pressure**

One of the most common aspects explored by participants in the research are their experiences with ‘pressure’ in relation to tauhi vā and education. Throughout the analysis of the talanoa data, pressure was discussed as an aspect experienced in two domains of the Tongan people’s wellbeing, which is expectation and money.

Tongan parents highlighted the increased opportunities in education, employment and financial stability young people have in New Zealand. Parents also shared that these opportunities are connected to the expectations they have for their children regarding tertiary education, employment and aspirations to have a good life.

*Yeah, like for my children, yes, we want them to go to university, but there is always a plan B. If they don’t make it one way I won’t be worried because of the fact that there is Plan B. In Tonga there is small motivation in Tonga for opportunities. That’s why we are lucky now. (Fifita)*

Youth explained that the pressures they experience are not only necessarily influenced by their parents, but also their Tongan culture, community and also technology. Nita shared her experience as a mother who witnesses the impact of technology and social media on the peer pressure her children experience. While there are different influences on the pressures encountered by Tongan youth, it was highlighted that the expectations within parent-child relationship are also utilised as their motivation in order to succeed within their education and chosen career. Unfortunately, it was also expressed that there are underlying pressures experienced by Tongan youth as a result of these expectations. The young people who participated in the study shared feelings of failure, disappointment and sadness in times where they struggle to meet these expectations. Susana shared:

*It’s really hard, because I don’t know, I just feel like they’ve taught me so well, and to stay focused and to do good at school and I feel those expectations at times it’s really hard to cope with them.*

Although parents explored the significance of unlimited opportunities in the lives of Tongan youth in New Zealand, Tongan youth perceived this differently. The feeling of limitations was predominantly due to the portrayal of education as the main priority. Young
people acknowledged the importance of education, but also feel restricted by this. Siua and TY6 spoke about sacrificing their interest and talents within sports such as rugby in order to fulfil their education. It was understood that one Tongan youth felt like the choice was already made for her. Emeline stressed:

No matter what you do, if you’re playing sports or you can build things and you’re good at it, education always comes first through like doing your logic and your Maths and English... Education for me is just trying to do my parents proud.

I think it was last year I was playing rugby, for my school and it was really good. I got awards and they [parents] were proud of me, but that would only last a day, or a week and then it’s back to ‘oh focus on school’, ‘Do your education and get good grades’ because rugby is not going to take you anywhere.

Young people further articulated that there is also a loss of autonomy in choosing their school subjects and career path due to parent’s expectations at the expense of fulfilling their own dreams. They explained that their parents determine the selection of subjects based on pathways to a career within the favoured fields of medicine and law. Siua mentioned within the talanoa that his parents had already painted a picture for him to become a doctor or lawyer. It was also identified that they feel pressured to abide with expectations of their parents.

Sometimes it's quite a hard because they want you to do something or subjects that you don't want to do. My Dad chose my subjects this year and I feel like he will do it every year and it will be according to the career he wants me to go into. I feel like at the moment I’m just going along with what my parents want. It’s easier to be honest, I’ve realized going against their will is much harder and causes more stress.” (Mele)

I want to pursue something in the Police force or in the Policing area. They’re always like “You’re really good at Maths, you should go to University because that’s a waste of your education”... They just want me to go to University.... It’s really nerve-racking because if I choose the career I really want, I want to enjoy what I do in the future. But then, it’s like I don’t want to, because they won’t like my decision.” (Susana)

It was also evident in the talanoa session that parents often utilized the word ‘push’ in order to describe the importance of encouraging youth towards education.
Even though us parents we push our kids and we’re hard on them, just for them to have a better life than us. But I think having that close relationship and that’s what I try to teach the young women as well. (Vai)

There’s not a single day where I don’t say to my kids what the right things are to do, what’s logical, what’s ethical for them to do. I always give them advice, even when we’re in the car driving. I push them a lot. (Nita)

Although the push Tongan parents provide for their children is governed by good intentions, Tongan youth would often use the word ‘force’ when explaining their parents’ influence on their education. Emeline stated, “They’re forcing it upon me that I should take this as an opportunity to get a good education.” Siua shared “I mainly go to school maybe because I’m forced too...” However, while the expectations lead young people to feel pressured, it is important to also acknowledge the pressures experienced by their parents who were experiencing financial stress.

The impact of money on the parent-child relationship was mentioned frequently. Whether it was the lack of money or the hopes for financial stability, research participants felt a sense of pressure to survive in the current environment. Throughout the stories of parent participants, it was commonly illustrated that pressures came from labour intensive jobs and low income. Furthermore, parents discussed the ripple effect that financial instability can have on the fāmili, particularly in the role and responsibilities of parents:

A big barrier would be money, I know for me even though I say I support my children in trying to find additional support like tutors, but at the end of the day I do financially struggle. It can be a barrier not only for my family, but also perhaps for many other Tongan families. If you’re just working minimum wage, even with two incomes that is a struggle, even with one child, two children or even three children. (Kalo)

As Tongan fāmili and kāinga continuously battle with this barrier, it was also further highlighted that these struggles had foreseeable pressures on parents. For instance, it was observed that teachings of education are governed by money the focus of attaining the financial stability. Tevita shared the following statement:

They start to understand why their parents push them, like what you said they start to work hard to get the money, but if they go to spend three to four years at University, it will make the difference...When they finish it will be double the money compared to someone working in the factory.
The majority of young people perceived education as a source of getting a ‘good job’ to make ‘good money’. It was articulated that their motivation towards a better education and financial stability was instilled through their parents, as well as their observations of their parents and social relationships. Susana shared:

*I have cousins who have finished school and are working. I always see them with nice things and tell them I can’t wait to work and make money and they always stop me and tell me to not regret my education and to listen to my parents because they’re right...*

Tongan parents spoke about their financial responsibilities to their children and also elaborated upon these responsibilities within the kāinga. Semisi spoke about the reality that although parents want their children to succeed in school, there are parents who do not invest within their children’s education:

*The Tongan people go to Tonga for school reunions and invest their money there. But they don’t realize that the first thing they need to do is push their children in school...* (Semisi)

*There are other things that are more important than the schooling of their kids, like they have ‘Misinale’ [Church fundraiser], that is more important than the children’s needs. They ask for a laptop for their education but they say that there’s no money for it...* (Emeline)

Tongan parents experience a complex level of pressures due to money. Parents spoke about the importance of catering to the needs of their families back in their homeland by sending money back to Tonga. It was highlighted that this additional pressure also impacts the inability to prioritize educational needs of their children. Kalo spoke about wanting her children to become self-reliant through educational qualifications. However, participants expressed their concerns of their kāinga having a lack of money and Tongan youth leaving school early to provide for their families.

The perspectives of Tongan parents and youth illustrates that money does not only lead to an unhealthy cycle of pressures in the Tongan fāmili and kāinga. Tevita stressed that it can also lead Tongan youth into a cycle of struggle, which could be challenged through education. Life-stories of participants also illustrated that many of pressures and barriers discussed are also influenced by their experiences of living within a westernised society such as New Zealand. This will be further explored within the next key theme.
Acculturation

The voyage of Tongan kāinga to New Zealand is a life-changing experience explored by all participants, where they highlighted the impact of this on their cultural identity and capacity to implement and modify Tongan cultural practices in New Zealand. This process of acculturation revealed that research participants often spoke about the gender roles of Tongan kāinga. In the Tongan culture the concept of tauhi vā clarifies that men and women encompass different roles and responsibilities in regards to values such as faka’apa’apa (respect). According to the participants, the nature of faka’apa’apa in the parent-child relationship was highly determined by their gender roles. Nita distinguishes the gender roles within the Tongan fāmili system, where women are known as the main source of communication, whereas men are known to be the main providers and labourers of the fāmili.

I grew up at that time where the Tongan culture was really huge, especially with fathers who were perceived as the head of the family, they were strictly respected in the sense, that you’re not allowed to touch their head. Most of the time it was my Mum that I would go to if I wanted something, it was easier to communicate with my mum. My Dad was strict on how we were brought up, you know, he was really strict. My Dad, I did talk to him at times but he wanted me to do the right thing all the time. I shared everything with my Mum but with Dad I could only share my opinions and stuff through family home evenings. (Kalo)

Fifita acknowledged that the historical gender roles within the Tongan culture could also lead to problematic situations for Tongan youth now. Fifita shared that he had experienced the reality of both worlds, where he was fortunate to have a period of time where he had a close relationship with his father and then due to distance, he lost the close relationship and stated:

I was able to see problems as a result of the distance and the relationship between us children and our parents. There are a lot of times where I did not get enough time with my parents and I wished that I had more time with them to develop a stronger relationship.

Tongan parents predominantly shared these stories from a perspective that illustrated the need for change in their communication styles. Kalo spoke deeply about the taboo in communication between parents and children due to Tongan cultural principles of tauhi vā.
She provided the example of sexual education and the inability for Tongan parents to discuss this topic with their children. She further stated:

You’re not even open enough to talk about it [sex] and it does make me feel sad because if they have no one to talk about it with and then they get into a situation where they experience it, they’re not capable to withstand the problems that come from their situation...

Moreover, Sela shared that traditional perspectives of the Tongan way restricted her parent-child relationship, “There’s no deep conversations for a lot of us Tongan girls, we want to be close but there’s always something holding us back.” Nita elaborated upon discipline as a factor that could ‘hold back’ young people. She stressed that in family homes it is either too much discipline or not enough discipline, and that leaves a dilemma within their behaviours in school and ability to establish and maintain a close relationship with parents.

Research participants stressed the belief that culture changes with time. It was highlighted that the value of faka’apa’apa and gender roles within the Tongan famili system requires changes in order to effectively address the needs and environment of youth today. Mele shared her struggles of not being understood by her parents because of the entrenched Tongan values her parents held and stressed that it was opposite to her own knowledge of the ‘New Zealand Tongan things’ that she embraced. Susana expressed the following:

Our parents and the older generation have a mindset that is stuck in the old ways of the Tongan culture and I think I would like to just change the fact that if they were to experience what we are going through today, they will be able to understand more...

