Gender-based Violence in Niue: Challenges and Opportunities in Small Pacific Islands

Erin Thomas

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies, the University of Auckland, 2020.

ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a product and manifestation of gender relations that inflicts harm disproportionately on those who identify as women and girls. In the Pacific island country of Niue, there is a lack of research and attention on the issue which has given rise to this research aimed at considering the challenges and opportunities in addressing GBV. Not having spaces to talk about GBV is one way in which it can persist. By making space to discuss GBV both at community and personal levels, there is room to craft solutions. The aim of this research is to examine ways of creating spaces for safe discussion which allow for Niue women's narratives in order to eliminate violence in social relations in Niue and promote healthy relationships.

This research involved 27 informant interviews with 32 total key informants and 14 family-tree mapping interviews using blended narrative-Talanoa methods. Guided by a genealogical approach, I explored spaces in which GBV is raised and piloted a family-tree mapping approach for an in-depth exploration of family spaces. The careful work of Pacific scholars and artists around relationship and empathy provided valuable guidance in how I positioned myself as a non-Pacific researcher.

The findings suggest that the transgression of gender roles in Niue contributes to GBV incidents in interpersonal relationships. While there are challenges to addressing GBV in Niue, this analysis of spaces with an emphasis on family spaces also presents several opportunities for transformation. Additionally, the framework presents a new way of engaging with the issue of GBV in terms of research and intervention through family-tree mapping.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Yvonne Underhill-Sem, for her wisdom, advice, and unwavering support. She pushed my thinking and elevated my creativity in ways I could not have imagined when I began this undertaking.

This thesis would not have been possible without the advice, guidance, and collaboration of Charlene Tukiuha. Between road trips around the island and long talanoa in the office, I am profoundly grateful for Charlene's partnership in bringing this thesis into being.

I also had the great pleasure of working with Jamal Talagi in Auckland to brainstorm ideas and reflect on Niue, gender, politics, and everything in between. Her support and guidance as a trusted friend and advisor helped give life to this work.

Special thanks to Ioane Fa'avae Aleke who helped me develop skills in Vagahau Niue and answered all of my questions in our tutoring from transnational dynamics to how to ask for three coconuts at the market in Vagahau.

I also had the great pleasure of hearing Dr. Jessica Pasisi present on her doctoral research. Her extensive knowledge and love for Niue was deeply inspiring for my own work.

My appreciation also runs deep for the people who supported me without fail in this endeavour. My partner, Rajiv Singh, for patiently listening to all of my tirades and inchoate thoughts. My Dad for asking questions that helped me piece together ideas. My Mother for incessantly cheering me on and closely following my deadline calendar. My siblings, Niki and Noah, for venting with me and inspiring my creativity. My best friends, Chika and Jenna, for believing in me every step of the way.

I also must thank my peers in the Development Studies programme who helped me and challenged me to think critically. Also, the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Field Research Award for the funding that made this work possible. Last but not least, many thanks to my organisation, the International Center for Advocates Against Discrimination (ICAAD) and my colleagues who supported the initial work and continue to help me grow as an advocate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ... *ii*

Acknowledgments ... *iii*

List of Tables and Figures ... *vi*

Glossary ... *vii*

Chapter 1: Introduction ... *1*

Chapter 2: Niue ... *7*
- Geography ... 7
- Brief History ... 7
- Politics ... 9
- Development ... 9
- Transnational Identities ... 10
- Gender ... 11

Chapter 3: Literature Review ... *13*
- Gender Analysis ... 16
- Feminist Standpoint Theories ... 18
- Taking Root in Genealogy ... 22

Chapter 4: Methodology ... *26*
- Positionality ... 27
- Family-tree Mapping ... 30
- Analysis ... 32
- Key Ethical Considerations ... 33

Chapter 5: Family-tree Methods to Make Space for Discussing GBV ... *35*
- Talanoa ... 36
- Narrative-Talanoa Approach to Family-tree Mapping ... 36
- Cultural Competency & Niue-Specific Talanoa ... 37
- Empathic Apprenticeship ... 39
- Family-tree Mapping Interview Framework ... 41
- Lessons from Family-tree Mapping Interviews ... 43
- Family-tree Mapping Possibilities for GBV ... 44
- Research ... 45
- Family-tree Mapping as an Intervention ... 46
- Conclusion ... 47

Chapter 6: Spaces and GBV Narratives in Niue ... *49*
- Spaces Where People Talk about GBV in Niue ... 49
- Family Spaces ... 50

Church Spaces 51
Police and Justice Spaces 52
Schools Spaces 54
Health Spaces 54
Coordinating Spaces 54
Regional Meetings Spaces 55
Informal Spaces 55
Framing GBV in Niue 57
Naming GBV 58
Sexual Violence 59
Alcohol and GBV 59
Masculinity and GBV 60
Intergenerational Transmission of Violence 61
Change Over Time 62
Perceived Prevalence 63
Narrating GBV in Niue 65
Changing the Narratives 66
Conclusion 69

Chapter 7: Marriage in the Magafaoa 70
Arts-Based Research on GBV in the Pacific 70
Arts-Based Research in Niue 71
Putting it Together 72
Telling It Like It Is 73
Conclusion 92

Chapter 8: Conclusion 93
Overview of the Research 94
Conclusion 96

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet Informant Interviews 97

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet Family-Tree Mapping 100

Appendix C: Consent Form 103

Bibliography 105

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1. *Informant Affiliations.*

Table 2. *Niue Values for Addressing Family Violence in NZ.*

Table 3. *Family-tree Mapping Interview Framework.*

Table 4. *Family-tree Mapping Interview Thematic Areas*.

Table 5. *Recurring Narratives Characterising GBV in Niue.*

Figure 1. *Spaces of Meaning Making Around GBV.*

GLOSSARY

aga fakaNiue	Niue culture, Niue way
Ekalesia Kerisiano Niue	main protest Christian denomination in Niue
fakaalofa	love, greeting
fakaakoaga	teaching
fakafetuiaga	fellowship/relationship
fakalilifu	honouring or glorifying another
fakatapu	forbidden, discouraged
Fakatupuolamoui	Niue conceptual framework on family violence (Tavelia, 2012)
felagomatai/ fekapitigaaki/ fakafeheleaki	helping one another, having friendly relations with one another, sharing
feofanaki	caring, compassion
Fono Ekepule	Niue Assembly
fonua	land
GBV	gender-based violence
Hiapo	Niue barkcloth painting
hihi	sea snail shells used in Niue handicrafts
leveki/ puipuiaga	care of, protecting and sheltering one another
magafaoa	family
mamatua tupuna	grandparents, ancestors
masi	Fijian barkcloth painting
matutakiaga	lessons
ole fakamagalo	compassion, cleansing of ill feelings and ill behaviour, plea for forgiveness
palagi	people of European descent, white people
patuiki	Niue kings
tagata Niue	Niue people
Talanoa	gossip (talanoa), storying (Talanoa)
tāoga	treasure
tapu	sacred, prohibited, forbidden
uga	coconut crab
Vagahau Niue	Niue language
WHO	World Health Organisation

Translation of Vagahau Niue words is primarily from Tohi Vagahau Niue (Sperlich et al., 1997).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence (GBV) has been a key focus area for gender and development because global prevalence studies supported by the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimate that up to 70 percent of women have experienced physical or sexual violence by men in their lifetimes (UN Women, 2011). The WHO prevalence studies in the Pacific report particularly high rates, and this has brought external attention to the issue in the region. In the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, and Tuvalu, these prevalence studies indicate that 38-60% of women have experienced physical, sexual, and/ or emotional interpersonal violence (IPV) (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014; Heard, Fitzgerald, Whittaker, Va'ai, & Mutch, 2018; Jansen, Johansson-Fua, Hafoka-Blake, & 'Ilolahia, 2012; SPC, 2006, 2009). Pacific women have led change in many spaces from the community mobilisation efforts in Papua New Guinea (Kauli & Thomas, 2019) to the Fiji Women's Rights Movement winning legislation change (Sumner & Lister, 2017). Individual women and children, their families, and communities in the Pacific who have lived with the effects of GBV have developed various ways of managing but the stresses are enormous.

GBV includes all tactics employed by men to control women and may involve "physical, psychological, sexual and/or economic abuse, in domestic environments and public spaces, with known or unknown assailants" (Manderson, 2001, p.7). It occurs as a result of social relations that normalise violence as a tool to reinforce gender roles and norms. GBV does not occur in the same way around the world, and the central theme of this research is that GBV cannot be essentialised, nor can its respective interventions.

In all of the GBV research and programming in the Pacific, the country of Niue has fallen through the cracks. With a population of under 2,000 people it has a constitutional relationship with New Zealand as a self-governing nation (Pasisi, 2020). From an international perspective, Niue is not a UN member state which means it is excluded from several of the international human rights mechanisms that draw attention to GBV. One of these tools is the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Under this treaty, Niue in understood to be the responsibility of its former coloniser, New Zealand, for reporting on human rights despite the fact that New Zealand does not actually report on Niue's behalf. A little-known provision[1] required Niue to ratify CEDAW separate to New Zealand as the Cook Islands has done in 2006.

Further, there is a paucity of research on GBV in Niue. Reports highlight only that GBV is an issue. In a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report, Calvert (2004) reported that sexual assault of

---

[1] In 1994, the United Nations (UN) Secretariat recognised Niue's full independent treaty-making capacity in the document: Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs, Supplement No. 8, vol. VI (1989-1994), article 102, para. 11.

children under 15 years old is a "regular occurrence" and that, contrary to the silence on the issue, domestic violence is a problem (p. 28). A report from the Pacific Community (2015) highlighted domestic violence as a problem as well as the conflicting challenge of the perception that gender inequality is not a problem in Niue (p. 11 and 30). My own research with the International Center for Advocates Against Discrimination (ICAAD) in 2017 confirmed both the problem of GBV in Niue and the silences around the issue (E. Thomas, 2017).

While nearly all countries in the world struggle with reducing and preventing GBV, Niue is unique in terms of the lack of research on the issue, as well as its population size. Niue is one coral rock island with an estimated population of 1,700 people (Statistics Niue, 2017). The size of the island, at 262 square kilometres is comparable to Aotea/ Great Barrier Island in Aotearoa New Zealand[2] (285 square km), the island of Tongatapu in Tonga (261 square km), and the New York City borough of Queens (280 square km). It is around 600 kilometres from both Samoa and Tonga and 2,400 kilometres from Tāmaki Makaurau/ Auckland – the city in New Zealand where over 14,553 Niueans live (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). There are many tagata Niue (Niueans), but the community living on the island is small in number. This raises particular challenges and opportunities to addressing GBV in small island communities in the Pacific and elsewhere.

In the Pacific, as well as other parts of the world, prevalence studies conducted with the World Health Organisation (WHO) methodology have been the main source of research on GBV (WHO, 2014). These studies have helped to make the problem of GBV visible and provide some insights into its context-specific risk and protective factors (Cook Islands Ministry of Health, 2014; Jansen et al., 2012; SPC, 2006, 2009). However, knowing that the problem exists is not enough to craft effective interventions to address the problem. Instead of focusing on prevalence in Niue, this research is aimed at the problem of the silences around GBV as a way to better understand the complexities involved in crafting interventions that can more effectively eliminate GBV.

There are no universal tools that will successfully eliminate GBV around the world, and much of the literature on GBV interventions focus on standard tools derived from the Global North (Crichton-Hill, 2001; Kim, 2002; Rankine et al., 2015; Zapata-Sepúlveda et al., 2014). These tools become a Western export in the development industry, and with salient differences in culture, history, and politics in the Global South, these tools often fail to improve gender equity (Nazneen et al., 2019). Further, recent development studies literature from the Pacific has explored methods of illuminating uniquely local strategies that are often found among existing cultural values and practices (Heard, Fitzgerald, Va'ai,

[2] Aotearoa is the widely-used Māori name of New Zealand. Both will be used in this thesis. When "New Zealand" is used in this thesis, it still refers to the land on which Te Tiriti o Waitangi established a relationship between tangata Tiriti, foreigners primarily from Europe, and tangata whenua who now collectively identify as Māori. However, New Zealand also refers to the New Zealand government as the colonial power both in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Niue.

Collins, & Mutch, 2019; Heard, Fitzgerald, Va'ai, Collins, Whittaker, et al., 2019; Kauli & Thomas, 2019; Siu-Maliko, 2019; V. Thomas et al., 2018).

In Niue, there are notable silences on the issue of GBV including the lack of research on the topic. A Family Bill intended to address some outdated legislation related to GBV has been in the works since 2007 but has yet to pass in the Fono Ekepule (Assembly). The research that has been done has highlighted the issue of GBV, and now it is time to explore how to work with the silences in crafting more effective policies and interventions. In this research, I identify the spaces that exist and those that can be created where people talk about GBV. I also propose a new family-tree mapping approach as a research tool and approach to considering the family space as a way of talking about and addressing GBV. Context is crucial, and the first set of questions I took up in my interviews with government and community leaders were around the landscape of current spaces in which people talk about GBV.

- What are the current spaces where people talk about GBV in Niue?
    - How is GBV in Niue framed by community leaders?
    - What opportunities do community and government leaders see with regard to the creation of spaces to address GBV?

Building from this knowledge, I then explored how a genealogical approach could be used to expand these spaces and our understanding of GBV while remaining rooted in Pacific research methodologies.

- How useful is the family-tree mapping approach employed in this research in creating new spaces for talking about GBV?

While this is the order in which I led the interviews during my time in Niue, in reading this thesis, you will see the genealogical framework and family-tree mapping approach first as it provides the necessary context and methodology for this research.

The title of this work is intentionally centered on "challenges and opportunities" because one of the key challenges to address from the outset is the fact that I am not Niuean (Palagi), and I am not married to a Niuean. I am a white woman from the United States and living in Aotearoa New Zealand. I became interested in GBV in Niue when I started working with the social justice organisation, the International Center for Advocates Against Discrimination (ICAAD). I had the chance to visit Niue and build relationships during my research in 2017 in which I was looking at the landscape of discussion on GBV in Niue (E. Thomas, 2017). In this research and my prior work in Niue, I have come with my own set of subjectivities, and this research is only as useful as it resonates with the experiences of tagata Niue. As such, this research is and will continue to be a collaborative project in which I can offer what I see as "challenges and opportunities" that might be able to support potential interventions in the future. This research is undertaken in collaboration with Charlene Tukiuha, the Head of Community Affairs in the

Ministry of Social Services, and Jamal Talagi, a Niuean Master of Public Policy student at the University of Auckland (also referred to as the Advisory Group). I have also worked with Ioane Aleke Fa'avae on learning Vagahau Niue (Niuean language) and aspects of aga fakaNiue (Niuean culture, the Niuean way). This collaboration with the Advisory Group has been essential to putting this research into action, led by those who understand and are invested in shifting social relations in Niue.

In this thesis, an overview of the history, politics, and social relations in Niue is outlined in chapter two. Chapter three describes the supporting literature that was used to build this conceptual framework. This research draws from scholarship from Pacific studies, development studies, and sociology to frame a genealogical approach to studying GBV – one that forefronts the lived and felt experiences of Niue women. The Hiapo methodology from Pasisi (2020) and the whakapapa framework as a part of Mana Wahine theories are particularly influential in building a way of seeing GBV and ways of challenging it among familial relations, past, present, and future (Mikaere, 2011; Simmonds, 2019). While the strengths of Pacific research methodologies, including Talanoa, provide a strong framework, there are ontological challenges for a non-Pacific researcher to accurately understand Pacific worldviews (Vaioleti, 2006). To fill in some of these gaps and ensure rigourous and transparent analysis, I work from another related ontological position that draws from the work of American feminist sociologists Stanley (1994) and Doucet and Mauthner (2008) to ensure that my reflexivity is maintained throughout the analysis. Further, the additional challenge as faced by other GBV researchers in the Pacific, is overcoming the sensitivity of the topic and ensuring collaborators'[3] wellbeing. Inspired by the traumagram model of mapping genealogies in order to see GBV as the complex problem that it is, I developed a family-tree mapping approach.

In chapter four, I discuss the methodology used in this research. I was in Niue for four weeks in October and November 2019. During that time, I worked with Charlene as my research partner and was based with her in the Community Affairs Department. The research involved two parts: informant interviews and family-tree mapping interviews. The informant interviews took place with government and community leaders, and the family-tree mapping interviews took place with one older woman in each village. The informant interviews focused on the questions around spaces, ideas for new spaces, and the narratives that framed their concepts of GBV. The family-tree mapping interviews contributed to answering those questions as well but were also a pilot of a new method for researching GBV. Over the four weeks, I conducted 27 informant interviews with 32 total key informants and 14 family-tree mapping interviews. I analysed the interviews using the narrative analysis method, the Listening Guide, to situate reflexivity and to learn as much about how collaborators understand and describe their experiences and realities (Doucet, 2018; Doucet & Mauthner, 2008; Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014).

---

[3] The term collaborator is used where participant would typically be used in order to emphasise and elevate the ways in which collaborators co-constructed this research beyond participation.

Chapter five opens with the research question of how useful this narrative-Talanoa family-tree mapping approach is in creating spaces for talking about GBV. Expanding from the methodology chapter, here, I explore the methods used in greater depth including my role as a non-Niuean researcher using elements of Pacific research methodologies in Niue, learnings from the process, and possibilities for its applications in the future. Discussion of the practicalities of the family-tree mapping approach is aimed at providing insights for future research on GBV in Niue and the Pacific. I suggest that the approach can be used both in formal research and as an intervention to address GBV within families and communities. The family-tree mapping approach can build empathic spaces for understanding ourselves and relationships in the complex social webs of our families which allow us to better understand patterns of GBV across the continuum of violence.

Chapter six responds to the framing questions about spaces, narratives, and ideas for new transformational spaces to address GBV. Relying primarily on informant interviews, this chapter presents the recurring narratives raised by collaborators that characterise what GBV looks like, where it is discussed, and in what other spaces it could be addressed. Coming from government and community leaders, the recurring narratives can be highly influential in a small place like Niue. Collaborators raised both formal and informal spaces in which GBV comes up including family, church, schools, police and justice, health, talanoa, advocacy and policy spaces outside of Niue, and social media. The recurring narratives about what GBV looks like represented its forms, causes, triggers, and responses. Collaborators also considered how GBV in Niue compared to perceptions of GBV in other countries and how it compared over time. I also engage with collaborators' ideas about opportunities to engage in other spaces and create new spaces to reduce GBV.

Chapter seven digs into one of the primary spaces for discussing GBV, the family, which came up in recurring narratives as a space for disclosure, accountability, education, and talanoa. In this chapter, I explore the complexities of the family space that came up in family-tree mapping interviews, looking specifically at marriage. In response to the numerous challenges methodologically and ethically to writing this section of the research, I used a creative method inspired by Pacific arts-based research, Hiapo, and the literary works of Niuean authors and artists. I share a dialogue of a fictionalised focus group interview with two women who had participated in family-tree mapping interviews before. In conversation, we explore ideas about marriage and gender relations that reflect some of the ideas that came out of the family-tree mapping interviews.

In this research, I used the concept of spaces to consider the challenges and opportunities in addressing GBV in Niue. The lack of spaces to talk about GBV is one way in which it can persist. While there are challenges to addressing GBV in Niue, this analysis of spaces with an emphasis on family spaces also presents several opportunities for transformation. Family spaces create opportunities to support one another when they disclose experiences with GBV, learn and educate each other about healthy relationships among genders, hold members of the community accountable for their actions in

appropriate ways, and to critically consider how people respond and contribute to community discourse about GBV-related gossip and talanoa. As a researcher, my aim is to elevate this Talanoa to help propel movement to eliminate violence in social relations in Niue and promote healthy relationships.

CHAPTER 2: NIUE

This chapter will outline the contextual background information on Niue. This research is highly context-specific which is important because of the limited research on GBV to date in Niue as well as what Pacific scholars have emphasised: that Pacific worldviews are unique and embedded in culture and fonua (Vaioleti, 2006). Critical development scholar, Mohanty expands this context-specific thinking to GBV in the Global South by reminding us that "[m]ale violence must be theorized and interpreted within specific societies in order both to understand it better and to organize effectively to change it" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 24). In Niue, this requires an understanding of place, politics, history, and people.

Geography

Located in the western Pacific region, the single, raised coral island, Niue, is known as “the rock of Polynesia” (Nosa, 2009, p. 179). Niue is between Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, and the Cook Islands and is a four hour flight from Auckland. There are 14 villages with most on the western coast, and you can drive the main road around the whole island in about two hours. The island is mostly forest, and the coast is spotted with chasms and caves.

Settled over a thousand years ago with migrations in Polynesia, material culture depicts links to Samoa and Tonga (Akeli & Pasene, 2011). Niue’s population has fluctuated from a high of 5,194 people in 1966 to its present population of an estimated 1,600 people (Statistics Niue, 2017; Connell, 2008). While Niueans suggest that number is slowly increasing, Niue has a large transnational population with nearly 20,000 Niueans living in Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

Brief History

Knowing that much of Niue’s history is passed down through oral tradition, here, I am relying on an incomplete, yet still insightful, version of events. In addition to informal talanoa I have had in Niue, I draw from the texts of Niuean political science scholar and public servant during the transition to self-government, Terry M. Chapman (1976), Niuean political science scholar and historian, Maru Talagi (2013), and palagi historian, Dick Scott (1993). While these texts are among the limited written literature on Niuean history, they provide important context for understanding political, social, and cultural life as we frame our understanding of spaces in Niue.

While there is a rich history in Niue before missionaries arrived, their arrival as well as New Zealand’s colonial administration have been highly influential in how Niue’s self-government has taken shape. In

1876, the London Missionary Society (LMS) arrived bringing Christianity as well as social control with the goal of converting everyone. Clashing with the existing political structures, the missionaries wrote laws in addition to their preaching that would be discussed by the Patuiki (kings) and the Fono Motu (assembly) which were representatives chosen at the magafaoa (family group) level (M. Talagi, 2013, p. 24). At the same time, slave traders or “blackbirders” were scouring the Pacific (Chapman, 1976, p. 5). The combination of fear of slave traders and the preaching of Britain’s supremacy by the LMS led to Niue’s petition for protection by Britain in 1887 (Chapman, 1976, p. 5).

In several change of hands, Niue, unbeknownst to Niueans, was traded between Germany, Britain, and New Zealand. Niue ended up in a group of islands to be administered by the New Zealand government including Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, and Tokelau (Chapman, 1976, p. 6). The Cook Islands and Niue were initially administered together, but with no cultural or historic ties, Niue gained separate administration in 1904 which was useful in preserving a Niuean identity independent of the Cook Islands (Chapman, 1976, p. 11). Still, the attitude from New Zealand was “what’s good for the Cook Islands is good also for Niue. If something works in the Cooks it’ll work in Niue also” (Chapman, 1976, p. 12). In many ways, this colonial attitude persists today.

Until the late 1960s, the New Zealand government did not categorise its relations with Niue as colonial (Chapman, 1976, p. 59). Comparing these relations to other colonial administrations in the region that were exploiting natural resources and labour, New Zealand viewed its relations with Niue as reciprocal. Further, the New Zealand government ensured that land rights belonged to Indigenous Niueans and that their New Zealand citizenship afforded them freedom of movement while they restricted access of foreigners to Niue to protect local interests (Chapman, 1976, p. 16).

At the same time, resident commissioners from New Zealand were given unilateral powers to develop Niue and utilised palagi missionaries to accomplish many of their goals (M. Talagi, 2013, p. 34). Tensions between the Fono Tufono and the Resident Commissioner often led the Resident Commissioner to invoke punitive measures. For example, by the time he was recalled, Resident Commissioner Captain William Moody Bell had punished 1,483 people of the population of 2,000 at the time for various crimes and misdemeanours, of which he and his administration were judge and jury (M. Talagi, 2013, p. 33). In 1953, the New Zealand government’s sense of complacency came to an end with the murder of the Resident Commissioner at the time, Robert Larsen (Chapman, 1976, p. 8). Three Niuean men escaped from prison in the night to stab Larsen to death (Scott, 1993). Larsen was known for promoting excessive punishment and policing and ran a near-dictatorship (Scott, 1993, pp. 51–53). His death brought significant attention to governing in Niue (Scott, 1993, p. 60).

The global decolonisation movement in the 1960s and the need for New Zealand to live up to their obligations under the Declaration on Colonialism pushed the New Zealand government to consider internal self-government for Niue (Chapman, 1976, p. 61). However, Niue and New Zealand had

complicated economic and citizenship ties. At this point, anyone born in Niue was also a New Zealand citizen. Further, Niue had been in some form of a colonial relationship with New Zealand for nearly a century. Talks of self-government included New Zealand's continued responsibility in Niue with issues like whether there should be comparable living standards in Niue because Niueans are New Zealand citizens (Chapman, 1976, p. 62). Others argued that there is less tension on this point because Niue still maintains high living standards compared to its neighbours in the Pacific as there is adequate space, housing, food, and education (Chapman, 1976, p. 62). However, this tension of reciprocity in mainland-island relations has been a common thread particularly since conversations about decolonisation began. These discussions led to the outcome of Niue as a self-governing state in free association with New Zealand in 1974.

Politics

At present, Niue has a parliamentary system established in the Niue Constitution Act of 1974. Each of the 14 villages elects a representative, and there are six common roll seats. The 20-member assembly elects the Premier who then establishes a cabinet. Elections are held every three years. While Niueans living overseas often have informal input on political decision-making on Niue, they must be present on Niue the day of the election to vote. Recently, political issues have centered on the idea of self-sufficiency and ensuring a more equal partnership with the New Zealand government (S. Talagi, 2019).

This relationship is crucial to understanding Niue. As Gregory O'Brien, a New Zealand artist, shares about a trip to Niue with Niuean artist John Pule, "[t]he relationship with Aotearoa/New Zealand is, at heart, one in which they are very much a part of 'us' and we are a part of 'them'" (O'Brien & Kearns, 2016, p. 96). Currency, history, education, and family all make Niue and New Zealand associated in ways more complex than political association alone. While relations are mostly amicable, Niuean diplomacy and aid from states other than New Zealand have complicated this bilateral relationship at times (Talagi, 2019, p. 215).

Development

In the Pacific, Niue has a relatively high standard of living and receives the largest amount of aid per capita than any other country in the world with almost all of it coming from New Zealand (Barnett, 2008). At the same time, local residents indicate that nearly 80 percent of that aid comes back to New Zealand in the form of consulting and procurement since most goods come from New Zealand (McNamara et al., 2015, p. 167). Semi-subsistence agriculture and fishing continue to support the population, but there is a growing reliance on imported food from New Zealand (McNamara et al., 2015).

While economic opportunities like tourism can build self-sufficiency, they can also raise questions about cultural, environmental, and economic sovereignty especially with palagi-owned operations (McNamara et al., 2015). With a small population, the move away from traditional practices is a serious concern for Niueans on Niue and in New Zealand (McNamara et al., 2015; Samu et al., 2019). Maintaining Vagahau Niue is another major concern as many believe fluency in Niue will not be enough to sustain the language (Kalauni et al., 2010; McNamara et al., 2015; Samu et al., 2019). There are increasing efforts to bring back cultural practices and Vagahau Niue in New Zealand and Australia. There are also ongoing efforts to bring families together on Niue to reconnect with cultural identity through family events like hair cuttings, funerals, church openings, weddings, and family reunions (Nosa, 2009).

In terms of development, climate change is another concern. While Niue is largely protected from sea level rise, extreme weather events like cyclones and droughts have brought significant change in Niue not just to the infrastructure and land but also by instigating waves of outmigration to New Zealand (Freddie & De Sylva, 2018). Niuean public health scholar, Colin Tukuitonga reminds that climate change including disasters and slow-onset environmental impacts tends to make existing issues worse (Tukuitonga, 2018).

Transnational Identities

The latest census data in New Zealand shows over 14,553 Niueans living in Auckland alone (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Compared to the population of about 1,600 on Niue, the number of Niueans living in Auckland outnumber those living on Niue over nine to one. Beyond the political relationship, the mobile and transnational Niuean population contributes to unique dynamics both in Niue and in New Zealand. With two flights a week taking people physically from Auckland to Niue and back as well as lively social media interactions that can take one there and back in a message, transnationalism is a part of Niuean identity.

