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The Effects of Social Policy Upon the Tongan Kainga.

**A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Masters of Philosophy
in Social Policy at Massey University**

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Abstract

In New Zealand social policies are continually developed and lived out of a democratic society. Each day the New Zealand airport is busy with a growing number of foreign migrants arriving into New Zealand prepared to start a new life. Many of these migrants are Pacific Islanders who have left their beautiful, unpolluted seaside island and have come to New Zealand with a dream to seek opportunities and resources available to ensure a better quality of life for themselves and their families. Tongan migrants are amongst the many Pacific Islanders who arrive into New Zealand with this dream. This thesis describes the fononga (journey) of Tongan-born parents to New Zealand in the 1970s and their settlement with the birth of their first generation New Zealand-born Tongan children and the impacts of social policies effecting the construction of the Tongan *kainga* (family).

As a practitioner (social worker) and an “inside researcher” within my own Tongan community I know and understand that the *kainga* (family) is who you identify with and how others identify you. For the purpose of this research, four families; seven individual parents (3 sets of a husband and wife group and one father) and twelve young individuals defined as youth aged between 15-25 years following consent participated in this research. I will present subjectively the conflicting views found as a result of intense qualitative interviewing of Tongan-born parents and their New Zealand-born children (youth) in the same family unit.

This research is inclusive of a socio-historical overview of Tongan culture from the creation myth to the introduction of Modern Tonga, the monarchy, the migration of the Tongan-born parents to New Zealand and an illustration of the conflicting worlds that exist between the New Zealand born youth and their Tongan-born parents. This research will look at how social policy development is vital to minimising the gap between the two conflicting worlds.

Acknowledgements

As I sit and begin to list the names of specific individuals who have contributed in some way towards ensuring the completion of this thesis, I reflect back to when I was 23 years old and decided to travel back to Tongatapu with the purpose of acculturating my New Zealand born self into the faka-Tonga (the Tongan) way of life. My 'fononga' (journey) to really discover who I am as a young Tongan woman were plans towards achieving something that was purely academic and has now become passionately personal in my heart. Some years later, I am pleased to say I have finally arrived at the end of my 'fononga' in this part of the study but continue to go about "my business" with the passion that the fononga of this thesis has ignited in my community.

First and foremost I give all praise and glory to God, I acknowledge the relationship I have with my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the strength he continually brings to me as each day He greets me with His joy in the morning. I know that what I have achieved in my life is because of you my Lord. I thank you for teaching me patience, perseverance, endurance and a commitment to finishing this race. This thesis is for your glory and your glory alone Lord.

To my kainga – I would like to first acknowledge my namesake, my beautiful grandmother Grandma Emeline Frances Afeaki. Thank you for the sacrifices and the foresight that you and Grandpa Sefo had to come to New Zealand in 1966 to lay the foundations for your children (all twelve of them), your grandchildren and generations to follow so that we would receive the many opportunities and create a better quality of life that you both dreamed of. I thank you for your unconditional love towards our entire kainga both here in New Zealand and in Tonga.

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unconditional love and support regardless of what decisions I have made and I love you both so much, even though at times I always think I'm fia'poto and I know everything – it has always been your constant showering of love, respect, humility and support that has allowed me to be who I truly am – your daughter. To my beautiful siblings, Rachel – what can say, “I want to be just like you!” and Percival – ‘wow, I’ve finally finished it!! You have both been my towers of strength by keeping me grounded and reminding me about ‘keeping things real’ throughout this ‘fononga’. Finally, thank you to my little cousin Edith who is more like my little sister, I hope you enjoy reading about our history. The Lord has blessed me greatly with an awesome ‘kainga’.

I would like to bless the founding members of the first NZ born Tongan youth group from St Therese, Mangere - Tongans In Christ (TIC). You all rock!!! I want to dedicate this publication to you, because we all share the same journey of discovery towards cultural identity as young Tongans in New Zealand. Please never forget why we started our youth group, to be a voice – but to first love the lord, and to love our neighbour. As a Tongan in Christ for life, it is the love for our Lord, our parents and each other as a church ‘kainga’ that will always remain. Bless you!!

One of the advantages of working in the community is having a collective team to contribute to and to receive from. A huge thank you to the team at Affirming Women (AW) especially to those (and you know who you are) who worked late and in some cases all night to ensure the completion of this thesis. Thank you Siautu Alefaio, Moe Sapolu, Taua Amosa, Stephen Wolfgramm (who has been there right from the beginning!!!) Matele Misa, Owen Aerenga, Stan Afeaki, Jeff Matai, Mareko Sagala, Carey Thomas, Renee Haitoua, Tia Suemai, Lesi Misa, Fatima Vaaga, Faye Ioane-Hunt, Wilson Marsh, Kali Lolohea, Daisy Halafihi, Matt Epati, Moana Burling, Matangi Aerenga, Vilette Haitoua, Leah Burson, Sala and Papa Tuilaepa. Thank you Fofola Consultancy - Luana Siaso and the Community Storehouse Trust; Allan Va'a, Willie Maea, Gina Siaso and Sarah Mcrobie and the Sanctuary Church; Pastor Luke and Marieta Kaa-Morgan. I would also like to acknowledge the support of my dearest friends Yvonne Walsh, Grace and

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To my research advisor supervisor Professor Mike O'Brien and the Massey University, Albany. What a headache I must have given you especially when requesting for further extensions and insisting on cultural protocols to keep up with my life off campus, thank you for your understanding!

Finally, to the four families who participated and contributed to the thesis, bless you for opening up your homes and your hearts to me. I am still humbled at your many pearls of wisdom shared without this information, this research would not exist. I am truly grateful. It is your stories, your dreams that will give further hope to our Tongan people – for both Tongan born parents and their New Zealand-born Tongan generations to follow.

Malo 'Aupito.

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INTRODUCTION: Introduction, Methodology Rationale and Thesis Outline

Introduction

Many service practitioners today have a fair understanding that a Pacific Island person cannot be separated from his or her family. The wellbeing of an individual is contingent on their integration with their family and community as a whole. Amongst the social service arena this has been lectured, policy implemented and practiced to support a best practice approach for working with Pacific people.

The theory and practice of working 'culturally appropriately' are two very distinct concepts which need to be examined when understanding the dynamics of the one family unit. The first objective of this thesis is to determine subjectively how 'cultural, historical' social policy adds to the dynamics of a migrant (ethnic) culture group - particularly through the impact on a settler's family.