As participants spoke of their experiences of pressure and struggle, they often referred to their religious belief. “Ko e ‘Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofi’a” meaning “God and Tonga are my inheritance” is a quote written on the bottom of the Tongan coat of arms and represents the entity of the Tongan culture. The concept of religion continues to encompass a significant place within the Tongan culture, and its role in Tonga becoming an independent country (Taumoefolau, 2015). Talanoa sessions illustrated that religion within the Tongan culture was important for the parent-child relationship and the wellbeing of Tongan youth in New Zealand. Through data analysis it was also evident that as religion has been entrenched within the Tongan kāinga for centuries, this concept has a role in the ability to implement Tongan cultural values and practices in modern society.
Parents often glorified the role of religion within their parent-child relationships and shared similar views when discussing the impact of their religious beliefs on their ability to maintain their family relationships. Although religion was a concept that was entrenched within their lives at a young age in Tonga, Tongan parents expressed the advanced difference of religion in New Zealand. Fifita shared:

*I think one of the biggest help for our families today is the gospel, belonging to the church. We learn that there needs to be a time where families sit together and talk and for the children to be able to talk about all that they want to. And I feel like that plays a big part in the relationship in the family. I learnt of the respect that will allow my children to have a healthy relationship. It won’t only let the mother talk to their children about everything, but also fathers. It also strengthens the relationship of the family.*

Parent participants highlighted that communication barriers are challenged through the knowledge embodied through religious teachings. Parents did not only refer to the beneficial aspects of religion within their own responsibilities, but also in the wellbeing of Tongan youth. It was stressed throughout the research that religion teaches youth important life lessons that are also taught within the home. Tevita spoke about how his religious belief has taught him the importance of not sheltering his children, particularly his daughter from the adversities of the world. He further states:

*I start to understand that they need to face the world, we can’t say “Oh you need to stay home because of this and that” or “Those people are drinking there”. I already understand the values that is being taught in the gospel, but for me we live in this world where there is a lot of temptation, but sometimes they need to face it.*

Young people shared feelings of gratitude for their religious beliefs as it was highlighted as a predominant aspect of their coping strategies. Youth described their relationship with God and how communication with a higher being instills a sense of comfort and hope within them. Sione shared that in times of pressure, ‘prayer’ was a coping strategy. Prayer was also a common statement found in the discussions:

*In my depressed stage because I didn’t have anyone to talk to, but through church, I learnt that by talking to Heavenly Father he can help you realize that there are other people you can talk to.* (Emeline)
Well doing my prayers really helped me a lot...I usually just pray about it or I would just go to my room or I just get some counsel from my church leaders...
Like when I want to talk about it to my friends, I will confide in the Lord first.
(Susana)

All participants perceive their religious beliefs as a source of learning and development through life lessons. As religion is a crucial concept in the Tongan culture, its acculturation in New Zealand has provided Tongan parents with knowledge that encourages stronger parent-child relationships.

Summary

Participants in the research shared their lived experiences of parent-child relationships and also education through the exploration of concepts such as communication, denial, pressure and acculturation. Throughout the data analysis process of the talanoa sessions it was determined that the four main themes articulated a critical understanding and perspective of what Tongan parents and youth experience on a daily basis in Auckland, New Zealand. For both parents and youth, their lived experiences and narrative of ancestors illustrated that parent-child relationships are vital to the learning and development of youth. However, there are factors within both participant groups that present challenges and barriers to a close parent-child relationship embedded in open channels of communication and mutual understanding. Overall, it was determined that the Tongan concepts and traditional ways of establishing and maintaining relationships were identified as a key theme within the Tongan parent-child relationship and education of Tongan young people in Auckland.
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The content of this chapter is examined and articulated within Thaman’s Kakala framework, which has been integrated throughout the shaping of this research design. This chapter adopts the fourth stage of the Kakala framework known as *luva* and is concentrated on the presentation of research findings (Thaman, 2008). This chapter discusses the research findings in the context of existing literature and an analysis of key themes from participant data about their perspective and experiences within Tongan parent-child relationships in relation to the education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand. Furthermore, this chapter will also discuss the implication these key themes encompass on social work practice with the Tongan kāinga. Within this inclusive approach, the articulation of findings will be conceptualized in such a manner that is culturally meaningful for the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga (Thaman, 1997).

In examining talanoa with Tongan parents and youth about various factors of the parent-child relationship and education of Tongan young people, several critical, diverse yet interrelated themes transpired throughout the study. These identified themes of communication, lack of awareness, pressure and acculturation illustrates that the Tongan parent-child relationship entails an immeasurable and complex influence on the education of Tongan youth. Furthermore, it reveals that the parent-child relationship and education of young people are highly impacted by neo-liberalism and the Pasifiki migration to New Zealand. The examination of the study’s findings further indicates that the impact of a neo-liberal environment influences different levels of a Tongan individual’s wellbeing (Lunt, et al., 2008). These are described here as: fāmili (family), komiuniti (community) and fonua (wider environment) (See Figure 5.2).

![Figure 5.2: The Three key themes of the research findings](image-url)
Fāmili (Family)

Fāmili relationships are the fabric of the Tongan culture; it is also the foundation in forming the self-identity of Tongan kāinga (MacIntyre, 2008). The stories from the research participants emphasised their unique perspective of the fāmili system, mainly the responsibilities embraced by each individual within the notion of tauhi vā. Over time, Pasifiki migration to New Zealand, presented a complex range of disadvantages for Tongan families. Based on the life-stories of participants the complexity of pressures and the lack of understanding were discussed as a common insight. In accordance to existing literature the presence of fāmili pressures and lack of understanding are influenced by environmental factors which are determined by the neoliberal agenda of New Zealand’s welfare policy since the 1990s.

The interactions between parents and children within the ‘api is acknowledged as economically and socially pivotal to the wellbeing of society (Mavoa, et al., 2003). This influential relationship encompasses a vital role in the establishment and maintenance of social cohesion, as interaction between children and parents enforce pro-social morals and behaviors necessary for a functional society (Mavoa, et al., 2003). This research highlights the reality that while the parent-child relationship is valuable within the wider environment, it’s existence within a neoliberal society encompass dictating factors influencing the wellbeing of their relationship. Parents and young people elaborated upon these factors which cause their relationships to become distant and unhealthy. This varied in their experiences of pressures such as unrealistic high expectations, seeking financial stability and the capacity to fulfil their fatongia in tauhi vā. These presenting battles of diverse pressures within the fāmili level of the Tongan wellbeing are primarily dictated by the governing nature of neo-liberal reforms on the complex disparities of low socio-economic populations, such as low-income, inaccessibility to resources, detrimental labouring hours and the struggle to maintain a Tongan cultural identity (Pasifika Futures, 2017).

The different pressures experienced by parents and young people are highly embedded within communication barriers, particularly in the fāmili vā. As previously discussed in Chapter One and Two of this thesis, the Tongan culture holds an emphasis of the fāmili as a collective principle, therefore the nuclear Tongan fāmili household is perceived as a social network which includes their extended fāmili. Through the narratives of parents in this research, their perception of a normal Tongan childhood included a never ending presence of their relatives in the fāmili ‘api. Over time, as a result of Pasifiki migration to New Zealand, Tongan kāinga continuously experience a cultural shock due to their differences in the western
cultural perception of the nuclear fāmili, which only includes a couple and their dependent unit and disregards the extended fāmili (Joynt, et al., 2016). The western perspective of a nuclear fāmili is set in the primary indicator used to assess public housing in New Zealand and is further integrated within the Ministry of Health and Statistics New Zealand (Joynt, et al., 2016). This criteria includes the following requirements which is that a household must have no more than two people share a bedroom, parents/couples may share a bedroom, children under 5 years old of the same sex or opposite sex may share a bedroom, children under 18 years of age of the same sex may share a bedroom, a child from 5 to 17 years of age should not share a bedroom with a child under 5 years of age of the opposite sex and lastly, single adults 18 years of age and over, and any unpaired children require their own separate bedrooms (Ministry of Health, 2004). Exploration of the New Zealand perception of the interrelationships of a fāmili household illustrates that it does not cater to the cultural preferences of the Tongan kāinga.

Poland et al. (2010) reveals that in the early 1990s neoliberal reforms caused Pasifiki families to become socio-economically disadvantaged. In response to their financial distress, the nuclear family household, increasingly became extended family households. Therefore, Pasifiki people lived in homes with their aunties, uncles, cousins and grandparents. While living with extended families relieved living costs, for many Pasifiki people overcrowded living situations are often associated with negative outcomes such as rheumatic fever (Gray, 2001; Jaine, et al., 2011), meningococcal disease and respiratory infections (Baker, et al., 2012). Statistics illustrate that in the year 2014 to 2015, Pasifiki Island young people aged 5 to 14 years old presented with the highest rates of rheumatic fever (Galloway, et al., 2017). These statistics highlight the enduring issues of overcrowded homes in the later dates.

As the increase of poorer health in the Pasifiki kāinga is brought to the awareness of the New Zealand Government, the Ministry of Health have carried out various research projects in order to address these health concerns. Galloway, et al. (2017) provides a report on behalf of the Ministry of Health focused on addressing the required changes and interventions that are essential in bettering the health of Pasifiki people. Further, reports conducted on behalf of Ministry of Health also identify the concerning connection of overcrowded Pasifiki homes, in relation to the influences on the education of children and young people (Ministry of Health, 2014; Thomson, et al., 2013).

According to the findings of this study, overcrowded Pasifiki households possess further impacts on the communication within parent-child relationships. Research participant Fifita shared his experience of growing up in Tonga in a household with his immediate and
extended fāmili, he stated “I think all together there were 20 of us staying together, so it was hard for us to communicate with our parents.” Although it was the cultural norm to live in overcrowded households with extended fāmili in the Kingdom of Tonga, as discussed by Fifita, this created limitations within the communication between parents and their children. Regrettably, today the presence of communication barriers in the parent-child relationship of Tongan kāinga in the New Zealand context is still somewhat impacted by the overcrowding of homes. Gordon, et al. (2004) compliments Fifita’s insight as literature exemplifies that the extended family household impacts the capacity for parents to develop their parenting confidence. As a result of adverse consequences of overcrowded households, families also experience the complexities of role conflicts, specifically between adults such as parents and grandparents (Spieker & Bensley, 1994). This conflict presents Pasifiki parents with lower parenting competence as discipline and communication between children and adults is conducted through a collective approach. Although this is a cultural preference, within the ‘api this method of communication weakens the responsibility of parents in the wellbeing of their children. In saying that, through a critical perspective of exploring the limitations and barriers which are governed by factors such as overcrowding of homes, alongside financial and employment distress; it is crucial to understand that throughout talanoa it was stressed that these aspects influence the increased communication barriers within the fāmili ‘api, primarily the parent-child relationship.

Findings of this study demonstrates that communication barriers within the parent-child relationship are not only fixed within the consequences of an overcrowded home, but also intertwined throughout the neoliberal agendas of their social environment. A predominant example of a neoliberal structure is the education system, which is an environment that continuously impacts and shapes the wellbeing of Tongan youth differently to the expectations of Tongan parents (Koloto, 2003; Mavoa, et al., 2003). A common insight from this study suggests that these differences are somewhat determined by the influence of both western and Tongan cultural values. Due to the intersections of tā-vā (time and space), research findings emphasise the diverse portrayal of tauhi vā principles throughout Tongan generations. For instance, the comparison of respect (faka’apa’apa) in the parent-child relationship between the western culture and Tongan culture elucidates the different communication styles between adults and young people. The Tongan culture embraces the belief that faka’apa’apa between adults and children includes unquestioning obedience towards elders and is predominantly practised within the ‘api and siasi (Mavoa et al., 2003). Sela shared:
Because of the culture you’re not allowed to talk to your Dad and Mum a certain way or question your Mum and Dad, it’s called ‘talking back’. It’s led a lot of parents in the Tongan community to not listen to their children.

Although the Tongan perspective of communication styles has been embedded with the core of the Tongan culture, talanoa with young people in this research amplifies the presence of a mixture of communication approaches. Mavoa, et al. (2003) described the western cultural perception of appropriate communication through the concept of active sharing and listening, the very same communication style embedded within neo-liberal structures such as the education system. As Tongan young people establish an explorative and questioning nature upon their alignment to the western cultural perception of communication, it becomes more evident that their learning environment fails to acknowledge the diverse communication styles of other cultures; therefore the Tongan cultural way of communicating is disregarded within western society. Additionally, within the fāmili relationships this creates difficulties for parents and children to establish mutual understanding and the capacity to effectively communicate.