While outmigration and return migration are contentious and emotive topics in Niue, there are many ways in which Niueans maintain strong transnational identities. While there is fear of movement away from traditional practices and loss of language, there are ways in which cultural practices have shifted with transnationalism. With more flights available and wider internet access, Niueans are able to connect with family overseas easier than ever before. Family, or magafaoa, remains the most important social unit in Niue. More than just "family" in the English language, magafaoa includes all the descendants of an important ancestor and provides the basis for claims to fonua (roughly, land) and assistance in the community (Thode-Arora, 2009, p. 25). These relations are deeply embedded with cultural identity and belonging (Nosa, 2009, p. 186).

Niueans living overseas stay connected to the fonua and magafaoa through cultural ceremonies, remittances and gift giving, and land obligations (Nosa, 2009). These relationships are also maintained through visits, regular contact, and social support (Thode-Arora, 2009, p. 25). There have been efforts to encourage return migration, but in the meantime, Niueans on island work as skilled multi-taskers filling in any gaps in order to keep Niue thriving for themselves and for all Niueans around the world (McNamara et al., 2015, p. 174).

Gender

The gender context in Niue will feature throughout this research, but a general context is useful here. A common pitfall in Western feminist scholarship is essentialising the "Third World Woman" (Mohanty, 2003). Western media sources also tend to base reporting on GBV on Orientalism, that is, blaming GBV on culture despite the fact that it can be found across cultures around the world (Chagnon, 2018). There is nothing inherent about women or women in the Pacific from which we can derive any example of oppression, including GBV. Oppression comes after a woman, with all her intersecting identities, enters social relations. Further, when we construct men as all-powerful against powerless women, it establishes the only possible outcome as an inversion of the status quo, not equity (Mohanty, 2003, p. 39).

In her doctoral thesis, Niue scholar Jessica Pasisi (2020) covers some of the historical influences on gender relations in Niue. The Christian church and colonial administration brought in certain expectations of gender expression. Despite these influences on gender relations, Pasisi (2020) describes how "Niue culture tends to skirt these boundaries in favour of complementarity" (p. 111). She writes, "[o]ften Niue women go where they are needed in order to serve our family and community. Niue women are highly mobile and their networks and an ability to serve larger national, regional and global communities seems second-hand to many of the women I've met" (Pasisi, 2020, p. 89).

While some of these intricacies will be explored later, there are mixed opinions about the focus on women and women's rights in Niue, and there is a common perception that gender inequality does not exist (SPC, 2015, p. 31). The Pacific Community report on gender mainstreaming in Niue (2015) highlighted the two other key factors contributing to a lack of focus on gender in Niue is the small size of civil society and limited attention on social change and human rights as well as the dominance of one church, Ekalesia Kerisiano Niue (p. 31). The report also shared that stereotypes about masculinity in Niue reduce men's roles in sharing domestic work, reduce men's health-seeking behaviours, and contribute to impunity around GBV (SPC, 2015, p. 11).

In terms of broader representation, there are four women MPs who were elected in 2017 and three in the 2020 election bringing the current proportion of women in the Fono Ekepule to 15 percent. While

we know this is not the best indicator of gender equity especially in the Global South (Nazneen et al., 2019), conversations around these numbers and a possible quota for women helped to frame perceptions of gender equality. There was a discussion about whether or not to introduce a quota for women in the Fono, and the resistance primarily came from older women who argued that they wanted to earn it the same way as men do with no additional assistance.

As argued in the Pacific Community report, the perception that gender inequality does not exist is rooted in the lack of disaggregated information which further compounds the perception that no inequalities exist (SPC, 2015). Without knowledge of what is happening on Niue, the gender context is difficult to understand let alone consider pathways for transformation. Expressions of gender are culturally-specific, and their complexities and contradictions are crucial to understanding gendered social relations in their context.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Exploring GBV in Niue requires a framework that centers the lived experiences of Niue women. There are several approaches to do this, but it is important to consider the framework most appropriate for accessing lived experiences that inform some of the challenges and opportunities in addressing GBV in small Pacific islands. It is also critical to determine an approach that effectively positions myself as a non-Niuean researcher. Recent development studies research on GBV in the Pacific illustrate some guiding examples of foregrounding lived experience in order to answer key research questions about how to address GBV.

One of the major challenges in GBV research is striking the balance between centering lived experiences with, at the same time, the collaborators' wellbeing in discussing this sensitive topic. To do this, Heard et al. (2019) used an arts-based approach to look at IPV among young people in Samoa. In drama workshops, collaborators revealed their perceptions and understandings of IPV. The researchers found that collaborators drew upon their multiple social positions in how they reacted to various situations and concluded that understanding young peoples' experiences of violence must be in relation to the social relations from which they understand and articulate their own identities. They did not have to tap directly into personal experiences with violence to unpack these complexities. In similar vein, a theatre group in Vanuatu, Wan Smolbag, has been performing locally-scripted and tested shows on social issues which at times have included GBV (Woodward-Hanna, 2014). The performances are incredibly popular and resonate with audiences because the scripts are grounded in ni-Vanuatu narratives. Similarly, Kauli and Thomas (2019) used a collaborative and arts-based approach to community theatre in Papua New Guinea that was able to both raise narratives around GBV and engage with the audience.

As another method of centering lived experiences as well as collaborators' wellbeing when talking about GBV, development studies researchers, Thomas, Kauli, & Borrey (2018), used photo voice methods to connect the experiences of practitioners and survivors with policymakers in Papua New Guinea. Using photography, collaborators were encouraged to narrate their experiences. This was an innovative approach in amplifying women's voices and connecting community discussions of GBV with policymakers especially since high rates of GBV in Papua New Guinea is an already visible issue at a more macro level. While Thomas et al. (2018) are able to access and centre narratives from survivors with this approach, which is always an ethical challenge, the photo voice approach can consolidate complex and contradictory identities and frame an individual's experience for the viewing of others. In the smaller community of Niue, photo voice and theatre approaches might not work as well given the small size of the community and the existing silences around GBV. However, Heard et al. (2019), Kauli and Thomas (2019), and Thomas et al. (2018) demonstrate how individual and collaborative narratives can be accessed and used in innovative ways to understand the gendered social relations in which GBV persists.

When accessing these narratives, it is important to have the right language around GBV. As Percival et al. (2010) note, there is no specific term for sexual violence in Vagahau Niue which suggests a need for a different model to understand what GBV is and how it is talked about in Niue. Development studies researchers have suggested the use of a continuum of violence to avoid categorisation unnecessary for understanding GBV and to make visible the ways in which women and girls are social constructed as vulnerable to abuse (Boesten & Wilding, 2015). In the Pacific, Smith (2019) used the continuum of violence concept in her research on sexual violence in Chuuk, Micronesia which helped to unpack violent experiences through women's life histories. This included the ways in which collaborators recalled being taught about their own vulnerabilities to violence as well as the many ways violence manifested in their lives. In the Amazonian region, other GBV researchers used the concept of the continuum of violence with Indigenous women to make space for colonial violence, neoliberal capitalism, and ancestral patriarchy in their place-based understanding of gendered violence (Santamaria et al., 2019).

While a continuum of violence framework allows us to access culturally-specific narratives around GBV, other Pacific research guides us to think about where these narratives are developed. Siu-Maliko (2019) does exactly that by piloting Bible study as a way to make space in the church for discussing GBV. She outlines readings of Biblical parables that become an opportunity for dialogue and transformation. The church is an institution through which many in the Pacific derive social meanings, guidance, and identity. In that sense, it has important transformative potential. Siu-Maliko (2019) provides a contextual reading of four texts and poses group discussion questions that move collaborators to reflection and action, all connected to how the Church features in their gendered understandings of themselves.

In their research, Fa'avae et al. (2017) used Indigenous research methods, namely the Talanoa Research Methodology, to understand the issue of GBV in Tongan schools in a more context-specific manner. Talanoa as a research methodology is a culturally-relevant approach for engaging with and gathering stories of Pacific peoples (Fa'avae et al., 2016; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). In comparing the existing literature to the findings, they found WHO-based assessments of GBV in Tonga to miss several crucial features including social class which is complex and highly pertinent in Tonga, how gender inequality is socialised, the ways in which custom is applied in discriminatory ways, forced marriage, and poverty (Fa'avae et al., 2017, p. 55). This demonstrates how research methods informed by the worldviews and epistemological constructs of the people who are the focus of the research are able to reach greater depth in learning about collaborators lived experiences. However, this research raises the question of how a feminist lens is situated in Pacific research methodologies and what that lens looks like in a specific context.

Pacific research methodologies, including Talanoa, offer the strengths of narrative inquiry and phenomenology while being grounded in Pacific values and shaped by Pacific epistemologies (Suaalii-

Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2013). In this way, Pacific research methodologies aim to decolonise research practices. There are many Pacific research methodologies with many constructed specifically to an island or group of islands. While Talanoa has been applied across the Pacific, examples like the Kakala Framework in Tonga (Thaman, 2003) and Vanua Research Framework in Fiji (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) depict the diversity of approaches across the region. For Niue, a place-specific Pacific research methodology has been proposed by Niue Indigenous studies scholar, Jessica Pasisi in her doctoral thesis (Pasisi, 2020). Drawing from the Niue traditional practice of barkcloth painting, Pasisi (2020) described the Hiapo approach as "paying attention to Niue narratives in specific Niue ways" (p. 6). Hiapo will provide a guiding framework for this research. At the same time, the insights from the Talanoa Research Methodology fill in gaps in spaces where Hiapo has not reached as of yet.

The Talanoa Research Methodology offers an additional framework for accessing depth in collaborators lived and felt experiences (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006, 2013). Suaalii-Suani and Fulu-Aiolupotea (2014) describe Talanoa as the process of storying and gathering narratives (p. 334). The process of Talanoa research is important in that it involves building relationships and trust which lay the groundwork for data and engagement on topics that are useful to the people who are the focus of the research (Fa'avae et al., 2016). The approach requires place-specific cultural competency and an attunement to collaborators' Talanoa that requires what Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2014) call empathic apprenticeship. As Fa'avae et al. (2017) found in their GBV research in Tonga, Talanoa was able to paint a broader picture of social relations because it was culturally-specific and trust was built with collaborators.

As Pasisi's (2020) research is the first to use the Hiapo approach, I have elected to combine the Hiapo with Talanoa in this framework. While Talanoa can and has been used as a pan-Pacific approach, specific regional nuance to both the language and understanding of the concept is important (Naepi, 2019b, p. 10). In Niue, for example, Pasisi (2020) notes that while the meaning of talanoa rings true, it can also be used to mean gossip or shallow conversation (p. 40). She avoided using it in her research due to the risk of misinterpretation.[4] It is clear that Talanoa must be used in a culturally-specific manner for the people who are the focus of the research which is where Hiapo informs a more robust approach.

There are many ways of going about GBV research in the Pacific, and this section has highlighted several ways that aim to centre the lived experiences of people who experience GBV. However, choices are left to be made about how to strike the balance between accessing lived experiences—through Talanoa for example, ensuring collaborators' wellbeing, my role as a non-Pacific researcher, and how to make the approach specific to the topic at hand. Given that women are disproportionately victimised by GBV and that the nature of *gender*-based violence requires a gender analysis, the next section will

[4] When referring to the Talanoa Research Methodology, I will capitalise Talanoa. When referring to gossip, I will use talanoa in lowercase.

build on Indigenous research methodologies in the Pacific and Aotearoa New Zealand with feminist critiques.

Gender Analysis

With Indigenous research methodologies, including Talanoa, the lack of a gender analysis comes up as a common critique. In this section, I will explore three Pacific research methodologies that work to centre Pacific and Māori women. In Fiji, the Masi Methodology uses the rich metaphor of barkcloth painting in Fiji to explore women's knowledge and authority in research (Naepi, 2019a). Drawing from this approach, Pasisi (2020) builds the Hiapo methodology from the Niue tradition of barkcloth painting and elevates Niue women's cross-generational stories of climate change. Then finally, Mana Wahine research in Aotearoa New Zealand guides what an approach centering Indigenous women could look like when exploring the topic of GBV.

The Masi Methodology is a framework developed from Pacific values and ways of knowing that centre Pacific women (Naepi, 2019a). In Fiji, Masi is barkcloth made from mulberry and designed in different patterns for various purposes. Different forms of barkcloth work are practiced around the Pacific including Niue, where it is Hiapo. Masi is a powerful metaphor for gender analysis because it has endured as an art form primarily made by women and in many places persisted through colonisation; it is made in a collaborative process; and it is highly valued in communities (Naepi, 2019a, p. 238). This means that women are at the centre for their knowledge both in the present and the knowledge they hold from their ancestors. This is painted in a process either individually where women work on their own pieces or collectively work on a piece together. Naepi (2019a) positions Masi as a methodology without specific methods and suggests that there are a number of ways in which methods can elevate Pacific women's voices as authoritative (p. 238). In her research on Pacific women in tertiary education, she used Talanoa methods both individually and in the community (Patterson, now Naepi, 2018).

In building out the methodology, Naepi (2019a) offers several guiding values, many of which are shared across Pacific research methodologies, including respect, relationships, reciprocity, and cultural competency. In expanding a framework to study GBV, the values of meaningful engagement and protection are particularly significant. Meaningful engagement requires trust, respect, and relationship with collaborators in order for these difficult conversations to be had. For example, if a collaborator does not feel comfortable to share about direct experiences with interpersonal violence, the relationship should be established so that they can share if they are comfortable and redirect the conversation if not. This also demands strong research ethics as well as cultural competency and empathic apprenticeship (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Naepi, 2019a). Especially when discussing GBV, protection is another crucial value. Personal narratives about GBV are not only tāoga to be protected

as the knowledge of the collaborator but can also have implications for others who may have been involved.

In Pasisi's (2020) research with the Hiapo approach, she explains how she draws from written, oral, and visual registries to understand women's experiences with climate change. In breaking down the Hiapo methodology, she categorises the making of the dyes as building out the setting of knowledge and context for the Talanoa with Niue women which is the designing and printing of the Hiapo. In a broader sense, the Hiapo methodology involves collaborative storying using Niue cultural concepts and frameworks when possible (Pasisi, 2020, p. 60). In the designing and printing of the Hiapo, the Niue value of respect for elders was built into her interviews given their wisdom from ancestry and lived experience. As she describes, "[w]hen we want to know something about our culture we ask our tau tupuna, our elders" (Pasisi, 2020, p. 146). Pasisi (2020) also reiterates how gender is relational and embodied across generations with lessons passed down from ancestors (p. 142). This provides guidance in how GBV might be best understood in Niue in terms of centering elder women and using ancestry and the socio-cultural framework of family.

Research using the Mana Wahine approach provides additional guidance for how such a framework might be refined for research on GBV. Mana Wahine is an umbrella framework of Māori feminisms that extend the dominant Kaupapa Māori research methodology to focus on the interaction of being Māori and being women (Pihama, 2005/2019, p. 72; Simmonds, 2011). As opposed to many mainstream feminist approaches, Mana Wahine is premised on the impact colonisation has had on Māori women's social positions (Mikaere, 1994/2019; Simmonds, 2011, p. 12). The framework forefronts the cultural, historical, and colonising contexts in which Māori women live (D. Wilson et al., 2019). One of the main areas in which Mana Wahine is applied is in the whānau (family) which is an important site of struggle (L. T. Smith, 1992/2019, p. 46). This framework allows us to see the ways in which colonisation has impacted personal and family relationships by its very nature impacting control over resources, gender norms and expectations, and childrearing responsibilities (L. T. Smith, 1992/2019, p. 50).

As an example of this approach in GBV research, Wilson et al. (2019) use a Mana Wahine framework to study how Māori women got into relationships that became abusive, why they stayed, and how love played into it. They asked 27 Māori women who had once been in an abusive relationship to share their stories of keeping safe (D. Wilson et al., 2019, p. 9). They discuss how collaborators diverged from the assumptions of individualist empowerment approaches and Western notions of concepts like love. By grounding in Mana Wahine, the researchers were able to uncover the complexity in how collaborators expressed the cultural imperatives of whakapapa (similar to genealogy) and whanaungatanga (similar to connections) including aroha (similar to love) and manaakitanga (similar to hospitality) in their relationships. The Mana Wahine framework made space for these complex and sometimes contradictory tensions involved in Māori women's experiences in violent relationships and can guide practitioners to interventions that centre these lived and felt realities.

Building from Pacific research methodologies, these examples contribute a gender analysis specific to Pacific and Māori women. The Masi and Hiapo methodologies as well as the Mana Wahine frameworks provide significant guidance in building a framework for studying GBV in Niue. All of these frameworks emphasise the importance of a lens to identify the cultural and colonising dynamics at play as well as important concepts in how to elevate Indigenous women's voices. In building the theoretical framework for this research, the Hiapo methodology is particularly useful. In this research, the phase of making the dyes which involves expanding on the context in this research is the opportunity to explore spaces for GBV discussion and how community and government leaders view GBV. Then, the process of designing and printing the Hiapo can be guided by the insights from Pasisi (2020) of looking to elder women and not missing the rich knowledge embedded in ancestries. In storying women's narratives within these frameworks, as done by Pasisi (2020), Wilson et al. (2019), and Patterson (now Naepi) (2018), this research can make space for the complexities of Niue women's lived experiences in a way that will be useful and valued in Niue.

Feminist Standpoint Theories

These theories of Indigenous gender analyses share a common distance from mainstream Western feminisms. This distance makes sense when considering how mainstream Western feminisms tend to be modelled from the experiences of middle class white women in the Global North (Mohanty, 2003). Several Pacific researchers from various disciplines have raised these issues in GBV research in particular. New Zealand-born Samoan social work researcher, Yvonne Crichton-Hill (2001), has called for the reorientation of theorising of GBV in the Pacific. She argues that dominant theories of domestic violence including the Duluth Power and Control model, a popular conceptual framework for domestic violence which was developed in a majority white town in the U.S., is ethnocentric and fails to differentiate understandings and experiences based on ethnicity and culture in Samoan contexts (Crichton-Hill, 2001). Building on her work, Rankine et al. (2015) explore the ways the Duluth model is incompatible with Pacific people in general. They argue that individualist assumptions underpin the Duluth model and make it inappropriate for collective and relational cultures. When discussing the literature on GBV in the Pacific, they conclude:

> The literature indicates that reliance on police and refuges is inadequate, and an emphasis on independence may be inappropriate, and that the approach of Pacific services, especially in training church and community leaders, involving the families, and generating community discussion of the issue in culturally sensitive ways, is more useful (Rankine et al., 2015, p. 19).

The particular "feminism" applied for GBV research informs the way researchers view the problem. For example, research by mental health researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand clearly differentiated the

mainstream individual empowerment approach to GBV from approaches that view GBV as a complex social issue with those most marginalised at the centre (Short et al., 2019). They conclude that responses to GBV that focus only on empowering survivors fail to address “the serious safety issues, structural inequities, and experiential health burdens faced by many victims” (Short et al., 2019, p. 1216). Instead of asking people to adapt to oppression, they argue we must change social conditions (Short et al., 2019, p. 1121). For this research and addressing GBV more broadly, this perspective is crucial.

The term feminism in any of its variations, even when applied in an Indigenous research methodology, can meet resistance from multiple angles. That can include those who do not see themselves represented in mainstream, predominantly white, feminisms more broadly, as well as those resistant to the concept of gender equity. In Niue, the term feminism and its implications under mainstream theories of women as disempowered does not animate political imperatives as it does in other places. Without a term that resonates in Niue, there is a risk of neglecting the presence of GBV and other harmful expressions of gender inequality. Given the resistance to the term feminism, it is important to build a framework that makes sense in Niue. There are many social positions that can give some groups more power than others in Niue including class, ability, ethnicity, and hierarchies within the church and government. From these power relations, we can consider GBV in Niue in terms of asymmetrical power relations based on gender.

However, a gap remains in terms of how I, as a non-Pacific researcher, might work with Talanoa from this research. While I have an Advisory Group, the sensitivity of the Talanoa and need for protection of the data and anonymity means that I am the sole researcher engaging in the Talanoa itself as well as the analysis of the data. Tongan educational scholar who developed the Talanoa Research Methodology, Timote Vaioleti notes:

> If ontological assumptions are to do with the nature of reality, then any claim that non-Pacific researchers can interpret Pacific peoples’ Talanoa with any degree of accuracy is open to question. If researchers are not knowledgeable in Pacific ways or skilled in tui kakala, they cannot accompany the participants to the cultural, contextual and spiritual depths of their sharing and theorising. The research will be poorer for that, and misleading (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 32).

In engaging this problematic, I return to the framework that is both nearest to my ontological assumptions and compatible with Indigenous research methodologies, feminist standpoint theories. In building out a transparent approach to working with Talanoa as a non-Pacific researcher, I argue there is merit to drawing from feminist standpoint theories to substantiate my approach. Although they are not congruent in important ways that have been discussed throughout this literature review, feminist standpoint theories draw on similar assumptions to Indigenous research methodologies. As American

feminist sociologist Liz Stanley (1994) describes, a feminist standpoint approach argues that only the subject can "know" their life and it is known through experience.

In exploring feminist standpoint approaches, Indigenous Australian scholar Moreton-Robinson (2013) importantly reminds us that these approaches conflict with Indigenous approaches in two fundamental ways: 1) feminist standpoint approaches divide the body from the earth, and 2) feminist researchers often fail to acknowledge the context of colonisation that allows them to do research in that way. For my research, these are some of the tension points in the "negotiating space" derived from being a non-Pacific researcher (Sanga & Reynolds, 2018). In this section, I will explore some of these feminist standpoint theories, settling on the Listening Guide as a methodological approach to feminist narratives which is derived from Somers (1994) framework of narrativity (Doucet & Mauthner 2008).

A quest to understand GBV in a specific locality, let alone globally, requires an understanding of what can be known. Feminist standpoint theories argue that outsiders can only interpret others' experiences through their narratives (Stanley & Wise, 1993). While comforting her dying mother, Stanley (1994) reflected on her feeling of *knowing* her mother "'beneath' or 'behind' or 'beyond' this self. While intellectually 'knowing better', emotionally I retained a sense of the 'false' and the 'real' selves of my mother" (p. 139). This drive to *know* someone and, in the case of GBV, to *know* someone's experiences and label them within a positivist framework is common. Yet, Canadian and British feminist sociologists Doucet and Mauthner (2008) remind us that "[a]ll we can know is what is narrated by subjects, as well as our interpretation of their stories within the wider web of social and structural relations from which narrated subjects speak" (p. 404).

In terms of GBV, this is particularly poignant. In their book, *Breaking Out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology*, Stanley & Wise (1993) argue that there is little value in constructing facts and telling someone that they are oppressed, and it is clearly quite patronising as well. Sociology and development studies research must go beyond to provide insight into how transformation might take place based on why and how people construct certain narratives about their realities. Stanley & Wise (1993) propose that feminist research should reject the positivist separation of the researcher/ subject relationship, accept peoples' truths even if we disagree with them, and pay attention to the way in which people construct their truths (p. 113). This means prioritising reflexivity, honouring ontological plurality, and analysing narratives in how they construct realities in context.

While much of this is articulated in Pacific research including meaningful engagement, relationships, cultural competency, and empathic apprenticeship to access these narratives (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014), there is little guidance on how non-Pacific researchers might ethically handle the analysis of narratives. This is particularly important for this research when collaboration on the data is not safe given the sensitivity of the topic and information disclosed. The work of Doucet and Mauthner (2008) in their Listening Guide provides a conceptual framework that builds out a multi-layered, interpretive

approach to reading narratives based on Somers (1994) framework of narrativity that makes the researcher visible, traces the subject and their social networks, and reads for the researcher's conceptual narratives.

The Listening Guide builds on the narrative framework from American sociologist, Margaret Somers (1994). She defines narratives as "constellations of *relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*, constituted by *causal emplotment*" (emphasis hers, Somers, 1994, p. 616). The understanding of one's experiences comes from connecting relationships to an existing construction of social practices, be they symbolic or material. Themes are selectively appropriated to draw causal connections which give meaning to narratives. In a way that is likely familiar, we both subconsciously and consciously construct these narratives to make sense of reality. Somers (1994) explains four different types of narratives: ontological, public, meta, and conceptual. The most central and familiar is the ontological narrative which is how an individual constructs their own narratives. The ontological narrative draws from both public and metanarratives in a way that makes sense to the self and relationally to others. Public narratives come from institutions, communities, and collectives and dictate another version of reality. Meta narratives involve broad themes in society that often underpin ontological assumptions like development, progress, or colonisation. Finally, conceptual narratives are the narratives social science researchers then construct to explain reality.

This categorisation of narrativity, while useful in thinking about how narratives recur and are repeated in how we make sense of our own stories, is too rigid for this analysis. Doucet (2018) speaks to this in her research on a nonrepresentational approach to researching family photographs. Family photographs, especially those discussed in her work of Indigenous communities, are valuable sites for/ of decolonising histories. However, they raise important questions about representation in how researchers with contrasting ontological frameworks conduct research. By breaking down Somers (1994) four categories of narrativity, Doucet (2018) highlighted where she was drawing from in her own narratives about her own family photo while making space for imprinted memory, metanarratives of progress and development, and her own conceptual thinking about narrativity. She details her ethical and methodological challenges in identifying Somer's (1994) types of narratives in someone else's story. For example, how can a researcher identify what is a public versus meta narrative in someone else's story? This is particularly challenging when the researcher and collaborator have different ontological frameworks.

The Listening Guide responded to this debate within feminist narrative theories over how narratives can and/or should be analysed (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008; Mauthner, 2017). Some narrative research has attempted to generalise and seek validity through narrative analysis, as would be done in other positivist and perhaps mainstream feminist approaches. At the same time, there is merit to the argument that if we decide to retell stories, there must be a greater significance. Alternatively, Doucet (2018) argues, "[i]f multiple worlds or worldings are possible, then the researchers' or ethnographers' role is not to

represent but to contribute to bringing new stories, relationships, and worlds into being" (p. 749-50). This resonates with what several Pacific scholars (Pasisi, 2020; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006) including Wilson (2013) have shared that these narratives "are indicative of, rather than representative of, the multitudinous ways one may be Pacific" (also cited in Pasisi, 2020, p. 45; C. Wilson, 2013, p. 15).

This goal requires deeply reflexive practice and is not necessarily a natural outcome of a narrative approach especially for a non-Pacific researcher working with Pacific narratives. It is a researcher's responsibility to explain what she knows and how she claims to know it. My analysis will foreground my own subjectivity using Doucet and Mauthner's (2008) Listening Guide to map the dimensions of narrative making by both collaborators and myself.

Taking Root in Genealogy

Returning to the problematic of mainstream feminism's practice of viewing the individual women without the broader collective, we find the question of how to engage with the expansive topic of GBV in Niue. While the dying of the paints is an important part of framing GBV as the complex social issue it is, the question remains: what is the Hiapo? This section will explore the importance of family spaces in addressing GBV in Niue as well as a pathway to engage with women's narratives through family-tree mapping.

In Niue, my own research in 2017 pointed to the family as a space and opportunity for informal support, a gatekeeper for seeking formal support, but also and at worst, a threat to the safety of women and girls (E. Thomas, 2017). Other research has also discussed the role of the Niuean family in the prevention of sexual violence. Public health researchers at the University of Auckland School of Population Health led a study on the prevention of sexual violence in Pacific communities in Auckland (Percival et al., 2010). The section on Niue is rich with participants' reflections in focus groups resident in both New Zealand and in Niue. While the research captures important cultural context to sexual violence, it is conducted in New Zealand and does not directly discuss barriers for Niueans who spend most of their time in Niue. With this caveat, participants considered the role of the family in talking about GBV. When asked about the education on sexual violence prevention, three Niuean women responded:

> It is our fakaakoaga (teachings) handed down from our mamatua tupuna to our families, especially our families who know how to promulgate these principles; but our families without these matutakiaga (teachings) about these matters, it is not easy for them to have understanding.
> There are those things in place like our traditional principles like fakaalofa (love), feofanaki (caring) within families.