Within the Tongan community the kainga (family) is whom you identify and belong with and how others identify you. The concept of not being separate from your family is not only in search of cultural identification but spiritual belonging. The wellbeing of a Tongan person and his or her family should be the objective for any practitioner working with a Tongan. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of the Tongan family should be considered a priority and instrumental to minimising risk when working with Tongan families seeking help.

New Zealand policies are developed and lived out of a democratic society. A New Zealand-born Tongan child will learn this within the educational system and justifiably through a dominant euro-centric system in our multi-cultural society. This is completely opposite to that of an aristocratic system in Tonga where Tongan-born parents have been birthed and raised within a predominantly mono-cultural system.

The second objective of this thesis is to provide an understanding and an interpretation, of why conflict exist for New Zealand-born Tongan youth adhering to both values of the faka-Tonga (the Tongan way) and the effects of social policy upon the Tongan family in New Zealand.

When examining the impact of the New Zealand lifestyle, the thesis will seek to identify the environmental factors influencing the construction of the family - identity, and how such factors affect the wellbeing of a family unit, the fa'ahinga (extended family) and the ha'a (village or wider-community). Discuss the contradictory lifestyle their Tongan-born parents are more familiar with – looking further into the faka' tonga way of life as a Tongan-born person living in New Zealand.

By investigating through a collaborative approach- qualitative interviewing, this thesis will hope to provide social practitioners working with Tongan families in New Zealand an avenue to take systematic action to resolve specific social problems possibly caused by policy effects. A collaborative approach towards social change would not only enable Tongan families and communities to receive better provision of services but, will also provide social service practitioners and others who are interested in Pacific service more competency in working amongst the ethnic specific Tongan community.

This research contributes to existing literature regarding Tongan migration to New Zealand introducing new knowledge regarding the effects of Tongan culture social policy on the lives of young New Zealand born Tongans.

The third and final objective of this thesis is to further contribute to develop existing or new theory and knowledge on the identity of New Zealand-born Tongan young people and how they fit in within the context of their own community as Tongan People in New Zealand.

Faka 'apa'apa (Respect).

Given the nature of this type of research the process is far more important than the outcome. The process must seek to be respectful; to enable beneficial and maybe even educational experiences to be had by the Tongan families involved in such a project, leading them one small step further towards self-determination or in this case family-determination. My effort therefore is to create a place for New Zealand-born Tongan families to be empowered by the use of a Tongan methodology process.

A model of kinship reciprocity, which emphasises the extended family, would best support this research. This involves important ideas of generosity, cooperation, reciprocity, mutual assistance, kinship and village identity, which is all highly valued in the Tongan society. In this context it can be very broadly defined as an activity undertaken to increase knowledge of topics and issues relevant to Tongan people. To accomplish this task it is relevant for a Tongan researcher to be using an appropriate cultural framework.

The research being one of kainga identification and the emphasis of kainga on our Tongan culture helped me identify the use of an appropriate model as a method of research and accountability. The cultural practices of the micro-kainga are reflective of the larger practice in Tongan society.

The systems and values of the Tongan kainga have remained the same since the beginning of time; rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brothers regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank.¹

Therefore, deliberate first point of contact was made with HRH Princess Siu'ilikutapu, the oldest granddaughter of the late Queen Salote and the niece of the current King of Tonga HRH King Taufa'ahau IV. HRH Princess Siu'ilikutapu, who was residing in New Zealand during the initial phases of this research, was identified as the first point of contact for approval of this research. An outline was given to HRH Princess Siu'ilikutapu regarding the proposed field of study for Tongan people and also acknowledging her respected position to the Tongan people requesting first her approval. As a result of this initial meeting HRH Princess Siu'ilikutapu signed a document allowing her consent for the research to be conducted. (*appendices 1*).

Exploring how the Tongan kainga (family identity) is impacted by New Zealand social policy, signifies the dominant culture which is transported into the 'api (home) through

¹(Consent in Child and Youth Health(1998):7)
Gifford(1929):17

New Zealand- born (NZ-born) children of Tongan-born (T-born) parents. I hope the writings will allow for the New Zealand–born Tongans to explore issues of ethnic identity.

For purpose and clarity I have divided the information gathered into five parts, and included in this introduction a synopsis of the thesis. In order to create a site for Tongan youth to constitute a sense of belonging there needs to be a socio-historical overview of the Tongan dynasties, the evolution of Tonga through policies and the migration of the Tongan parents to New Zealand.

Such history of Tongan culture provides an understanding of the process in which New Zealand-born Tongans have been positioned. Interviews from New Zealand-born Tongan youth and Tongan-born parents residing in Auckland will reveal concerns from each of their life experiences, which are invaluable insights into dual identity journeys, struggles, sacrifices and reasoning behind the construction of each Tongan family's unique ethnic identity.

Part One: Locating the Tongan Parent: Faka-Tonga.

Chapter 1 Is a socio-historical overview of Tongan culture from the creation myth of Tonga to the emergence of the Tui Tonga dynasty; its customary and codified laws and the first King Tupou I.

Chapter 2 Introduces Modern Tonga, the 1875 Constitution and an introduction to Tongan Politics today. The reign of King Tupou II, Queen Salote III and King Tupou IV, affirms the lifestyle of the Tongan people in Tonga during these centuries, providing an understanding of the culture that New Zealand-born Tongan have inherited.

Part Two: Chapter 3 Methodology.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Part Three: Transition- Tongan Settlement in New Zealand.

Chapter 4 Illustrates the migration from Tonga to Aotearoa and the Labour demands of a country, the dawn raids period, the introduction to New Zealand Social policy and the population of the Tongan people in New Zealand. The presentation of the interviews with the Tongan-born parent, their stories of the obstacles they had to overcome, the sacrifices made and reasons for migrating to New Zealand and their way of child rearing.

Chapter 5 Projects the voices of the ethnic group of New Zealand-born Tongan youth. It will allow a group of New Zealand-born Tongan youth residing in the Auckland area to share from their life experiences. These life experiences will provide valuable insights into their identity journeys, struggles and sacrifices and will also help to construct their ethnic identity.

Part Four: New Zealand-born Youth.

Chapter 6 Discusses the theoretical conceptualisation of the policy systems affecting the New Zealand-born Tonga youth. A comparative analysis of New Zealand and its democratic society with that of the traditional Tongan aristocrat beliefs is provided, looking at the concept of the kainga (family) as an institution and the continuing concern for the socio-economic status of Tongan People in New Zealand.