This study highlights that the questioning nature of youth in conjunction with the traditional communication style of their parents/elders does not only lead to miscommunication, but also to the unhelpful habit of ‘bottling things up’. For many young people this is a key concern in their relationships, and shared that it entails further impacts on their mental health. The insight of participants emphasised areas of improvement necessary in order to work towards reducing the risks of communication barriers between parents and youth, specifically the lack of mutual understanding. For instance, all participants elaborated upon the need to spend quality time and effectively listen to one another in order to understand the needs of youth. As a parent, Nita shared her ability to overcome the excuse of being too busy:

*My Daughter wanted me to take her to the museum one time and it was really hard, because sometimes I’m busy... eventually I made the effort and I took her, and she was happy. I felt closer to her. Its relationship building when you do that and you really listen to what they’re saying. And when you do it, it makes a huge difference. You know, it brings you guys together and enjoy your time.*

Mavoa et al. (2003) describe expectations within the Tongan population as an aspect that reflects culturally shared values and ideas. By critically exploring the different
contributing factors within the wellbeing of Tongan people in Auckland, New Zealand, it is clear that there is a connection between the opportunities that attracted migration and the expectations Tongan elders hold for the younger generation. As explored in Chapter One and by Tongan parents there is a historical expectation for young people to achieve an education. In fact, youth participants interviewed in this study collectively identified the pressures from the expectations of their parents to become either a medical or legal professional. Although young people struggled to identify their chosen career paths, all youth in this research shared their personal disinterest for the medical and legal profession. Analysis of study findings focused on the intricacies of pressure illustrates risks of increased isolation between parents and children and further impacts on the education of young people. This was highlighted through the common perception of their inability to openly communicate their struggles and life experiences and successfully meet expectations within the parent-child relationship.

Such realities are also somewhat determined by other factors such as identity crisis, lack of resources and additional support, which can also have an immense impact on the ability for youth to meet certain expectations (Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008; Soakai, 2016). Moreover, a key finding from research is the reality that pressure to meet expectations focused on education is also a communication barrier within the Tongan fāmili, which is entrenched within neoliberal ideologies, such as the concept of austerity. The economic reduction of public expenditures created strict sanctions on public housing and benefits, which puts more financial pressure on the fāmili to survive within New Zealand. In saying that, although this is a chief influence on the education and communication in Tongan families, individuals are occupied by their own weaknesses rather that the limitations of the oppressive system governing their education.

The education system in New Zealand is structured upon the neoliberal agenda that caters to the dominant western culture at the expense of other diverse populations such as the Tongan kāinga (Kalavite, 2012; Manu’atu, 2000; Thaman, 1995) Therefore, unrealistic high expectations embedded within the wellbeing of Tongan youth are not only influenced by Tongan elders who dream of a prosperous future for the young Tongan generation. It is important to recognize that these expectations become unrealistic due to the power dynamics in the wider neoliberal environment that structures education in a way that devalues the importance of the Tongan culture and identity of young people today (Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008).
Komunitī (Tongan Community)

Community is a concept that embraces the collective nature of the Tongan culture and lifestyle. In New Zealand and the Kingdom of Tonga, the Tongan community is primarily embedded within the traditional knowledge of tauhi vā, which was explored within Chapter One of this thesis. This notion of tauhi vā is governed by relationship principles that Kalavite (2012) reiterates as ‘ofa, fe’ofo’ofání or fe’ofa’aki (love, caring and generosity); faka’apa’apa (respect); fatongia, faifatongia, fua fatongia or fua kavenga (responsibilities and commitments to the fulfillment of mutual obligations); fetokoni’aki, toka’i and feveitokai’aki (cooperation, consensus and maintenance of good relationships); mamahi’i me’a and talangafua (loyalty, commitment and obedience); and fakatōkilalo (humility and generosity). Although these values and principles are immensely rooted within the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga, through the intersection of tā-vā (time and space) and insight of participants, it is evident that the tauhi vā is practised and demonstrated differently within the Tongan community in the Kingdom of Tonga in comparison to New Zealand. These indifferences are determined by the changing tides of culture, particularly the assimilation to an economically driven culture as a result of Pasifiki migration (Morton-Lee, 2003). Thaman (1995) stresses the importance of Tongan kāinga fulfiling their own social roles in order for tauhi vā on a community level, Tongan women would focus upon creative arts and crafts, while men navigated and hunted for survival. The significance of these roles in the communities of the kingdom of Tonga ensures survival and the preservation of societal hierarchies through collective responsibilities. Furthermore, the community works collaboratively towards preventing inaccessibility to sufficient quantity of food and other necessary supplies within the kāinga.

The influence of neoliberal reforms have impacted the capacity for Tongan kāinga in the New Zealand context to maintain these particular social roles, as they would do so in Tonga. The Tongan kāinga are predominantly living in low socio-economic circumstances in New Zealand and will continue to do so as neoliberalism continuously influence the functions of the diverse communities throughout society. Minority populations such as the Tongan kāinga experience a variety of disparities that impact the wellbeing of the community (Thaman, 2008). During the gradual escalation of Pasifiki migration, Tongan people who left their homeland shared a common expectation which is the responsibility to financially support their fāmili through the process of remittance. Over time the notion of fulfilling social roles through financial support became overwhelmingly fixed within the Tongan community. From the research findings and Kalavite’s (2012) study, Tongan kāinga, particularly young people express that their obligations within tauhi vā are somewhat determined by the lack of money.
and awareness to the influence of both Tongan and western cultures on their wellbeing. This highlights the community difficulties to uphold responsibilities due to financial stress.

Social relationships are a focal point of Tongan culture and facilitate a crucial role in the education and fāmili connections of young people. Pasifiki literature elucidates that civilisation in the Tongan culture is predominantly determined by social capital or as previously discussed within Chapter Two, ‘cultural capital’; that is a concept based on maintaining healthy relationships and a strong komuiniti (Fa’avae, 2016). The ability of Tongan kāinga to fulfil their shared responsibilities in the Tongan New Zealand community is determined by wider environmental factors. Māhina (2008) identifies the prime factors that impact the Tongan komuiniti by distinguishing the difference of a western culture, which is singular and individualistic in comparison to the Tongan culture, which is plural, collectivistic and holistic. In saying that, similarly from literature such as Phelps (2018), research findings reiterate that Tongan kāinga perceive education as a notion that is not solely focused on an individual, but a journey and achievement of the community as a whole. It was in the later stages of this thesis that the impacts of individualism and collectivism were acknowledged as both positive and negative influences in the Tongan parent-child relationship and education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

The upbringing of Tongan youth in a Western society that favours individualism like New Zealand poses many associated dilemmas when aligned with traditional collective expectations and values. Furthermore, it is illustrated as a dividing component between the different Tongan generations and childhood environment. The differing components of a collective lens in comparison to an individualistic perspective is that, the individualism is self-centred. It was highlighted within the research findings that Tongan youth primarily operate with an individualistic lens more so than their Tongan elders as these westernised principles are embedded within areas such as the education system (Thaman, 1997). Although the individualistic perspective of young Tongan people possess certain disadvantages within their wellbeing, thorough research analysis demonstrates that there are also advantages of a westernised perspective in the wellbeing of the Tongan community.

Examination of research findings exemplifies that individualism within the wellbeing of Tongan young people influences the development of a greater sense of self in their community. For instance, many youth participants in the study were able to identify their own personal goals and needs in regards to education and their parent-child relationships. During the talanoa this seemed very important as they were able to identify success it will bring to their fāmili and kāinga. Although collectivism is integrated in the Tongan culture, the
generalization of wellbeing is predominantly determined through relationships and can impact an individual’s capacity to develop an awareness of self (Soakai, 2016). Throughout the research some Tongan parents and youth struggled to identify individualistic factors about the self. It became clear that Tongan people would tend to draw upon their relationships with parents, family and relatives to discuss aspects of their identity, which is the norm within the Tongan culture. Such as the sense of acceptance that many Tongan youth learn from their parents when setting their own personal goals. For instance, Mele spoke about her chosen career path, but the need of support and acceptance from her family in order to feel a sense of fulfilment. This brings our awareness to the reality that there are also present struggles illustrated throughout the stories of Tongan parents and particularly youth to follow their own personal expectations.

Unfortunately, the sense of self is also where this dilemma between the western culture and Tongan culture lingers within the community. Although, individualism increases the opportunity for Tongan youth to seek a greater sense of self and become critical about certain aspects of their life, the development of indifferences to the Tongan culture can lead to a loss of belonging in the Tongan community (Soakai, 2016). Tongan people continue to encounter difficulties in fulfilling their shared responsibilities in tauhi vā. Over time, it is believed that shared responsibilities of Tongan young people have become restrictive within their education and sense of belonging (Kalavite, 2012). Kalavite (2012) elaborates upon the struggle for Tongan young people to find a balance in education and their fatongia (responsibilities) in the Tongan community. Kalavite’s (2012) study illustrated that the fatongia of individuals are determined by time and money. The stories of parents and youth in the research also highlighted the pressures caused by the fatongia of Tongan young people in their community and the ripple effect on their education. According to Kalavite (2012) these pressures of time and money also create risks of criminal conduct for financial purposes.

A common aspects illustrated throughout the research findings is the lack of knowledge and awareness between both Tongan generations (parents/elders and young people) to the multifaceted impacts of tā-vā (time and space) Talanoa with parents demonstrated that this influenced their knowledge of long-lasting difficulties to effectively support Tongan youth throughout different aspects of their wellbeing, particularly their education. Consistent with current literature, on a community level this barrier is influenced by inaccessibility of necessary resources that holistically cater to the Tongan way of learning and cultural practices (Vaka, 2016). Through a critical perspective in exploring Pasifiki literature, inaccessibility has intensified as the neoliberal agenda of New Zealand social policy
impinges on support for families, where the distribution and priority of resources are dictated by individualistic principles that devalue the meaning of collectivism in Tongan communities and their neighbouring Pasifiki nations. An example of this is the overwhelming occurrence of suicide in the Tongan population of New Zealand, particularly the Tongan young people. In this study, Emeline and Mele spoke about their past struggles with suicide ideation and the difficulties of experiencing such thoughts related to suicide, a taboo that was not instilled within their lives at a young age, particularly due to the conflicting nature in the Tongan culture. Mele spoke passionately about what she had learned about the value of self from unaddressed mental health issues. She states:

_I’ve seen a lot of people who distance themselves from people they care about and people that care about them. I feel like it has to do with feeling afraid that they will leave them... I think it’s [the] doubts in your mind, you [begin to] question your self-worth or if people actually love you...And question why all these problems are happening to me... You feel like no one understands you and [although] you’re surrounded by people, you [still] feel alone._

Although historically the concept of suicide is a taboo within the Tongan community, the unending presence of suicide illustrates the existence of a constant battle to seek change. The struggle to address suicide within the Tongan community is predominantly dictated by a lack of resourcing by government initiatives. Between the years 1996 to 2010 Tongan youth suicide rates fluctuated from 1 to 6 each year. However, on 2011, 11 young Tongan lives were taken away by suicide and in 2012, 7 young people died (Tiatia-Seath, 2014). According to research in the years 2011 and 2012 the suicide rate of Tongan youth shattered the community due to its dramatic increase (Sinisa, 2013). Furthermore, research suggests that access to mental health services and additional support was an issue for Pasifiki people in New Zealand (Vaka, 2016). Over time, although the awareness that suicide exists and is a concern that gradually grows in the Tongan community, research results in this study indicate that there is a lack of understanding in regards to several risk factors leading to suicide such as pressures, communication barriers and mental health. This concern highlights that there are apprehensions related to educating the Tongan community about suicide and the importance of seeking support in regards to aspects within their wellbeing such as mental health.