> It happens but not for general use; it only happens within families who believe it, and what happens if you don't believe it - it doesn't happen (Percival et al., 2010, pp. 52–53).

These responses suggest that if a family understands the importance of preventing sexual violence, the matutakiaga (lessons) are passed down generationally perhaps alongside cultural principles of fakaalofa and feofanaki. This suggests that intergenerational knowledge can be useful for understanding spaces for talking about GBV. The men's focus group in this research discussed that education in the family can involve modelling positive behaviours, warning others about violent community members, and encouraging family members to share their experiences with someone they trust. From that intergenerational perspective, the questions become: How is the space for these discussions made among family? Who specifically is involved? And who is involved in preventing GBV?

Drawing from Pacific research methodologies as well as Mana Wahine can help to frame these questions. A major thread within these frameworks is genealogy. In Pasisi's (2020) research, Niue women's stories about climate change included stories of their genealogies which allowed Pasisi to access the richness of women's knowledge embedded in ancestry. The Hiapo methodology is connected to genealogy in that the practice of Hiapo making was passed down generationally. In the same sense, stories of how gender expressions are understood within ancestry can provide context for understanding gender today. Because gender is socialised with the family being a major social space, the lessons from our family including our elders speak to the way our living ancestors and the stories of other ancestors who live within them influence how descendants express gender.

Research explored earlier on Māori women's approaches with Mana Wahine provide even more insights into how the family space can be unpacked through research. In Mana Wahine and Kaupapa Māori theory, whakapapa (similar to genealogy) is a rich knowledge base that is a lens in and of itself to see the world (Mikaere, 2011; Simmonds, 2019). Ani Mikaere (2011) describes whakapapa as a way of seeing that all things have a past, present, and future (p. 169). The conceptual framework she puts forward sees whakapapa as a way of seeing where we belong, accessing knowledge, guiding our behaviours, and approaching challenges (Mikaere, 2011, p. 175). GBV is a very clear example of how this whakapapa framework could be applied to the family space in order to see the complexities of social positions, Indigenous knowledges, family influences, and pathways to challenge harmful behaviours like GBV. It also shows how knowing our histories can help guide a path forward as well as provide guidance to deal with the present (Mikaere, 2011).

Mental health research by Short et al. (2019) presented similar ideas with their research on "thinking differently" about Māori family violence deaths in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition to challenging the mainstream individualistic empowerment approach to IPV, they rely on 28 in-depth New Zealand family violence death reviews to discuss alternative healthcare responses by reframing IPV as a complex social problem. These reviews come from the New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee

(FVDRC) which prepares a thorough review for all family violence deaths in order to evaluate family violence system responses (Short et al., 2019, p. 1210; Tolmie et al., 2017; D. Wilson, 2017). As a key piece of this review, the FVDRC developed a traumagram model in order to map family violence across an individual's extended family, often including four generations (Tolmie et al., 2017, p. 178). This is accompanied by a narrative of life stories of those in the traumagram to include historical, social, and emotional experiences including other trauma and violence (Tolmie et al., 2017, p. 178). The benefit of this approach is that it makes visible the collective as well as the ongoing effects of colonisation and racism that contribute to patterns of trauma and violence (D. Wilson, 2017, p. 293).

The research by Short et al. (2019) as well as the FVDRC's reviews themselves are primarily used to shift organisational responses to family violence. Using the traumagram approach allows researchers and practitioners to see the wider context as well as "the intergenerational effects colonisation has had on Māori whānau including education, assimilation and urbanisation" (D. Wilson, 2017, p. 298). However, this model has mostly been applied to improve institutional responses to family violence. Wilson (2017) notes the numerous barriers to help-seeking for Indigenous peoples in the webs of structural discrimination and interpersonal racism (p. 303). It is, of course, important to improve institutional responses to family violence especially in reducing these barriers even as, in the Niue context, few survivors seek help from formal institutions (E. Thomas, 2017). However, the framework of elevating the knowledge and lived experiences of Niue women within a traumagram-style model could envision the family space with opportunities of its own.

Although the traumagram model has been used when the primary victim is deceased, I argue a variation of this model can be applied in Talanoa with Niue women to illuminate the complexities of gendered social positions, family influences and relationships in response to GBV patterns, and pathways to challenge GBV. Using family history also has the potential to indirectly explore narratives on the topic of GBV while protecting collaborators' wellbeing by speaking of indirect experiences with GBV. Derived from both the Hiapo methodology and Mana Wahine, this approach fits the task of exploring GBV in Niue in a culturally-specific way that elevates and protects the narratives of Niue women and returns this tāoga to be useful in reducing GBV.

Renowned Māori storyteller and legal scholar, Moana Jackson, has described whakapapa as never-ending beginnings (Jackson, 2008; also cited in Simmonds, 2019). Beyond a cursory reflection of the past, a genealogical framework allows us to see opportunity in every relationship. As Naomi Simmonds (2019) describes:

> Whakapapa, then, is much more than "genealogy." It is an intricate web of connections, intersections and relationships that serve to connect Māori women to enduring lifeways that are ancient in origin but that will carry them into the future and enable them to navigate the complex systems of power that are part of our colonised realities (p. 160).

Building from GBV research in the Pacific, Pacific and Māori research methodologies that centre Indigenous women, and feminist standpoint theory, this hybrid framework elevates the lived and felt experiences of Niue women through a genealogical approach while making a transparent space throughout the research process for my reflexivity as a non-Pacific researcher. As Talanoa is the "process of storying narratives," (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014, p. 334) these negotiated frameworks, while situated in the Niue context, provide a pathway for learning and sharing alternative narratives around the challenges and opportunities in addressing GBV in Niue.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Gender-based Violence (GBV) is a sensitive topic to study. Asking research questions about GBV can bring up past trauma and can put collaborators at risk of harm. There are several approaches that have been used in response to these research challenges, with the WHO methodology being the most popular, but they have shortcomings particularly in the context of Niue (Krug et al., 2002; WHO, 2014). In particular, they fail to capture the complexities and contradictions around the topic that are highly context-specific. However, in my 2017 research, which used semi-structured qualitative interviews, stakeholders in Niue were interested in quantitative data (E. Thomas, 2017). Statistics on GBV do tend to raise the profile of the issue especially in policy spaces (Walby et al., 2014). However, upon deeper discussion, ethical and methodological challenges to conducting such a survey in Niue would be too difficult in a small place. It also raised the question of how impactful that data or insights would be given that many in Niue already recognise the prevalence of GBV.

There was support from Niue for continuing the work of the 2017 research because Niue remains one of the few countries without any recently published data on GBV. Charlene Tukiuha, the Head of Community Affairs and Counsellor in Niue retained an active interest in discussions about other research design possibilities. Charlene invited Jamal Talagi, a Master of Public Policy student at the University of Auckland from Niue, to join our discussions. Together, they played a crucial role as the Advisory Group for this 2019 research. We discussed research questions that would explore areas useful for addressing GBV in Niue as well as appropriate methods for my research on the issue. The recent Pacific literature described in the previous chapter that values Indigenous knowledge reminds us that the pathway to transformation of social relations really lie within the communities themselves (Heard, Fitzgerald, Va'ai, Collins, Whittaker, et al., 2019; Kauli & Thomas, 2019; Siu-Maliko, 2019; V. Thomas et al., 2018). In exploring possible spaces, public health research on Niueans in New Zealand provided guidance in how to conceptualise spaces around this topic (Percival et al., 2010; Tavelia, 2012). This research as well as my own work from 2017 pointed to the family space as a crucial one in terms of GBV (E. Thomas, 2017).

In terms of methods, the literature as well as my positionality as a non-Pacific researcher has led me to a narrative-Talanoa approach which is a hybrid of the Pacific research methodology, Talanoa, and the feminist narrative approach. Talanoa is Pacific-specific "storying" (Vaioleti, 2006). Research in Māori and Indigenous Australian communities on GBV shows how storying can be a powerful research tool in several respects. Similar to the arguments of Moreton-Robinson (2013), Indigenous Australian nursing scholars note that storytelling is a powerful methodological tool because "it facilitates the expression of experiences and fits well with feminist research methods and Indigenous oral history traditions" (Davis & Taylor, 2002). Further a pākeha scholar studying feminist solidarity in a Māori domestic violence organisation found storytelling to be a powerful process that allowed her to learn about experiences that were very different to her own (Weatherall, 2019). As Somers (1994) has

articulated, narratives allow the narrators many ways to draw from other societal narratives to construct something that is uniquely their own.

In order to honour Niue knowledge and ways of knowing, elements of the Talanoa approach including empathic apprenticeship, cultural competency, and relationships were prioritised (Fa'avae et al., 2016; Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). As there is a lot to the practicalities of this approach, I explain the narrative-Talanoa approach as employed in the family-tree mapping in depth in chapter five.

The field work took place over four weeks from 19 October to 15 November 2019 in Niue. The research involved two parts: 27 informant interviews with 32 total collaborators and 14 family-tree mapping interviews with one woman over age 40 from each village. Upon arrival in Niue and prior to beginning the interviews, I had five courtesy calls alongside Charlene with the appropriate representatives from the Department of Justice, Ministry of Social Services, Fono Ekepule, Tāoga Niue, and the New Zealand High Commission to build relationships and discuss the research design.

Positionality

Having been to Niue before, I had met several collaborators before. I felt an indescribable warmth returning to Niue after two years and being welcomed with hugs from familiar strangers and my passport stamped by staff who knew my name. Nonetheless, my role as a white Palagi/American unmarried woman inevitably shaped the interview spaces. While I cannot speak for what my collaborators thought of me, I felt two different reactions. In the first group of reactions, I noticed that collaborators were very positive about everything, and it seemed as though they were withholding or avoiding discussions about anything negative in their families or community, particularly around domestic violence. While this could have been the case, I thought about the ways in which rhetoric on GBV in Pacific communities has been used to fuel racism in New Zealand and elsewhere and how often outsiders see non-white cultures as problems without capacity to generate solutions outside of whiteness (Chagnon, 2018). Holding this problematic, my hunch is that my whiteness in addition to the identities that mark me an outsider in Niue led to some withholding among some collaborators. For example, one collaborator described all relationships in their family as "good" and when I probed about any events that happened that might have changed what was happening in a given relationship, she would say "no, nothing ever happened" to exclude positive events as well.

In this group, I also recognised that some collaborators distanced themselves from ideas of gender and feminism. Specifically, some would emphasise the presence of gender equality in Niue, how there were no problems with gender issues, or how boys in Niue are the real group to be concerned about. Charlene told me that many people referred to me as the "gender lady" as word spread around the

island about the research I was doing. When we discussed GBV, collaborators I would categorise in this group were quick to warn me that women can be verbally abusive too, resisting any semblance of victim status for Niuean women. In response to these reactions, I emphasised the concept of the continuum of violence and gender *relations* which include all genders as well as my interest in learning about everything from the bad to the good. Discussion of my positionality in this group will continue in the narrative analysis which also includes my own conceptual narrativity in making sense of collaborators' narratives.

On the other side, I would categorise another group of collaborators marked by openness and sharing. A couple of collaborators mentioned that speaking to an outsider like myself provided an alternative to the omnipresent talanoa on the island. What several collaborators described as "coconut wireless" to indicate how quickly and far news and gossip spreads on Niue, I will term talanoa. In a small place, social conversations among friends, family, colleagues, and neighbours are also sources of news and gossip. It is a crucial space for collective meaning making, but several collaborators also described how spreading gossip can be harmful. As an outsider, I was not tied into the talanoa. I was bound to protecting their information, and the space was an opportunity to tell their story with privacy. In this group of collaborators, some told me information they said they had never shared before, explored ideas they had never thought about before, or, as if frustrated by pressure to do otherwise, promised to "tell it like it is" and "give it to me straight." These interviews were often emotional with a mix of sadness, grief, joy, and pride. I started bringing a box of tissues with me to interviews after getting caught without them in an early interview. With these interviews, I felt an established trust which gave my questioning and probing a better flow. This group of interviews tended to be longer than those of the first group.

In both groups, my identity was explicitly raised. Upon meeting each collaborator, I proudly introduced myself in Vagahau Niue. In addition to explaining my background, in several interviews my introduction became an opening for collaborators to ask where I learned Vagahau and for me to share my connections with Niueans living in Auckland. However, my inability to speak much further and imperfect pronunciation were a reminder of power asymmetries. In the family-tree mapping interviews, most collaborators asked about my family at the end of the interview. I answered honestly about my family overseas in the U.S., my home and studies in Auckland, and living with my partner without being married. Although I was able to connect with a few collaborators over having close family living overseas, two collaborators reminded me that by living with my partner without being married that I am living in sin. One collaborator noticed during the interview that I was not wearing a ring and suggested that I would not be able to understand what marriage is like because of it. This dynamic, in particular, will be explored further in chapter seven in the analysis of marriage as a part of the magafaoa (roughly, extended family).

Being white with an American accent positioned me as the outsider looking in, and three collaborators made associations with my work and that of regional and UN agencies doing other development work

in Niue. These associations were followed with disdainful attitudes around the neoliberal development approaches in the Pacific that largely treat all Pacific countries as the same with the same issues, in this case, GBV. In response to this and then at the beginning of each interview, I emphasised how this was an opportunity to take a specific look at Niue without comparison to other countries. These themes will resurface in the exploration of recurring narratives in chapter six.

While certainly my positionality created barriers, Charlene and I discussed whether or not the more withholding group would have been more open if interviewed by a Niuean. She was doubtful anyone would feel comfortable sharing any private information on this topic with another Niuean because of the nature of talanoa on the island. However, the Advisory Group and others informally recognised that many collaborators would feel more comfortable discussing these issues in Vagahau Niue. As a part of this research, I undertook to learn Vagahau Niue as a way of better understanding aga fakaNiue and supporting Indigenous languages. There were mixed opinions on the use of Vagahau Niue in interviews because although the meanings of GBV terms are understood in different ways, they are more poignant and emotive in Vagahau Niue. Further, there is a dexterity to the use of Vagahau Niue that requires lifelong practice. We decided this research could be conducted in English because there were enough available collaborators who could speak both languages, an outsider approach was okay and potentially favourable, and logistically, I could not develop that level of dexterity in time.

Table 1. *Informant Affiliations*
Tāoga Niue
Crown Law
Police Department
Justice Department
Fono Ekepule
Health Department
Department of Education
Ministry of Social Services
Department of Statistics and Planning
National Women's Council
Ekalesia Kerisiano Niue
Fellowship for Christian Women
Niue Youth Council
University of the South Pacific
Niue Public Service Commission
Other organisations not named to protect the identities of collaborators.

Informants were selected with the help of Charlene who understood the appropriate representatives from the government and community. The list included representatives from the Department of Justice, Police, Health Department, Public Service Commission, Youth Council, Department of Education, Fono Ekepule, University of the South Pacific, Ekalesia Kerisiano Niue, Fellowship for Christian Women, Niue Women's Council, and other NGOs. Most collaborators held multiple roles in both the government and community and could speak from multiple perspectives. Of the 32 total collaborators, 12 were men and 20 women. Informants were recruited via email by Charlene and were given the option to not participate or to send another representative from their organisation/ department. Three collaborators either elected not to participate or sent a different representative.

The informant interviews were focused on the three research questions around spaces (see below). The interviews were semi-structured in order to systematically assess how government and community leaders frame GBV and where it is discussed while allowing for the conversation to flow to other topics. The semi-structured approach also created more space in the interviews for collaborator narratives which provide their analysis of the problem. The interview questions were categorised into the overarching questions of “what is happening?” and “what else could work?” These interviews were focused on understanding community and government leaders’ perceptions about the spaces in which GBV is discussed as well as their ideas for creating new spaces. In several cases, these interviews became a collaborative space to think through the challenges and opportunities for addressing GBV in Niue.

In order to avoid prompting collaborators to discuss actual GBV incidents, probing questions focused on trends and public narratives. However, some collaborators raised actual GBV incidents and even personal experiences. When this happened, I reminded the collaborator that it was not necessary for them to share all of the details of such incidents, but they were welcome to if they were comfortable. All collaborators were offered referral pathways for counselling by contacting myself or Charlene.

Family-tree Mapping

The second part of the methodology was to pilot a method of creating space to talk about GBV. Ethically, in GBV research it is challenging to centre survivors’ experiences while avoiding retraumatising them through interviews (Fontes, 2004; Newman & Kaloupek, 2009; Pio & Singh, 2016). In this research, family-tree mapping was used as a way to access genealogies as a potential space to talk about GBV in Niue. This methodology is in the spirit of Fakatupuolamoui, the Niuean conceptual framework developed by Niueans in New Zealand for addressing family violence which leans on positive aspects of aga fakaNiue (Niuean culture, the Niuean way) (Tavelia, 2012). In this sense, the research design is centered on those spaces which currently exist to discuss GBV as well as creating space for this positive development in the magafaoa.

The magafaoa is where guidelines for gender relations are socialised, where burdens are shared, and where ancestry lives on. In this research, it is both a space in which GBV is addressed as well as a research method through family-tree mapping. The family-tree mapping approach involves mapping the collaborator’s social family tree and using that to explore various topics. It has been used most notably in anthropology and psychology as well as post-mortem by the New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee (Gardner, 2016; Platt & Skowron, 2013; Tolmie et al., 2017). For this research, it was used to explore how families address GBV in a way that avoids raising personal experiences with GBV and focusing on the indirect.

Collaborators were recruited through the village women's councils, and there is one in each of the 14 villages. Some villages had a second women's council which were primarily social groups, so for this research, the official women's councils were chosen. Chairpersons were given the details of the research in English and Vagahau Niue through Charlene and asked to select a collaborator in a manner appropriate for their group. The councils could refuse to participate as a collective. If they chose to participate, the selected collaborator could also withdraw at any point. If the selected collaborator withdrew, we would contact the Chairperson again to, if their council still wanted to participate, select another collaborator. This approach was chosen in order to include a range of families and to ensure that the data collected was exhaustive enough to be publicly accepted by Niueans, meaning as representative as possible.

There was a total of 14 interviews ranging from 60-180 minutes, averaging 120 minutes. There were no age restrictions, but members of the village women's councils were mainly women over 40. Collaborators were all between 40 and 80 years old with an average age of 64. Twelve of the interviews took place in the collaborators' homes while two took place in a private space in the collaborator's workplace. Audio-recording was optional, and six collaborators opted to not be recorded. During the interviews, we mapped their social family tree focusing on family members living in Niue. We went back and down no more than two generations. This took 30 minutes on average with each collaborator. Then, questions were asked around the areas of disclosure, accountability, education, and talanoa in the family. At the start of the sessions, it was explained that the focus would not be on any situations or events whereby the collaborator was directly involved in the violence.

The benefit of these interviews was that they considerably reduced retraumatising collaborators by focusing on GBV indirectly through family relationships. For example, collaborators were asked to describe the relationships of couples close to them like their cousins. A semi-structured approach was used in these interviews to explore family relations while probing events or incidents that changed family relations and the feelings those events brought up. When GBV was raised, as it was in every interview but one, I flagged it in my notes, did not probe around it in the moment, and revisited it at the end asking the collaborator if it was okay to explore the incident further. The deeper exploration of these incidents involved questions for further clarification and probing about the feelings it brought up, the actions various actors took, and how and when it was disclosed to the collaborator. This guided the collaborators in their narratives.

Although care was taken to ensure that the conversations did not deviate to the collaborator's personal experiences with violence, the discussion started to move in that direction in two cases. In those cases, I reminded the collaborator that they did not need to share if they did not want to and offered to take a break from the interview. One collaborator elected to share her personal experiences and the other decided to take a break and then to continue the rest of the interview. Whenever GBV was specifically discussed in interviews, I took care to respond empathetically while non-judgmentally affirming

collaborators' lived experiences. For all collaborators, I introduced the referral process for counselling where Charlene would either provide counselling or refer them to a suitable counsellor, so they choose. Collaborators were also given the opportunity to withdraw their interview up to two weeks after. If requested, the collaborators were given a physical copy of the family-tree from the interview with just names written in pencil, so they could update and adjust it as needed for their own keeping.

Analysis

As noted by Fa'avae et al. (2016), there are many practicalities of the Talanoa approach that are not made explicit. While other Pacific research methodologies like the Kakala framework developed by Konai Helu-Thaman in Tonga provide guidance on the analysis stage of Pacific research, the Talanoa framework is somewhat more amorphous (Thaman, 2003; Tunufa'i, 2016). Talanoa is about learning from new forms of evidence (Tunufa'i, 2016) which requires new skills to be attuned to what is being shared as described by Farrelly and Nabobo-baba's (2014) empathic apprenticeship. The process of analysing Talanoa requires us to move away from the onto-epistemological demands of reliability and validity to a focus on cultural meaning and trustworthiness (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014). That focus requires more than just what was said in the Talanoa. Within the interview it includes body language, pauses, as well as the information shared before and after the recording was on (Fa'avae et al., 2016, p. 146). For my research, it also involves all of the talanoa I informally engaged in outside of interviews.

For the interview themselves, the recorded ones were transcribed. For the interviews that were not recorded, I transcribed my notes the day of the interview trying to fill in any gaps I might have missed in my notes. I analysed the informant interviews and family-tree mapping interviews in different ways. For the informant interviews, I used a narrative thematic analysis where I looked specifically for the spaces in which GBV was discussed, the ways in which GBV was characterised by the collaborator, and their ideas for new spaces and transformative change. Themes arose in each of these areas, but they were connected to the broader narrative presented by the collaborator. In chapter six, I highlight the recurring narratives, but I am careful to not dissociate them too much from the full narrative of the collaborator.

For the family-tree mapping interviews, I used Doucet and Mauthner's (2008) Listening Guide to do a four stage review of each transcript. The first review involved a reflexive reading for my immediate reactions and interpretations. The second review traced the collaborator and how she spoke about herself. The third review mapped her relations with others in the narrative. The fourth review was a conceptual narrative that wove all of those reviews together. With the annotations from my first review in the margins, I was guided to dig into my own assumptions in how the collaborator described herself and her relations. It was an important continuation of empathic apprenticeship that I continued in the

analysis where my goal was to learn about and understand the collaborator's narrative (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). Further, the Listening Guide framework allowed me to feel as if I was sitting back in the interview. It also allowed me to build out composite cases and story the narratives in my own conceptual narrative written in chapter seven.

Key Ethical Considerations

This research was approved by the University of Auckland Human Collaborators Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) on 9 October 2019 (reference 023589). In researching GBV, there is an important ethical balance that must be struck between centering the experiences of survivors in order to produce beneficial outcomes from the research and avoiding distress or causing any harm to potential survivors. Because the information collected in these interviews is tāoga and the difficultly of privacy in Niue, care has been taken in anonymising and storing the data securely. Collaborators were given the option of whether or not to be audio-recorded. Audio-recordings were kept on my recording device, and my notes were taken using shorthand. Both are stored securely, locked in my residence. Further, the analysis of this data has required extra care to ensure that no collaborator is identified by the examples used in the writing of this thesis and related documents. This is particularly challenging in a small community like Niue. The Advisory Group assisted in reading a draft of the analysis to ensure that no collaborators could be identified.

Another concern during the fieldwork was the possibility for incidental and/ or illegal findings both during interviews and in my personal time in Niue. During interviews, the interview was redirected or stopped if the conversation started to trend in the direction of an individuals' direct experiences with GBV, as perpetrators or victims. In a small community, it is difficult to avoid building friendships with people in between interviews. I took the same approach in those relationships outside interviews and avoided provoking conversations that might result in incidental findings. If such information was disclosed to me, I did what was reasonably in my power in the situation to provide assistance. This included offering to contact Charlene or begin a referral process for counselling.

Collaborators' rights to withdraw received the most comments when I explained it before each interview. In several of the interviews, collaborators explained to me that, culturally, once something was said, they could never take it back, that it was already out in the world. I was careful to explain that withdrawal meant none of their information would be used in the research and that collaborators who chose to be audio-recorded could also review their transcript for two weeks, so they choose. Still, few took this opportunity, and no one withdrew their information.

The benefits for tagata Niue have been the main consideration throughout this research. With the help of the Advisory Group as well as the collaborative ideas coming out of the informant interviews, this

research will help propel movement towards eliminating violence in social relations in Niue and to further promote healthy relationships. As an important part of this research, I will return to Niue to distribute a brief report and to present the findings. The report will be written in non-academic language with, at minimum, a summary translated to Vagahau Niue. I will present the findings at the Ministry of Social Services inviting all collaborators and anyone interested in the community to attend. A copy of my final thesis will also be stored in the Tāoga Niue library collection, the Police Department, and the University of the South Pacific Niue collection.

CHAPTER 5: FAMILY-TREE METHODS TO MAKE SPACE FOR DISCUSSING GBV

Continuing on from the methodology chapter, this chapter opens with the research question of how useful a family-tree mapping approach, like the one employed in this research, is in creating spaces for talking about GBV. A genealogical approach to understanding GBV resulted in family-tree mapping interviews guided by the Pacific research methodology, Talanoa (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). While there were many insights that came out of this research, the method of family-tree mapping in a Talanoa-style paves the way for other opportunities to make spaces for discussing GBV in the Pacific. This chapter will explore the methods, my role as a non-Niuean research using elements of Pacific methodologies in Niue, learnings from the process, and possibilities for its applications in the future.

While I have discussed the theoretical framework in my literature review and methodology, here, I want to deepen this analysis by discussing the practicalities of the family-tree mapping approach I used in its narrative-Talanoa form, its shortcomings, and how these insights can guide future research on GBV in Niue and the Pacific. The analysis in this chapter is grounded in the 14 family-tree mapping interviews as well as the hours of talanoa that surrounded that. This talanoa was not recorded or official in that it was transcribed or analysed in a formulaic manner. It mainly took place with my Advisory Group both with Charlene Tukiuha in Niue and Jamal Talagi in Auckland. Our conversations were the closest "research activity" to pure talanoa in that we spent hours "talking about nothing in particular, and interacting without a rigid framework" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 23). This points not to empirics but the process of doing this research which I will explain in this chapter.

This approach resulted in rich insights that were grounded in how Niue women make sense of their realities. Although there are challenges to reporting on research that involves Talanoa, as Fa'avae et al. (2016) discuss, the space itself becomes the foundation of a relationship and a space for empathy, potential healing, and greater understanding of ourselves (p. 146). In this chapter, I argue that this family-tree mapping approach works in both formal research and could also work as an intervention to address GBV within families and communities. While this research is in development studies, the findings can also contribute to Pacific social work as defined by Ravulo et al. (2019):

> Centring Pacific-Indigenous ways of knowing and doing, being and becoming for community, family and individual wellbeing whilst counteracting structural, cultural and personal oppressions within Oceania and throughout the diaspora (p. 4).

By building empathic spaces for understanding ourselves and relationships in the complex social webs of our families and beyond, we can better understand patterns of GBV across the continuum of violence.

Talanoa

For this research, I used a hybrid narrative-Talanoa approach. Timote Vaioleti is a Pacific education scholar and has coined the Talanoa Research Methodology (TRM) (Vaioleti, 2013). Talanoa is a meeting of people to narrate their experiences, realities, and aspirations (Vaioleti, 2006). TRM is a culturally-specific research approach to the Pacific that values Pacific ways of knowing and the process of the methods as relationship building (Vaioleti, 2006). Compared to other research methods, Vaioleti (2006) argues that TRM is the best method to make available authentic information in Pacific research (p. 21). TRM is a strong fit for this family-tree mapping approach. However, there are several reasons why this research does not qualify as the pure TRM described by Vaioleti (2006).

First, it is contentious to use TRM as a non-Pacific research given that there is an ontological barrier for non-Pacific researchers to interpret Pacific Talanoa (Vaioleti, 2006). However, Vaioleti does call on non-Pacific researchers to engage more meaningfully in interactive, ecological approaches like TRM. In framing what this could look like, Pacific scholars Fa'avae et al. (2016) provide guidance on the use of TRM in practice and consider the purity of TRM when applied in their research contexts while providing lessons for novice researchers. They posed the question of "can openness and trust between a researcher and participant allow for an interaction that resembles a modern interview, but can be understood as talanoa?" (p. 145). This question is complicated and frames how I differentiate my narrative-Talanoa approach. In the next section, I will evaluate the use of TRM in my research in which I employed an approach that is somewhere between Talanoa and narrative.