Part Five: Conclusion

Chapter 7 Concludes the thesis and identifies achieved objectives. The implications of this thesis for future research will be looked at discussing the limitations experienced throughout the research conducted.

Part One: Locating the Tongan Parent: Faka-Tonga

Chapter 1. THE CREATION MYTH, TU'I TONGA DYNASTY AND CODIFIED LAWS

Introduction

To understand the origins of New Zealand-born Tongan youth and our unique culture today, it is necessary to travel back in time to the origins of the forefathers within the Kingdom of Tonga. It is from Tonga's creation myth, the first Tongan dynasties and the first King that one is introduced to the beginnings of social policy in Tonga. It is these customary and codified laws of our past that contribute to our present.

As the precepts of the past are discovered and understood, it becomes possible to construct and establish the historical and social contexts of New Zealand-born Tongan youth and their parents.

The Creation Myth

There is no myth of migration from a distant land; the first inhabitants of Tonga are said to be man who came from the sky and woman who came from the underworld. The sky was the home of the Tangaloa gods and the underworld the home of the Maui gods and woman. One of the five Tangaloa gods grew tired of looking down from the sky and seeing nothing so he poured chips and scraps from his workshop into the region of the earth and created the island of 'Eua. Later, Tangaloa Tufunga threw down more chips creating the islands Kao and Tofua. Another Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo transformed himself into a plover and spied the sea to find a reef below the water.

Then some Maui came from the underworld, they went to manuka where they found Tonga fusifonua, Tonga the land fisher, a mythical being with a special fish hook to fish lands up out of the sea. One Maui tricked Tonga into giving them the hook, and promised Tonga that if he were to fish land from the sea he would name the first land Tonga, in remembrance of him. He exerted all his strength and succeeded in hauling the line in, naming the piece of land

Tongatapu. Maui continued fishing with this wonderful hook and so pulled up from the deep the rest of the islands of Tonga.¹ At the same time the reef from under the sea slowly rose out of the sea, this island was called 'Ata.

Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo began to visit Ata in the form of the plover and dropped a seed from his beak upon the island. On his next visit he found that the seed had grown into a creeper that almost covered the whole island. A few days later Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo returned to find that the root had rotted and a fat, juicy worm was formed. Again he pecked the worm and it split in two. From the top section a man was formed who was called Ko Hai (Who is it)? And the other was called Ko Au (It is I). Then the plover felt a morsel left on his beak and he shook it off and it turned into the third man, his name was Momo, (fragments). Ko Hai, Ko Au and Momo were the first men in Tonga.²

These three men lived on 'Ata, but they had no woman. Maui who had continued busying himself pulling up more islands from the sea; Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niua and the other islands of Samoa, also promised to return to Pulu (underworld) and bring wives for the men. They became the ancestors of the Tongan people.

On an island near Tonga, there was a giant Toa tree that one of the Lords of heaven; Tangaloa 'Eitumatup'ua, used to climb down to the earth. On one of the islands there was a chief Seketoa who had a beautiful daughter, 'Ilaheva. Seketoa did not want his daughter to marry a man from Niua or Samoa, so he told some of his people to take her in a canoe on a voyage to the south to find a suitable husband. The canoe traveled the Pacific Ocean until it reached the outskirts of a village in the eastern side of Tongatapu known as Popua. 'Ilaheva was afraid of her new home and hid in the bush from the people of Popua. Everyday when she thought no one was looking she would travel out to the reef to collect shellfish. The village people would glimpse at her from time to time and so they named her Va'epopua (the fringe of Popua).

¹ Rutherford (1977b): 1.

The god of Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a watched her from the sky, so he climbed down the great Toa tree, engaged her in conversation, wooed her, making love to her. They loved each other dearly but as he had a wife and other sons in the sky, his visits grew less frequent and after a while they eventually ceased.

Va'epopua though was pregnant and she gave birth to a son, she named him 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu grew up he wanted to know whom his father was so his mother told him about his father who lived in the sky. 'Aho'eitu wanted to visit him, so his mother, rubbed him with sweet smelling oils, combed his hair, draped tapa around his waist, and showed him the Toa tree which his father, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, had used to descend to earth. He climbed up and his father greeted him with joy and prepared food for him.

Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a had other, older sons with a sky mother. These sons were living in the sky with him and he sent 'Aho'eitu out unaccompanied to see them. They were jealous of 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty and his skill. While he played with them, his heavenly brothers murdered him and ate him. When Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a called for Aho'eitu and could not find him, he summoned his sons accusing them of harming him. However, they said they were innocent, but the father did not believe them. He ordered a large wooden kava bowl to be brought, and made them vomit into it. The kava bowl was filled with flesh and blood, then the brothers confessed and brought the head and the bones of Aho'eitu and placed them into the kava bowl. A little water was poured into the bowl and then the bowl was covered with leaves of nonu (*Morinda Citrifolia* which is still used for healing). Tangaloa 'Eitu'matupu'a then ordered his sons to wait and guard the kava bowl. When the next day dawned there was a movement in the kava bowl and 'Aho'eitu rose from it, whole and unmarked.

The father was pleased with 'Aho'eitu's recovery and summoned him and his five older brothers to come before him. As punishment for their act Tangaloa

² Ibid: 2

'Eitumatupu'a told them that they and their heirs would serve 'Aho'eitu and his heirs forever.³ He told them that 'Aho'eitu would go down to Tonga and would become the first Tu'i Tonga, ruling over all the land while his half brothers were to become his attendants on earth.