Pasifiki people experiencing risk factors of suicide do not seek additional support due to the fear of becoming a burden (Vaka, 2016). Common key factors that determine this is the lack of time and understanding as a barrier in talking to Tongan parents/elders about suicide. Young people identified with the fear of rejection due to its taboo and prior reactions in the
past. The increase of Tongan suicide statistics throughout New Zealand influenced an increase of established and implemented suicide prevention and intervention supports in the Tongan community. However, from my reflection of research findings, literature alongside work experience with Tongan youth in Auckland, many suicide supports encourage open communication between the young people and parents, through the discussion of suicide ideation. Therefore, this presents the community supports with a dilemma as the communication barriers within the parent-child relationship needs to be addressed in order to allow discussions about suicide. On a community level, supports for the Tongan kāinga can also be limited through the umbrella term ‘Pasifiki people’. Therefore, it suggests that the unique wellbeing of Tongan kāinga are disregarded and generalised within the umbrella term of Pasifiki people. An example of this is implemented in support initiatives such as the Ministry of Health document ‘Ala Mo’ui (2010) addressing the Pasifiki health.

The impact of neoliberalism embedded in the lives of Tongan kāinga in New Zealand reiterates the importance of the collective principles historically entrenched within the Tongan kāinga. Through the principles of tauhi vā, the Tongan kāinga need to work collectively in order to address certain aspects such as suicide. However, there are limitations within the capacity for the New Zealand Tongan community to do so. Although, the younger Tongan population have adapted to individualism and differences associated with their societal relationships, research results and literature indicate that the role of neo-liberalism on Tongan communities is overlooked.

Fonua (Wider environment)

The influence of westernised ideologies was unconsciously introduced in the Kingdom of Tonga through the notion of religion, as discussed in Chapter One, where European missionaries taught Tongan kāinga that civilisation was focused on assimilating into westernised ways of learning and development (Thaman, 1995). Unfortunately, this notion of civilisation was governed by westernised ideologies, predominantly embedded in an economic agenda (Thaman, 1995). Over time, the severity of westernization in the Tongan wellbeing increased through Pasifiki migration to economically developed countries and fonua which are chiefly governed by neoliberalism, such as New Zealand. Thaman (1997) stresses that the very same opportunities that attracted migration to New Zealand are the continuous struggles and stressors for Tongan kāinga today.

Neoliberalism serves as the foundation in which aspects such as social institutions such as the education system, ideologies, the law and political system are built upon. Macionis and Plummer (2008) describes this as “the extreme affluence of some people, and the abject
poverty of others” as cited in Cree (2010, p.28) Through critical analysis of research findings such as the experiences of financial distress and lack of accessibility to educational resources of participants, alongside existing literature, it becomes apparent that the poverty cycle in which Tongan kāinga predominantly experience, is a product of capitalism. Therefore, the wider environmental factors that impact the constant vulnerability of generational struggles with low-income and detrimental labouring hours are engulfed in the structure of society and power dynamics of social control from the Government.

MacPherson (2001) explored the nature of migration to New Zealand as a process of change for Pasifiki people to become more acquainted with the freedom to draw upon their new environment and experiences in order to recombine a ‘new’ culture. While, many New Zealand born Tongan youth are more connected to neoliberal New Zealand than Tongan customs, the perspective of a ‘recombined culture’ (MacPherson, 2001) is a terminology that struggles to grasp the realities and experiences of most Tongan parents and some youth who struggle on a daily basis to integrate their cultural perspective into their lifestyle in New Zealand. It also becomes apparent from the analysis of the findings that building a new culture based on new experiences within a neoliberal environment is also an aspect that is questionable due to the devaluing of one culture. Mafile'o (2005b) makes explicit that as the notion of power dynamics are illuminated through the governing principles of capitalism in New Zealand society, cultural hegemony becomes a greater expectation of minority populations such as the Tongan kāinga. All participants shared the view that they needed to amend their own cultural practices, beliefs and also values to westernised ideologies due to the impact of modernization within their fāmil. In the same context, participants expressed that culture changes with time, however through knowledge of the systemic ideologies of a colonised society, there is a possibility that culture is somewhat changing at the expense of the Tongan wellbeing (Cree, 2010).

For many Tongan families factors such as the lack of accessibility to resources led to an unbreakable cycle of poverty (Thaman, 2008). The poverty cycle elucidates the reality that poor people are generally undermined in relation to their fundamental rights to resources such as education and other basic needs within their lives (UNESCO, 1995). Regrettably, the poverty cycle is a concept that significantly affects minority groups of society; unsurprisingly within New Zealand the Pasifiki kāinga are known to be the third largest minority group, therefore have a strong presence within the poverty cycle (Siteine & Wendt-Samu, 2009). This amplifies that the concerning battle Tongan parents and youth to alleviate the struggle of low-
income and extensive hours of labour is very difficult and will continue to entail foreseeable impacts on their wellbeing due to the power of neoliberalism within their wider environment.

Tongan young people continue to experience a long-lasting pattern in regards to the dilemma of choosing between fulfilling an education or leaving school to seek financial support for their families. The majority of research participants shared their perspective in regards to school dropout rates within the Tongan population as a concern that is influenced by the financial stress and struggles experienced by many Tongan families throughout New Zealand. It was understood that many young people are leaving school prior to completion of Level 3 NCEA (Year 13) due to either the pressures or obligations to support their families financially. For some Tongan youth the autonomy to obtain an education is stripped due to their parent’s expectations to financially provide. This reality is perceived as an instrument that strengthens the poverty cycle, as many Tongan youth who primarily achieve employment within entry-level factory labouring, with an incomplete school qualification are at risk to the chain of a low socio-economic lifestyle. Tevita shares:

\[\text{Whatever work they get whether it’s Burger King or McDonalds or working at a construction site picking up the timbers, when they get the money that’s it for the kids, they’ll be like ‘oh that’s fine I get money for the family’, but they still struggle and [are stuck] in the chain of struggle.}\]

The notion of cultural identity and roles is a concept that helps define and articulate Tongan values. Culture provide individuals with a rich social network and is known to sustain the interactions of Tongan kāinga with the world (Phelps, 2018). Pasifiki migration to New Zealand impacted the capacity for Tongan kāinga to maintain their Tongan cultural identity, through factors such as the ability to integrate cultural values, beliefs and practices in parent-child relationships. For example, as previously stressed the parent-child relationship is deeply rooted in a mixture of western and Tongan culture, therefore there are difficulties of illuminating roles and responsibilities embedded within the value of faka’apa’apa in the Tongan fāmili system. Morton Lee (2013) compliments this insight through the critical exploration of remittance to Tonga, demonstrating the cultural responsibilities of Tongan migrants in New Zealand to provide for their families in Tonga. However, there are difficulties in fulfilling these obligations due to a low socio-economic lifestyle, which includes financial instability, poor housing conditions and other consequences of the poverty cycle. Although the concept of identity is primarily an individual matter, existing literature demonstrates that as the Tongan kāinga predominantly identify as a collective culture, the wider environmental level entails a crucial influence on this aspect of the Tongan wellbeing.
What does that mean for social work?

Social work is a profession that is engrained within all levels of the Tongan wellbeing, such as the fāmili, komiunití and fonua. Analysis of talanoa with parents and young people in this research amplifies that the significance of education, alongside social work practice is located within the realm of Tongan kāinga (Mafile’o, 2005b). As social work is continuously constructed and determined by the complexities of our societal context (Beckett, 2006), the stories of and experiences of participants further illustrates that in a westernised society such as New Zealand, the effectiveness of social work practice in the Tongan wellbeing is dictated by the neoliberal agenda of wider environmental factors. These influences are found in the marketisation of public services, cuts and austerity policies in regards to income, housing and the increased emphasis on individual rather than collective responsibilities. Based on this reality it is important to acknowledge that as the Tongan kāinga experience these prominent impacts, there are also reforming neoliberal regimes restructuring and determining the profession of social work (Ferguson, 2008). Through the examination of current social work practice literature focused on the Tongan population and other Pasifiki nations, it was highlighted that although there is a greater awareness of their collective nature (Mafile’o, 2009), social work practice is unceasingly determined by westernised aspects and limitations in practice knowledge. It was also stressed that these influences on social practice can become continuously detrimental to the Tongan well-being and education of young people in Auckland, New Zealand. In saying that, I will briefly discuss the dilemma in the social work role which continuously effects the Tongan wellbeing.

The empowerment of individuals, families, groups and communities is a pivotal principle within social work practice. However, it is important to recognise that social work is a profession embedded within the notion of power, authority and status, which are conferred by legislations which demonstrate that social work can also become a means of social control (ANZASW, 2013). This concept highlights the reality that social work practice encompasses a dual focus within the context of client empowerment and social control. However,

*From time to time, social work in practice has concentrated more on one focus that the other, often emphasising the specific at the expense of the general, and sometimes imposing solutions rather than enabling and empowering people to take charge of their own lives in the context of their own values and aspirations.* (ANZASW, 2013, p. 4-5)

The dual focus of social work in the New Zealand context is deeply rooted within the governing dilemma between evidence based practice and critical practice; two types of
practices that continuously impact the wellbeing of society (Ferguson, 2008; Spratt, 2005). Evidence based practice (EBP) is primarily focused upon the efficiency and regulation of available resources; it is predominantly known as a concept that is governed by neoliberal governmental objectives (Ferguson, 2008). EBP is an approach which compliments the social control of the social work profession, as it is embedded within scientific methods that determine the measurement of economic and managerialism realities of ‘efficiency’ in practice outcomes. Through an individualism and reductionism perspective measurements are based on two key components 1) effectiveness 2) cost-effectiveness and efficiency in the output and outcome of practice (Webb, 2002). Whereas critical practice is a product of time and place embedded within a disputable contested nature, as it is developed upon the relationship between individuals and their environment (Hick & Pozzuto, 2005). While there is no single understanding and definition of critical practice, it is known for its influences in broadening critical awareness that enhances the diverse needs of society (Spratt, 2005). Pease (2009) elaborates upon the significance of mediating social practice in accordance to the environment. Therefore, critical practice encompasses a key challenge in building from diverse narratives such as personal environment and experiences with the integration of a range of theoretical perspectives and methods (Ferguson, 2008).