Narrative-Talanoa Approach to Family-tree Mapping

In their reflection on TRM, Pacific researchers Fa'avae et al. (2016) note that "the practicalities of Talanoa in research are often missing from their written reports" (p. 143). Naming and exploring these practicalities is important for supporting future research, and for my research, to distinguish how I, with the advisory guidance of two Niueans and under the supervision of a Pacific scholar, employed a variation of a Pacific research methodology as a non-Pacific person. It also will help inform future use of this approach to study GBV in the Pacific.

As a tool, family-tree mapping with a narrative-Talanoa approach can provide crucial grounded information on how GBV is dealt with in family spaces as well as create a space of its own to address GBV through counselling opportunities. In the interviews, I drew a family-tree with each collaborator focusing on the collaborator's social family based in Niue. Throughout the interview, we used that family-tree as a road map to talk about relationships in general and to dig into specific relationships. The latter happened if the space was right. This type of interviewing is similar to genograms in psychology and family therapy counselling as well as kinship diagrams in anthropology (Butler, 2008; DeMaria, 2017;

Platt & Skowron, 2013). As mentioned in the literature review, the family-trees constructed here are also inspired by traumagrams from the New Zealand Family Violence Death Review Committee (Tolmie et al., 2017). The formal notion of social family-tree mapping, in particular, has its roots in anthropology where a Gunnai/ Kŭrnai man, Tulaba, assisted European anthropologists in Australia in introducing family trees to kinship studies in the Pacific (Gardner, 2016). It is important to note that family-tree mapping and genealogical thinking have long histories among Indigenous scholars.

Kinship is often embedded in Talanoa, and the family trees in this research were just a visual tool to guide the conversation. The interviews were structured in a way that allowed me to probe for collaborators' narratives in consistent patterns, with topics and relationships included in each interview depending on the relationship, trust, and the space we created. Some interviews went into great depth and lasted three hours. In others, they lasted under one hour. While this could have been because the collaborator did not want to speak on these topics, it was also likely that the trust was not there and our relationship was not developed enough. These dynamics are crucial for TRM in general but for research on GBV in particular because of the sensitivity of the topic. Further, I was a non-Niuean outsider asking questions about the experiences we often hold the closest to our chest, stories of GBV and its intersections with our family. As such, there were two key elements of Talanoa that I prioritised in this research: cultural competency and empathic apprenticeship.

Cultural Competency & Niue-Specific Talanoa

While TRM is often linked to narrative interviews, Vaioleti (2013) argues that the relationships and cultural competency involved make it distinct in that Talanoa values collaborator's fonua. In Vagahau Niue, fonua is loosely defined as land, and Vaioleti (2013) defines it as cultural identity as it is linked to the "land" which is deeply connected to "worldviews, ways of being, language, and culture" (p. 194). As a non-Pacific person and a white settler with lost connection to my own fonua, this concept is not easily felt. Vaioleti (2013) continues, "[t]he imperative exists for the researcher to perceive and understand the information (experience, phenomenon) received from the participants, from the participants' worldview, perspective and understanding" (p. 195). In order to do this, cultural competency, and by necessity, relationships, were and are critical to developing the ability to expand my knowledge systems.

Relationships and cultural competency work together in that cultural competency builds trust with collaborators and the community at-large. Fa'avae et al. (2016) emphasise that cultural competency is a skill that is developed over time and is context-dependent. For my research, this took time and pre-dated this thesis. This included simple, and sometimes embarrassing lessons, like that lavalavas are pyjamas and should not be worn in public in Niue to the more nuanced skills like how to follow up on documents I requested or make introductions in appropriate ways. Some of these lessons came from

social awareness, but many came from asking questions, messing up, and/ or learning from the amazing Niueans who helped with the 2017 report and this thesis. I am indebted to my Advisory Group, Charlene Tukiuha and Jamal Talagi, as well as my Vagahau Niue teacher, Ioane Aleke Fa'avae. With them, I was able to ask questions as well as talanoa with them about nothing and everything.

In Vaioleti's work, he primarily discusses Tongan protocols for understanding Talanoa. However, he also explains that it can be adapted across the Pacific to fit local processes and ways of knowing as Pasisi (2020) did in her research. Pacific health researchers developed a Niuean conceptual framework for addressing family violence in New Zealand which included some key cultural concepts like vahā loto mahani mitaki which describes connecting and maintaining good relationships between people (Tavelia, 2012, p. 8). This requires several key Niuean values (Table 2) in order to build and maintain those relationships. As Tavelia (2012) describes, this is critical for practitioners to understand. I would argue it is also critical for researchers in Niue.

Table 2. *Niue Values for Addressing Family Violence in NZ.*

fakaalofa	love, pity, sympathy, empathy, gifting
ole fakamagalo	compassion, cleansing of ill feelings and ill behavior, plea for forgiveness
felagomatai/ fekapitigaaki/ fakafeheleaki	helping one another, having friendly relations with one another, sharing
fakalilifu	honouring or glorifying another
leveki/ puipuiaga	care of, protecting and sheltering one another
fakafetuiaga	fellowship/relationship

Note. From "Koe Fakatupuolamoui he tau Magafaoa Niue: A Niuean Conceptual Framework for addressing family violence" by Tavelia, M., 2012, in Guidelines on Pacific Health Research Health Research Council of New Zealand, p. 9.

As a non-Niuean, I cannot theorise about Niuean Talanoa. However, I did employ the underlying values of Talanoa in a way that was specific to Niue. Talanoa in Niue is not as formal as it is in Fiji or Tonga, yet it is still grounded in relationships and cultural-specific values and protocols. For example, in practicing fakalilifu (honouring community and government leaders), we went through the Chairwomen of the women's groups to find collaborators. Through their leadership, the group decided whether or not to participate at all and who they would choose if they did participate. Collaborators had the right to withdraw at any point until two weeks after their interview. One collaborator decided against participating right before the interview, and the women's group found another interested collaborator from their village. The concept of leveki (care of) took shape as I had the responsibility of protecting collaborators' stories. This extended beyond standard ethics protocols to mean that I would return to Niue and practice fakatautoni (reciprocity) by returning the research back to Niue. Further, more than a

typical interview, fakaalofa (love and empathy) became my central concern over data collection especially when collaborators shared stories that raised intense emotions.

There are significant ways that my cultural competency was insufficient as pure Talanoa, particularly in language use. Although I developed novice Vagahau Niue skills, I was not conversational. I asked several collaborators about the impact of discussing GBV in English as opposed to Vagahau Niue, and they all acknowledged difference. Some expressed that English is easier for talking about sensitive subjects like GBV because describing GBV in Vagahau Niue is particularly emotive. Some used the same argument to reason that the interviews should have been all in Vagahau Niue because personal stories are always better told in one's native tongue. This differentiated my approach from Talanoa and created some distance in the interview space especially when collaborators were reaching for the right words to describe something. Not only does Vagahau Niue have a different tone and way of expressing, there are also words that do not have equivalent meanings in English.

The other option was for me to be accompanied by a translator, but there was no one available in a small community who would be perceived as a widely trustworthy source on these sensitive topics. Everyone is connected in Niue, and that can reduce trust especially when sharing intimate details about one's life and family. Ideally, I would have been able to develop conversational language skills in time. Expanded language skills would have helped beyond the interviews to develop deeper relationships and greater cultural competency as well. For family-tree mapping as an intervention or counselling tool, it is critical for the session to be conducted in the language the collaborator is most comfortable with.

Empathic Apprenticeship

While cultural competency and relationships allow for Talanoa spaces to be created, there are also distinctions within the interviews that differentiated my interviews from a narrative approach. In development studies, Farrelly and Nabobo-baba (2014) suggest that the point of difference for Talanoa is empathic apprenticeship whereby the learning is centered on understanding the lived and felt realities of collaborators. This requires special attention to collaborators' social existence which is grounded in kinship and culture. While Vaioleti (2013) notes that narrative approaches similarly focus on the collaborators' narrative and the way they describe themselves and their experiences, Farrelly and Nabobo-baba (2014) discuss Talanoa in development studies and suggest that it warrants reflection on the concept of genuine cross-cultural understanding and interpretation.

They suggest that the problematic of cross-cultural empathy is the place to begin and to consider how the idea of empathic apprenticeship can contribute to better understanding of Pacific peoples' lived and felt experiences. They also contribute to the discussion of the practicalities of doing Talanoa which help to clarify how it has been co-opted in ways that miss the fundamental purpose and meaning. If myself

as a non-Niuean think in terms of a different ontological framework than my Niuean collaborator, there is going to be more work than just active listening in order to hear a story that is as holistically her own as possible. This requires strong relationships to create the conditions for collaborators to be able to speak these truths as well as the researcher's attunement to verbal and non-verbal cues in order to best understand those truths (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014, p. 9)

Part of that attunement comes from cultural competency and practicing Talanoa both inside and outside of interviews. It also came from probing to confirm or deny my interpretation of verbal and non-verbal cues which recognise that those emotions are time-sensitive and specific to the space we have created. Further, for my own empathic apprenticeship, the family trees also served to guide me in better understanding my collaborators' kinship and social worlds. Empathic apprenticeship also requires sensitivity to emotions expressed because they indicate what kind of stake the collaborator has in a narrative. Emotions guide us to better understand collaborators' lived and felt experiences through our attempts at empathic understanding. When this is practiced, those relationships do not end, and the emotions stay with us. As Farrelly and Nabobo-baba (2014) note:

> We hold our participants in our hearts and within our bodies for a long time after our field work: we bear emotional and physical scars and share physically and emotionally in our participants' hopes, dreams, and moments of joy (p. 4).

In showing up as my whole self, I did not conceal my emotions in interviews. I laughed and cried. I pondered for hours on the stories that were shared with me. Even in the analysis stage back in Auckland, late into the evening after reviewing transcripts and recordings, I dwelled on the pauses, the whispers, the fears, and the joy. The stories in which she went quiet and added that it was the first time she ever shared that story with anyone else. The part of me steeped in Western research methods kept telling myself that the emotions meant I was doing it wrong, that I needed to be a "researcher." In reality, I knew these emotions, both my own and those expressed during interviews, meant I was doing something right. On the last day of interviews, Charlene asked me how I felt. I said I felt like I have been given treasures from every person I spoke with, and I am holding them in my heart.

However, it is also important to recognise that the essence of Talanoa is not just about warm, caring spaces created in the relationship. It is about creating a relationship where collaborators can speak their minds even if that means disagreeing with the researcher or leaving the interview (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 208). While no one left any of my interviews early, several collaborators asked me tough questions and were seemingly not fearful of speaking their mind. In one interview, the collaborator questioned me about my qualification to ask about marriage since I had never been married. Another made sure this research would benefit Niue with several questions about what information would come out of this. This signified to me that collaborators, at least in those moments, felt comfortable to disagree with me and push back.

The drawback for my research is that there could have been more time to develop and cultivate relationships with collaborators. As Farrelly and Nabobo-baba (2014) argue, a "long period of residence is necessary for our participants' multiple 'truths' to be exhumed" (p. 5). Although I stretched the number of family-tree mapping collaborators in order to include all 14 villages, one interview session for each collaborator was insufficient. Because of this, my approach cannot be understood as valid Talanoa research on its own. However, as I have explained, the elements of empathic apprenticeship, cultural competency, and relationships have resulted in a narrative-Talanoa approach.

Family-tree Mapping Interview Framework

Inspired by the work of Fa'avae et al. (2016), I will discuss the practicalities of using this narrative-Talanoa approach in family-tree mapping interviews on GBV. For a sensitive topic like GBV, family-tree mapping provides an opportunity to speak indirectly about others as opposed to any personal experiences one might have with GBV. It also centres the family as a critical space for understanding how GBV happens and is dealt with.

In Niue, family trees are commonly used when discussing rights to land. In those cases, the family tree is largely biological and depicts lineage of multiple generations. Some even go back to the first families of each village (M. Talagi, 2013). However, these family lineages sometimes fail to account for who one was raised by, multiple marriages, and adoptions. When we first brought up the family-tree mapping interview with interested collaborators, some offered to bring their own biological family trees. It was important for this approach to clarify the focus on the social family and those living in Niue. While some collaborators wanted to discuss family living in New Zealand, I decided for the scope of this research to be most meaningful to understanding how to address GBV on Niue, I would focus primarily on family living there. These lines were blurred at times because Niueans are highly mobile and so there was recent moving back and forth, but we made space in the interviews for that nuance.

After explaining the process, I spread out a sheet of A3 paper and asked questions about the collaborator's family. I asked questions about who she grew up with, who she lived with at different ages, and whom she was in relationships with throughout her adulthood. I repeated these questions around her parent's and children's generations. As you can imagine, the sheets often became very messy. Questions about how to depict adoptions, sibling-like relationships, and lost children (miscarriages and abortions) resulted in a co-designed family tree. After drawing out the parents' and children's generations in some interviews, we expanded to grandchildren, grandparents, and cousins.

My probing questions were around who the collaborator considered family in Niue and who they spent time with at family gatherings. After completing the family tree, the collaborator inspected it to make sure it was sufficient.

Before the interview started, I explained that we would be talking about the continuum of GBV, so collaborators were prepared for what the conversation would look like. In two interviews, the collaborator began sharing stories about GBV incidents immediately after we finished the family tree. In the others, I began the conversation with a question about what her family life was like when she was in high school. That age seemed to be one in which collaborators could remember details about their parents' and/ or older siblings' relationships. It is also often a time for family education about relationships and gender roles. As collaborators shared their stories, I probed with questions about what was happening at the time like events, celebrations, or incidents as well as how the collaborator felt about a particular story. I focused on events and incidents that changed what was happening at the time. We moved through generations going up first to talk about her parents' generation and the relationships of her aunties and uncles and then went down to talk about her children's relationships.

As we moved, I made a note of GBV incidents and other stories to come back to. I did not want to dig too deeply early on in the conversation as a part of building trust as we moved through the conversation. Instead, I revisited them after we had exhausted the family-tree and asked if the collaborator was comfortable to explore that story in particular. For these, I would probe around the topics of disclosure, education, accountability, and talanoa. Disclosure involves when and how the collaborator became aware of the situation. Education is about lessons shared within the family about relationships, gender roles, and GBV. Accountability refers to if and how the person who caused harm was held accountable. Talanoa in this use involves the gossip and discourse in the family around a specific situation.

Table 3. *Family-tree Mapping Interview Framework*	
Phase 1. Family-tree Mapping	Co-design collaborator's social family tree visually on paper.
Phase 2. Discussing Family Relationships	Moving through different relationships at different generational levels to learn about events or incidents that changed family dynamics.
Phase 3. In-Depth Discussion About Specific Situations (depending on relationship with collaborator)	Revisiting situations raised in phase 2 to explore disclosure, education, talanoa, and accountability related to GBV within the family.

Lessons from Family-tree Mapping Interviews

In order to assist others in using or learning from this method in the future, I will discuss some of the lessons and complications with the approach. These lessons come from my field notes and reflections. At the end of each interview, I asked how it went, leaving it open for the collaborator to share their thoughts. These lessons can be categorised as the healing potential of interviews, the importance of valuing the collaborator's knowledge of her own experiences, and safety and ethical concerns when using this approach.

One of the major concerns with this approach was the possibility of retraumatisation. This is a common concern when conducting research on GBV, and the psychological research on the topic has mixed responses. Fontes (2004) argues that there are several risks even beyond psychological risk that can affect collaborators in the short and long term, and it is difficult to assess the full impact of GBV research on collaborators. However, others have described the potential therapeutic benefits of GBV research that involves qualitative interviews (Affleck, 2017; Newman & Kaloupek, 2009; Nguyen, 2019). To minimise potential retraumatisation in these family-tree mapping interviews, there was plenty of space in the interview to avoid the collaborator's direct experiences with GBV. However, some collaborators shared their personal experiences unprompted. While I was initially concerned about this, the feedback from collaborators suggested that the interviews were more therapeutic than anything else. As one collaborator expressed when I followed up with her a few days after the interview:

> "I told my husband about the interview. I didn't realise how therapeutic it would be. These were things all in the back of my head that I was able to let out."

That being said, there will always be concerns about the immediate and long-term impacts of GBV research on interview collaborators. When conducting these interviews, the narrative-Talanoa approach made it clear that the relationship and the person being interviewed was much more important than the data collection. Further, referral options to various counselling options were critical. Before and after the interviews, I reminded collaborators about their options for counselling which may be accessed for any reason and any point in time. I also reminded them that these conversations can raise experiences that have delayed emotions.

In their feedback, most collaborators shared that they felt they could open up. One collaborator said I was easy to talk to because I seemed genuine and not like a "researcher." That was the balance I was trying to strike in the narrative-Talanoa approach. When it came to opening up and sharing about sensitive topics, another collaborator said she was fine to talk about her family because everyone in the community already knew the stories about her family. On the other hand, another collaborator expressed that sharing with me was the first time she talked openly about her stories with anyone besides her husband. While I am sure collaborators felt different levels of comfort with opening up based

on numerous factors including our relationship, this is the part of empathic apprenticeship that is crucial to unearthing collaborators' realities.

To my surprise, some collaborators shared their anxieties about saying the "right things." One collaborator curiously asked, "did other people laugh as much as we did?" My interpretation of this feedback is two-fold. First, it reflected collaborators' comparisons of their family to other families and curiosity about how their family measured up in Niue. The other takeaway is that it suggested collaborators believed there were "right things" to say in the first place. This is perhaps a shortcoming of the narrative parts of the approach which might have come across as too formal and not based enough on relationships to cultivate the sense of ontological pluralism, where there are no "right things" to say but only what is right to the collaborator.

The final lesson is about safety which is of critical importance for this research. In terms of basic ethical precautions, the family trees should be separate from the notes about the relationships and any transcripts or recordings. All documentation from the interviews must be stored privately and securely so as to avoid identifying collaborators and their families. The interviews themselves can also present safety concerns as reflected in GBV research guidelines (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). While none of my interviews were interrupted, in one interview, my collaborator's husband arrived home as we were closing out. We had gone longer than expected. This presents a safety concern for not only spouses but any family members interrupting and potentially overhearing the conversation. This should be planned for with collaborators with a backup location if privacy cannot be ensured.

Family-tree mapping interviews have the potential to be healing, but it is crucial to centre the relationship between the collaborator and researcher over the data that results from the interview. Empathic apprenticeship alongside that relationship-building creates a space where collaborators feel free to open up about sensitive topics. However, this heightens the responsibility of the researcher in maintaining the privacy and safety of collaborators at all times in the research process.

Family-tree Mapping Possibilities for GBV

The question here is how useful this family-tree mapping approach can be in creating spaces to talk about GBV in Niue and the Pacific. After discussing the methodology as well as insights from my experience with it, I will explore its possible uses as a tool for both research and intervention. These areas are not mutually exclusive which follows from the discussion of the role of relationships and the therapeutic possibilities of the interviews themselves.

Research

In terms of research practice, the family-tree mapping approach is complicated in that although it is not the most straightforward data generation tool, like a questionnaire or survey, I would argue that it does generate meaningful data. Further, this approach illuminates the dynamics of addressing GBV within the family space which is frequently rendered invisible in public policy. At the same time, this approach comes at the high cost of needing to maintain privacy and collaborator safety.

One way I see this approach being used as a powerful research tool is through local advocacy efforts. Local advocates interested in women's rights and reducing GBV in the Pacific can find deeper understanding of the often hidden dynamics of families while also creating spaces for such discussion. For insiders, I would recommend approaches like Naepi's (2019a) Masi methodology, Pasisi's (2020) Hiapo methodology, and the work of Alice Te Punga Sommerville (2012) which are inspired by Pacific barkcloth painting and focus on elevating Pacific women's voices in which Pacific women are collaborators. Both Pasisi (2020) and Patterson's (now Naepi) (2018) applications of these methodologies use individual Talanoa with women as well as group Talanoa to confirm the themes that arose from the individual Talanoa. This creates even more opportunities to discuss GBV. While I did not have an opportunity to do this, a local advocate might be better positioned as a community insider to facilitate these group Talanoa sessions. As mentioned in the methodology exploration of Talanoa, language and relationships are of critical importance. Further, local advocates would also be in a strong position to use the information to further community programming and interventions to reduce and prevent GBV. As with anyone leading this type of research, there must be established trust, privacy, and safety for collaborators and collaborators. Insiders can potentially face unique challenges in maintaining this privacy and safety.

For community outsiders conducting this type of research, they need community partnerships to ensure the research will be useful and that is it designed appropriately for the community. Because this approach is highly context-specific, these relationships are essential. Further, as Farrelly and Nabobo-baba (2014) recommended, a long period of residence in the local community is helpful to build these relationships. My reflections from the narrative-Talanoa approach can be useful in guiding the navigation of positionality and ethical responsibility through this type of research in the Pacific. For all applications of this research method, multiple Talanoa sessions with collaborators would be helpful in building researcher-collaborator relationships and digging deeper into collaborators' felt and lived experiences.

Family-tree Mapping as an Intervention

In a conversation with Charlene, she and I discussed the possible uses of the family-tree mapping interview as a tool for intervention. There are several levels at which this could be used. These include individual and group counselling and more decentralised practice of the approach. While this chapter is focused on possible applications in Niue, there could be other possibilities depending on the context.

Charlene is a licensed counsellor and suggested it would be useful in her work to help clients understand their family dynamics as well as their own relationships. While it may not be as helpful for clients dealing with personal experiences of GBV at that moment, it can help provide a framework for thinking about how the family is involved in incidents of GBV. This would likely be a more attractive option for clients individually. However, it could also be useful for multiple family members to participate at once. An important barrier here is that there is a resistance to help-seeking through counselling in Niue because of privacy concerns. Some interested in counselling seek out faith-based leaders. This came up as common practice in informant and family-tree mapping interviews. The use of family-tree mapping with faith-based leaders is another area for further exploration.

In terms of a more decentralised approach, the family-tree mapping approach does not have to be a formal interview. Arguably, it should not be. The family-tree mapping approach is about using our understanding of our social families to critically contemplate relationships, particularly romantic relationships, and the broader family involvement while centering and valuing women's knowledge and authority. This idea of family-tree mapping helps us position ourselves in the network of family relationships and employ our values to guide a path forward on how to give meaning to our own experiences, and those of our family members, with GBV. In applying this decentralised approach, I envision it as a part of an awareness campaign demonstrating how to start such conversations and important safety concerns. For example, women's knowledge and authority must be given precedent with listening being the primary goal. These conversations are not exclusively for women or one-on-one. However, expectations of respect, safety, and privacy must be established to build trust in the space and to minimise potential for harm.

It is helpful to break down these conversations into the themes of disclosure, education, accountability, and talanoa. These areas provide a framework for reflection on the past, contemplation of the present, and planning for the future. Further, they do not need to come up formally and they are not exclusive to age groups. While the barrier to having these conversations is often a lack of disclosure, there are opportunities for learning about relationships and their gendered dynamics at any time even if no GBV is apparent. For example, a young woman could ask her mother about her dating life when she was young. The conversation can expand to the daughter's aunties and make space for curiosity where the mother and daughter can consider the family's values as they measure up in different situations. Instead

of gossiping about an incident of GBV, siblings or cousins can discuss the meanings that the community has given to the incident and how they might contribute to shaping those broader discussions.

Table 4. *Family-tree Mapping Interview Thematic Areas*.	
Disclosure	• How/where/when/with whom do individuals come forward about their experiences with GBV?
Education	• How/where/when/with whom does education about healthy relationships happen within families?
Accountability	• What does accountability look like for perpetrators of GBV in the formal system? In the family? • Were the accountability measures effective? • What does accountability within the family look like?
Talanoa/ Gossip	• How is the family discussing incidents of GBV and gendered relations in relationships? Is it furthering our family's values? • How is the broader community discussing these incidents of GBV? How can we contribute to shaping these broader discussions?

When the family-tree mapping approach is applied as an intervention, it should be ideally led by local women's rights advocates who can ensure the cultural and ethical sensitivity of the programme. Part of this must be a determination about expectations of accountability and the legal implications of disclosure. Further, being culturally-specific also involves the knowledge of historical trauma specific to the community in focus. Language is also a key concern. If this type of intervention were to be used in Niue, it is essential that it is conducted in Vagahau Niue to capture the emotions and meanings for those participating.

Conclusion

The family-tree mapping approach can be very useful in creating spaces to talk about GBV. Beyond making space for talking about GBV indirectly and focusing on what happens within families, it can also be applied in a culturally-relevant and context-specific way. In Niue, I employed a narrative-Talanoa approach that prioritises the relationships between the researcher and collaborators and upholds key cultural values. As a non-Pacific researcher, there were certain elements that I could not fully exercise. However, the practice of empathic apprenticeship was a helpful tool to position myself as a student focused on learning about collaborators' lived and felt experiences (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014).

Insights from my use of this family-tree mapping approach suggest that it could be applied in other contexts as both a research and intervention tool. In this chapter, I have suggested several possibilities for these applications. There are also lessons from my research in Niue including the therapeutic

potential of interviews, safety and ethical concerns when using it, and other considerations when building relationships with collaborators. The family-tree mapping approach can be effective in creating spaces both in research and interventions to talk about GBV that honour women's knowledge and authority while centering the family as context for disclosure, education, accountability, and gossip.

CHAPTER 6: SPACES AND GBV NARRATIVES IN NIUE

While the family-tree mapping approach has powerful potential, it is also important to understand the broader context that influences collective and individual understandings of GBV. Collective meaning making happens through narratives– that is storying narratives in Talanoa (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014, p. 334). Talanoa shapes and reshapes cultural contexts and meanings and is an appropriate place to begin to unpack lived and felt experiences (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014, p. 336). This chapter explores the 27 informant interviews with 32 government and community leaders and aims to answer the following research questions:

- What are the current spaces where people talk about GBV in Niue?
- How is GBV in Niue framed by community and government leaders?
- What opportunities do community leaders see with regard to the creation of spaces to address GBV?

Using the key Talanoa elements of cultural competency, relationships, and empathic apprenticeship, I also drew from Doucet and Mauthner's (2008) Listening Guide approach to guide a narrative analysis which I described in the literature review. As a researcher obviously not privy to collaborators' narrative making processes, I cannot categorise whether they draw from public or meta narratives or isolate where those narratives might have come from (Doucet, 2018). However, I was able to describe the spaces in which people talk about GBV in Niue, in essence, where those meanings are shaped and reshaped. I was also able to highlight the recurring narratives around how GBV was framed by the community and government leaders I interviewed. In terms of shaping and reshaping narratives, I was also able to explore how these community and government leaders envisioned possibilities for transformation.

Spaces Where People Talk about GBV in Niue

Existing literature on GBV in Niue and in Niuean communities in New Zealand has pointed to some of the spaces where people talk about GBV. For example, the Niue focus groups in research on sexual violence by Percival et al. (2010) suggested that the church, schools, and family are important spaces in which GBV is discussed. While this has shown to be an incomplete list in my research, the focus on spaces is useful. In addressing GBV, it is important to map where the current spaces for these conversations are in order to know where meaning making happens and where to change the narrative, hence the focus of this research. It also paves the way for new possibilities as the opportunities for new spaces become apparent. In Percival et al.'s (2010) work, a Niuean man in a focus group responded to a question about the idea of sexual violence being taboo with:

> Niueans don’t talk about these things openly. They’re very closed… what they need to do is open that avenue, open that door and say ‘Hey, Niueans, hey’ … let’s talk about it, you know, this sex and violence and that that’s wrong’ (Percival et al., 2010, p. 49).

This gets at that idea of which spaces have barriers and how to create new spaces to talk about GBV. In the informant interviews in this study, the first section of substantive questions explored the formal and informal spaces in which GBV comes up. I introduced a broad definition of GBV to include activity that could be considered legal in order for collaborators to explore their own meanings of GBV. Because collaborators in the informant interviews were recruited from a variety of government and community spaces, there was a variety of spaces discussed in the interviews. The spaces identified include family, church, schools, police and justice, health, talanoa, advocacy and policy spaces outside of Niue, and social media. While these spaces are still quite broad, the section explores how and specifically where GBV comes up in each of them. In this chapter, I use short quotations to describe how GBV is raised in each space. This is to characterise the spaces as seen by the government and community leaders but also to protect their identities which is more difficult with longer quotations.