Tu'i Tonga Dynasty

The Tongans had developed a highly organised political system somewhat similar to that found in other Polynesian societies. It was based on the rule of chiefs but was unique in that it had a traditional monarchical system controlled by the Tu'i Tonga dynasty.⁴

In 950 B.C 'Aho'eitu was the 1st Tui Tongan. Within his position, he was a representative of God, both the temporal and spiritual ruler of the country until at least the fifteenth century.⁵ The expansion of population during the following centuries made it difficult for Tui Tonga to control both spiritual and temporal spheres being virtually beyond the capacity of one man.⁶ These circumstances encouraged political unrest in Tonga and eventuated in the success of many assassinations of the Tu'i Tonga from the fifteenth century until the twentieth-fourth century. Consequently in about 1470 Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua Fekai following the murder of his father Tu'i Tonga Takalaua promptly reorganised the political framework throughout all of Tonga. Governors were appointed to 'Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u, the Niuas and 'Uvea and the lands of each chief were reapportioned.⁷ Most importantly a new chiefly line was inaugurated to take from the Tu'i Tonga some of the burdens, and dangers of supreme power.⁸ The new office of hau (temporal ruler) overlooked secular responsibilities, and the control of day-to day affairs, while the Tu'i Tonga became 'eiki toputapu (sacred ruler) the highest in the land and the representative from God on earth. The first hau, Mo'ungamotu'a, was a younger brother of the Tu'i Tonga, founding a new dynasty called Tu'i

³ Ve'ehala and Fanua (1977): 28

⁴ Latukefu (1975): 1.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid: 2

⁷ Ve'ehala and Fanua (1977): 35

⁸ Ibid.

Ha'atakalaua (chief of Takalaua clan), the title was in honour of the last Tu'i Tonga.

Both the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua lived at Mu'a in eastern Tongatapu, but the most factitious area in all Tonga was Hihifo in the west.⁹ It was early in the seventeenth century the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, to take over the responsibilities of the hau in the western area of Tongatapu. Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's younger son, Ngata was the first of this new line, Tu'i Kanokupolu had the most difficult area in Tongatapu to control and as a result the title grew in power and prestige.¹⁰

Relatives of the three dynasties Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu were sent out to various areas to take charge of local affairs on behalf of the new dynasties resulting in peace and prosperity throughout the eighteenth century. Tongan society during this century was described as being well organised, ensuring good supplies of food, shelter and clothing, as well as providing security to life and property, meeting people's needs and interest¹¹. Consequently this period naturally resulted in a continuing expansion of population and gradually, the local chiefs consolidated their power over their areas, forcing a corresponding decline in the authority of both the Tu'i Tonga and the hau.¹²

Customary Laws

Before the arrival of the Europeans there were no codified laws as such, but there were rules, which had the coercive power of both supernatural and physical sanctions behind them. Those rules regulated the relationships within society and could properly be described as a system of customary law.¹³

⁹ Ibid: 36.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Campbell (1992): 26.

¹² Latukefu (1975): 2

Actual power eventually rested with the chiefs of local areas or kainga, the equivalent of the modern Tongan village or kolo. The hau's responsibilities became restricted to supervising the cultivation of crops and general preparation for the annual festival 'inasi (presentation of the first fruits to the Tu'i Tonga) or other important national ceremonies.¹⁴

This political system adopted by the Tongan dynasties emphasized the kainga as the most important socio-political unit during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the head of each kainga was the 'eiki or principal chief. In many respects these chiefs were absolute rulers of their people, they required their labor in tilling the soil and in preparing the feasts and for presentations on public occasions.¹⁵ In matters of law and order the chiefs remained within the confines of customary law and were the lawmakers and judges.

Kainga consisted of several fa'ahinga or extended families (now commonly called matakali). Each fa'ahinga was and is headed by an 'ulumotu'a who was either a petty chief or a matapule (chief's attendant) and then the smallest social unit, the 'api or household, was and continues to be headed by the father.¹⁶ The organisation of society at large was reflected in the organisation of the various parts: the authority a chief had over the people was replicated in the authority, which a father had over his family.¹⁷

A number of kainga's contribute to the ha'a, the largest socio-political unit in Tongan society.¹⁸ The function of the ha'a is mainly ceremonial though, in times of war, the chiefs of the various kainga within the same ha'a usually formed an alliance. The whole country, the fonua, embraced all the ha'a of Tonga, which was under the sovereignty of the Tu'i Tonga and the hau. At any national ceremony the whole of Tonga would be represented by ha'a groupings. It was necessary for every Tongan to know which ha'a they

¹³ Ibid: 6

¹⁴ Ibid: 2

¹⁵ Cummins (1977): 64.

¹⁶ Latukefu (1975): 2.

¹⁷ Campbell (1992): 26.

¹⁸ Latukefu (1975): 2

belonged to. Almost all the main ha'a originated from one of the three royal dynasties.¹⁹

The succession of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty was strictly lineal, from father to the eldest son by the mohefo (principal wife) who was usually the eldest daughter of the hau.²⁰ The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasties were also lineal until the eighteenth century when Tu'i Kanokupolu changed to collateral succession. At this time also the succession to other chiefly titles became collateral. When this happened in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, it meant that there was several claimants or possible successors to this important position.²¹ The Tu'i Kanokupolu replaced the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the important task of providing the mohefo, or principal wife for the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Kanokupolu enjoyed the close links with the highest family in the land.²²

On the political scene, this led to delicate considerations; for example, the mohefo relationship ensured that the Tu'i Tonga was always fahu; (the eldest sister), to the hau (political ruler), and any powerful family had to be very careful who their women married because those women's sons would be fahu. Similarly a rising family would be eager to marry with high-ranking women.²³

Consequently the need arose for the Kingdom of Tonga to form their first board, a body to be respected and to have its decisions accepted, not only by the several claimants but also by the rest of the chiefs and the other two dynasties. This body had been referred to as the 'Electoral College'. The membership of the Electoral College was made up of the principal chiefs, and it was in 1827 after six years of vacancy that the members of the Electoral College selected Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu.

¹⁹ Ibid: 3

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid: 4

²² Cummins (1977): 65

²³ Campbell (1992): 28.

The decisions of the 'electoral college' were greatly influenced by a number of considerations, which included the wishes of the deceased Tu'i Kanokupolu, the personality and leadership qualities of the claimant's seniority, and of course, the consent of the one chosen was necessary before he was considered for office.²⁴

During the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tonga experienced a period of political turbulence,²⁵ because of the internal struggle for power between rival chiefs resulting in the murder of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho in 1799.²⁶ The civil war lead by Finau Ulukalala II, gave him the reputation as the most powerful, treacherous and dangerous chief in the country.²⁷ Ulukalala II knew very well that the whole of Tonga would never accept a claim to Tu'i Kanokupolu from anyone outside the royal dynasties, however after crushing his opponents from Ha'apai and then in Vava'u, he made himself ruler of the two groups.