Social work practice knowledge is increasingly governed by both EBP and critical practice. This brief summary of both approaches provides insight to the dilemma that while social work practice is embedded in the capacity to practice in such a way that understands and challenges the position of oppressed in the context of social and economic structures, it is a profession that continuously compliments the assimilation of people to neoliberal structure: the very same structures that is detrimental to the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga. In saying that, the voices of participants explored in this research illustrated three key emerging areas of their well-being and education of young people that require further social work attention. For the most part research findings reveal the social work stipulation to integrate culturally responsive practice. These three domains are focused on social work within the education system, New Zealand Tongan community and also practice approaches in the Tongan fāmili.

Although culturally responsive practice is an approach that has over time become increasingly integrated in social work with Pasifiki communities (Afeaki, 2001), this study stresses the importance for practice knowledge to become accustomed with the notion of tauhi vā when working with Tongan kāinga. In saying that, kāinga within this research has influenced the establishment of a new Tongan practice framework known as “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga” which translates into “Connecting with the people” (See Figure 5.3). The pivotal
focus of this framework is the integration of tauhi vā principles in social work practice, which serves the purpose of guiding practitioners towards establishing meaningful and culturally appropriate relationships between the profession and all social networks in the Tongan wellbeing. The following discussion within this chapter highlights how the governing principles of tauhi vā throughout social work relationships within the New Zealand education system, Tongan community and fāmili, can potentially minimises the impacts of neoliberal agendas within the wider environment, with a focus on strengthening the parent-child relationship, alongside educational supports for Tongan young people.

Figure 5.3: Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga Practice Framework

In the year 1999 social work became a profession that was increasingly integrated within the New Zealand education system through the development of the Social Workers in schools (SWiS) programme (Belgrave, et al., 2002; Jiang, et al., 2017). Over the years, the roles and responsibilities of SwiS have encountered reforms based on the notion of evidence-based practice (Davidson & Tolich, 1999). Today, SwiS serves many purposes within the wellbeing of students, which are focused upon aspects such as improving personal and family circumstances, ensuring that parents-caregivers are well connected to their communities, appropriate referrals are made to specialized support for children and their families (Jiang, et al., 2017) and in relationship with the child protection system (Beddoe & De Haan, 2018).

SWiS encompass a strong value for a family focused approach to the education of young people. Through this programme, social work practice is focused upon enabling
families to collectively work towards identifying goals and becoming independent from social services (Hollis-English & Selby, 2014). Although, SWiS entail responsibilities of maintaining a collaborative relationship between schools, communities and families, this research highlights that the intersection of communication between schools and the Tongan fāmili has become increasingly governed by an individualistic approach to the wellbeing of students and their struggles in school. Therefore, the collaboration between schools and Tongan families are weakened which is detrimental to young Tongan people. For instance, some youth participants in this study have shared their disheartening experiences of communication between their schools and parents being predominantly entrenched within problematic aspects such as behavioural issues and overdue assignments.

*If I had an assignment due today and I didn’t do it, they send a letter home and that’s my checkpoint if you haven’t finished that work…. that’s how stressful it is, it’s harder now…* (Sela)

*So at my school they have this thing called a ‘Weekly Engagement Report’ where they mark you every week out of five, if I get two and below that will probably get my parents angry* (Siua)

Through a critical analysis of Sela and Siua’s experiences in relation to the principles of tauhi vā in the framework “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga” it becomes clear that letters and phone calls as a means of communication is perceived in the Tongan wellbeing as inappropriate, ineffective and disrespectful (Mafile’o, 2005b). Respect (Faka’apa’apa) is a core quality of social work and the Tongan culture, particularly in the establishment and maintenance of relationships (Kalavite, 2012). Therefore, the form of communication between schools and families through forums such as ‘Checkpoints’ and ‘Weekly Engagement Reports’ entail limitations within the empowering of the Tongan wellbeing, particularly education of young people. Furthermore, this also limits the capacity for SWiS to embrace the process of fakafekau’aki (connecting) in the Tongan kāinga and fāmili. However, in congruent to the notion of EBP in the practice of SWiS, it becomes apparent that the limitations within maintaining a culturally responsive approach between the communication of schools and families is impacted by the lack of resources such as efficiency in necessary time to develop culturally appropriate relationships with Tongan families. For instance, administration such as reports is a significant factor within the driving notion of EBP in social work practice, due to the overwhelming focus on reports, SWiS struggle to maintain a consistency in required home visits with Tongan families.
Sela and Siua’s experiences highlights that there is a crucial necessity to integrate a critical perspective in social work as a pivotal foundation of developing a holistic approach in practice. In saying that, it becomes clear that in order to effectively improve the relationship between schools and Tongan families it is vital to integrate culturally responsive practice within social work and also the education system (Mafile’o 2005b). Through the notion of culturally responsive practice, social work practitioners also embrace a holistic and strength-based approach in their practice. The integration of culturally responsive practice significantly strengthens the collaboration between SWiS, the education system and Tongan families. Through this notion, social work creates opportunities within the education system to implement principles of tauhi vā in their communication and relationship with Tongan families. Through aspects such as faka’apa’apa (respect) and fetokoni’aki (partnership) this also highlights the importance of reducing communication primarily focused on crisis or behavioural interventions, with an amplified emphasis on prevention. Mafile’o (2005b) elaborates upon the ability for social work practitioners to become more empowering within the Tongan kāinga through the notion of tauhi vā principles as it helps maintain the social roles within the fāmili system.

Culturally responsive practice through the “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga” practice framework informs the importance of collectivity and inclusiveness within the communication, alongside relationship with Tongan kāinga. Nita is a parent participant who is currently working in a secondary school and observes the impacts of poor communication with the home, through the educational support of parents.

I don’t think [parenting support] is improving, honestly, it’s sad. Mainly, a few of them [Tongan youth] have homes that look after them and education is improving. But for the most of them I see don’t. They’re late to class, wagging or always at the dean’s office...But there are a few students’ that are looked after by their family, I see the difference.

Nita’s insight interprets that another benefit of a culturally responsive collaboration is the inclusiveness of students within the school and family relationship. A common factor illustrated throughout this study is the need for social work and schools to become acquainted within inclusive and collective language when communicating with students and their families, such as “we believe that in order for our Tongan children to improve in their studies, we need to....” This demonstrates a sense of ‘ofa and fe’ofa’ofani (care) within social practice and reduces risks of demeaning the capacity to work collaboratively with Tongan families. Furthermore, this strategy signifies the vital requirement for schools to prioritize the
The importance of communication in the Tongan parent-child relationship, prior to community-based interventions. However, it is crucial to understand the vital requirement of culturally responsive practice, as its absence can create difficulties in maintaining a fāmili focused approach in practice. The prioritisation of a fāmili centred approach prior to community supports, is an important factor that does not only embrace the collective nature of Tongan wellbeing in strengthening the parent-child relationship and education of Tongan youth; it also compliments and reinforces social work practice carried out the community level.

As time changes, the needs and struggles of individuals, families and communities also change (Meyer, 1993). Today, the presence of social work practice and organizations within the Pasifiki community of Auckland, New Zealand is unceasingly growing due to the diverse needs of kāinga. Current social work literature and this research illustrates an emphasis on community as a pivotal aspect within the wellbeing of Pasifiki people (Mafile’o, 2009). Pasifiki specific social practice is a crucial aspect within the Pasifiki community as it is entrenched within a deep-rooted collective value, a concept that social work must acknowledge, embrace and integrate in order to effectively empower the Pasifiki people. Over time within New Zealand, social practice-knowledge has utilized the vital concept of culture in addressing the needs and wellbeing of Tongan kāinga and other Pasifiki nations in a holistic and strength-based approach (Mafile’o, 2005a).

Talanoa with participants complimented the values of culture in the Tongan wellbeing and further highlighted that a crucial part of this shift in social work knowledge is the introduction and implementation of culturally responsive practice, which invites social work professionals to move beyond customary professional boundaries in order to embrace the diverse notion of social change (Tan & Dodds, 2002). Findings of this study illustrates that the community level of social work practice requires a critical stance in the Tongan kāinga through culturally responsive practice. “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga” serves as a framework that does not only bring awareness to certain social issues that continuously impact their wellbeing, but also the capacity to address the risk factors within the Tongan parent-child relationships, such as communication barriers, lack of awareness, pressure and acculturation. As social work practitioners’ work within the Tongan community, it is vital to be mindful of the diverse insight Tongan youth and parents/elders encompass about social issues and taboo topics such as sexuality and suicide (Sinisa, 2013) due to the continuous contributing factors of both western and Tongan cultural values (Koloto, 2003). Therefore, there may be a need to address social issues differently with both generations. It is believed that through “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga”, the integration of principles such as tahu vā becomes essential...
for social work practice to become increasingly governed by the ability to fakafekau’aki (connect) through faka’apa’apa (respect), fetokoni’aki (partnership) and fe’ofa’fani (care), in order to maintain the Tongan cultural social roles, and implement supports that address social issues such as suicide in young people. Additionally, this approach also empowers Tongan kāinga and fāmili to establish and maintain strong relationships.

As previously explored throughout this research, suicide is a concerning issue within the Tongan community, particularly in the wellbeing of young people (Sinisa, 2013). Over time, Pasifiki initiatives such as the “Toko Collaboration” unceasingly work towards facilitating workshops and supports otherwise known as ‘Fonos’ throughout communities with a focus upon educating Tongan kāinga about the risks of suicide and the importance of preventing suicide (Le Va, 2014). Through the notion of culturally responsive practice, discussions within the Tongan community have developed a greater awareness for kāinga to address the growing concerns of suicide within the realm of their social networks. Although discussions about social issues such as suicide continue to increase throughout the Tongan community, the experiences of young people within this research stresses that the taboo of suicide and other aspects in their wellbeing gradually becomes a communication barrier in the fāmili ‘api. This reality stresses that addressing the risks of suicide and other struggles such as mental health within the fāmili system is crucial because it is an obstacle in the lives of young people. Therefore, there are presenting concerns and limitations in the effectiveness of social work practice if community implemented services are not reinforced and supported within the fāmili ‘api.

The adoption of a critical perspective portrays that social work practice in the community needs to work harmoniously with services and supports available in the fāmili level of the Tongan wellbeing. This balance is vital in strengthening the fāmili relationship and communication between parents and children, particularly in challenging the dwelling taboo and barriers impacting this relationship and education of young people. Culturally responsive practice and insight to the cultural aspects of tauhi vā through “Fakafekau'aki mo e kāinga” elucidates that the discussions of suicide must also be introduced within the fāmili in order to develop greater insight to the risk factors present within the lives of young people. As a fāmili approach is prioritised social work practitioners integrate tauhi vā values in creating a safe space to facilitate open talanoa between parents and children, empower their capacity to recognise the risks of suicide and work collectively towards addressing these risk factors.

Although, it is important to acknowledge the efforts of social work practice in the Tongan community, the research findings of this study have also raised an awareness to the
powerful influence of an neoliberal environment on the lack of social work engagement within the family level of the Tongan wellbeing. While the awareness of collective principles in social practice magnify’s the significance of kāinga and networking social relationships, it is important to also recognize the critical role of the family relationship, particularly between parents and children (Mafile’o, 2005b). Existing literature such as Pasifika Futures (2017) acknowledges the importance of building relationships between parents and schools, young people with their communities, and communities with families with the focus on bettering the education of Tongan youth. However, this research identifies that the most significant relationship in the wellbeing of a Tongan young person is the parent and child relationship. As this research elucidates that there is a need to strengthen the Tongan parent-child relationship, and in order to do so, social work practitioners need to support families in their home.