Family Spaces

As I had anticipated, the family space, typically the home, came up in nearly every interview. The definition of family varied from the immediate family involving the survivor, perpetrator, and children to the survivor or perpetrator among their extended family, magafaoa. If a survivor reaches out for help, the magafaoa is often the first and only space in which she discloses her experiences. There were two trends that intersected for complicated narratives in this space. First, collaborators expressed a satisfaction with a family response.

> “Over here, you see someone struggling, the family is already there to help you. Support is out there.”

> “If it was myself, I would have my brothers sort it out for me. As a part of a warning. Probably beat him up, my husband or boyfriend. Things like that when the family gets involved. It kind of helps. It stops it from escalating.”

Some collaborators found the family space to be a better alternative than other spaces.

> “It’s not to say it’s okay, but you don’t want to bring shame to your family. That reputation is something that the whole family protects.”

> “It’s about the family and the shame.”

When digging deeper into what actions are taken in the magafaoa space, collaborators described domestic violence as a "marital issue" to be worked out within the marriage.

> "It's left to you as your own personal issues. It's your problem. Deal with it."

> "The couples just need to have a sit down and resolve it themselves."

As the family was described as the main space in which GBV is addressed, this topic warrants further exploration. The complexity of this space as well as the family-tree mapping interviews will be explored in chapter seven.

Church Spaces

The church came up as another space in which GBV is discussed. There are seven different churches on Niue including Ekalesia Kerisiano Niue, Church of the Latter-Day Saints, Jehovah's Witnesses, Apostolic, Catholic, Bahai, and Seventh Day Adventists. Ekalesia Kerisiano Niue, a Presbyterian Christian church, is the main church, and it has churches in each village as well as the main church in the capital of Alofi. As such, informant interviews were primarily concerned with the Ekalesia Niue. The church as an entity consists of several spaces where GBV is discussed including in related leadership groups like the deacons' meeting and the Fellowship for Christian Women (FCW), preaching in services, and pastors' counselling directly with community members.

Church leadership groups have been involved in awareness programming since around 2015, and they have been encouraged by the police to report cases that they are aware of. Cases can be heard about in deacons' meetings, and although some suggest that faith-based leaders are reporting everything to the police, others express the importance of pastors as confidential resources for the community. Individuals involved in incidents of GBV often approach pastors and church leadership directly despite the potential for conflicts of interest.

> "They will firstly and foremost go to the church. They will go and seek out the help of the pastor and his wife to come and help resolve whatever situation has occurred."

> "Even some domestic violence, man and wife fighting, the pastor will intervene and pray for them and try to reconcile and make peace."

While many spoke positively about the role of the pastor and their family in providing counselling in the community, the church also became a gatekeeper for if, how, and when incidents are reported to the

police or justice department. Several collaborators raised the issue of pastors writing favourable character letters on behalf of perpetrators that are used in mitigation in GBV court cases. Others raised the withdraw of reports and cases in which women are dissuaded by family or their pastors from further pursuing their case.

> “They would have had counselling from their pastor from the village. Or they’ve had discussions within their own family circle. Somebody would have had an opportunity to talk them out of it.”

> “Cases are withdrawn a lot, and it might not be the victims themselves driving that.”

> “A pastor once told me that he wrote a letter for someone 3 times. You know, it’s not good for pastors to lie.”

The Ekalesia also plays an important role in shaping gender relations through preaching during services. While some key informants described their frustration with the representation of women in leadership roles in the church, others remarked upon how far the Ekalesia has come in allowing women to preach as well as shifting gender norms which has come from church leadership and outside awareness programming.

> “The church has become more… it used to be ‘the man is the head of the household and the wife must obey the husband.’ I think they have toned it down a bit… It’s not so much of that message anymore and that has led to a lot of change.”

In all three of these spaces, church leadership groups, personal counselling, and preaching, GBV comes up in the disclosure, education, and accountability related to GBV. Similar trends have been recognised in Samoa which has given rise to research like that of Ah Siu-Maliko (2019) on bible study as a space for transformative possibilities in Samoa. Exploring the dynamics of these spaces illuminates opportunities for transformative narratives which did not come up as much in this research but is an area for further exploration.

Police and Justice Spaces

The police and justice departments are relatively obvious spaces in which GBV is discussed. These spaces are critical because of the consistent theme of impunity for perpetrators as well as their complicity in perpetuating GBV by not seeking to understand it and take it seriously. In a small place, most people are privy to GBV incidents and abusive relationships, and this is especially true for police. However, in terms of the police responding to GBV incidents, several collaborators perceived the police,

as well as those with close relationships to the police, as seeing themselves and their own friends and family as above the law.

> “There’s a tendency to selectively apply the law based on who you know and family and friends, relationships tend to get in the way.”

> “Police perception is important because if they are seen to be above the law themselves, when I need you, I won’t come.”

> “The police don’t do much here. They just drive around in their cars. They used to do awareness, but I think they ran out of inspiration.”

Related to this theme of impunity since around 2007, the “no drop” policy was raised as an idea or guiding principle as opposed to a mandate. The no drop policy would require officers to continue to pursue a case after an incident has been reported even if the complainant withdraws. The police prosecutor is able to argue the case independent of the complainant. However, this is rarely enforced. When a police officer, likely a man as the police department had 3 sworn police women out of their 12 officers, first responds to a case of domestic violence, they can take the offender into police custody for 3 days and then bail them out on conditions on weekdays or after the weekend when businesses are closed. There was a perception among the police that, as emphasised in other spaces, domestic violence is a private husband-wife matter. Some collaborators noted that in cases deemed minor by the police officer, the offender or the survivor can be asked to stay somewhere else for the night to let things settle down.

Informants shared that while many reports and cases are withdrawn by the survivors, if a case is pursued in court, the most common punishment for domestic violence offenders is a fine of $100 or $200. Some remarked on the fact that no one was in the Niue Prison at the time and considered whether that was a good sign of a lack of criminal activity or if it was a sign that the police were not doing their jobs. In terms of punishment, some considered the role of the shame and stigma in the community that turned offenders around more than anything else.

> “Give them $1,000 fine, that would be a real lesson learned. $200, others can afford that.”

> “You know, going to court is not a good thing. It’s a small place. It’s not the going to prison part, it’s the shame and stigma.”

Niue is a small place and news spreads quickly. The shame and stigma were noted to be a powerful form of accountability. However, the police and justice departments viewing domestic violence as private matters that do not need to be taken seriously is a dangerous form of complicity.

Schools Spaces

The schools were also noted as spaces where GBV is raised. Collaborators noted that children will share what is happening at home in class or in their diaries which can expose domestic violence. Schools are also a space for education around sexuality and healthy relationships. The schools run their own age-appropriate lessons on puberty and sexuality, and the police department used to run awareness programmes with students on various topics including domestic violence and inappropriate touching.

Health Spaces

GBV also comes up in the health department. In severe physical abuse and sexual violence cases, survivors seek medical attention at the hospital. Health practitioners are aware of the signs of GBV and are aware that some survivors tell a different story to others in order to prevent the community from finding out about an incident. Health practitioners function as a confidential resource until their records are requested from the police department or the survivor chooses to report. However, the police department is sometimes unaware of cases that have reached the hospital because they are never reported, even if the survivor is at risk.

> "They usually lie about it. They don't say they got punched. They say they had an accident at home, a fall."

> "Some come straight forward and say their husband beat them up. Some lie to us and say they fell. Someone else, maybe a close family member will tell us she's lying. That her husband gave her a good hiding last night."

The hospital was also raised as an important space for survivors because in the small community, people do not question why you are going to the hospital. The same privacy and safety concerns are why a women's shelter would not be ideal in Niue. At the hospital, the community is unaware of your reasons for visiting the hospital and because it is easier to hide the purpose of your visit, and it becomes a safe space for survivors to receive medical attention when needed.

Coordinating Spaces

The church, police, justice, schools, and health spaces are prominent institutions and spaces in which GBV comes up, but their coordination was questioned by some collaborators. The police attempted to spearhead this coordination with the Domestic Violence Committee with leadership from these

institutions among other community groups, but it remained active only in 2015 and 2016. The strain on human resources and the few number of reports discouraged their regular meeting.

> "There needs to be better communication between departments… It's okay now, but it could be improved."
>
> "I think most departments are territorial."
>
> "That's the barrier we need to break -- to make departments work together particularly on things like this. Because maybe one department wants to report, but they don't because another department is not reporting as well."

While there is significant pressure on human resources, this feedback raises the question of why low intensity but widespread coordination across departments is not happening. It could even reduce pressure on individual departments by making space for them to share the burden.

Regional Meetings Spaces

Another formal space that was raised but is not a spatially situated in Niue is regional meetings on topics related to GBV. Several collaborators raised how GBV is more of an alarming issue elsewhere because they have heard about the rates of GBV in other countries in the Pacific while attending regional or international meetings. This will be discussed more in the public narratives. However, New Zealand and the Pacific regional organisations have a major influence on agenda setting. Collaborators mentioned workshops and trainings run by the New Zealand police for different institutions on responding to GBV in the community.

Informal Spaces

Social groups, workplaces, and social media are informal spaces that host important discussions around GBV. For example, group chats on social media platforms, socialising in the workplace, and women's groups are all spaces for potential disclosure, education, accountability, and talanoa. Several collaborators mentioned "Coconut Wireless" which refers to the speed at which news travels around the island. Embedded with public narratives, I describe this as talanoa which is an important and impactful process of collective meaning making. Discussing GBV can be positive and supportive of the family involved, but it often becomes the community determining who was at fault, who deserved what, and what the incident means for the characters of the individuals involved.

> “Sometimes it’s not really discussed in a positive way, like ‘oh did you know so-and-so [sic] got beaten up?’ Some of the group will go ‘oh what a coward,’ and the rest of the group will go ‘oh she deserved it.’”

> “Women don’t want to report because you’ll be the talk of the island if you report. They’ll get a negative stigma even though they’re innocent.”

> “The first thing that comes out is ‘did it really happen? She is promiscuous.’ Like that type of talk.”

The talanoa space also functions as a space for survivors to disclose their experiences with trusted confidants. Women’s groups were described as spaces for women to vent and complain in a relaxed way without pressure to report. At times, talanoa in the community has raised the attention of the police department to investigate the situation. While talanoa takes place in social groups, gatherings, and workplaces, it is also increasingly taking place online. There were mixed opinions on social media. While some saw it as a positive way to connect with others including Niueans overseas, others saw it as an avenue to expose Niueans to harmful content like pornography.

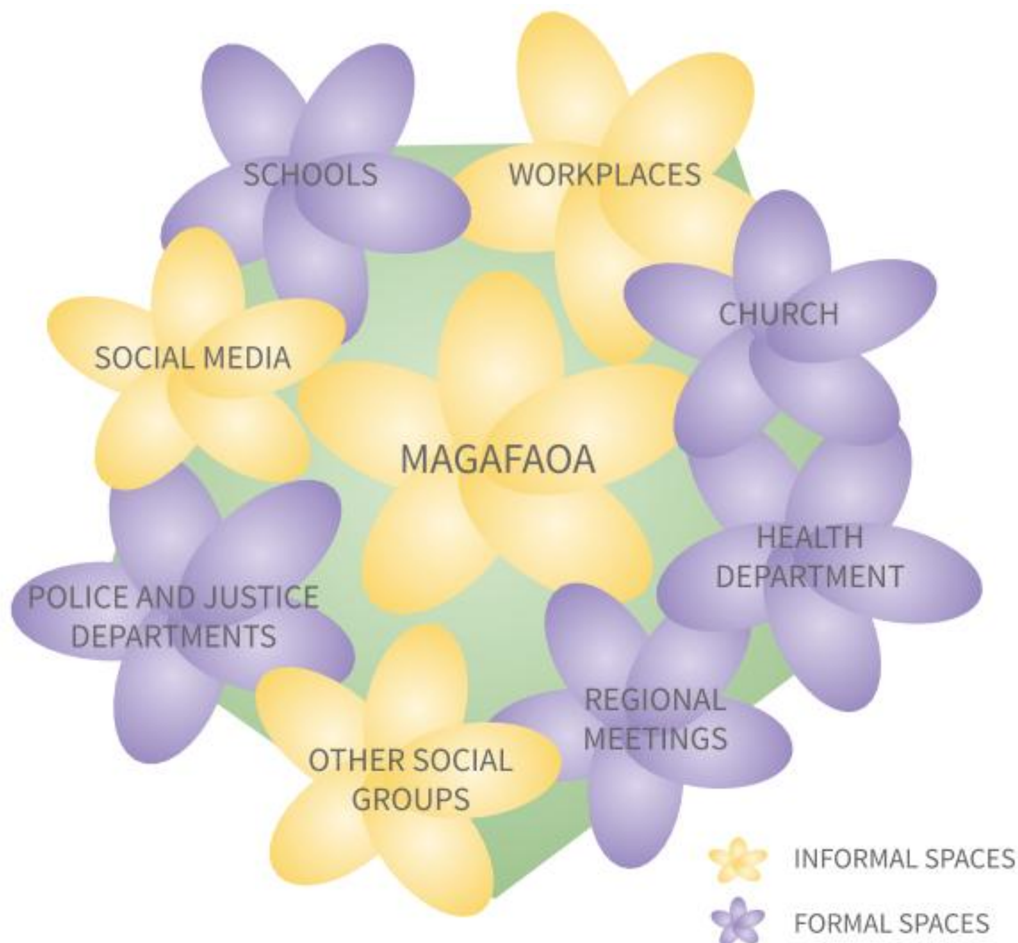
> “People are using social media more than face-to-face. I prefer face-to-face. On social media, they are exposed to good and bad things.”

> “Social media is good. I know there’s a lot of issues with it, but I think that might be one way of maybe creating a page for people to interact [on GBV topics].”

> “Once the internet is faster, that’s going to become an issue in young people.”

Mapping these spaces will guide the understanding of recurring narratives and how they are perpetuated. This layout of opening up with spaces, framing how GBV is understood in these spaces, and then considering possibilities for transformation will continue in the next section. Building from these spaces, I will explore the recurring narratives that guide meaning making around GBV. Then, with the understanding of what and where recurring narratives are cultivated, we can continue to think about how community and government leaders see possibilities for transformation. Figure 1 represents these spaces as frangipani blooms which each offer opportunities for shifting narratives which they all share the same roots.

Figure 1. *Spaces of Meaning Making Around GBV.*



Framing GBV in Niue

Using this framework, I will answer the research question: how is GBV in Niue framed by community and government leaders? By drawing from the narratives of collaborators in the informant interviews, I will reconstruct the recurring narratives through which GBV is understood. For this section, each interview was analysed again to identify its narrative and to ensure that segments of their narratives were not disjointed in a way that manipulated the meaning as I understood it.

This derives from Farrelly and Nabobo-baba's (2014) cultural attunement in empathic apprenticeship as well as Somers' (1994) framework of narrativity and Doucet and Mauthner's (2008) Listening Guide. As emphasised by Farrelly and Nabobo-baba (2014), the focus of Talanoa is on understanding the collaborators' lived experiences and becoming a student of their narratives. A thematic analysis here that dissociates themes from the broader narrative would miss the rest of the narrative which is crucial for meaning making. Further, Somers' (1994) framework of narrativity illustrates how complex our personal, or ontological, narratives are in that they are relational and draw from many sources to craft

our own meanings. These narratives were compared among the collaborators to surface the recurring narratives as well as the points of difference. This was done both for analysis and to protect the identities of collaborators by using short quotes and thematic writing as opposed to complete narratives.

Naming GBV

At the beginning of each interview, I explained the continuum of violence by giving a few examples of what GBV could look like and how it does not have to be considered illegal or even physical to be GBV. Almost all collaborators went directly to physical domestic violence. When prompted about what domestic violence looks like, there was consistent uncertainty about what types of violence are tolerable and what is unacceptable. Collaborators differentiated between types of domestic violence in two patterned ways. Some described verbal abuse from women to their male partners as just as bad or worse than physical abuse, and the other group defended giving children "hidings" as different from other violence in the home.

> "That depends how you view discipline and abuse. I see them as two different things. If you discipline a child for doing something they're not supposed to, that's one thing. It depends how much force too."

> "The olden days in school here, we get disciplined in school if you do something wrong. Now, the European ways are coming down saying the child has the right. They don't have the right to smack me or discipline me. Those things are new to the island, and if it's not controlled, it's only going to get worse saying it's my right."

> "It's no good to smack the children without even telling them what happened. That's what I encourage – if we discipline our children, what happens afterwards? You have to tell them. You have to ask them questions."

> "Maybe their parents say it's discipline, and the kids say it's abusing. It's about interpretation. Those are the kinds of questions. What is what."

The blurring of what constitutes violence extended to domestic violence. While some of the professionals who deal directly with GBV survivors clarified their definitions of domestic violence, typically as the most severe cases, many ended up describing all disrespectful behaviours in relationships as domestic violence leading to a narrative of *everything is domestic violence, so nothing is domestic violence.*

> "Abuse happens in every family… you hear swearing at one another. Someone else will intervene and stop them, and life goes on."

> "People just think that violence is if I've got a black eye, but if it's just a big argument that's the emotional and some physical abuse, people will say, 'they were just arguing, what's wrong with that?' People need to know, no, that's violence."

> "I think there needs to be a lot more awareness about domestic violence, so people know what they are. They probably don't think that a simple smack is abusive."

Sexual Violence

Since most interviews stuck with physical domestic violence when I asked questions about GBV broadly, I prompted those who seemed comfortable on the topic of sexual violence. Many were reticent to talk about it. Some collaborators shared what they knew of a couple notable court cases in recent years, but most quickly shifted away from the topic in the informant interviews. This makes sense as Percival et al. (2010) noted that in Niue, talk about sexual violence is traditionally fakatapu (forbidden or not encouraged). They also suggest that "the use of terms surrounded by rules of fakatapu perpetuates and maintains the power and control of perpetrators, and those protecting perpetrators" (Percival et al., 2010, p. 45). While the informant interviews did not surface narratives on sexual violence, the silences suggest the concept is still considered fakatapu or at least, was not appropriate to discuss in the space of our interview. In the family-tree mapping interviews, the space was more focused on these personal narratives and were not specific to collaborators' leadership roles in the government or community, so sexual violence came up more explicitly. Chapter eight will explore some of the themes.

Alcohol and GBV

In characterising domestic violence, I found recurring narratives around the causes of and circumstances in which domestic violence occurs. Collaborators recognised that most relationships will have conflict at some point but identified domestic violence as happening when there are issues in the relationship that cannot be overcome. Almost all collaborators mentioned that alcohol is frequently involved in domestic violence incidents. While some older collaborators described alcohol as a cause of domestic violence or implied it was a somewhat valid excuse, most described it as a trigger for existing emotions and sentiments.

> "Alcohol triggers those thoughts you keep in your heart."

"It's not the influence of alcohol, it's just you yourself. You blame, your excuse is alcohol. No. If you're blaming alcohol, the you should be able to do something about your drinking."

"She was abused. The man was a nice guy, but he was drunk. He lost his senses."

Masculinity and GBV

Collaborators had different definitions for the relationship issues that could instigate domestic violence. Some brought up jealousy, extramarital affairs, and withholding money. However, I pressed on the question of why domestic violence happens in some couples and not others when all couples could come upon the same relationship issues. At this point, gender relations and expectations were used to explain both why domestic violence and how it is dealt with.

"It's like you're emasculating them [men]. It's emasculating if you're doing the role he's supposed to do. You're not encouraging him. You're not making him feel like a man because you're going off and doing your own thing, and you're not supposed to."

"You have boys who are not as academically inclined, and they may not understand and feel totally opposite. They feel inferior because of all of these things, and they attack women because of that."

These gendered dynamics resonate with literature from the region that highlight the place of masculinity in GBV (Fulu et al., 2013; Heard, Fitzgerald, Va'ai, Collins, Whittaker, et al., 2019; Malungahu & Nosa, 2016; Tengan, 2002). This research highlights the power of gender roles and the construction of masculinity in GBV. In their New Zealand-based literature review on Pacific men and family violence, Malungahu and Nosa (2016) conclude that men can use and condone violence as a tool to reassert power when their masculinity is threatened, for example, when women express their masculinity. This type of transgression can have an emasculating effect on men which unsettles their masculine identity. In Niue, the context of the questions and responses from one interview informs more of this narrative.

Interviewer: "How have gender roles changed over time?"
Collaborator: "The role of women has changed a lot. In the past, they [women] didn't work [paid work]. They [women] could only be teachers or nurses. Now, women are in higher level positions. Women are making more than men, but they have to multi-task in order to survive. Husband is still always the head of the household. He is a provider, and that should be respected. We just can't get the same respect. Men feel let down when they can't be the provider. They hold onto their money. They need to have a strong mentality to be able to know

> they're still a provider. The man is usually the one who loses their patience. They're the one who gets very angry and loses their temper."
>
> Interviewer: "Why do you think it's mainly men?"
>
> Collaborator: "Men sometimes take it too much to make themselves as a big boss over women. Women are supposed to agree, but they have rights to speak up and to disagree. Men take negative action."

The increase in women taking on traditionally masculine roles like the breadwinner of the family disrupts gender expectations on both men and women. Collaborators linked this to men taking action, for example attacking women, when they can no longer handle the challenge to expectations. While I assumed this analysis would lead to greater tolerance of those who do not meet gender expectations, it took a different shape in narratives that blame women and excuse men for their roles in domestic violence.

> "Most of the times over here, they blame the women. 'Oh, that's because your mouth is so… you know.' For me, no, that's not how it is. It's two-way communication. It's not only a one-way thing. It's relationship issues that need to be sorted out."

> "That's the reason why people say 'oh, he's just not himself because of this, this, and this.' Then, they let it go, and it happens again. Again and again. Actually it's domestic abuse that you're undergoing, and it's been happening quite often. Once off, everyone says it's okay. But then when it keeps happening and happening for reasons, they just say it's because he's under stress because of this or that. It's because of coping."

Intergenerational Transmission of Violence

Another recurring narrative explaining the reasons for domestic violence is the intergenerational transmission of violence. In a UNICEF review of Pacific literature, they conceptualise the intergenerational transmission of violence with examples of women witnessing their mothers experiencing IPV, men who witness their mothers experiencing IPV, men experiencing physical abuse as children, and women experiencing sexual abuse as children (UNICEF, 2015, p. 7). Their review showed links between these factors and GBV later in life in Fiji, Kiribati, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu. Similarly in Niue, collaborators described a lack of accountability in the domestic violence that children witness leading to a sense of impunity for the children in terms of violence in the home.

> "If the father is frequently doing that [physical violence] to the wife or partner and the children are there, that situation will affect the children. Once they grow up, they will have that mentality that because it was okay for dad to hit mum, it's okay for me to hit somebody else."

> "I can see how it's [domestic violence] passed onto the next generation. That's where the problem is because it was never addressed in the first generation."

While these narratives seem intuitive, the idea of intergenerational transmission of violence also showed up in narratives that make a family's reputation around GBV indicative of the next generation. One example of this is gendered victim-blaming in which a mother's sexual history can play a role in how she is perceived as a victim of sexual or domestic violence.

> "The mum used to be promiscuous. It's like if you track it back, 'oh the mum is like that.' The apple doesn't fall far from the tree."

Change Over Time

While the recurring narratives identify the impact of changing gender expectations in domestic violence, gender roles were also narrated in terms of change over time. Collaborators described a greater prevalence of domestic and sexual violence in the "old days" and explained that the changing gender roles has reduced the number of incidents. In the "old days," men and women had distinct responsibilities. Now in "good relationships," men and women do household chores and plantation work together. Rather than being concerned with women's empowerment, collaborators were concerned about boys in Niue.

> "Women are skyrocketing in education, and we're leaving our boys behind."

> "Before, boys don't cry. Now, when a girl smacks him, they'll cry for the whole period. There's been a huge shift in behaviour."

> "Once upon a time, men were the breadwinners and all that. Now, the women have power in terms of what they bring to the family, what they contribute. I think that has changed because of that. I think it's going to continue to change because are getting more girls coming out who are educated and more advanced compared to the boys."

This was evident in the continued ideas around the change in gender roles over time. Many described how women have more power in terms of representation and decision-making power in government, villages, and households in Niue than they used to, and that, in terms of domestic violence, they have

many more options than they used to. They can go overseas and leave their families now. However, this narrative of women having options further puts the onus on women to resolve the domestic violence without a strong theme of accountability for the perpetrator. Collaborators recognised women's responsibility to make and keep the peace in relationships, families, and the community.

> "Females can just leave. Back then, it was tapu for wives to just leave their families. Now, you know they have the freedom to just jump on the plan and go to New Zealand. Get away from it all."

> "Women are more independent now, like 'I got the money.'"

> "It's like that, and like 'man, is that still going on in that relationship? Why is she still around? The kids are adults now, just go. Get up, and go.' We have options these days, that's what they say."

These narratives were troubling. While I can see the importance of the strong Niuean woman narrative, I also see how that is used to blame women for domestic violence they can suffer from and to absolve any empathy because "she has options" and can resolve it herself. With the narratives of broad and vague definitions of domestic violence and the positivity around the improved status of women in Niue over time, the narrative of transgressions of gender expectations instigating domestic violence logically fits. However, because women are also understood to have the options and choices to resolve domestic violence, there is little perceived need or urgency for intervention.

Perceived Prevalence

In each informant interview after discussing the spaces in which GBV comes up, I asked a hypothetical question about prevalence. This question came out my 2017 work which highlighted the curiosity around prevalence rates in Niue (E. Thomas, 2017). I introduced a broad range of types of GBV and the continuum and asked what a hypothetical prevalence study might find in Niue if you could look into every household, what kinds of relationships would you find. While collaborators identified that domestic violence happens in Niue, the narrative shifted to relative prevalence both spatially and temporally. It is worse among other ethnic groups, in other countries, or back in the "old days."

> "I think it's really important that people need to understand that, as small as you are, as much as you want to think that it's not happening, no, it's happening. People just don't seem to know."

> "Are we worse off than others? We do have domestic violence, no doubt about that."

> “At the moment, we assume it’s not happening because it’s not being reported. I’m sure there are incidents out in the community that we are not aware of.”

> “I’ll find it [domestic violence]. You know how we like to say there’s no such thing. There’s degrees of it – worst case scenario over here and the forgivables over here.”

Even if there was a high proportion of domestic violence survivors, it still might not be many people because of the small population in Niue. It struck me in a focus group when one of the collaborators raised teenage pregnancy, and I asked if it was common. The first collaborator responded, “I mean, one to us is common.” The other collaborator added, “Yes, one or two are very big numbers. A good number for us is zero.” Collaborators also shared that they would know of any incidents if they happened because of the small population. Yet, several also noted that many survivors hide the violence and most do not report it.

The question of prevalence also raised a method of silence on the topic. Collaborators avoided discussing GBV now by considering perceived progress over time and comparing Niue to other countries in the Pacific and other ethnic groups.

> “It’s [domestic violence] not so bad here on Niue as it used to be before.”

> “There’s not much violence in Niue now. We have a lower population. People are educated. They know more about domestic violence and the impact is has on the family. Almost everyone can read and write. They get more information from the internet.”

> “We’re innocent compared to other countries.”

> “We are very fortunate here in Niue. I’ve heard of horrible cases in Tonga.”

While many collaborators named the relative prevalence over time either due to fewer people or higher awareness, they also identified moral equivalence when comparing to other ethnic groups in Niue and other countries in the Pacific. In GBV cases brought up, collaborators were quick to identify if those involved were from another ethnic group, like Samoans, Tongans, Tuvaluans, and Indians on the island. This was especially if the perpetrator had heritage from a country recognised to have high rates of GBV like PNG and Tonga. Of all the public narratives, this was the most consistent across all interviews. Nearly every collaborator raised an element of what I will describe as Niue exceptionalism, a moral equivalence with other ethnic groups and/ or countries.