Upon his death in 1809 his half-brother, Tupouto'a became ruler of Ha'apai and his son, Moengangongo, became ruler of Vava'u. The latter died after only three years, and the rulership of Vava'u went to his uncle Tupouto'a, now ruling both Ha'apai and Vava'u despite some conflicts with the members of the Tu'i Tonga family. On Tongatapu, the Ha'a Havea chiefs emerged as the most powerful group of chiefs and after some unsuccessful attempts to overthrow them, Tupouto'a died in 1820.

His son Taufa'ahau assumed rulership in Ha'apai, and the rulership of Vava'u went to another son of Ulukalala Fangupo, who became Ulukalala III. Between 1824 and 1826 Taufa'ahau ruled in Ha'apai and was challenged by the heir of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, Laufilitonga.²⁸ Taufa'ahau fought against Laufilitonga and defeated him in the war held at Velata (Laufiilitonga fort). After that battle, Taufa'ahau became the greatest ruler of Ha'apai.

²⁴ Latukefu (1974): 4

²⁵ Ibid: 14.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid

In 1833 the corresponding ruler of Vava'u was Ulukalala IV. He was afraid of Taufa'ahau and was concerned for the inheritance of his son, so he asked Taufa'ahau to act as a regent because his heir, Matekitonga, was too young. As a result of several political developments Taufa'ahau emerged the islands; Ha'apai and Vava'u as unified regional political areas. Eventually Taufa'ahau become Tu'i Kanokupolu meaning there was no island for Matekitonga to inherit, Taufa'ahau ruled over Ha'apai and Vava'u. In contrast Tongatapu was still fragmented, and power still rested amongst the local chiefs.

Christianity

A more serious threat to the traditional political system was a growing questioning of the validity and effectiveness of the traditional religion which was so closely interwoven with chiefly authority, especially that of the Tu'i Tonga. It was believed the gods communicated with men through the movements of living creatures. As a result of these beliefs, lizards, sea snakes, sharks, octopuses, doves and many other animal and birds were revered.²⁹ The fact that some of the leading chiefs of Tonga, particularly the Tu'i Kanokupolu family, were beginning to question the traditional beliefs of heathenism contributed to the eventual success of Taufa'ahau's future political developments in Tonga.

It was in 1826 when Rev. John Thomas and Rev. John Hutchinson, arrived in Tonga and established their mission in Hihifo under the previous Wesleyan missionaries who encountered early resistance. It was in 1827 after many setbacks that they had again decided to abandon the mission when Rev. Nathaniel Turner and William Cross came from Australia. The new missionaries and the local preacher, I.V.M Weiss, settled at Nuku'alofa under Aleamotu'a and from this time the work of the mission began to flourish. Schools were established, a printing press set up, and medical care offered, which attracted many people to the mission.³⁰ The new church was known to have at least 300 members, Aleamotu'a felt responsible for the people's

²⁹ Cummins (1977): 71

³⁰ Latukefu (1975): 18.

safety as Tu'i Kanokupolu and because of his growing weakness decided to build a fort at Nuku'alofa for their own protection. It was in 1837 when a local chief planned to attack the Christian fort at Nuku'alofa, that Aleamotu'a sent a message to Taufu'ahau asking for help, Taufu'ahau came with his warriors and saved Nuku'alofa. Taufu'ahau was happy to assist his uncle Aleamotu'a as the Tu'i Kanokupolu but also as a fellow Christian, Taufu'ahau himself having been baptised on August 7th 1834. Taufu'ahau was baptised as George (Tupou) and the one wife he had retained after his conversion to Christianity had been baptised as Charlotte (Salote) some time previously. These names were chosen in honour of George III and his Queen.³¹ *Taufu'ahau will now be referred to by his baptised name Tupou.*

The Wesleyan missionaries who came to Tonga during the first half of the nineteenth century inherited the current political views of Wesleyan Methodism in England. Loyalty to Monarchy, country and constitution was unquestioned and it was therefore not surprising that in the course of their work in Tonga the missionaries deliberately and persistently fostered the promotion of a central monarchical authority, the creation of a kingdom, and the establishment of constitutional rule in the country.³²

The death of Mulikiha'amea, the incumbent Tu'i Ha'atakalaua during the civil war in 1799, had marked the end of that dynasty, and the defeat of Laufilitonga, heir to the Tu'i Tonga line, at Velata in 1826 deciding the political fate of the Tu'i Tonga line.³³ During the 1840 wars, Tupou assisted Aleamotu'a again and when Aleamotu'a died in 1845, he named Tupou as his successor to the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty. On the ground beneath the ancient koka tree at Pangai in Hihifo, Tupou was installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu in the traditional manner.³⁴

It was the descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, young Toupee, son of Tupouto'a and grandson of Tuku'aho, who emerged and assumed rulership of

³¹ Wood (1942): 45.

³² Latukefu (1975): 18.

³³ Ibid

the whole of Tonga. Tupou's rejection of the traditional gods in favour of Christianity and his building of a chapel in Ha'apai long before the missionaries arrived on the island also illustrate his view of traditional religion. His destruction of god houses and god representatives and his assaults upon priests and priestess in the early 1830s provides further support.³⁵ Christianity was anti-revolutionary in that as the people obeyed God, they also obeyed the King. Now that Christianity was gaining ground, peace and political unity would depend on people. Tupou, had worked as a preacher and bible class leader, and having experienced a sincere and heart-felt conversation, he wanted to see the same change amongst his people.³⁶

As he became more familiar with the tenets of Christianity and Western civilisation, as presented to him and his people by the Wesleyan missionaries, he recognised that much of customary law was incompatible with Christianity. Therefore Tupou introduced the first codified laws from the guidance of missionaries and very much influenced by the missionaries biblical values. For the present, he was the chief of various parts of Tonga; re-unification and reconciliation being the tasks of the future.

Codified Laws

The first code of Tonga appeared on the 20th November 1839 Tupou officially promulgated the first written code of laws, known as the Va'vau code, in a fono at Pouono, a mala'e at Neiafu. This code strongly influenced by the missionaries at the time may have been because of Tupou's lack of competency in the English language. There was supposedly a large gathering of people to witness the signing of the Vava'u code, but the signing later came to be known as the beginning of 'Modern Tonga'.

³⁴ Campbell (1992): 62.

³⁵ Cummins (1977): 78.

³⁶ Campbell (1992): 57.

The 1839 Vava'u Code.