The required social work engagement on a Tongan family level stresses the need for social practice in the Tongan fāmili system to become more pro-active. Talanoa with Tongan youth and parents illustrated the need for a greater presence of social work practitioners in the family home of Tongan people. Through the integration of culturally responsive practice, alongside a holistic and strength-based approach; social work practice in the Tongan fāmili encompasses the potential of working towards open communication in the wellbeing of both parents and children, alongside the education of Tongan young people. Social practice with a focus on the fāmili relationship also creates a safe place for young people to speak about taboo topics such as suicide and sexuality.

While the channel of communication is supported by social work practice through the notion of culturally responsive practice, practitioner’s work within a family-centred approach, which protects the values of tauhi vā while strengthening the Tongan parent-child relationship. For example, the value of fua fatongia (commitment to responsibilities) is a vital principle within individuals as their responsibilities in the fāmili and kāinga influences their self-worth and fulfillment. As a social work practitioner, it is crucial to recognise and remain mindful of their fua fatongia and ensure that it does not devalue or overstep the boundaries of Tongan parents in the fāmili and wellbeing of their children. It is important to note this possible risk due to the unceasingly value Tongan kāinga encompass towards their own roles and responsibilities in tauhi vā and their self-identity (Thaman, 1995; 1997). A family-centred approach to social work with Tongan kāinga does not eliminate the importance of practice on a fonua (wider environmental) and komiuniti (community) level. This is a concept that the life-stories and voices of research participants have clarified as significant to their wellbeing and education of Tongan youth.
Summary

The neoliberal reformation of New Zealand has impacted the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga throughout different levels of their social environment such as the famili, komiuniti and fonua. Analysis of study findings and social research literature amplifies the generational impacts of wider environmental factors within the Tongan wellbeing. As these factors continuously affect Tongan kāinga on a komiuniti (community) and fāmili (family) level, the parent-child relationship and education of Tongan youth are at risk of further deterioration. In order to continuously challenge the neo-liberal impact on social practice, it is crucial for practitioners and other helping professionals to integrate the governing and theoretical critical perspective. The key emerging themes illustrated within research findings did not only identify the significance of culturally responsive practice within the profession of social work, but influenced the establishment of a Tongan specific practice framework known as “Fakafekau'aki mo e kāinga”. The integration of this practice framework within existing social work practice in the New Zealand education system, Tongan community and fāmili, creates the opportunity for a harmonious and empowering influence on the wellbeing of Tongan young people and their parents.
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Today Tongan käinga and other Pasifiki nations continuously voyage to New Zealand for better quality and higher education with the hopes of a prosperous lifestyle. It is disheartening that the reality of Tongan wellbeing in western society is challenged by their over-representation in negative New Zealand educational statistics such as school dropout, low achievement and participation rates (Pasifika Futures, 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2001; 2014). As this over-representation continues, Pasifiki academics have increasingly explored and acknowledged contributing aspects entrenched within the education and wellbeing of Tongan young people (Kēpa & Manu’atu, 2008). This has opened up opportunities to explore and compare the diversities between the Tongan and western culture. This exploration increased the understanding of the complex yet deep-rooted disparities embedded within society and the education system, which continues to drastically affect the wellbeing of Tongan käinga, fāmili and individuals.

Over time, there have been many indicators for further Pasifiki research to critically explore the collective responsibilities and social influences on the wellbeing and education of Tongan children and young people. Today, there is a growing body of research literature concerning the relationships embedded within the education of Tongan youth, however, much of this is focused on the acknowledgement of relationships as a significant concept in the education of Pasifiki youth, and therefore importance of strengthening the relationships between schools with parents, communities with schools and schools with students. Sadly, there is a very little focus on critically exploring the dynamics of the Tongan fāmili system, particularly the parent-child relationship. In saying that, through the context and perspectives of research participants, this thesis highlights the value of the parent-child relationship in the education of Tongan youth of Auckland, New Zealand. The critical exploration of their life-stories and voices clarifies major insights of being either migrants or descendants of migrants settling in New Zealand, their experiences of tauhi vā in a western social context and specifically its influencing principle on the education of Tongan young people.

Social work literature and Pasifiki research have linked the education achievements of Tongan youth to the significance of healthy relationships (Kalavite, 2012). This research has identified that within contemporary society, aspects such as communication, lack of
awareness, pressure and acculturation are contributing factors on the health of parent-child relationships, such as the ability to develop close relationships through communication. In fact, the experiences of research participants highlights the connection between their parent-child relationships and educational prospects. This research demonstrates that these key emerging themes also encompass unforeseen consequences on the education of young people, and play a vital role in the struggles of youth, as they yearn for higher education through their struggles, expectations and pressures. However, as illustrated within the talanoa of youth participants, these contributing factors also impact other aspects of their wellbeing such as mental health and the opportunity to reduce risks of experiencing the generational struggle of a low socio-economic status and poor health.

The embodiment of social work practice knowledge throughout this research study was vital in order to articulate the significant role of social work within the wellbeing of Tongan families and education of Tongan young people, particularly in their prospects of higher education. Current social work literature encompass the collective nature of the Tongan wellbeing and education by primarily exploring the Tongan community as a whole (Afeaki, 2001; Mafile’o, 2005b). As a result of this collective and community approach, over time the Tongan New Zealand kāinga have gained accessibility to educational, health and financial supports throughout their communities, this includes increase of study clinics (PōAko) for secondary students (Manu’atu & Kēpa, 2002). However, this research suggests that social work practice and services as currently offered are not holistically meeting the needs of Tongan young people and their families. It is anticipated that social work needs to develop a safe space to establish practice that involves challenging the communication barriers restricting the fulfillment of tauhi vā between parents and children. Through the experiences of youth research participants, it was identified that there is a weak intersection between the community supports with their families. Many young people may possess great support networks within different community organisations and unfortunately return home to an unsupported environment. Therefore, the limitations of social practice within the community illustrates the perpetuating influences these imbalances may continuously have on the Tongan wellbeing. It is crucial that social work practice encompasses a stronger engagement within the homes of Tongan families through bringing community talanoa about suicide and sexuality into the ‘api of Tongan kāinga. Educating Tongan elders and parents on communication methods utilised in order to open the channels within their ‘api to speak and collaboratively address their struggles. A greater presence of social work within the ‘api also highlights the integration of tauhi vā principles explored throughout this study.
Through the lens of culturally responsive practice, findings in this research highlight the opportunity for social practice to integrate a holistic approach in exploring, supporting and strengthening the Tongan fāmili system, particularly the parent-child relationships. Through these supports, social work practitioners create a safe space for the fāmili to talanoa, collaborate with one another and work towards the prioritisation of education. Therefore, this research provides insights and recommendations not only for social work practice and Tongan kāinga, but also other parties that play a crucial role in the education of Tongan youth within New Zealand.

**Recommendations**

The following recommendations have been made from this study. The points are focused upon the importance of ensuring a holistic approach that culturally responsive practice is utilised within future recommendations related to three areas.

*Policy makers*

The national and local policymakers of New Zealand that influence the profession of social work and education system have a crucial role in the decision-making to improve the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga and education of Tongan youth in New Zealand. This thesis has identified the following implications from the talanoa of both Tongan parents and young people on their perspective about what is needed in order to improve parent-child relationships and the education of Tongan young people in New Zealand:

- It is imperative that the umbrella term of ‘Pasifika Education’ is deconstructed within the education system in order to acknowledge and address each Pasifiki nation in accordance to their unique needs and cultural practices. Within the Tongan kāinga it is important to enhance their wellbeing through the notion of tauhi vā. Although other Pasifiki nations encompass the collective principles of relationships, their protocols and tapu are diverse.

- There is a need to review current systemic implemented plans such as the ‘Pasifika Education Plan 2013-2017’ as it caters to the assimilation of Pasifiki people into a westernised education system. This review needs to challenge the need to ‘improve Pasifiki knowledge of the education system’ and become more acquainted with improving the education system’s knowledge of Pasifiki people. This includes the development and integration of cultural frameworks into the core fibre of the New Zealand education system.
There is a need for additional resources such as professional training in regards to Tongan specific practice knowledge in order to develop holistic and strength-based practice within the ‘api of Tongan kāinga. Training needs to include the notion of tauhi vā and how this Tongan principle can be utilized to strengthen school, social work and Tongan kāinga relationships.

**Social work**

Social work is a profession that needs to be embedded within Tongan communities and education system of New Zealand. Findings in this thesis identified the following recommendations:

- Social work practice within the education system needs to build upon a strengths based approach in establishing and maintaining relationships between Tongan parents, students and schools. Therefore, relationships are built upon the achievements of Tongan young people. This will not only become empowering but also focus on the significance of prevention.
- There is a need for a greater presence of social work practitioners within the ‘api of Tongan kāinga. While this is important, this also requires social work practitioners to understand the significance of tauhi vā in their professional relationship with Tongan families as it is a pivotal aspect in the Tongan wellbeing and governs all their relationships.
- There is a need for a reduced use of the umbrella term ‘Pasifiki’ and a stronger focus on each Pasifiki nation in order to understand the diverse and unique life-experiences, principles and needs for kāinga. Under the umbrella term of ‘Pasifiki’ social work practice knowledge focuses on the significance of a collective approach to issues within the Pasifiki wellbeing. Therefore, social work is practised collaboratively with the Pasifiki community as a whole. However, this research presents that the method of implementing a collective approach within the Tongan kāinga is through the adoption of the “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga” practice framework, as it enables the maintenance of culturally appropriate relationships through tauhi vā. It is important to acknowledge that tauhi vā is a Tongan specific cultural concept and these principles of maintaining relationships will differ within the Samoan, Niuean and Cook Island culture.
Further research

In order to effectively strengthen the parent-child relationship in the Tongan fāmili system and education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand, this thesis has demonstrated the need for further research in the following areas:

- A broader demographic of ‘parents’, to include grandparents, aunties, uncles and caregivers who encompass a parental role in the lives of young Tongan people. This is important as it takes into consideration the Tongan fāmili system and the different types of communication styles embedded within these relationships, which may also have an impact on the wellbeing of Tongan young people.

- All determinants of parent-child relationships for Tongan kāinga are needed in order to expand the literature in this area. This includes, education of children in primary and intermediate schools. The inclusion of all different levels of education may highlight similarities in the impact of wider environmental factors within the Tongan wellbeing. However, this also creates an opportunity to explore the different perspectives of communication and the Tongan culture.

- Further research is required in order to explore the similarities and differences of contributing factors in the education of Tongan young people in other geographical locations such as rural areas so that we are able to identify whether it is a problem that needs national attention.

- An area for further study might involve looking at how to improve the Tongan parent-child relationship in westernised societies. This study enlightened our awareness to the differing factors impacting the parent-child relationships. However, it is important to study how two cultures (western culture and Tongan culture) can dwell within the Tongan fāmili system in a healthy way, as over time the Tongan population will grow in terms of New Zealand born Tongans. Therefore, in order to reduce risks of the discussed contributing factors in this study from becoming a future generational issue, it is important to find a way to manage the presence of a westernised culture within the Tongan population of New Zealand.