> “I’ll tell you the numbers of DV here on the island are mainly from other ethnics … It’s because they come here from their countries where they were not well off, and they get all this glory and freedom and they just go crazy.”

I asked one collaborator if people report or treat cases differently for foreigners than they do for other Niueans, and they responded:

> “I think so. Only because there’s a difference between residents and those who you know aren’t from here. It is. It’s almost like it’s not acceptable when others do it in our country, but it’s okay when our own people do it. It’s not to say it’s okay, but you don’t want to bring shame to your family.”

Other collaborators also helped to explain how this moral equivalence impacts how cases are perceived.

> “People are easily picked because of their background, their ethnicity. But for us here, we like to hide it. We try to be silent about what we do in our own families. That’s how it is. It’s easy for us to say, ‘oh it’s because he’s Tongan and he did that back home. He’s Samoan, and they always do that.’ … It’s because they do this back in their islands. They don’t get away easily here because they’re always marked. If you were a person from another ethnic group, you’re always in the eyes of other people. Whatever you do, you always come up with those things. Which is not in my books.”

Narrating GBV in Niue

While there were certainly other shared narratives embedded in the interviews, here I focused on the most frequent and the most useful in terms of understanding how GBV is characterised. To summarise the dominant public narratives around GBV in Niue, most drew from the following:

Table 5. *Recurring Narratives Characterising GBV in Niue.*
It depends what you consider to be violence. Everyone has arguments here and there.
People don’t like to talk about GBV, especially sexual violence.
When domestic violence is really severe, alcohol is almost always involved.
They are having relationship problems (i.e. extramarital affairs, jealousy, financial challenges).
Maybe she’s not making him feel like a man.
It’s their relationship though, she should either go or make peace.
It’s not as common as it used to be though.
Niue is not nearly as bad as other countries or ethnic groups.

Highlighting these narratives and the spaces they are perpetuated in is only a preliminary step towards addressing GBV. The same smallness and isolation that contributes to the strength of recurring narratives in Niue can also contribute to their transformation. While recurring narratives are powerful, they are not immutable. In fact, they are constantly being shaped and tweaked as they are pieced in and out of individuals' narratives.

Changing the Narratives

As Talanoa is relational, recurring narratives can be a major source for personal and collective meaning-making. Having mapped some of these narratives around GBV, I will consider the question: what opportunities do community leaders see with regard to the creation of spaces and shifting of public narratives to address GBV?

While the informant interviews were a productive space for considering possibilities for addressing GBV in Niue, they were between the collaborators and myself. In some interviews, responses to these questions started with why things that might work in New Zealand or other Pacific countries will not work in Niue. For example, safe houses were raised as a highly ineffective and potentially dangerous option because there would be no way to maintain privacy and secrecy.

> "It's unique here. You can't just take it and treat it as what happens in Samoa or Tonga. It cannot be applied to Niue."

In some interviews, I felt these questions came across as me questioning why certain leaders were not doing enough. Perhaps I came across similar to the patterns of paternalistic oversight from the New Zealand government. When responses became defensive about not having enough human resources or funding, I tried to broaden the conversation to consider all of the spaces in which we considered how GBV was raised including the family and community. That is not to say that lack of funding and human resources are not significant barriers to programming but rather that I wanted to consider transformative possibilities beyond the present and tangible. Here, I will provide an overview of the major themes and ideas that were generated in these interviews. As specific ideas have a greater likelihood of identifying collaborators, I have used more general quotes in supporting thematic areas and paraphrased specific ideas. In my conceptual narrative, I have broken them into the areas of education, disclosure, accountability, and belonging.

Education was a central theme when considering transformative possibilities, and almost every collaborator mentioned a desire for great awareness. There were several ideas around using different

spaces including the church and church-related groups, media like TV, radio, and social media, and village-based community meetings.

> "I think there needs to be a lot more awareness about domestic violence, so people know what they are."

> "We should be more proactive and make awareness to the public that domestic violence should not be tolerated."

The goals for awareness programming were around identifying what domestic violence and other forms of GBV are, what the early signs are, and how to deal with it. Many connected this awareness programming to encouraging reporting and helping people share their experiences. This is the second theme, disclosure. While some mentioned the need for survivors and community members to report incidents to the authorities, others mentioned that they need to talk to just talk to someone, whether it is a friend, family member, or counsellor.

> "They don't need to report, but they need to be there for one another."

> "People need to open up and talk about GBV. They do a lot in women's groups, but it's more like a joke. It's not serious. They don't want the family to be shamed. It's their business, but nowadays, it's everyone's business."

Several collaborators raised that many do not know how to report, what will happen when they report, or that they would not know what to do if someone disclosed GBV to them. In terms of transformative possibilities, this was considered as something to include in awareness programming to develop guidelines and clear pathways for the community on what to do if someone discloses GBV to them or if they themselves are in trouble. In terms of spaces, visual and aural media were raised as the best avenues, for example, on the radio, posters, and social media.

The third theme which was the most contentious is accountability. While some shared that they were satisfied with formal justice system, others preferred GBV to be dealt with in the family and community. While some cited the importance of forgiveness and reconciliation, others found all current accountability strategies to be insufficient.

> "I think it's dealt with in a soft way where you teach to be kind, to be more loving, to be giving to your neighbours. To be serving. We don't deal with it on the other end. When there's a wrong, we need to address it. We need to sit down. When there's a wrong, people turn away from that and hope that you deal with it. They don't deal with it."

"These awareness campaigns don't matter if we still tolerate it in the courts. We need to show that there is no tolerance consistently and regularly for people to know and to know that people are there to help you."

"I don't think the formal system is effective. Until it's effective, forgiveness and reconciliation is best."

Transformative possibilities around accountability varied, but several ideas coalesced around dealing with confidentiality and departmental cooperation in formal spaces. In response to the challenges of limited human resources, collaborators pointed to the need for departmental cooperation especially when cases are reported in one area, and that information is not shared with other crucial departments. In terms of reporting, confidentiality was the crux of the challenge. Departments held onto their confidentiality policies in fear of a leak of information discouraging other survivors from reporting. However, it also meant that, for example, the Health Department is aware of cases that are not even on the Police Department's radar. Similar challenges were shared for the church which is also a primary space for reporting.

To improve this departmental cooperation, collaborators raised ideas like departments flagging cases with the Police Department without officially reporting it. This would be even if the survivor advised against reporting. Others suggested ideas like updated memorandums of understanding that clarified the roles and responsibilities in departmental relationships with regard to GBV in particular. This would establish the protocol for reporting when cases are disclosed in various spaces. There are unique challenges in Niue in order to protect identities and conflicts of interest that must be addressed between departments.

All three of these themes are interconnected, and there was one area that traversed education, disclosure, and accountability, and that is human connection and belonging. Several collaborators emphasised the need for advocating for community and the belongingness of each person to the community. With busy schedules, many are unable to make time to slow down and connect. This could mean that people are not able to talk when they need to share something. One collaborator mentioned the gendered ways that belongingness could be improved in supporting men and women as they are and in whatever they choose to do. In my own conceptual narrative, this stood out given the recurring narrative of transgressing gender expectations leading to domestic violence. Collaborators raised the importance of human connection and belonging in informal spaces like family and community settings that are typically unstructured.

Conclusion

This chapter explored recurring narratives, the spaces in which they can come up, and possibilities for transformation. In the informant interviews, collaborators raised both formal and informal spaces in which GBV comes up including family, church, schools, police and justice, health, talanoa, advocacy and policy spaces outside of Niue, and social media. Mapping these spaces and how GBV is raised in each space also frames how the recurring narratives around GBV come up.

As individuals craft their own ontological narratives including their understanding of themselves and their experiences, they draw from common, recurring narratives. These narratives shape and are shaped by individuals' memories, projections, and expectations. The informant interviews resulted in saturated recurring narratives including how GBV is characterised in its forms, causes, triggers, and responses. The interviews also surfaced the temporal and spatial nature of these narratives in that collaborators considered how GBV was compared over time and compared to perceptions of GBV in other countries in similar and consistent ways.

These spaces and recurring narratives around GBV left an opportunity to engage with transformative possibilities to reduce GBV. Recurring narratives are used in how individuals tell stories to explain their own identities as well as in how they explain "reality" in their personal, ontological narratives. They are made and remade in relational spaces which present a powerful opportunity to address the characterisation of GBV in the spaces in which it comes up as well as to consider new spaces to address GBV.

CHAPTER 7: MARRIAGE IN THE MAGAFAOA

In the previous chapter, the family space came up as an important space for disclosure, accountability, and education. Yet the family space is a crucial and under-researched space in published research on GBV in Niue. In this chapter, I will explore the complexities of the family space drawing on the family-tree mapping interviews and looking specifically at marriage and domestic violence. Given the numerous methodological and ethical challenges to analysing and writing this highly sensitive section of the research, I use a creative method inspired by Pacific arts-based research, Niuean Hiapo, and the literary works of Niuean authors. In this chapter, I share a dialogue of a fictionalised focus group interview with two fictional women who had already participated in family-tree mapping interviews. In this conversation, we explore the ideas about marriage and gender relations that reflect some of the ideas that came out of the family-tree mapping interviews. I suggest that these ideas represent a recognisable reality, in all its sensitivity and complexity, although the conversation presented here avoids directly attributing ideas or actions to any one person. My intention is that this upholds my ethical commitment to collaborators to protect their privacy.

Arts-Based Research on GBV in the Pacific

Development researchers, Kauli and Thomas (2019) explored how arts-based strategies for research and dissemination can effectively provide alternative narratives to those often produced by international development projects in Papua New Guinea. Because international development projects often prioritise external knowledge over narratives from the local community, Kauli and Thomas (2019) creatively develop examples of local arts-based strategies that address GBV. The Theatre in Conversation and participatory media practices share a common thread of collective learning and collaborative production. For the Theatre in Conversation, the collaborative script development, community performance, and conversation with the audience resulted in impactful public dialogue while creating a safe space for such discussions among men and women. This has also been demonstrated at the Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu (Woodward-Hanna, 2014). These methods brought to light nuance to GBV that many community members had not been aware of, as the researchers noted:

> "It was not until seeing the character of the woman visibly struggling to make ends meet, while the husband chastised and abused her, that many of the men in the audience realised the demeaning and demoralising ways they treated their wives." (Kauli & Thomas, 2019, p. 232)

Heard and her colleagues (2019) used a similar approach to discuss IPV among young people in Samoa through ethnodrama. In a series of drama-based participatory research activities, they developed an ethnodrama based on the qualitative data collected as well as the knowledge and experiences of the five Samoan young people on the cast. In both Heard (2019) and Kauli and Thomas's

(2019) work, the use of an arts-based approach with fictional characters became a safer and more effective pathway to engage the community in conversation about GBV. Despite the fact that the situations performed were not *real*, they raised real and important concepts around GBV that resonated with the audience because they were grounded in the script-writers experiences and ontological perspectives.

The challenge in my research is the collaborative element because I interviewed women individually. While collaborative elements would deepen these insights, I was bound by the unique challenges of anonymity and privacy that would hinder open collaboration on this topic. While not ruling out performance as a potential transformative space going forward with this work, I needed a written form to represent the nuance of the knowledge shared in the family-tree mapping interviews. Further, in line with Suaalii-Suani and Fulu-Aioluptoea's (2014) concept of trustworthiness in Talanoa, I decided the only way for me to produce a trustworthy narrative would be to write from my own perspective, highlighting my own interpretations while attempting to be as true to the narratives shared as possible given that my interpretation will always be there as well. As such in the story that follows, I include my thoughts and emotions as well as my perceptions about the environment, body language, and dialogue of my fellow characters, Lepasi and Natalesi.

Arts-Based Research in Niue

Niuean arts include crafts, performance, and traditional livelihood practices (Tāoga Niue). The works by John Pule and Niuean Hiapo painting provide guiding insights for sharing this research in a meaningful way in Niue. John Pule is well-renowned Niuean artist, known for his painting, poetry, and novels. His work continues to raise awareness of important alternative narratives about the transnational identities of Niueans and decolonisation. His early novels, The Shark that Ate the Sun (1992) and Burn my Head in Heaven (1998) are both fictional characterisations of his own lived experiences. In an interview discussing these early works, he said, "when I write or paint, I am trying to tell a story about something that makes me aware of who I am" (Durrant, 2010). In his earlier novel, The Shark that Ate the Sun, he explores moving to Auckland, New Zealand through his family relations while guided by his spirituality. The novel speaks to the broader question of truth in fiction. Pule's ability to tell a story that presumably made him aware of who he was, simultaneously tells a story about family relations.

Further, his writing style has an ability to tell this story. Pule uses poetry, song, and letters to compose this narrative. The letters in various chapters characterise the contrasting distance and togetherness of families between New Zealand and Niue. In the letters, characters speak of their current experiences, their families, and their hopes and fears. This dialogue format is a powerful way to represent relationality. Far from fantasy, Pule stories his own experiences in this novel. He also covers topics

related to this research including marriage, gender roles, and family relations. For example, this excerpt from the Shark That Ate the Sun could be taken from a family-tree mapping interview.

> "Puhia talked a lot to me when he was not out in the pubs. We would talk for hours about Niue, women, marriage, fishing and my grandparents… He was in many ways notorious in his passion, he had a way with women. Even grandad had a reputation for his womanising, and his wife often wrote to Mocca in New Zealand, about the things Puhiataha got up to behind her back, or she heard through the mouths of gossip, or the charming would actually happened right in front of her. Mocca could only say, -- I'm not taking sides, because you are my mother and father. I love you both. At the end, the Lord will decide." (J. P. Pule, 1992, p. 192)

For my own writing, the challenge is that in writing this research, I am not writing my own story. Fourteen women have shared their stories with me, and my task was to somehow represent these narratives in an ethical and meaningful way. This was also a challenge as a non-Pacific researcher where, as Vaioleti (2006) reminds, different ontological assumptions will always destabilise my interpretation of Pacific peoples' Talanoa. As such, I returned to traditional Niuean barkcloth painting, Hiapo, for further guidance on how to best represent the nuance of these family-tree mapping interviews while recognising my positionality as a non-Pacific and non-Niuean researcher.

While not commonly made after 1890, Hiapo has inspired Niuean artists like John Pule and Cora-Allan Wickliffe and draws us to the intersection of history, iconography, Niuean places, and Niuean interactions (J. Pule & Thomas, 2005, p. 16; Wickliffe, 2020). Hiapo has featured compositional motifs of encounters with European missionaries and traders, and Pule notes that its storage in museums all over the world further represents the relationships between "Niuean people and white people from Europe and New Zealand" (J. Pule & Thomas, 2005, p. 17). In their book, Pule and British curator, Nicholas Thomas, draw attention to the way Hiapo has been decontextualised in museums. Not only do museums often project a colonial gaze, they ignore the stories, the places, the land, and the spirituality that is material to Hiapo. To disconnect Hiapo from its context is to disfigure its meaning. In this light, I consider my own art that is the writing of this chapter.

To embed this research back in its context, I have to go back to the living rooms and front decks in October and November 2019 where these family-tree mapping spaces were created. The context here is me sitting with Niuean women with a couple cold coconuts, maybe some juice, talking about families. Given my positionality, this is the context I can draw from to share these stories. Inspired by Pule's dialogue and the significance of context in Hiapo, I decided to write a fictional dialogue between myself and two fictional Niuean women who had participated previously in the family-tree mapping interviews.

Putting it Together

This approach, as with all research, demands a high level of researcher-author responsibility. For fiction as a writing method, Rhodes and Brown (2005) note that the researcher-author must take seriously the complexity of others' narratives as well as be true to themselves and their own narrativity. To effectively do this, I used Doucet & Mauthner's (2008) Listening Guide to analyse the 14 family-tree mapping interviews, annotating each interview transcript and/ or field notes four times. The first time, I read for reflexivity, marking my immediate reactions and interpretations. The second time, I read for the collaborator's narrative by marking where in her responses, she referred to herself or spoke in the first person. The third time was a reading for relationality in which I marked for the collaborator's relationships and how those relationships were characterised. The fourth time, I wove it all together in my own conceptual narrative making sense of the narratives. This rich analysis helped me emphasise collaborators' own meaning-making while recognising how the transcripts became a web of narrativity including my own conceptual narrative in its preliminary and developed stages.

Being true to myself means recognising my political narrativity that surfaced clearly in the first reading of the transcripts. My reflexive analysis contains commentary alternating optimism about supportive family and the conviction and strength of women and distress about victim-blaming and harmful gender expectations. These all come from value judgments rooted in my own political beliefs about gender justice and liberation. While I cannot write from another perspective, I aim to foster the complexities of my collaborators in writing this chapter. I chose to do this through the story of a fictional dialogue between myself and two collaborators who converse both with me and with each other. This is integral to the concept of relationality that underpins ontological narrativity. I developed two composite personas primarily from the second and third readings of the transcripts.

While these choices narrow down the task, I still had to decide what major themes to focus on. In order to hold the complexity of the narratives, I could not fully explore every theme that came up. My fourth reading which was my conceptual narrative framed several key themes. However, thinking about the broad topic of GBV as well as the insights from the informant interviews, the common denominator in the cases that came up was IPV in marriages. Marriage is the crux of family intervention and also an important relational element intersecting with the broader magafaoa, religion, culture, law, and at times, GBV.

Telling It Like It Is

I arrived at Natalesi's house at the hottest part of the day. As soon as I turned off the car, I realised I made the right call by bringing cold juice.

"Fakaalofa atu Erin. Welcome back," Natalesi came outside to greet me.

“Fakaalofa atu. I think this is the hottest day since I’ve been here.” I grabbed my notebook and goodies and followed Natalesi inside.

“This is nothing. This is cool.” She laughed.

She cleared off the table on her front deck and brought over three glasses for juice. A citronella spiral was burning underneath the table, wafting mosquito repellent in the breeze.

“Lepasi said she would be here a little after 2 P.M.” I said, adjusting my chair to find the coolest, shadiest spot around the table.

Natalesi sat down at the table across from me. We sipped juice and caught up about the weather, family, and the latest gossip. Lepasi arrived, and rushed out of the car apologising over and over again.

Natalesi stopped her, “Don’t worry, we were just gossiping about you.”

Lepasi laughed and settled in at the table. I poured her a glass of juice and let her catch her breath. I took a deep breath and started my formal greeting.

“Fakaalofa atu ki a mua. Fakaaue ke he takitaki mafola. He ha talu Iki kua moua e aho nei. Koe higoa haaku ko Erin. Ko au koe tagata kumikumi. Hau au he motu ko Amelika. Nofo au i Okalana. Fakaaue lahi.”

“Fakaalofa lahi atu.” They both smiled. I did too, hoping they were happy with my pronunciation and not pitying it.

“Thank you so much for meeting with me again. I know it can be a lot to talk about these topics, and you were both amazing to talk with before. I’m hoping today we can dig into one of the topics that came up in all of the interviews, that is, marriage. I want to hear the good, the bad, and the complicated.”

Natalesi chuckled.

“Obviously, we’re still talking about really sensitive topics, so we’ll do it the same way we did last time. I know we chatted before about you both participating in the same interview, but I just want to clarify that you are each also responsible for keeping the information that comes up today private. We’re creating a space of trust for all of us.”

I explained the collaborator information sheet again.

“I won’t have you guys share your family-trees, but you’re welcome to reference cases and examples from your family. You can change names and be as vague as you feel comfortable.”

Natalesi clicked her pen, “Ah, Lepasi already knows everything about me. I have nothing to hide.”

Lepasi laughed, “That’s true. I don’t know if I could hide anything from you if I tried.”

“Well, good. I also know quite a bit about both of you already, so we’re good to go. We’ll go ahead and get started then. My first question is quite broad. What does marriage mean to you?”

Meaning of Marriage

Lepasi leaned on the back of her chair, considering the question.

Natalesi broke the silence, “I’ll start. Well, marriage is the sacred union between a man and a woman. It’s important.”

“It makes families under God,” Lepasi added.

“Yeah, marriage brings religious and family matters together.” Natalesi looked at Lepasi, “what year did you get married?”

“1985.”

“Ah you’re young. We got married in 1967. We had our 50th anniversary a couple years back.”

I interjected, “50 years is a long time.”

“You’re young too, Erin! Ha! I tell you, I got married when I turned 18. My husband and I are only now getting to really know each other. We used to be so busy, but now we sit down and talk.”

Lepasi started, “Oh yes, we’re very busy. But, we do things together. I really enjoy that. Now that the kids are grown, my husband and I go to the bush together. He drinks sometimes, but he’s okay. He’s a happy drunk. We’re good.”

I started scribbling notes in my notebook, *good marriage = togetherness. Different types of responses to alcohol?*

"I'll let you both confirm this, but it sounds like you are both feel you're in good, healthy marriages."

Natalesi smiled, "Oh yes, we're very happy."

"Yes, yes," Lepasi nodded.

"Lepasi, you mentioned togetherness and doing things with your husband. How else would you describe a good marriage?"

She leaned against the table, her arms crossed.

"Husband and wife, they love and respect each other. They're honest. They're faithful. They love and look after the kids."

"They help each other, yeah," Natalesi added.

"What about if there's a conflict? How is conflict dealt with in good marriages?"

Natalesi started, "You work it out. Like, you're married, toughen up. We talked about this last time. If you know how to get a husband, you should know how to keep them."

Lepasi agreed, "No marriage is perfect, but you work it out."

I wrote, *can everything be worked out? Domestic violence?*

"Does it always work out?"

"Unless you forget your vows! Marriage is a lifetime commitment. There's nothing they can't work out." Natalesi paused, considering possible exceptions.

Lepasi leaned back and crossed her ankles, her hands smoothing out her dress on her lap. I realised I hadn't brought up domestic violence explicitly in this interview, but I had spoken about it extensively with both Lepasi and Natalesi the week before. Surely, they would mention the exceptions to this rule, I thought.

Lepasi started, paused, and then started again, “I do think about my parents. My Dad would drink a lot. He didn’t help with anything at home. He would just come home drunk and be violent with my Mum. My siblings and I all saw it. My Mum was always providing for us. She kept the peace, but she couldn’t with my Dad. He, um, left. I don’t think they had a good marriage.”

Lepasi stared into her lap. *Mothers/ wives keeping the peace.*

“Lepasi, I’m so sorry you had to see that growing up. That’s really heavy especially for a child. We don’t have to dig into your parent’s relationship if you don’t feel comfortable.”

I remembered the tissues in my bag and set them on the table.

Natalesi laughed, “what else do you have in that bag?!”

I smiled and laughed, grateful that Natalesi lightened the mood.

“Lepasi mentioned that her mum was the one providing and keeping the peace. Do you think men and women have different roles and responsibilities in marriages?”

Natalesi picked up the conversation, “The woman is the backbone of the family. She cooks and cleans and does the washing and takes care of the kids. Me, I go to the plantation too though. I can husk a coconut and hunt uga just like my husband and my brothers.”

She continued. “Look, I’m a strong woman. I speak my mind, but I don’t try to control my husband. He’s still the breadwinner, and we have to respect that. I don’t try to be on top of my husband, I just empower him. Yes, I’m a very strong woman, but I empower my husband. He could still give me a hiding at any time. He never has, but when he gets angry, that’s my fear. That one day this man will give me a hiding because I’m too strong for him. I know he’s not like that, and he has a big heart, but I speak my mind, and sometimes I say the wrong thing.”

Lepasi was watching her closely. *Gender role transgressions in marriage*, I wrote.

Natalesi continued, “You know, if you look at the Bible, women are created from men. Not less than, but we are created to bear children and do things that men can’t. There’s usefulness in men and in women. No marriage is perfect – you might be the head of the family, but I’m here to do things you can’t.”

Lepasi nodded, “Yeah, I see that. My husband and I do a lot of things together though. I gave birth to our children, but he still changed nappies!”

Natalesi agreed. “Yes, yes that’s true. You still need to share and do things together. It’s the older generation that really sees everything as separate. I remember my mother pulling me aside because I wasn’t treating my husband well. I asked him to do the washing. She said I’d be without husband if I kept acting that way.”

Lepasi interjected, “Then, I’d be without a husband for years now!”

We all laughed.

“Men have responsibilities too though. They have to go to the bush, work, get money, go fishing, go hunting for uga, and all of that.” Natalesi added.

“Of course, and from what I’ve heard, conflict sometimes arises when the husband or wife doesn’t fulfil their responsibilities or do what they’re expected to. Do you think that’s right?”

Natalesi asked, “What do you mean by conflict? Swearing and yelling happens all the time. Is that what you mean? Or a smack?”

“Whatever you see as a conflict. I’m thinking quite broad here.”

Natalesi leaned back, crossing her arms over her chest to think.

Lepasi began, “I don’t know if this is what you mean, but I think my son and his wife had a problem like that. They live in New Zealand, but I heard this from him. She is always working and going out. She leaves early in the morning and comes back late at night. They have three girls at home, and her sister has to help take care of them. It really upsets my son that she doesn’t act like a mother. They had arguments about it, and I knew something was going on. But I heard from an uncle that he touched her.”

She wasn’t making eye contact with either of us.

“It hurt to hear that because he knows about my Dad and what he did to my Mum. I’ve told him this. He knows better. He’s educated and has no reason to raise a hand to his wife.”

She took a long pause. Natalesi and I both watched her closely.

“What happened after that?” I probed.

“Well, I asked my daughter what I should do. At the end of the day, it’s their marriage, and they need to work it out. She thought I should at least talk to him and support him. Get the story from him. There are always two-sides to the story, you know. So I rang him. I just talked to him. Mother to son. I asked him a lot of questions, and he was really upset. I called him every couple days after that. I wanted to get him going right. They have three kids. They can’t be acting like this.”

“What did that incident mean for their marriage?” I asked.

“Well, they decided to get married. That’s a lifelong commitment, and they have kids. For the children, they need to stay together and work it out. And they did. They’re good now.”

“Do you know how they worked it out?”

“No, not really. I just hear him speak differently about their relationship. They seem good. And I haven’t heard anything else from my uncle. No news is good news, eh?”

Marriage is a responsibility to work it out, no matter what. Children as additional pressure to stay together. I thought back to my original question about transgressing gender roles contributing to conflict.

Do you know if they share more of the family responsibilities now?”

“I assume so, yes. They’re good now. I don’t think her sister is helping out anymore, so they must be sharing more of the work.”

“Natalesi, do you have any thoughts on this? Men and women not doing their responsibilities or playing the other’s role leading to conflict?”

Natalesi paused and thought for a minute.

“Back in the day, men work and get money and spend it all on alcohol. They go for a drink up and come home expecting the wife to put food on the table. With what?! What is she going to cook with no money. When he’s drunk and there’s no food on the table, he gives his wife a hiding. That was back in the day though. I haven’t heard anything like that recently. That was the first time I heard the whole story about Lepasi’s son, too. I didn’t know it happened like that.”

I had a lot of things I wanted to write down, but I was stuck by the concept of Natalesi not knowing this full story. *Gossip – not everything gets around. Often not the whole story.*

“Lepasi, if you’re okay with it, I’d be interested to hear what version of the story Natalesi has heard about your son. Is that okay?”

Lepasi nodded, “It’s okay.”

“Natalesi, are you okay with that?”

“Yes, that’s fine. I heard from my family in New Zealand that he was beating her up because he was drinking. She would talk back to him and set him off.”

Neither Lepasi nor Natalesi looked uncomfortable, but Natalesi changed the subject.

“That made sense to me though. I never talk to my husband when he’s drunk. I always wait until the next day. You never know what will set them off when they’re drunk.”

I took the hint to move on.

What Contributes to Domestic Violence in Marriages

“So thinking more broadly again, why do you think domestic violence happens within marriages?”

Lepasi nodded and leaned back in her chair, “I think, like we just said, if someone isn’t helping to take care of the family. But maybe alcohol too, affairs –”

Natalesi interrupted, “Alcohol and affairs. Maybe, jealousy too.”

“Who is usually the one having the affair?”

Natalesi started, “Both. Women have affairs too, but definitely both.”

“Mm, of course. But when it’s connected to domestic violence, is it usually the man or the woman having the affair?”