- The most striking feature of the code was the powers of the chiefs were limited.
- The introduction of a public trial for offenders was a major shift from customary law, meaning that, neither a chief nor a commoner was allowed to take the law into his or her own hands. All rights of the parties in criminal or disputed matters were to be decided and maintained by the appointment and responsible courts of law.
- Fidelity in marriage and the sanctity of family life became important lawful features.
- A great emphasis was placed on the holiness of the Sabbath and church services.
- Another distinct feature was the clause urging the chiefs to show love towards their people.
- Chiefs were also told to organise their people to cultivate the land industriously, to produce enough for their own needs and to support the Government as well as their chiefs.
- The sale of hard liquor was prohibited.

They identified Christianity with 'civilisation', which was to them synonymous with British middle class values of the nineteenth century, and anything that conflicted with these ideas should be abolished. The Code, also prohibited tattooing, circumcision and any other idolatrous ceremonies, and imposed punishments and fines, consistent with the missionaries teaching.³⁷

While the 1839 Code forbade the chiefs to take anything by force from the commoners, it had said nothing about the continuation of those traditions which compelled the commoners to take anything produced or acquired which was 'eiki status (reserved for chiefs) to the chiefs. These customs had continued unabated.³⁸

The 1839 Vava'u code, which Tupou used in his ruling of Ha'apai and Vava'u, was applied to Tongatapu and to the remaining areas of Tonga when Tupou became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Tupou continued to engage in further discussions of laws but with other local chiefs and by public and legal authority an 1850 Code of law was constructed to replace the 1839 code this basically turned out to be a revised enlargement of the 1839 Va'vau Code.

³⁷ Ibid: 23.

³⁸ Ibid: 26

Although the 1839 code was background to the second law of 1850, the new code introduced much longer and more complicated sets of laws.

The 1850 code.

- Defined and prohibited common crimes.
- It also defined the duties of chiefs and people, and their obligation towards each other.
- In particular, it distinguished the powers of chiefs by birth and denied the authority of the latter over the people.³⁹ Specifically stated that the chiefs had to obey the laws, the same as the common people did.
- It prohibited the sale of land to foreigners, defining and outlawing treason and sedition.
- It also encouraged people to produce more goods (mainly coconut oil) for trade.

The new law referred to Tupou as King Tupou I and proclaimed that the King was the root of all government and that it was his prerogative to appoint those who should govern. He had power to command the assembly of his chiefs to consult with him on whatever he might wish to have done. He was the Chief Judge and the ultimate judicial authority during disputes.⁴⁰

Confident of his prospect and with a desire to see for himself the attainments of European civilisation, King Tupou I left Tonga in October 1853 travelling in the mission ship John Wesley on one of its voyages to New South Wales. It was there that he saw beggars for the first time. He asked why they begged instead of growing their own food and found they owned no land.

King Tupou realised the full implication for his people keeping Tonga for the Tongans and the need for sharing what land there was among the people so that no Tongan ever be reduced to this humiliation.⁴¹ These wider ranging contacts must have had some influence on the King's political thinking, and encouraged him to seek further expert help and advice from non-missionary sources.

³⁹ Campbell (1992): 65

⁴⁰ Latukefu (1975): 27.

⁴¹ Rutherford (1977a): 157.

In Sydney he met, amongst other people, a journalist called Charles St Julian, who was the representative of the King of Hawaii "to independent States and Tribes of Polynesia." St Julian saw himself as an authority on constitutional and legal matters, a friendship developed and he offered his advice to King Tupou, who eagerly seized the opportunity.

In 1855 St Julian sent King Tupou a long and detailed letter urging economic development as a safeguard against foreign settlement and annexation, explaining the principles and procedures employed by the nations of Europe, particularly the divisions of various functions of government. St Julian recommended a small and simple bureaucracy with a legislature composed initially of king's advisers and selected chiefs, and an executive council to carry out decisions of government and to advise king Tupou.

After further communication between the King and St. Julian with the King displaying a lack of enthusiasm towards the suggested reforms, St. Julian later published an article in the Sydney Morning Herald on January 09 1858. The article alleged among other things that King George's 'government of his own islands as totally inefficient except for the wants of the merest savages, and with the true feeling of a semi-barbaric chief, he obstinately resists all improvement'.⁴² The king's greatest difficulty in trying to make Tonga a modern, Christian nation was changing the habits of the minds of chiefs and people alike. He might forbid a certain practice, or order another, but if the chiefs would not enforce it, or if the people would not consent to the change, the reform remained a dead letter. This was particularly the case in matters of chiefly authority. It was essential therefore that he not make changes beyond the willingness of the people to accept, and that he conciliate the chiefs and win their co-operation rather than alienate them.⁴³

Soon after Rev. Shirley Waldemar Baker arrived in Tonga in 1860 a firm friendship developed between him and the King, and it was to him, King George asked for assistance to draw up new laws.

⁴² Ibid: 31

The need for major reforms was becoming obvious and to meet it, King Tupou called a fakataha, or assembly of chiefs, to discuss the problem and recommend constitutional changes.⁴⁴ Further meetings were in 1860 and 1861 and with the help of Rev. Shirley Baker in June 1862 King Tupou called together another fakataha and this time presented the chiefs with a new code.

The Emancipation Edict of 1862.

- Unlike the previous law codes, this one contained rules for the form and conduct of government, even to the extent of making the king himself subject to the laws for the first time. The administration of justice was put on an objective footing.
- The instruction of children in schools was made compulsory.
- The king remained the sole source of civil authority and the only maker of laws, although there was a provision for calling a meeting of chiefs and governors to confer on important matters.
- It abolished the authority of the chiefs over their people and it abolished the chiefs' rights to the property of their people.
- Chiefs and people alike were to pay taxes to the government, and no tribute or support was to be paid by the people to any chief.
- Chiefs were to allocate land to their people according to need, and in return the people would pay rent (the amount fixed by law) to the chief as landlord. As long as a person paid his taxes and rent, he could not be dispossessed of his land.

This law clearly meant that chiefs and commoners should have the same legal rights in all respects. The customary authority and privileges which chiefs hitherto possessed were abolished and only those chiefs who were specifically appointed to govern had any authority. How effectively this law was applied is uncertain but it indicates the thoroughly revolutionary character of Tupou's reign.⁴⁵ That King Tupou was able to secure the agreement of the chiefs for this code shows how well he had established his authority and gives reason for his long period of consultation with the chiefs.

As the affairs of government became increasingly complicated, particularly in its external relations, but also in its dealings with local European settlers, the

⁴³ Campbell (1992): 68.