- Further research into the way social work practice can become more holistic to Tongan kāinga on a fāmili level, without prejudice of the Tongan cultural values and beliefs. Opportunities for further research will also influence the development of culturally specific models of practice such the “Fakafekau’aki mo e kāinga” practice framework introduced within this study.
Overall, although this research only explored the perspectives of a small sample of the Tongan community in New Zealand, the voices of participants highlight the vital role of parent-child relationships in the wellbeing of Tongan kāinga and education of Tongan youth. This thesis serves as a stepping stone towards further research that will collectively enable Tongan kāinga and fāmili living in two cultures work towards a sense of understanding: An understanding that will empower Tongan young people within education and Tongan parents to create an ‘api embedded within open talanoa. Furthermore, this study informs the importance of social practice within embracing a holistic approach to the Tongan wellbeing. As we continue to uplift the voices of Tongan kāinga throughout New Zealand, we take a step closer to embracing the opportunities that influenced the voyage of our Tongan ancestors across the Pasifiki ocean.
REFERENCES


https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bch378


Sinisa, V. (2013) The reflections by Tongan parents or caregivers on various factors that may have contributed to the suicide of their child. (Masters Thesis). University of Auckland. Retrieved from: http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz


Participant Information Sheet for Adult Participants

Researcher: Linda-Lee Fatani (MSW Student)
Supervisors: Dr Matt Rankine, Associate Professor Liz Beddoe

Ko ‘Api ‘a e kamata ‘anga ‘o me’a kotoa pe: Exploring the significance of Tongan parent-child relationships on the education prospects of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

The Researcher

Malō e lelei, I am Linda-Lee Fatani and I am undertaking this research as part of my Master of Social Work degree at the University of Auckland. I currently hold a Bachelor of Social Work (Hons) degree and am committed to upholding social work values of justice and equality. As a young Tongan woman I am passionate in working within the Tongan community, particularly in bringing awareness to certain concepts that can better the lifestyle and wellbeing of the Tongan people.

Overview of the project

If you choose to participate you will be one of 12 to participate in interviews investigating the importance of parent-child relationships in the ability for Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand to undertake further education opportunities. Success in education is fundamental to the wellbeing of New Zealand as a whole. Over time, there have been multifaceted interventions, initiatives and supports made accessible to the Tongan community. However, due to the slow progress in enriching the education the Tongan people, further exploration and a different approach is required. In saying that, this project is focused predominantly on helping social work practitioners and most prominently the Tongan community understand the importance of strengthening the family system in the home, as home is where it all begins.

What is involved in this study?

I am recruiting 3 parents (mother and father with children aged between 16-18 years old and enrolled in secondary education). If you are interested in participating in this research, you
will be asked to participate in a 60 to 90-minute interview exploring your perspective on communication in parent-child relationships and education. Interviews will be carried out face-to-face, at a location, which will be negotiated with you. If for any reason it will be difficult for you to attend in person you will have the option of being interviewed via Skype.

These interviews will be one-on-one and will be recorded via an audio recorder. Interview recordings will be transcribed for analysis, and you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript for accuracy. There is a small chance you may be asked to participate in follow-up interview of 10-15 minutes in regards to participation in project, questions about interview and further clarification. It is expected that you will need to give 2-3 hours to this project, which will include prior correspondence and scheduling, an interview of between 60-90 minutes and further 1 hour to review your transcript and make any clarifications.

Interests in taking part in this project can be emailed to Linda Lee Fatani, if the consent form cannot be scanned via email, you will have the opportunity to sign your consent form prior to commencement of interview.

Refreshments will be provided during interview.

**What are the benefits to participating in this project?**

By participating in this study, you would be contributing to current research understandings of the significance of communication within parent-child relationships and it’s impact on Tongan youth’s capacity to undertake further education. It is intended that this research will add to the knowledge in this area and will provide a theoretical basis for future research.

In order to show my appreciation and in return for your participation in this research project, you will receive a $50 Countdown or Pak’nSave gift card in completion of your participation.

**Your rights if you choose to participate**

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you are able to choose to withdraw from the project at any time, during or prior to your interview without giving reason. Throughout your interview you can request that the recorder be turned off.

In order to ensure the maintenance of family relationships, participants will not be related to one another through immediate family.

As I have requested support from Mt Roskill 4th Ward (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) and the Tongan Youth Trust of distributing advertisement information in the recruitment process. I have received reassurance from Mt Roskill 4th Ward and the Tongan Youth Trust that participation in this study will not impact the services, care and supports you receive today and in the future.

Participants can request a copy of their interview transcript. Due to timely constraints it is important to understand that if you wish to review your transcript for accuracy you will be given three weeks to make any corrections or request that certain extracts be left out or change be made. During these three weeks, you may also choose to have your interview withdrawn.
from the project without giving reason. After the three weeks have passed you will no longer be able to remove this information from the study.

Your identity will be treated as confidential and it will not be disclosed to anyone aside from the researcher and her supervisors. All identifying information or information not directly relevant to this project will not be sued in any report or publication. Due to the close connections and networks within the Tongan community in Auckland, New Zealand, I will implement all practical attempts to preserve identity. I will conduct thorough data analysis and de-identification of personal information through the use pseudonyms and disguising of identifying information. Although, every attempt is made to endure anonymity in reporting the research, there is a chance that due to the close networks of the Tongan community in Auckland, New Zealand participants may be identified.

Quotes and material from interviews will be used in my Master of Social Work thesis and may also be used in other academic writing such as social work journal publications in order to illustrate findings and themes.

Participants are able to request a summary of findings and can indicate their decision on the consent form.

Storage and retention of data

All interviews will be recorded on an audio recorder. Recordings will be stored securely on a password-protected computer, and will only be available to Linda-Lee Fatani and her supervisors. Transcription will be completed by Linda-Lee Fatani to enable the analysis of data and extraction of themes.

Written data collected for this project is to be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Auckland by one of the supervisors of this project for a period of six years. After six years, both written and electronic data will be destroyed.

If you wish to find out more

If you have any questions about this project or your involvement, please contact Linda-Lee Fatani for more information.

Email: lfat368@aucklanduni.ac.nz

If you wish to participant in this research project please complete, sign and return the consent form below to Linda-Lee (email address).

Thank you for taking the time to read this Participant Information Sheet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Head of School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Linda-Lee Fatani  
School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/Te Kura Tauwhiro Tangata  
Faculty of Education and Social Work | Dr Allen Bartley  
School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/ Te Kura Tauwhiro Tangata |
University of Auckland  
Phone: 09 820 7052  
Email: Ifat368@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Faculty of Education and Social Work  
University of Auckland  
Phone 09 373 7999  
Email: a.bartley@auckland.ac.nz

Main Supervisor  
Dr Matt Rankine  
School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/Te Kura Tauhīro Tangata  
Faculty of Education and Social Work  
University of Auckland  
Phone: 09 373  
Email: m.rankine@auckland.ac.nz

Co-Supervisor  
Dr Liz Beddoe  
School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/Te Kura Tauhīro Tangata  
Faculty of Education and Social Work  
University of Auckland  
Phone: 09 373 7999  
Email: e.beddoe@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711.  
Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 17/12/2018 for (3) years, Reference Number 022355
Participant Information Sheet for Youth Participants (16 to 18 year olds)

Researcher: Linda-Lee Fatani (MSW Student)
Supervisors: Dr Matt Rankine, Associate Professor Liz Beddoe

Ko ‘Api ‘a e kamata ‘anga ‘o e me’a kotoa pe: Exploring the significance of Tongan parent-child relationships on the education prospects of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

The Researcher

Malō e lelei, I am Linda-Lee Fatani and I am undertaking this research as part of my Master of Social Work degree at the University of Auckland. I currently hold a Bachelor of Social Work (Hons) degree and am committed to upholding social work values of justice and equality. As a young Tongan woman I am passionate in working within the Tongan community, particularly in bringing awareness to certain concepts that can better the lifestyle and wellbeing of the Tongan people.

Overview of the project

If you choose to participate you will be one of 12 to participate in interviews investigating the importance of parent-child relationships in the ability for Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand to undertake further education opportunities. Success in education is fundamental to the wellbeing of New Zealand as a whole. Over time, there have been multifaceted interventions, initiatives and supports made accessible to the Tongan community. However, due to the slow progress in enriching the education the Tongan people, further exploration and a different approach is required. In saying that, this project is focused predominantly on helping social work practitioners and most prominently the Tongan community understand the importance of strengthening the family system in the home, as home is where it all begins.

What is involved in this study?

I am recruiting 6 youth who are the age of 16-18 years old and enrolled in secondary education for this research. If you are interested to participate in this project, you will be asked to participate in a 60 to 90-minute interview exploring your perspective on communication in the relationship with your parents/guardians and your education prospects.
Interviews will be carried out face-to-face, at a location, which will be negotiated with you. If for any reason it will be difficult for you to attend in person you will have the option of being interviewed via Skype.

These interviews will be one-on-one and will be recorded via an audio recorder. Interview recordings will be transcribed for analysis, and you will be given an opportunity to review your transcript for accuracy. There is a small chance you may be asked to participate in follow-up interview of 10-15 minutes in regards to participation in project, questions about interview and further clarification. It is expected that you will need to give 2-3 hours to this project, which will include prior correspondence and scheduling, an interview of between 60-90 minutes and further 1 hour to review your transcript and make any clarifications.

Interests in taking part in this project can be emailed to Linda Lee Fatani, if the consent form cannot be scanned via email, you will have the opportunity to sign your consent form prior to commencement of interview.

Refreshments will be provided during interview.

**What are the benefits to participating in this project?**

By participating in this study, you would be contributing to current research understandings of the significance of communication within parent-child relationships and it’s impact on Tongan youth’s capacity to undertake further education. It is intended that this research will add to the knowledge in this area and will provide a theoretical basis for future research.

In order to show my appreciation and in return for your participation in this research project, you will receive a $20 Warehouse Stationary gift card when transcript is verified.

**Your rights if you choose to participate**

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you are able to choose to withdraw from the project at any time, during or prior to your interview without giving reason. Throughout your interview you can request that the recorder be turned off.

In order to ensure the maintenance of family relationships, participants will not be related to one another through immediate family.

As I have requested support from Mt Roskill 4th Ward (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) and the Tongan Youth Trust of distributing advertisement information in the recruitment process. I have received reassurance from Mt Roskill 4th Ward and the Tongan Youth Trust that participation in this study will not impact the services, care and supports you receive today and in the future.

Participants can request a copy of their interview transcript. Due to timely constraints it is important to understand that if you wish to review your transcript for accuracy you will be given three weeks to make any corrections or request that certain extracts be left out or change be made. During these three weeks, you may also choose to have your interview withdrawn from the project without giving reason. After the three weeks have passed you will no longer be able to remove this information from the study.
Your identity will be treated as confidential and it will not be disclosed to anyone aside from the researcher and her supervisors. All identifying information or information not directly relevant to this project will not be sued in any report or publication. Due to the close connections and networks within the Tongan community in Auckland, New Zealand, I will implement all practical attempts to preserve identity. I will conduct thorough data analysis and de-identification of personal information through the use pseudonyms and disguising of identifying information. Although, every attempt is made to endure anonymity in reporting the research, there is a chance that due to the close networks of the Tongan community in Auckland, New Zealand participants may be identified.