Lepasi spoke slowly as if sifting through examples in her head, “It depends. Sometimes the man is mad at his wife for having an affair, but sometimes it’s the husband having an affair and getting mad. That’s what doesn’t make sense–” Lepasi paused.

She continued, “If the guy has an affair with another woman, he comes home and gives his wife a hiding like any other domestic in New Zealand. Why? Because he’s interested in another woman? Does he not also want the woman right there in his life. She cooks and cleans and looks after the family. When he goes out drinking and meets other women, his mind doesn’t think of his wife. He doesn’t see that she is looking after the family and giving him this good life.”

Natalesi leaned forward, pressing her elbows on the table, “Yeah, that’s right. All she did was give him a good life. If she was having an affair, okay, she did something. But he just goes and gets drunk and mad and doesn’t see what he has at home.”

Wife as domestic labour first and foremost. Is his disloyalty excusable when hers is not?

Natalesi continued, “Sometimes women are just suspicious though. My sister is always suspicious of her husband having affairs, but I don’t think he is.”

“Thinking about your siblings, are you quite involved in their relationships?”

Natalesi started, “I am with my sister. I only have my sister and brother left in Niue. The rest are in New Zealand. I don’t know much about my brother’s marriage. They seem good though.”

Lepasi added, “I am really close with my siblings. At family gatherings, we talk about our spouses and our arguments and things.”

“In front of them?” I asked.

“Yes, yes, while we’re all together. It’s just a venting session. My Mum is like a counsellor, so she gives advice and keeps everyone in line.”

“Huh. What sort of arguments and venting happens?”

“Oh, like someone will start by complaining about their wife. Usually my brother. Then, *she’ll* complain about *him* and say how much she does for the family. He’ll say how he gives her this and that. We really make a big joke of it. It’s nice. We can all vent and get it out in the open. Mum will tell stories about our Dad, and they’ll realise how good they have it. That they need to just work it out.”

“There are never any serious conflicts raised?”

“No, just little things… Well, my sister-in-law told me once that my brother growled her when she tried to slow down his drinking. I don’t think it was serious, but he can be quite, I don’t know, domineering.

It's not abusive, but he just needs to have his way. He really doesn't like it when someone messes with his drink."

"And no one has ever suspected violence?"

"No. No, I don't think so. Just growls here and there."

"Did this come up at a family gathering? Did anyone in your family speak with him?" I asked.

"No, they're good. They worked it out." Lepasi assured.

She paused, and seemingly remembering some information. She continued, "I think they went to the minister too. Nothing too serious, just talking with the minister and his wife. It can really help. They just remind you to love and respect each other."

Natalesi jumped in, "We did that once, my husband and I. He was drinking a lot at the time, and we went to see the minister. His wife was there too. It was nice. The minister is a good leader in the community."

Minister's role in the community and in marriages.

I had been thinking about the idea of accountability for the past few interviews. If everyone is working it out, and I'm still unclear on what that means and who's making concessions, is the person who caused harm held accountable in any way within the family? I decided to go with a hypothetical.

Hypothetical Domestic Violence Scenario

"We did this last time, but I'd like to do a hypothetical scenario to hear what you both think. I want you to imagine one of your brothers. Let's say you heard that he was beating up his wife. How would you react? What would you do?"

Both Natalesi and Lepasi nodded.

Natalesi started, "He better not be! Ha! It would be my brother in New Zealand, so I would ring him. I would say 'how's it going?' I would ask a lot of questions. Rumours spread a lot, so I would ask him what the story is. If he has a drinking problem, I would help him find help. I would tell him to look after his wife. I would have faith in him to do the right thing. He wouldn't do that though. I never hear bad things about my brother. We were all brought up here in the Church."

She clicked her pen, and Lepasi watched her, waiting to see if she would continue. She did.

“I would pray for him. I pray for all my family. I don’t get to talk to them as much because they live overseas, but I see them as much as I can.”

I could relate to this feeling, “That can be really tough. I’m sure it’s really nice to connect when you can.”

Natalesi nodded.

“Lepasi, what would you do? If you found out your brother was beating up his wife, how would you react?”

Lepasi shifted in her chair, “Well, I would be really upset. I know which brother it would be. Same as I mentioned before. I don’t know if I would get into it though. It would be good to ask why it happened and ask questions. Like if he says it’s because she always tells him off, it helps us think again. But when family gets involved, it becomes a big thing… Like Natalesi, I’d pray. If it was really bad, I would tell my Mum.”

I waited, thinking there might be more coming.

She continued, “I would be really upset.”

“You mentioned it becomes a big thing when the family gets involved. What do you mean by that?”

“Well, then it becomes a family problem. It gets so much bigger. Everyone would gang up on him. We would say ‘your Dad is not here, why are you being like this? Why are you being like him?’ After all of that, we would calm down and ask all the questions and get the two sides.”

“In a situation like that, what would be the outcome?”

Lepasi continued, “The family would help them through, but we can leave it to them to sort out. We always look at not just the two of them but the whole family and the kids, you know? In some families, they split and divorce, but not my family.”

“Why is that?” I probed.

“That’s not us. It’s for the kids. Stay together for the kids. You chose this person, so you can work it out with them. It can be hard, but the family can help. The Church can help.”

No divorce. For the kids.

“What about you, Natalesi? How does your family feel about divorce?”

Natalesi nodded, “Same as Lepasi. My family is very religious… I told you the story last time about my cousin. We are quite close. She’s like a sister to me. She’s another strong woman, and she lived with her husband and kids in the bush. Not like this house where the neighbours can hear us yelling and arguing and they’ll talk about it the next day. No, they kept to themselves, but she told me about a big fight they were having. They grew apart, and he said he wanted them to move to Australia. Their kids were grown, and two of them lived in Australia. She didn’t want to go. They would argue a lot. She said they weren’t sleeping in the same bed. One day, she came to me and said she filed for divorce! She’s a stubborn woman. I asked her how her children took it and how her husband took it. She said she didn’t need their permission. She did ask me what I thought about it though. I said as long as she’s happy, it’s okay. It did upset me, you know. Marriage is a lifetime commitment. What really happened that they couldn’t sort out?”

I remembered the story and felt genuinely inspired by the idea of a “difficult,” stubborn woman.

“Do you think something else happened beyond what she told you?” I asked.

“You know, there must have been. I asked her, but she would never give me the reasons why. I thought things maybe got aggressive. She’s like me. She’s got a sharp mouth. She would never say though, and no one was talking about it. He ended up moving to Australia. She’s living by herself in that house in the bush.”

Divorce is a lonely decision.

“Well, I hope she’s doing well now.”

Lepasi jumped in, “I didn’t know that story.”

Natalesi dropped her elbows on the table, “And you better not tell anyone!”

We all laughed, and I reiterated the rules of the space we established. I asked if anyone needed a break and set out the cookies that were baking in my bag to help us refuel. Natalesi made a joke

about me being Mary Poppins with a bag full of things. I hoped the mood was as it seemed and that they would be comfortable and open enough for our next topic.

Sexual Violence

"Our next topic is the more sensitive one. You were both quite open on this topic before, but please stop me if you'd like to take a break or move on from this topic at any point. I want to hear a little bit about sex in marriages, specifically sexual violence. Do you hear about this at all on Niue?"

Lepasi glanced at Natalesi and looked away. I knew they were friends before this interview, but I was unsure if they had discussed these topics with each other. I recognised we were in uncharted territory.

Lepasi whispered, "Yeah… yeah. A lot of that happens. I've heard from my friends that their husbands would want sex and literally force them. Some used to say to keep the peace, they would just open up to them. A beautiful thing like that, that you just give yourself freely to keep the peace. It's easier to just go along with it than to have it blow up."

The conversation got much quieter.

She continued, "Some of my friends used to tell me that their husbands would come home late at night and, you know, demand sex. She allows him to do that with no feeling, to keep the peace."

Marital rape common. Pros outweigh the cons when you don't know what could happen if you say no. I felt my heart beating in my chest, emotions welling up in my belly. I reminded myself to focus.

"Do you think wives are able to say no? What would happen if she said no?" I asked softly.

Natalesi picked up this time, "Well, I say no! I don't sleep in the same bed as my husband anymore. Ha! … I don't hear too much about that though. If it happens to me, I would be shameful. I would blame myself. I would walk away from the relationship. I would walk away totally, and if he wants to come back, it would have to be without any abuse. You know, it's takes two people. Wanting and enjoying it, not I'll jump you now I need it."

Lepasi nodded quietly.

Natalesi laughed, "But women want it too sometimes!"

Lepasi laughed too, "That's true!"

I laughed, “Of course, of course –”

Lepasi spoke up, “I know of someone. We went to school together. She had it really bad. Her husband wanted it all the time. I only heard the whole story about a year ago. When they were together, he wanted sex all the time. It was a hard life. They had a bunch of kids. Even if she was on family planning, I don’t think that could even keep up. I heard from the neighbours they were at it all the time, even when the kids were home. With the door opened! I think that’s really bad. Not while the kids are around! She moved in with her parents, and I think they slowed down, but he would still come to that house whenever he wanted her. I asked her why she didn’t say no, and she said she had to give herself whether she liked it or not.”

Lepasi shook her head and looked at her hands resting on the table. Natalesi stared at Lepasi’s hands too.

“How do you feel about that?”

Lepasi added, “She feels she has a duty to her husband. That it’s just easier to go along with him. Not to make noise about it. Some women feel they can say no to their husbands though. A lot of the young ones.”

Generational differences in thinking about sex in relationships.

I couldn’t quite pick up on the dynamics between Lepasi and Natalesi on this topic, so I decided to bring it broader for a moment.

“Where do conversations about this topic come up? Do women talk about it in weaving groups? Family or friends?”

Natalesi jumped in, “It depends if you can trust the people. It usually stays between husband and wife, and I think most women don’t talk about it at all. We joke a lot, especially with the women’s groups. It’s never serious though.”

Lepasi added, “Friends, sometimes. Yeah, friends you trust. Not family, I don’t think.”

“I talk about it with my cousin. We talk about everything.” Natalesi added.

Trust and humour in spaces talking about sex in marriage.

“Why not family do you think?”

Lepasi started, “It’s too personal. It’s just private, still tapu for the older generation especially. Maybe with sisters or close cousins like Natalesi said. I’m not close with my sisters like that. We make jokes, but we never really talk about it.”

“What kind of jokes?” I ask.

“Well, like when my husband was in New Zealand for a couple weeks, when he came back, my sister made a joke about us being too busy to come to the family gathering. That sort of thing.”

“Natalesi, are those the kinds of jokes you’re familiar with?”

Natalesi chuckled, “Heh, oh yes. My cuz and I would talk about how we wouldn’t sleep with our husbands if they dirty the house too much. It’s all funny. Our husbands are very… I don’t know. We’re old now. We’re all mellowed out now.”

Lepasi laughed, “And did that work?”

“Oh yes. Ha!” Natalesi cracked up.

At this point, I had a really clear example of how the joking could bring people together to talk about a sensitive topic. As useful as humour can be at times, I was curious about if it would be a part of serious disclosure and help-seeking too.

“What about the really serious stuff like if someone is asking for help? Are there ways to joke about that to make it easier to talk about? Or does that sort of thing come up in a different way?”

Lepasi leaned onto the table, “I’m trying to think. Almost all of the ones I know, I didn’t hear from the woman. I just knew what was happening. I just knew, you know?”

“Someone told you? Or you could tell from her behaviour?” I asked.

“Well, both. Someone would nudge me that she’s having trouble at home… with the husband. And she would just be, I don’t know, off. The women in the village, we don’t say anything, but we’re there for her. We don’t need to say anything. We just do things like if we have extra food, we bring some to her. We say nice things to her. Support her.”

“So, it’s not openly discussed, but all of the women still help support her in different ways?”

“Yeah. They try to keep positive conversations and topics to pick her up. Not singling her out, but just making a happy space for her.”

“That sounds like a great way to support her without pressuring her to do anything in particular. If she were to do something about being sexually abused by her husband, what are her options, do you think?”

“What do you mean?” Lepasi asks.

“Like, does she stay? Does she talk to somebody? Does she try to leave the marriage?”

I watched Lepasi’s lips pull into a tight, straight line. A torn look.

“It depends. Does she have kids? She could leave him when they’re grown. Maybe – does she have family in New Zealand? It’s hard because where would she go? Niue is a small place. It’s hard, but she could try to work it out. Get someone to talk to him. Maybe talk to the pastor and get him to help, maybe the pastor’s wife too.”

“Mm. What do you think, Natalesi?”

Surprised, she snapped to my attention. I saw out of the corner of my eye that she had zoned out. It seemed like her mind went somewhere else for a moment.

“Um, I don’t know. I haven’t thought too much about this one. She could talk to a friend, someone she trusts, to sort it out. It depends on the situation.”

I decided to move on, knowing that a lot of things can come up in our heads when talking about sexual violence even if we don’t share it.

“Right, right. I want to switch gears now to something a bit more positive, but I would like to thank you both here for sharing on this sensitive topic. I know it’s not easy, and these stories and experiences can be really heavy especially when we bring them up again. So, I thank you for letting me share this space with you.”

I offered up cookies and refills on juice, asking if anyone needed a longer break. Lepasi stretched her arms overhead, and Natalesi leaned back in her chair. We charged ahead.

Family Education

“Great, we’ll carry on then. I just have one more section I want to cover. Since you both have children, and Natalesi, you have grandchildren, this should be an interesting discussion. I want to hear about what you taught your children and maybe what they taught their children about what good relationships look like.”

Natalesi kicked it off, “I talked to my kids about this a lot. I tell them to respect their wives and to look after their kids. To love their husband or wife, to do things with them. Talk to them and share things about their lives with each other.”

“When did you start talking with them about these things?” I asked.

“Oh, when they were school age, I started telling them to respect each other and how to do things like cooking and planting taro. Then, when they were older, I talk to them less about it because they started getting married and having kids. They were already doing it.”

Lepasi hummed in agreement, “I talked with my girls when they started menstruating. I remember when I started menstruating, my Mum wasn’t around, and I was so scared. I talked to my girls and told them everything that was happening and made sure I was really open with them. I’m really open with all my kids, but my son is more closed-off.”

“Did you talk to your girls about relationships too?”

“Oh yeah, I told them that they could get pregnant, so they needed to be careful. They should find someone that loves them and they should really get to know them first. Know who they are as a person. I told all of my kids quite young about my Dad, but I remind my son a lot because he gets into trouble. Not with violence, just acting up. I tell him about Dad and how he shouldn’t be like him.”

“Did you speak to your daughters differently than your son about positive relationships?”

Lepasi continued, “Kind of. I tell my son, too, to love and respect his wife. That it’s his job to provide for the family and kids. I just don’t want him to be aggressive. I try to teach him to be patient… yeah.”

“What about you, Natalesi? Did you talk to your daughter and sons differently?”

Natalesi started, “No, not really.”

“Okay. Do you know how your kids talk to their kids about relationships?”

“They’re really open. I have a granddaughter. She asks so many questions. ‘Why is this? Why is that?’ So curious about everything. I know my kids are more open with their kids than I was. Sometimes too open I think. Some things should be private.”

“What do you mean?”

“Well, my granddaughter was asking about gay people and transgendered, sex changed men … or women… people. My daughter, her mother, would just talk and talk and ask her questions about what she thought about it. I don’t know. To me, that’s too much. It’s good to be open, but you have to remember where we are.”

“What do you mean by that?” I asked.

“Not everyone here is open to questions like that. We’re very conservative. And the Church. Yeah.”

“Mm, I see.” I paused to make space. We held the silence for a moment.

Natalesi continued, “I feel like we talk too much about gender. People from outside and at the meetings are always talking about gender and women’s empowerment. I think our women are empowered. Women in Niue are very strong. I worry about our boys though. Did you hear about what happened at the sea track? That was three boys. It’s the alcohol and misbehaviour. They’re behind our girls in school too. Just watch at the school prize giving.”

Lepasi nodded. I’d heard this narrative before too.

“Absolutely. That’s one of the reasons I’ve chosen to use ‘gender’ actually instead of women for this project. Gender means all of us, how we relate with one another. Like the expectations we were talking about, they can give men power in the moment, but it doesn’t benefit them in the long-run. Gender-based violence isn’t good for anyone.”

Natalesi nodded, “Balance, we need balance between men and women. I’d like to think we don’t get caught up in all the women’s stuff here though.”

“Lepasi, what do you think?” I asked.

She chose her words carefully, “I don’t think we have perfect gender equality here, but it’s not bad for women here. It’s not like other places like Samoa or Tonga.”

I sensed her answer was diplomatic.

Closing Out

“Mm, okay. Anything else to add on this topic?”

They went quiet. Natalesi shook her head. We continued on talking about a few other topics, and Lepasi and Natalesi shared a few stories about life, love, conflict, and abuse. My notebook was full of notes and scribbles, and my heart was full. I felt honoured to be a part of this space with them. I brought us to a close.

After a laugh – my favourite transition point – I started, “Well, those were all the questions I had. Do you have anything else to add? Or any questions for me?”

Natalesi chuckled, “We can interview you now? You’ve had two with us now, so it’s about time!”

I smiled, “I’m sure we could set that up. Ha! No, but feel free to ask anything. Any thoughts on the second interview?”

Natalesi contemplated.

Lepasi nodded, “I liked it. That was good. It was interesting having Natalesi here. I didn’t think I would share everything I did, but it was good. I feel good. It’s nice to get it all out there.”

“Good, I’m glad. Natalesi, what did you think?” My heart warmed and my shoulders relaxed hearing Lepasi’s response.

“It was good. You know I’ll always tell the honest truth. I hadn’t thought about some of these things until we had our first interview, so it was nice to talk about them.”

Honest truth, telling it like it is.

“Great, do you have any feedback or questions for me?”

Natalesi chuckled, “I have a question. You’ve been asking us so much about marriage, but I still don’t see a ring. Are you looking for advice for yourself?”

Natalesi laughed. Lepasi smiled and watched me for a reaction.

I held a smile, laughing, a bit surprised by the very direct question/ joke.

“Ha! You’re right, still not married.” I felt like more information from me might be warranted, but given that my answer would be contentious, I held back.

Natalesi continued, “When you come back married, we can do this again, and you can tell us what you think about marriage, once you’ve walked the walk.”

Lepasi blushed and looked at me sympathetically. I wasn’t sure if I should have been offended or embarrassed. A complex wave of emotions tumbled in my belly. Part of me was happy she felt comfortable to take a dig at me, another part felt exposed, and the other part was scrambling for what to say.

I thought about the conversation we just had about marital rape, divorce, about gender roles in marriage, and also about the togetherness of family and the unspoken support of women in the village. Like a pile of hihi held between my hands, some slipping between my fingers to the ground, I couldn’t hold the complexity of marriage and my own identity at once.

I zoomed out thinking about Lepasi and Natalesi. I’m not the important piece of this. What is important is that the Natalesi and Lepasi keep talking and that they encourage others to talk about these things as well. Married or not, old or young, family or not.

“Better yet,” I smiled, “you can take me out of the picture entirely and talk like this with each other. With your cousins, your sisters when you visit them in Auckland, your kids, everybody. Keep telling that honest truth.”

Conclusion

In this section, I highlighted the challenge of GBV researchers, especially outsiders, in “telling it like it is.” In response to this challenge, I storied the family-tree mapping interviews in a dialogue between myself and two women who I had interviewed before. They are composites of the narratives I heard in the family-tree mapping interviews. I nuanced some of the major themes including the meaning of marriage, gender roles and expectations, domestic violence within marriages, sexual violence and marital rape, and family education. While this story is not as ideal as participating in the Talanoa first-hand, it does show how the family-tree mapping method, even in informal conversations with no family-tree physically laid out in front of you, can lead to rich conversations about GBV.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

My aunt and I were sitting at the table on the porch. My plate from lunch had no remaining scraps, and I noticed my brother left his half-eaten corn-on-the-cob on his plate. Having not had Sweet Corn Charlie's summer crop for a year myself, it felt like a disgrace to see any kernel wasted. I shook my head internally.

It was one of those strange moments where everyone got the same queue to flee the scene. My cousins went down by the water. My grandparents were sitting on the swing watching them. A few others retired inside for post-lunch naps. Seeing the heat of the summer Indiana sun, I was just happy to be in the shade.

I was visiting the U.S. for a couple weeks and catching up with family at the lake. This was the place where our family convened over the years, and each year I returned it felt like a time capsule. Something new would appear, and every time I felt unable to connect with the information of what seemed like a different era, a different world. I could only view it, put it back, and get back on a plane to wherever I set up home for that moment.

I picked up another piece of watermelon and picked out the seeds. My aunt was watching everyone play on the water. She sipped her lemonade. I finished another slice of watermelon. The cicadas in the trees and laughter from the water carried across the lake.

"Your thesis is really interesting," she said.

I nodded politely suddenly realising that we were alone on the porch. It was a rare occurrence to be alone anywhere in the small house. I set down my watermelon and wiped my face with a napkin.

"Thank you. Yeah, I'm really excited about it."

Earlier, my Mum asked me to talk about my thesis in front of the whole family. Telling them where Niue is, what it's like, and the whole spaces and family space thing. Everyone nodded and smiled. They asked about life in New Zealand and what I'd been up while I sat in the hot seat.

My aunt spoke slowly and carefully, "I have been thinking about that a lot, the trauma women experience and how to deal with that with faith and family…"

She continued, and I pivoted in my chair to face her and listened. I held her story in my hands like a fragile artifact from the time capsule. This story was from my family tree. My roots. My kin.

Sitting there on the porch with my aunt, that was possibly the longest conversation I had ever had with her. We talked for a couple hours, me mostly listening. I didn't realise what was happening at first. Then, it all became clear. I was unknowingly in a *family space*.

Something happens when GBV is no longer a phenomenon that occurs *out there*, to other people, but never us. When I spoke with my brother and sister about what happened, there was a somber yet rich conversation about gender, violence, and a bigger question about the responsibilities of different family members. In this space that was remade, we explored disclosure, accountability, education, and gossip in our own family.

Overview of the Research

In this research, I used the concept of spaces to consider the challenges and opportunities in addressing GBV in Niue. The lack of spaces to talk about GBV is what allow GBV to persist. With spaces to discuss GBV both at community and personal levels, there are spaces to craft solutions. These spaces are opportunities to look at the context that fosters GBV by allowing for critical reflection of disclosure, accountability, education, and talanoa/ gossip.

GBV is a product and manifestation of gender relations. Gender inequality is a situated reality, and this research suggests that the transgression of gender roles in Niue contributes to GBV incidents in interpersonal relationships. Community and government leaders are concerned about the coping abilities of boys and men in a changing economy and amidst changing gender roles and expectations. While a deeper analysis of men's violence is outside of the scope of this research, the spaces discussed here present numerous opportunities to begin to explore and address men in this conversation.

The theoretical framework that guided this study provides possibilities for an outsider to explore sensitive topics. The careful work of Pacific scholars and artists around relationship and empathy provided valuable guidance in how I position myself as an empathic apprentice to the Talanoa I was a part of. It also allowed for research tools from my own ontological experience. The result was a genealogical approach with a blended narrative-Talanoa method, the careful identification of narratives in analysis, and the construction of a fictional composite interview.

In the Hiapo approach, I first made the dyes by exploring the context with community and government leaders in Niue. We discussed the current spaces where people talk about GBV. Collaborators raised both formal and informal spaces in which GBV comes up including family, church, schools, police and justice, health, talanoa, advocacy and policy spaces outside of Niue, and social media. Each of these spaces is a space to shape and reshape narratives. Mapping them out gives a fuller picture of the system in which GBV needs to be addressed with all of its challenges and opportunities.

From these Talanoa, I brought attention to recurring narratives about GBV. The main recurring narratives included several threads of avoiding the topic including blurring the definition of what types of violence are acceptable, comparing Niue to other countries and ethnic groups, blending it with the consequences of substance abuse, and reflecting on how bad GBV used to be as opposed to facing the present. The idea that both men and women perpetuate relationship problems was used to obscure the gendered nature of GBV. What came through clearly was the role of masculinity and emasculation which is viewed to instigated GBV episodes. Further, it remains women's responsibility to resolve the situation by either staying and making peace with an abusive partner or by leaving. Highlighting these narratives and spaces allow us to consider the ways in which they are constantly being shaped and tweaked when repurposed in individuals' narrative meaning making. They are not immutable nor representative of everyone's understanding of GBV.

These spaces and recurring narratives around GBV left an opportunity to engage with transformative possibilities to eliminate GBV. The major themes and ideas that came out of these conversations were education, disclosure, accountability, and belonging. Education was the central theme, and almost every collaborator raised a need for greater awareness around GBV. This extended to the theme of disclosure in that many were not sure of the pathway for seeking help in a formal way. Accountability was contentious in that not all collaborators agreed on the best way to hold perpetrators accountable. Some argued for reconciliation and forgiveness in a more informal manner while others supported a stronger response from police and the courts. The theme that connected them all was that of human connection and belonging. Several collaborators spoke of the importance of cultivating the belongingness of each person to the community. As gender role transgressions were a theme in the narratives of GBV, the idea of belonging extended to the inclusion and safety of all regardless of how they express gender.

Then, I made the Hiapo in a series of individual Hiapo that were woven together in the family-tree mapping Talanoa. Beyond making space for talking about GBV indirectly and focusing on what happens within families, it can also be applied in a culturally-relevant and context-specific way. In Niue, the narrative-Talanoa approach prioritised the relationships between the myself and collaborators and while upholding key cultural values. As a non-Pacific researcher, there were certain elements that I could not fully exercise. However, the practice of empathic apprenticeship allowed me to position myself as a student focused on learning about collaborators' lived and felt experiences (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014).

Bringing the individual Hiapo together provided insights into how this family-tree mapping approach could be applied in Niue and other contexts as both a research and intervention tool. There are also lessons from my research in Niue including the therapeutic potential of interviews, safety and ethical concerns when using it, and other considerations when building relationships with collaborators. The

family-tree mapping approach can be effective in creating spaces both in research and interventions to talk about GBV that honour women's knowledge and authority while centering the family as context for disclosure, education, accountability, and talanoa.

Conclusion

While there are challenges to addressing GBV in Niue, the analysis of spaces with an emphasis on family spaces presents several opportunities for transformation. These spaces are opportunities to support one another when they disclose experiences with GBV, learn and educate each other about healthy relationships among genders, hold members of the community accountable for their actions in appropriate ways, and to critically consider how we respond and contribute to community discourse about GBV-related gossip and talanoa.

When I was in Niue, I heard many stories of harm and hurt that had not been shared before. Stories that some might have had suspicions about but did not ask. Stories from women who might not have seen the space, support, or need to share. I hold these stories close to my heart hoping that one day, both those who were harmed and those who caused harm will heal. Sometimes that does happen in silence, but other times we need space to breathe life into our experiences and to be heard by those who matter most to us. This is where the conversations must continue, beyond direct experiences and including bystanders to harm, and in many spaces, they are. For many collaborators, engaging with family around this topic was familiar. Examples of disclosure, education, accountability, and talanoa could all be found in their stories. Genealogies live through descendants, and families, chosen and biological, are spaces where we shape these stories together.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet Informant Interviews

ARTS

School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts
Human Sciences Building
Auckland, New Zealand
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

Development Studies Programme
Address: Human Sciences Building, 10 Symonds Street
Phone: +64 9 923 3486

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

(Informant Interview)

Project title: Gender-based Violence in Niue: Challenges and Opportunities in Assessing GBV in Small Pacific Islands
Name of Principal Investigator/Supervisor: Yvonne Underhill-Sem
Name of Student Researcher(s): Erin Thomas

Researcher introduction
I, Erin Thomas, am a student enrolled in the Master of Arts programme in Development Studies at the University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts. My supervisor is Associate Professor Yvonne Underhill-Sem.

Project description and invitation
You are invited to participate in this research project. The aim of this project is to better understand gender-based violence (GBV) in Niue. Examples of GBV include domestic and sexual violence as well as other behaviours employed primarily by men to control women and uphold their status in their relationships, communities, and societies. Little research has been done on this topic in Niue.