⁴⁴ Rutherford (1977a): 159

⁴⁵ Campbell (1992): 69

King recognised that there was a need for a European adviser in the Government. Therefore he adopted an Englishman named David Jebson Moss as his son, gave him the name Tupou Ha'apai and made him his secretary in 1864. As King George became increasingly disillusioned with his secretary, David Moss, he was in need of someone capable whom he could trust to be adviser. In 1869 Rev. Shirley Baker returned from Australia and continued being King Tupou's physician and later his financial, political and spiritual adviser. He persuaded the King to dismiss David Moss in 1872 and he virtually became the King's secretary himself.⁴⁶ Encouraged by the success of the reforms King Tupou forged ahead with the plan of Westernisation. With Rev. Shirley Baker's assistance he started adopting the institutions of a Western-style state. A royal palace and a crown were acquired for King Tupou I; a flag, a great seal and a national anthem were all devised for the Kingdom of Tonga.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid: 40

⁴⁷ Rutherford (1977a): 160.

Chapter 2. THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN SOCIAL POLICY TO TONGA

In 1869 after the return of Reverend Shirley Baker from Australia, King Tupou I, took the chance of asking Baker to write up the constitution, and from 1869-1875 traveled back and forth to Australia in order to seek further advice regarding the creation of a constitution.

Baker described the constitution as 'the book of freedom and the method by which the country is governed... the testament of our freedom to the people of the country, and a testament of how they should be ruled.'¹ After these series of trips back and forth from Australia Baker finally settled down to writing the Constitution and presented a draft to parliament on September 16 1875. Further discussion with other chiefs and minor amendments postponed the constitution final acceptance by parliament until November 4 1875.

The granting of the Constitution was the completion of the work begun in the Vava'u Code of 1839 with further development of the Code in 1862. Tonga so adopted the institutions of a limited monarchy, according to the model of the British Constitution.² Though frequently amended since 1875, much of the Constitution still remains as in its first form. The Constitution is a long document of 132 articles, which contain three main divisions:

(1) **A declaration of rights** consisted of 32 articles such as;

- The right to freedom of person and possessions of 'all people who reside or may reside in this kingdom.'
- The other articles guaranteed the liberty of every individual, the equality of all men - chiefs or commoners, Tongans or foreigners - before the laws of the country; freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press.

¹ Latukefu (1975):41

² Wood (1942):58

- The people's right to expect the Government to protect their life, liberty and property was also guaranteed, and consequently they were expected to 'assist and pay taxes to the Government according to law'.
- The right to vote for a representative to the Legislative Assembly was given to anyone who had reached 21 years and paid taxes, and who had 'not been guilty of any major crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery and embezzlement or a like crime.'
- Jury service was expected of everyone eligible to vote excepting members of the legislature, missionaries, teachers and government employees.

(2) **The form of government:**-The king, Privy Council and Cabinet; the Legislative Assembly; the Judiciary.

(3) **The land.** All the land was declared to belong to Tupou as king who could grant estates to his nobles, and they were to lease portions of this land to their people. Land was not to be sold to Europeans or to anyone else; only leases approved by the Cabinet were to be recognised. The laws of succession to the throne (referred to in the last chapter) and to titles of nobility were also set forth.

Another departure from the traditional Tongan system was the adoption of a constitutional monarchy. Although this meant the King's power was increased he could no longer lawfully act on his own in matters of political importance without the approval of either the Cabinet, the Privy Council or the Legislative Assembly.³

The constitution stipulated that the person of the King was declared sacred. He governed the land, and all law passed by the Legislative Assembly had to receive his signature before they became laws. He had the prerogative of bestowing all titles of honour, but he could not lawfully take away any title except in cases of treason. With the advice of his Cabinet, he had the prerogative of deciding what money should be legal tender in the kingdom, and finally, he had power to proclaim martial law for any or all parts of the land during civil war or war between the kingdom and another country.⁴

³ Latukefu (1975): 49.

⁴ Latukefu (1975): 46.

Some have claimed that, in practice, King George failed to adhere strictly to the Constitution. The primary purpose of the Constitution was to make the Tongan Government acceptable in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish a blueprint for his successors and future generations of Tonga. In both these respects the Constitution proved successful,⁵ although many of the Europeans who resided in Tonga held the view that creation of the 1875 constitution was thought to be too modern for the Tongan people. However King Tupou I saw the constitution as a way for Tonga to be transformed by a modern structure into a more united society.

Meanwhile a situation of security against other countries was something to think about at this time Tonga had to protect itself from colonization by overseas countries. Shirley Baker, had a big part to play in getting treaties signed with other countries namely England in 1849, Germany in 1846 and U.S.A in 1888. All these treaties would hopefully give Tonga the protection it needed from colonisation. Baker had not become very popular for doing so, and many people became very critical of some of the policies he had created, especially people back in his home country. Baker however was not worried about these criticisms against him from back home. He was more interested in continuing to develop the constitution, which included translating the constitution in to the Tongan language for the people to understand. This was done with a newly published newsletter in which Shirley Baker wrote critical articles on controversial issues.

In 1879 to his amazement he was recalled by the Mission Board to return home immediately. Obviously hurt by the decision to recall him from Tonga, Baker asked to be without appointment for a year and to reside in Auckland, promising not to return to Tonga within that period.⁶

During Baker's time in Auckland the Crown Prince and the Premier of Tonga, Tevita Unga, went to Auckland for medical treatment. Unfortunately Tevita Unga died and Shirley Baker thought if he were to escort Tevita's son back to

⁵ Ibid:54.

Tonga it would be the perfect excuse for his return. Consequently the King gave Baker the position of Premier. With characteristic enthusiasm and determination, Baker immediately set out to help King George achieve his long-held ambition, which he himself shared, of making Tonga a nation among nations.⁷

After some time Sir J.B.Thurston, the new British High commissioner protested against the Tongan government because of the many fabricated charges made by Baker more desperate attempts to gain more power. This though contradictorily resulted in the decision to have Baker deported from Tonga in 1890.

After Baker's deportation, Tuku'aho, the direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty, was made Premier with Mr (later Sir) Basil Thomson, as an assistant to the newly appointed Premier and his ministers. After nine months of service, Thomson returned to England leaving a financially, administratively and judicially sound Government in the hands of his Tongan colleagues who continued to follow the policies.