Quotes and material from interviews will be used in my Master of Social Work thesis and may also be used in other academic writing such as social work journal publications in order to illustrate findings and themes.

Participants are able to request a summary of findings and can indicate their decision on the consent form.

**Storage and retention of data**

All interviews will be recorded on an audio recorder. Recordings will be stored securely on a password-protected computer, and will only be available to Linda-Lee Fatani and her supervisors. Transcription will be completed by Linda-Lee Fatani to enable the analysis of data and extraction of themes.

Written data collected for this project is to be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Auckland by one of the supervisors of this project for a period of six years. After six years, both written and electronic data will be destroyed.

**If you wish to find out more**

If you have any questions about this project or your involvement, please contact Linda-Lee Fatani for more information.

Email: lfat368@aucklanduni.ac.nz

If you wish to participant in this research project please complete, sign and return the consent form below to Linda-Lee (email address).

Thank you for taking the time to read this Participant Information Sheet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Head of School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linda-Lee Fatani</td>
<td>Dr Allen Bartley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/Te Kura Tauhiro Tangata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Education and Social Work University of Auckland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone: 09 820 7052</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email: <a href="mailto:lfat368@aucklanduni.ac.nz">lfat368@aucklanduni.ac.nz</a></td>
<td>School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/ Te Kura Tauhiro Tangata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of Education and Social Work University of Auckland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone 09 373 7999</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Main Supervisor**
Dr Matt Rankine
School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/Te Kura Tauwhiro Tangata
Faculty of Education and Social Work
University of Auckland
Phone: 09 373
Email: m.rankine@auckland.ac.nz

**Co-Supervisor**
Dr Liz Beddoe
School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work/Te Kura Tauwhiro Tangata
Faculty of Education and Social Work
University of Auckland
Phone: 09 373 7999
Email: e.beddoe@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711.
Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 17/12/2018 for (3) years, Reference Number **022355**
Appendix B: Consent Forms

Consent Form for Parent participants

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

**Title:** Ko ‘Api ‘a e kamata ‘anga ‘o e me’a kotoa pe: Exploring the significance of Tongan parent-child relationships on the education prospects of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

**Principal Investigator:** Dr Matt Rankine

**Co-supervisor:** Dr Liz Beddoe

**Student researcher:** Linda-Lee Fatani

I have read and understand the information provided to me on the Participant Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions about the research and have had them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research. My participation in this research is voluntary. I understand that I am being asked to participate in an interview with Linda-Lee Fatani focused on Tongan parent-child relationships and education.
- I understand that I have been chosen to participate in this research based on my experience and expertise, and will be answering as an individual.
- I understand that accepting or rejecting to take part in this project will not hinder my participation and accessibility of services offered by Tongan Youth Trust and other networking organisations.
- I agree to participate in this research knowing I will take part in an interview of between 60 and 90 minutes, with a further hour for reviewing my interview transcript.
- I understand that there is a small chance a follow-up interview of between 10 and 15 minutes may be required for further clarification for researcher who may have further questions after reflecting upon data collected. I understand that this will also be an opportunity for me to ask questions about the participation thus far in the project and future participation.
- I understand that my interview will be audio recorded, and that I can ask for it to be turned off at any time.
- I understand that I can refuse to answer any questions and can request a break or ask for the interview be cut short without needing to give explanation.
- I understand that Linda-Lee Fatani will transcribe my interview and that material from this interview, including quotes and examples, may be used in a MSW thesis and further journal publications.
- I understand that if I choose to review my transcript I will be given three weeks to request changes be made.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any point and can withdraw from the project up to three weeks after being sent my interview transcript.
- I understand that the information from this project, including consent forms and interview transcripts, will be kept either on a password-protected computer or in a locked filing cabinet at The University of Auckland and is only accessible to Linda-Lee Fatani and her supervisors.
- I understand that all practical attempts will be made to protect my identity. I also understand that even when every attempt is made to ensure anonymity in reporting the research, there is a chance that this individual may be identified given the close network relationships in the Tongan community of Auckland, New Zealand.
I would like to receive a copy of my:

Interview transcript

I wish to receive a summary of findings:
Yes
No

I would like to be given the opportunity to review my interview transcript for accuracy:

Yes
No

The data I have requested can be emailed to me at this email address:

____________________________

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 17/12/2018 for (3) years, Reference Number 022355
Consent Form for Youth Participants

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Title: Ko ‘Api ‘a e kamata ‘anga ‘o e me’a kotoa pe: Exploring the significance of Tongan parent-child relationships on the education prospects of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand.

Principal Investigator: Dr Matt Rankine

Co-supervisor: Dr Liz Beddoe

Student researcher: Linda-Lee Fatani

I have read and understand the information provided to me on the Participant Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions about the research and have had them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research. My participation in this research is voluntary. I understand that I am being asked to participate in an interview with Linda-Lee Fatani on Tongan parent-child relationships and education.
- I understand that I have been chosen to participate in this research based on my experience and expertise, and will be answering as an individual, not on behalf of Tongan Youth Trust.
- I understand that accepting or rejecting to take part in this project will not hinder my participation and accessibility of services offered by Tongan Youth Trust.
- I agree to participate in this research knowing I will take part in an interview of between 60 and 90 minutes, with a further hour for reviewing my interview transcript.
- I understand that there is a small chance a follow-up interview of between 10 and 15 minutes may be required for further clarification for researcher who may have questions after reflecting upon data collected. I understand that this will also be an opportunity for me to ask questions about the participation thus far in the project and future participation.
- I understand that my interview will be audio recorded, and that I can ask for it to be turned off at any time.
- I understand that I can refuse to answer any questions and can request a break or ask for the interview be cut short without needing to give explanation.
- I understand that Linda-Lee Fatani will transcribe my interview and that material from this interview, including quotes and examples, may be used in a MSW thesis and further journal publications.
- I understand that if I choose to review my transcript I will be given three weeks to request that changes be made.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any point and can withdraw from the project up to three weeks after being sent my interview transcript without giving reason.
- I understand that the information from this project, including consent forms and interview transcripts, will be kept either on a password-protected computer or in a locked filing cabinet at The University of Auckland and is only accessible to Linda-Lee Fatani and her supervisors.
- I understand that all practical attempts will be made to preserve my identity through the process of using pseudonyms. I also understand that even when every attempt is made to ensure anonymity in reporting the research, there is a chance that I may be identified given the close network relationships in the Tongan community of Auckland, New Zealand.
I would like to receive a copy of my: 

Interview transcript

I wish to receive a summary of findings:

Yes
No

I would like to be given the opportunity to review my interview transcript for accuracy:

Yes
No

The data I have requested can be emailed to me at this email address:

__________________________________________

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 17/12/2018 for (3) years, Reference Number 022355
Appendix C: Interview Guide

**Introduction:** Explain the purpose of the interview and its significance in the research project.

**Demographic questions:**

1) What's your name?
2) How old are you?
3) What village do you come from in Tonga?
4) What do you do for a living? (Adult participants)
5) How long have you lived in New Zealand?

**Research related questions:**

6) Communication is an important concept in life, particularly relationships.
   Growing up what has been your own experience of communication between parents and children?
7) Why role does the parent-child relationships play in your life?
8) What are the aspects that create communication barriers?
9) What are factors that have an impact on parent-child relationships?
10) What makes education an important concept in the relationship?
11) How does communication with parents impact the way you see education?
12) How is the importance of education encouraged in your life? (Past-tense for adult participants)
13) When you think about Tauhi Vā, what values come to your mind about the importance of family relationships?
14) What plans do you have towards pursuing an education? (Youth participant)
15) What expectations do you hold for your children's education? (Adult participant)
16) What motivates you?
17) Any other questions?

Thank you for your time.
Research Office
Post-Award Support Services

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE (UAHPEC)

17-Dec-2018

MEMORANDUM TO:
Dr Matthew Rankine
Counselling, HumServ & SocWrk

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 022355): Approved

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your study entitled Ko ’Api ‘a e kamata ’anga ‘o e me’a kotoa pe: Exploring the significance of Tongan parent-child relationships on the education prospects of Tongan you.

We are pleased to inform you that ethics approval has been granted for a period of three years.

The expiry date for this approval is 17-Dec-2021.

If the project changes significantly, you are required to submit a new application to UAHPEC for further consideration.

If you have obtained funding other than from UniServices, send a copy of this approval letter to the Activations team in the Research Office at ro-awards@auckland.ac.nz. For UniServices contracts, send a copy of the approval letter to the Contract Manager, UniServices.

The Chair and the members of UAHPEC would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals. If you wish to do so, please contact the UAHPEC Ethics Administrators at ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

Please quote Protocol number 022355 on all communication with the UAHPEC regarding this application.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)

UAHPEC Administrators
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
c.c. Head of Department / School, Counselling, HumServ & SocWrk
Assoc Prof Elizabeth Beedoe
Miss Linda-Lee Fatani

Additional information:

1. Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the Participant Information Sheets, Consent Forms and/or advertisements, giving the dates of approval and the reference number. This needs to be completed, before you use them or send them out to your participants.

2. At the end of three years, or if the study is completed before the expiry date, please advise the Ethics Administrators of its completion.

3. Should you require an extension or need to make any changes to the project, please complete the online Amendment Request form associated with this approval number giving full details along with revised documentation. If requested before the current approval expires, an extension may be granted for a further three years, after which a new application must be submitted.
ADVERTISEMET

KO ‘API ‘A E KAMATA ‘ANGA ‘O E ME’A KOTOA PE

Exploring the significance of communication in the Tongan parent-child relationship and the impact of education of Tongan youth in Auckland, New Zealand

Malo e lelei, my name is Linda-Lee Fatani, I am a young New Zealand born Tongan who is deeply rooted by my cultural heritage. My ancestors breed from the villages of Kolonga and Ma’ufanga in the beautiful island of Tongatapu. Like many of the Tongan people, my ancestors migrated to New Zealand for a better lifestyle, particularly in financial stability and education opportunities.

It is my pleasure to offer an invitation to my fellow kāinga to participate in this study. You will play a significant role in understanding the importance of communication in the parent-child relationship in Tongan families and how it can further impact education in the young people of our community. This study involves a Talanoa that will take no longer than 90 minutes at a time that suits you at the headquarters of Tongan Youth Trust or your nearest Church chapel. This Talanoa session will be audio recorded and a follow-up interview of approximately 15 minutes may be required.

Refreshments will be provided as a small token of appreciation for your time.

ABOUT THE STUDY

Linda Lee Fatani is a Masters of Social Work student at the University of Auckland. She has recently graduated with a Bachelors of Social Work (Hons) and is embedded within a passion of seeking growth within the Pacific Island community of Aotearoa.

The aim of this study is to establish a foundation of practice knowledge focused on an increased home-centred approach in social practice with the Tongan community in Auckland, New Zealand.

Underpinning this aim is a commitment to strengthening the Tongan family and encouraging the vital role of parents in motivating their children and young people towards an education.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact Linda Lee for further information.

Researcher:

Linda Lee Fatani

E-mail: lfat368@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 17/12/2918 for three years. Reference Number 022355
Appendix F: Thematic Map