You were selected as a political, social, and/or cultural leader to discuss the institutions, practices, norms, and attitudes in Niue that both contribute to and prevent gender-based violence. This research will take place over the course of 4 weeks (18 October to 15 November) in Niue with the thesis being completed mid-2020. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and this invitation can be declined without giving a reason.

Project Procedures
You will take part in a one-on-one semi-structured interview that will take 60-90 minutes. Interviews will take place in a location convenient for you. Topics of discussion will remain professional in nature and will avoid direct experiences with violence.

The research has been funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs Field Research Awards. This research will provide a greater understanding of gender-based violence in Niue for community leaders to use in creating spaces to discuss and respond to gender-based violence.

Data storage/retention/destruction/future use
Audio-recording is optional. Even if you agree to be audio-recorded, you have the right to have the audio recording device turned off at any point. I will transcribe and anonymise the audio recordings. You may opt to review the transcript via email which you can select on the consent form. If you choose to review the transcript, you will have 2 weeks to return your edits. Data will be stored in digital format under password-protection for 6 years. After 6 years, it will be permanently deleted from that device.

This research will be used for my thesis. A brief report will be prepared to present the findings on a return trip in 2020. At minimum, the executive summary of this report will be translated to Vagahau Niue. You can opt to have a copy of the summary delivered to you by email on the Consent Form. A copy of the final thesis will also be stored in the Taoga Niue library collection. This research may also be used for journal publications, conference presentations, and a report for the Niue government.

Right to Withdraw from Participation
You have the right to withdraw from participation in the interview at any time without giving a reason. You have the right to withdraw your data from the research for 2 weeks after your interview.

Anonymity and Confidentiality
You are a well-known member of the community, so confidentiality with respect to your identity cannot be guaranteed. You can opt to not be named in the research outputs, but your role(s) have the potential to identify you.

If you disclose any information that suggests an individual is at risk of immediate danger, confidentiality will be breached only with the relevant details to ensure the individual's safety.

Contact Details and Approval Wording
If you require more information about the study, please contact:

Researcher
Erin Thomas
etho548@aucklanduni.ac.nz
+683 ___ (Niue)

Supervisor
Associate Professor Yvonne Underhill-Sem
y.underhill-sem@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 923 2311 (New Zealand)

Head of School, Social Sciences
Simon Holdaway
sj.holdaway@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 923 3947 (New Zealand)

Development Studies Department
+64 9 923 3486
y.underhill-sem@auckland.ac.nz (Discipline Convenor)

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

This research is supported by the Government of Niue. It has been approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 09-Oct-2019 for three years. Reference Number 023589

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FAMILY-TREE MAPPING

ARTS

School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts
Human Sciences Building
Auckland, New Zealand
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

Development Studies Programme
Address: Human Sciences Building, 10 Symonds Street
Phone: +64 9 923 3486

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

(Family Tree Mapping)

Project title: Gender-based Violence in Niue: Challenges and Opportunities in Assessing GBV in Small Pacific Islands
Name of Principal Investigator/Supervisor: Yvonne Underhill-Sem
Name of Student Researcher(s): Erin Thomas

Researcher introduction
I, Erin Thomas, am a student enrolled in the Master of Arts programme in Development Studies at the University of Auckland, Faculty of Arts. My supervisor is Associate Professor Yvonne Underhill-Sem.

Project description and invitation
You are invited to participate in this research project. The aim of this project is to better understand gender-based violence (GBV) in Niue. Examples of GBV include domestic and sexual violence as well as other behaviours employed primarily by men to control women and uphold their status in their relationships, communities, and societies. Little research has been done on this topic in Niue.

You were selected to discuss the institutions, practices, norms, and attitudes in Niue that both contribute to and prevent gender-based violence through your family tree. This research will take place over the course of 4 weeks (18 October to 15 November) in Niue with the thesis being completed mid-2020. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and this invitation can be declined without giving a reason.

Project Procedures
You will take part in 2 interviews of approximately 60 minutes scheduled within 2 weeks of each other. During these interviews, you will be asked about your family tree and about tensions related to gender-based violence in generations outside of your own. We will avoid conversations about any direct experiences you might have with violence.

You might experience embarrassment or mild social discomfort. You are invited to contact Counsellor, Charlene Tukiuha who offers general counselling and/or can start the referral process for your faith-based leader or other mental health services. Family tree mapping sessions will take place in a space with privacy where you feel comfortable. This could be your home or a public place with some privacy like a cafe or outdoor area where minimal interference can be assured.

The research has been funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs Field Research Awards. This research will provide a greater understanding of gender-based violence in Niue for community leaders to use in creating spaces to discuss and respond to gender-based violence.

Data storage/retention/destruction/future use
Audio-recording is optional. Even if you agree to be audio-recorded, you have the right to have the audio recording device turned off at any point. I will transcribe and anonymise the audio recordings. You may opt to review the transcript via email which you can select on the consent form. If you choose to review the transcript, you will have 2 weeks to return your edits. Data will be stored in digital format under password-protection for 6 years. After 6 years, it will be permanently deleted from that device.

The family trees from participants will also be distributed to you with copies for your family members if desired. These family trees will contain basic information about family members, basic relationships, and dates but no content on tensions or conflicts.

This research will be used for my thesis. A brief report will be prepared to present the findings on a return trip in 2020. At minimum, the executive summary of this report will be translated to Vagahau Niue. You can opt to have a copy of the summary delivered to you by email on the Consent Form. A copy of the final thesis will also be stored in the Taoga Niue library collection. This research may also be used for journal publications, conference presentations, and a report for the Niuean government.

Right to Withdraw from Participation
You have the right to withdraw from participation in the interviews at any time without giving a reason. This includes if you participate in only one interview. You are not obligated to participate in the second interview, and you do not have to provide a reason. Your involvement in this research is voluntary at all times. You also have the right to withdraw your data from the research for 2 weeks after your final interview.

Anonymity and Confidentiality
As Niue is a small, close-knit community, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. No participants will be named in any findings, and any identifiable information will be minimised.

If you disclose any information that suggests an individual is at risk of immediate danger, confidentiality will be breached only with the relevant details to ensure the individual's safety.

Contact Details and Approval Wording
If you require more information about the study, please contact:

Researcher
Erin Thomas
etho548@aucklanduni.ac.nz
+683 ___ (Niue)

Supervisor
Associate Professor Yvonne Underhill-Sem
y.underhill-sem@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 923 2311 (New Zealand)

Head of School, Social Sciences
Simon Holdaway
sj.holdaway@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 923 3947 (New Zealand)

Development Studies Department
+64 9 923 3486
y.underhill-sem@auckland.ac.nz (Discipline Convenor)

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

This research is supported by the Government of Niue. It has been approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 09-Oct-2019 for three years. Reference Number 023589

Appendix C: Consent Form

ARTS

School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts
Human Sciences Building
Auckland, New Zealand
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

Development Studies Programme
Address: Human Sciences Building, 10 Symonds Street
Phone: +64 9 923 3486

CONSENT FORM

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Gender-based Violence in Niue: Challenges and Opportunities in Assessing GBV in Small Pacific Islands
Name of Principal Investigator/Supervisor: Yvonne Underhill-Sem
Name of Student Researcher(s): Erin Thomas

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from this research at any time during the interview(s), and to withdraw any data traceable to me up until 2 weeks after my final interview.
- I agree / do not agree to be audio-recorded.
- I wish/ do not wish to review and edit the transcript of my interview(s), which can be emailed to me at this email: ____.

    - I understand that I will have 2 weeks after receiving my transcript to review and return edits via email.

- I understand that whilst all efforts will be made to protect my identity, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed.

- I wish/do not wish to receive a summary of findings, which can be emailed to me at this email: ____.

Name: ________________________

Signature: ________________________

Date: ___________

This research is supported by the Government of Niue. It has been approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 09-Oct-2019 for three years. Reference Number 023589

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Affleck, W. (2017). The Inappropriate Use of Risk-Benefit Analysis in the Risk Assessment of Experimental Trauma-Focused Research. *Accountability in Research*, *24*(7), 384–406. https://doi.org/10.1080/08989621.2017.1362557

Ah Siu-Maliko, M., Beres, M. A., Blyth, C., Boodoosingh, R., Patterson, T., & Tombs, D. (2019). *Church Responses to Gender-Based Violence Against Women in Samoa (Project Report)* (D. Tombs (Ed.)). New Zealand Institute for Pacific Research. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/9657

Akeli, S., & Pasene, S. (2011). Exploring 'the Rock': Material culture from Niue Island in Te Papa's Pacific Cultures collection. *Tuhinga*, *2*, 101–124. https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/3101

Barnett, J. (2008). The Effect of Aid on Capacity to Adapt to Climate Change: Insights from Niue. *Political Science*, *60*(1), 31–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/003231870806000104

Boesten, J., & Wilding, P. (2015). Transformative gender justice: Setting an agenda. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *51*, 75–80. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.11.001

Butler, J. (2008). The family diagram and genogram: Comparisons and contrasts. *American Journal of Family Therapy*, *36*(3), 169–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/01926180701291055

Calvert, I. (2004). *Niue: A Situation Analysis of Children, Women and Youth*. UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/pacificislands/Niue_Sitan_Report_Latest_pdf.pdf

Chagnon, N. (2018). It's a Problem of Culture (for Them): Orientalist Framing in News on Violence Against Women. *Race and Justice*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368718768374

Chapman, T. M. (1976). *The Decolonisation of Niue*. Victoria University Press and New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.

Connell, J. (2008). Niue: Embracing a Culture of Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(6), 1021–1040. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802211315

Crichton-Hill, Y. (2001). Challenging Ethnocentric Explanations of Domestic Violence. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, *2*(3), 203–214. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838001002003001

Davis, K., & Taylor, B. (2002). Voices from the margins Part 1: narrative accounts of indigenous family violence. *Contemporary Nurse : A Journal for the Australian Nursing Profession*, *14*(1), 66–75. https://doi.org/10.5172/conu.14.1.66

DeMaria, R. (2017). *Focused Genograms: Intergenerational Assessment of Individuals, Couples, and Families* (G. R. Weeks & M. L. C. Twist (Eds.); 2nd ed.). Routledge.

Doucet, A. (2018). Decolonizing Family Photographs: Ecological Imaginaries and Nonrepresentational Ethnographies. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *47*(6), 729–757. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241617744859

Doucet, A., & Mauthner, N. S. (2008). What can be known and how? Narrated subjects and the listening guide. *Qualitative Research*, *8*(3), 399–409. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106093636

Durrant, J. (2010). *Odes of a Restless Spirit: John Pule*. Art Asia Pacific. http://artasiapacific.com/Magazine/67/OdesOfARestlessSpiritJohnPule

Ellsberg, M., & Heise, L. (2005). *Researching Violence Against Women*. www.who.int/gender/en

Fa'avae, D., 'Otunuku, M., Robyns, R., & Siale, L. (2017). *School Related Gender Based Violence (SRGBV) A case study in Tonga*. http://repository.usp.ac.fj/10815/

Fa'avae, D., Jones, A., & Manu'atu, L. (2016). Talanoa'i 'a e talanoa - Talking about talanoa. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *12*(2), 138–150. https://doi.org/10.20507/AlterNative.2016.12.2.3

Farrelly, T., & Nabobo-Baba, U. (2014). Talanoa as empathic apprenticeship. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *55*(3), 319–330. https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12060

Fontes, L. A. (2004). Ethics in Violence Against Women Research: The Sensitive, the Dangerous, and the Overlooked. *Ethics & Behavior*, *14*(2), 141–174. http://doi.org/10.1207/s15327019eb1402_4

Freddie, A., & De Sylva, S. (2018). Disaster Resilience: A Sustainable Way for Niue. *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering*, *371*. https://doi.org/10.1088/1757-899X/371/1/012049

Fulu, E., Jewkes, R., Roselli, T., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2013). Prevalence of and factors associated with male perpetration of intimate partner violence: Findings from the UN multi-country cross-sectional study on men and violence in Asia and the Pacific. *The Lancet Global Health*, *1*(4), e208–e218. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(13)70074-3

Gardner, H. (2016). The Genealogy of the Genealogical Method: Discoveries, Disseminations and the Historiography of British Anthropology. *Oceania*, *86*(3), 294–319. https://doi.org/10.1002/ocea.5144

Heard, E., Fitzgerald, L., Va'ai, S., Collins, F., & Mutch, A. (2019). Suiga/Change: An Ethnodrama Exploring Challenges in Intimate Relationships With Young People in Samoa. *Violence Against Women*, *25*(3), 297–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218778388

Heard, E., Fitzgerald, L., Va'ai, S., Collins, F., Whittaker, M., & Mutch, A. (2019). 'In the Islands people don't really talk about this stuff, so you go through life on your own': An arts-based study exploring intimate relationships with young people in Samoa. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, *21*(5), 526–542. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2018.1492021

Heard, E., Fitzgerald, L., Whittaker, M., Va'ai, S., & Mutch, A. (2018). Exploring Intimate Partner Violence in Polynesia: A Scoping Review. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838018795504

Jackson, M. (2008). Restoring the nation, removing the constancy of terror. *Traditional Knowledge Conference*. http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/content/restoring-nation-removing-constancy-terror

Jansen, H., Johansson-Fua, S., Hafoka-Blake, B., & 'Ilolahia, G. R. (2012). *National study of domestic violence against women in Tonga 2009: Nofo 'a Kainga*. Ma'a Fafine mo e Famili. https://pacific.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/tonga-vaw-report-final-2012.pdf

Kalauni, R., Pocock, F., Otto, P., O'Halloran, T., Lafu, B., Drysdale, L., Asekona, H., Peika, K., Otto, P., & Viliko, M. (2010). Tau Kaleveleve Ne Tauhele Aki E Mauaga He Vagahau Mo E Aga Fakamotu Niue. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *6*(2), 163–170. https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011000600208

Kauli, J., & Thomas, V. (2019). Media Practice and Theatre in Conversation : Co- Creating Narratives for Positive Social Change. *ArtsPraxis*, *5*(2), 225–242. https://eprints.qut.edu.au/128183/

Kim, M. (2002). *Innovative Strategies to Address Domestic Violence in Asian and Pacific Islander Communities: Examining Themes, Models and Interventions*. www.apiahf.org/apidvinstitute

Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (2002). *World report on violence and health*. World Health Organization. https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/42495/9241545615_eng.pdf

Malungahu, G., & Nosa, V. (2016). *Family Violence Initiatives and Pacific Men: a Literature Review*. University of Auckland.

Manderson, L. (2001). Fighting Violence Against Women. *Development*, *44*, 6–8. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development.1110253

Mauthner, N. S. (2017). The Listening Guide Feminist Method of Narrative Analysis: Towards a Posthumanist Performative (Re)configuration. In J. O. Woodiwiss, K. Smith, & K. Lockwood (Eds.), *Feminist Narrative Research: Opportunities and Challenges* (p. 65). http://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-48568-7

McNamara, K. E., Lisimoni-Togahai, B., & Smith, R. (2015). “Our kids don’t want to eat taro anymore”: Unravelling the challenges of contemporary sociocultural change in Niue. *Journal of New Zealand and Pacific Studies*, *3*(2), 167–182. https://doi.org/10.1386/nzps.3.2.167_1

Mikaere, A. (2011). *Colonising myths - Maori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro*. Huia Publishers.

Mikaere, A. (2019). Māori Women Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998: Vol. I* (pp. 137–154). Te Kotahi Research Institute. https://leoniepihama.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/mana-wahine-volume-1.pdf (Original work published 1994).

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). Under Western Eyes: Gender Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. In *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity.* (pp. 17–42). Duke University Press. https://www.dukeupress.edu/feminism-without-borders

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2013). Towards an Australian Indigenous Women’s Standpoint Theory: A Methodological Tool. *Australian Feminist Studies*, *28*(78), 331–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2013.876664

Nabobo-Baba, U. (2008). Decolonising Framings in Pacific Research: Indigenous Fijian Vanua Research Framework. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *4*(2), 141–154. https://doi.org/10.1177/117718010800400210

Naepi, S. (2019a). *Masi methodology: centring Pacific women’s voices in research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180119876729

Naepi, S. (2019b). Pacific Research Methodologies. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.566

Nazneen, S., Hickey, S., & Sifaki, E. (Eds.). (2019). *Negotiating Gender Equity in the Global South: The Politics of Domestic Violence Policy*. Routledge.

Newman, E., & Kaloupek, D. (2009). Overview of Research Addressing Ethical Dimensions of Participation in Traumatic Stress Studies: Autonomy and Beneficence. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *22*(6), 595–602. http://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20465

Nguyen, H. T. (2019). Gendered Vulnerabilities in Times of Natural Disasters: Male-to-Female Violence in the Philippines in the Aftermath of Super Typhoon Haiyan. *Violence Against Women*, *25*(4), 421–440. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218790701

Nosa, V. (2009). The Impact of Transnationalism on Niue. In H. Lee & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and transnationalism: Pacific perspectives* (pp. 179–190). ANU E Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h8c7

O'Brien, G., & Kearns, R. (2016). By Road: Reflections on Niue's coral highway, August 2015. *The Journal of New Zealand Studies*, *23*(23), 95–106. https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.v0i23.3991

Pasisi, J. L. (2020). *Kitaga Mo Fakamahani E Hikihikiaga Matagi He Tau Fifine Niue: Tau Puhala He Tau Hiapo Niue Women's Perspectives and Experiences of Climate Change: A Hiapo Approach* [Doctoral Thesis, University of Waikato].

Patterson, S. E. (2018). *Beyond the Dusky Maiden: Pasifika Women's Experiences Working in Higher Education* [Doctoral Thesis, University of British Columbia].

Percival, T., Robati-Mani, R., Powell, E., Kingi, P., Peteru, M. C., Hope, L.-T., Finau, 'Eseta, Selu, E., & Rankine, J. (2010). *Pacific pathways to the prevention of sexual violence*. School of Population Health University of Auckland. http://www.mpp.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Pacific-PPSV-full-online-version.pdf

Pihama, L. (2019). Mana wahine theory: Creating space for Māori women's theories. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999-2019: Vol. II* (pp. 105–109). Te Kotahi Research Institute. https://leoniepihama.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/mana-wahine-volume-1.pdf (Original work published 2005).

Pio, E., & Singh, S. (2016). Vulnerability and resilience: critical reflexivity in gendered violence research. *Third World Quarterly*, *37*(2), 227–244. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1089166

Platt, L. F., & Skowron, E. A. (2013). The Family Genogram Interview: Reliability and Validity of a New Interview Protocol. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *21*(1), 35–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480712456817

Pule, J. P. (1992). *The Shark that Ate the Sun: Ko e Māgo ne Kai e Lā*. Penguin Books.

Pule, J., & Thomas, N. (2005). *Hiapo: Past and Present in Niuean Barkcloth*. University of Otago Press.

Rankine, J., Percival, T., Finau, E., Hope, L.-T., Kingi, P., Peteru, M. C., Powell, E., Robati-Mani, R., & Selu, E. (2015). Pacific Peoples, Violence, and the Power and Control Wheel. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515596148

Ravulo, J., Mafile'o, T., Yeates, D. B., Ravulo, J., Mafile'o, T., & Yeates, D. B. (2019). Introduction to Pacific social work: Places, peoples, perspectives and practices. In J. Ravulo, T. Mafile'o, & D. B. Yeates (Eds.), *Pacific Social Work: Navigating Practice, Policy and Research* (1st ed., pp. 3–10). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315144252-1

Rhodes, C., & Brown, A. D. (2005). Writing responsibly: Narrative fiction and organization studies. *Organization*, *12*(4), 467–491. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508405052757

Samu, L. J. V., Moewaka Barnes, H., Asiasiga, L., & McCreanor, T. (2019). "We are not privileged enough to have that foundation of language": Pasifika young adults share their deep concerns about the decline of their ancestral/heritage languages in Aotearoa New Zealand. *AlterNative*, *15*(2), 131–139. https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180119835228

Sanga, K., & Reynolds, M. (2018). Melanesian tok stori in leadership development: Ontological and relational implications for donor-funded programmes in the Western Pacific. *International Education Journal*, *17*(4), 11–26. https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/IEJ/article/view/12968

Santamaria, A., García, D., Hernández, F., & Pardo, A. (2019). Kaleidoscopes of violence against indigenous women (VAIW) in Colombia: the experiences of Pan-Amazonian women. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1518313

Scott, D. (1993). *Would a Good Man Die?* Hodder and Stoughton Ltd.

Short, J., Cram, F., Roguski, M., Smith, R., & Koziol-McLain, J. (2019). Thinking differently: Re-framing family violence responsiveness in the mental health and addictions health care context. *International Journal of Mental Health Nursing*, *28*(5), 1206–1216. https://doi.org/10.1111/inm.12641

Simmonds, N. (2011). Mana wahine: Decolonising politics. *Women's Studies Journal*, *25*(2), 205–216. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-60645-7_14

Simmonds, N. (2019). Never-ending Beginnings: The Circularity of Mana Wahine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999-2019* (pp. 155–164). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Siu-Maliko, M. A. (2019). *Tatala le Ta'ui a le Atua Rolling Out the Fine Mat of Scripture*.

Smith, L. T. (2019). Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998* (pp. 39–52). Te Kotahi Research Institute. (Original work published 1992).

Smith, S. A. (2019). Gender, Relationships and Sexual Violence in the Lives of Women from Chuuk, Micronesia. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma*, *28*(2), 146–165. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2018.1494236

Somers, M. R. (1994). The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach. *Theory and Society*, *23*, 605–649. https://doi.org/10.23938/assn.0493

SPC. (2006). *The Samoa Family Health and Safety Study*. UNFPA, Government of Samoa. https://pacific.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/SamoaFamilyHealthandSafetyStudy.pdf

SPC. (2009). *Tuvalu Demographic and Health Survey 2007*. Macro International.

SPC. (2015). *Stocktake of the Gender Mainstreaming Capacity of Pacific Island Governments: Niue*. https://pacificwomen.org/resources/stocktake-of-gender-mainstreaming-in-niue/

Sperlich, W. B., Ioane, S., & Funaki, F. M. (Eds.). (1997). *Tohi Vagahau Niue: Niue Language Dictionary*. University of Hawaii Press.

Stanley, L. (1994). The Knowing Because Experiencing Subject. In K. Lennon & M. Whitford (Eds.), *Knowing the Difference: Feminist Perspectives in Epistemology* (Issue October, pp. 132–183). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203216125

Stanley, L., & Wise, S. (1993). *Breaking out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology* (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.2307/3340731

Statistics New Zealand. (2018). *2018 Census Data*. NZ.Stat [Data File]. http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/

Statistics Niue. (2017). *2017 Niue Household and Population Census Provisional Results*.

Suaalii-Sauni, T., & Fulu-Aiolupotea, S. M. (2014). Decolonising Pacific research, building Pacific research communities and developing Pacific research tools: The case of the talanoa and the faafaletui in Samoa. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *55*(3), 331–344. https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12061

Sumner, C., & Lister, L. (2017). *Balancing the Scales: Improving Fijian Women's Access to Justice*. Fiji Women's Rights Movement. http://www.fwrm.org.fj/publications/research-analysis/access-to-justice

Talagi, M. (2013). *Politics, Propositions and Perspectives: Niue and Nationhood*. Solomua Press.

Talagi, S. (2019). Niue. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *31*(1), 211–219. https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2019.0015

Tavelia, M. (2012). Koe Fakatupuolamoui he tau Magafaoa Niue: A Niuean Conceptual Framework for addressing family violence. In *Guidelines on Pacific Health Research Health Research Council of New Zealand*. Ministry of Social Development. http://www.pasefikaproud.co.nz/assets/Resources-for-download/PasefikaProudResource-Nga-Vaka-o-Kaiga-Tapu-Pacific-Framework-Niuean.pdf

Te Marae Ora/Ministry of Health Cook Islands. (2014). *Te Ata O Te Ngakau The Cook Islands Family Health and Safety Study*. UNFPA. https://asiapacific.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Cook_Islands_family_health_safety_survey_report_2014_0.pdf

Te Punga Sommerville, A. (2012). *Once were Pacific: Māori connections to Oceania*. University of Minnesota Press.

Tengan, T. K. (2002). (En) gendering Colonialism: Masculinities in Hawai'i and Aotearoa. *Cultural Values*, *6*(3), 239–256. https://doi.org/10.1080/136251702200000719

Thaman, K. H. (2003). Culture, teaching and learning in Oceania. In *Educational ideas from Oceania* (pp. 3–12). University of the South Pacific.

Thode-Arora, H. (2009). *Weavers of Men and Women: Niuean Weaving and its Social Implications*. Reimer.

Thomas, E. (2017). *Assessing Gender-based Violence in Niue*. International Center for Advocates Against Discrimination. https://icaad.ngo/womens-rights/promote-access-to-justice/combating-vaw-in-pics-reports/assessing-gender-based-violence-niue/

Thomas, V., Kauli, J., & Borrey, A. (2018). Harnessing community-led innovations: the role of participatory media in addressing gender-based violence. *Development in Practice*, *28*(3), 345–357. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2018.1430748

Tolmie, J., Wilson, D., & Smith, R. (2017). New Zealand. In M. Dawson (Ed.), *Domestic Homicides and*

Death Reviews: An International Perspective (pp. 159–198). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56276-0

Tukuitonga, C. (2018). Interview with DR Colin Tukuitonga: From crisis to action in Pacific communities. *Public Health Research and Practice*, *28*(4), 1–3. https://doi.org/10.17061/phrp2841827

Tunufa'i, L. (2016). Pacific Research: Rethinking the Talanoa "Methodology." *New Zealand Sociology*, *31*(7), 227–240. https://search-informit-com-au.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/documentSummary;dn=561428501206421;res=IELNZC

UN Women. (2011). *Ending Violence Against Women and Girls Evidence, Data and Knowledge in Pacific Island Countries*. http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field office eseasia/docs/publications/2011/ending violence against women and girls.pdf?la=en

UNICEF. (2015). *Harmful Connections : Examining the relationship between violence against women and violence against children in the South Pacific*. https://violenceagainstchildren.un.org/sites/violenceagainstchildren.un.org/files/documents/political_declarations/east_asia_and_pacific/harmful_connections.pdf

Vaioleti, T. (2006). Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research. *Waikato Journal of Education*, *12*, 21–34. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Vaioleti, T. (2013). Talanoa: Differentiating the Talanoa Research Methodology from phenomenology, narrative, Kaupapa Maori and feminist methodologies. *Te Reo*, *56/57*, 191. https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=674853083445219;res=IELHSS

Walby, S., Towers, J., & Francis, B. (2014). Mainstreaming domestic and gender-based violence into sociology and the criminology of violence. *The Sociological Review*, *62*(S2), 187–214. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12198

Weatherall, R. (2019). Even when those struggles are not our own: Storytelling and solidarity in a feminist social justice organization. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *May*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12386

WHO. (2014). *Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence Against Women*. United Nations. https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/docs/guidelines_statistics_vaw.pdf

Wickliffe, C.-A. (2020). *About Cora-Allan Wickliffe*. http://www.cora-allan.co.nz/about.html

Wilson, C. (2013). *'That's My Stuff': Pasifika Literature and Pasifika Identity* [Doctoral Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington]. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41339007.pdf

Wilson, D. (2017). Indigenous Populations and the Domestic Violence Death Review Process. In M. Dawson (Ed.), *Domestic Homicides and Death Reviews: An International Perspective* (pp. 287–316). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56276-0

Wilson, D., Mikahere-Hall, A., Jackson, D., Cootes, K., & Sherwood, J. (2019). Aroha and Manaakitanga—That's What It Is About: Indigenous Women, "Love," and Interpersonal Violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519872298

Woodward-Hanna, R. (2014). A Patchwork of Participation: Wan Smolbag Theatre's 'Big Plays' in Vanuatu. *Australasian Drama Studies*, *64*(April), 223–242. https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=257536112365447;res=IELHSS;type=pdf

Zapata-Sepúlveda, P., Jara-Labarthé, V., & Espinoza-Verdejo, A. (2014). It All Depends on the Beholder: Decolonizing the Concept of Gender-Based Violence Against Aymara Women in Northern Chile. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *20*(7), 928–933. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414537219