On February 13 1893, King George Tupou I died, being 96 years of age, he had been styled " the Grand Old Man of the Pacific" and certainly no chief in any Pacific group in the critical nineteenth century was greater.⁸

King Tupou II

Tupou II inherited a kingdom, which had owed its stability only to the personal dominance of his great-grandfather.⁹ Tupou II grew up in an environment free of responsibility and tailored to oblige his wishes: he had attendants to anticipate his desires; to perform any manual task, as he believed work was

⁶ Ibid:57.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Wood (1942):61.

⁹ Campbell (1992):108.

regarded as degrading to his dignity. Little wonder then that he grew up to self-indulge and to have a very high opinion of himself.¹⁰

It was on March 17 1893 when George Tupou II was crowned King by the Reverend J.B Watkin in the royal chapel using a simple coronation service composed for the occasion and four days later he was installed Tu'i Kanokupolu in the traditional taumafa kava ceremony.¹¹

Later in 1893, the measles epidemic struck Tonga, despite Baker's quarantine laws which took the lives of over a thousand Tongans from a population of only a thousand, nine hundred. Amongst the infected was King Tupou II who also went down with the disease in September and was cared for by the European missionaries.¹² Tupou took this opportunity to discredit Tuku'aho dismissing his government, for his negligence and gave him responsibility for the many suffering Tongans.

Sateki Tonga, a chief of lesser rank but of wide experience in Government was made Premier, and his brother-in-law, Fuapau, Treasurer. (Sateki's son, Fotu, later took over from Fuapau). Sateki had a reputation for honesty and efficiency, but later we read how King Tupou II promotion of Sateki to a high position may have been a way to free himself of the obvious restraints of the Tuku'aho Government.¹³

The King often made his own decisions without consultation with anyone else. For example, contrary to the advice of the majority of his chiefs who wished him to marry 'Ofa, a young lady of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line, Tupou II insisted on marrying Lavinia, a descendant of the Tu'i Tonga family.¹⁴ The decision was regarded outrageous, violence broke out between rival political factions, there was fighting in the streets and houses were burned in Nuku'alofa. In the face of this opposition, the King displayed either courage or stubborn folly and

¹⁰ Rutherford (1977):174.

¹¹ Ibid:175.

¹² Rutherford (1977):176.

¹³ Latukefu (1975):68.

¹⁴ Ibid.

the marriage took place on June 01 1899. So great was his resulting unpopularity that for many months neither he nor the Queen dared leave the palace without an armed guard.¹⁵

With confidence in Sateki, King Tupou II believed he had found the ideal person to carry out the mundane affairs of government, while he retired to the North where he busied himself with the renovation of his residences in Ha'apai and Vava'u, and boat racing which he so much enjoyed.¹⁶ Tupou I had strictly adhered to the principle of complete separation between government revenue and Privy Purse; his successor regarded the resources of the State as his right. A strong premier might have been able to impress on the King the full nature of his duties and responsibilities¹⁷ but grateful towards the King for the high position he now held, he continued to comply with the King's wishes.

By 1897 Sateki had exhausted the ways to increase government revenue to meet the king's demands and was forced to find extra funds¹⁸ in one way or another. Without going through formalities of parliamentary approval, he was forced to obtain loans from a German trading firm.¹⁹ Although recent history of the Pacific had shown the dangers of governments becoming indebted to foreign traders, Sateki had no choice. The King's extravagance continued to need more financial support and Sateki was forced to seek long-term credit with the Hutter brothers of Auckland, New Zealand.

During this time the British High Commissioner made a speech to the King and his chiefs on 28 December 1904 in which he castigated the King for ruling the country in accordance with his own will and that of the trader Hutter, rather than in accordance with the Constitution. He accused the King of ignoring the Privy Council. He also pointed out, among other things, that it was

¹⁵ Campbell (1992):110.

¹⁶ Rutherford (1977):177.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Rutherford (1977):179.

¹⁹ Campbell (1992):110.

unconstitutional for the Premier to authorize any expenditure without the consent of the Cabinet according to certain provisions of the Constitution.²⁰

The British Consul proposed a new treaty between Tonga and Britain in 1958 similar to other foreign treaties with the exception of one detail: the British government would conduct Tonga's foreign relations in future.²¹ The British consul was also to advise the Tongan government on any matters sought by the government, but was to have no authority in matters of internal political administration.²²

The king chafed under the restrictions placed upon his spending, he cordially detested the new government led by Matiealona, and he was bitterly resentful of the powers of the British Agent and Consul²³, but in fear of losing all his great-grand-father had fought for he accepted the new situation. Consequently government finances were put in order, the government's debts were paid with the British loan, and a programme of public works began. New roads were built, wharves, constructed, hospitals at Nuku'alofa and Vava'u built and perhaps most importantly, a beginning was made on the construction of large concrete water cisterns in the villages, to give people an abundant supply of clean, disease-free rainwater.²⁴

When King Tupou II died in April 1918, the Kingdom he bequeathed to his daughter was intact, and although its sovereignty was circumscribed it continued to be the only independent Kingdom²⁵.

Queen Salote III

The future Queen, Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu, was born on 13 March 1900. Her mother, Queen Lavinia, died on 25 April 1902, and as a child she was given into charge of a remarkable woman, Rachel Tonga. Rachel's influence was

²⁰ Latukefu(1975):71.

²¹ Campbell(1992):112.

²² Ibid:113.

²³ Rutherford(1977):187.

²⁴ Campbell(1992):116.

profound, with her encouraging Christian faith and imparting knowledge of Tongan history and traditions.²⁶ Rachel loved and cared for Salote as if she were her own child and accompanied her at the age of nine to Auckland, where she was educated privately and later at the Diocesan School for Girls.

Soon after her return to Tonga Salote was betrothed to William Tupoulahi Tungi, son of Tuku'aho and at the young age of seventeen married him on 19 September 1917. Her husband, thereafter known as Prince Tungi, was thirteen years older than she and the direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the second royal line, with a lineage that included many chiefly families. King Tupou I had given him the name of Mailefihi. He had been educated at Tupou College and at Newington College, Sydney, and was Governor of Vava'u.²⁷ This later contributed to his outstanding leadership and he became a tower of strength to the young queen.²⁸ She appointed Tungi her husband, the Prince Consort, as Premier in 1923.

Queen Salote's reign was not completely free of problems but she handled them diplomatically with patience, care and understanding. One of those, which she inherited, was the bitter conflict among her people between the two factions of Methodism in Tonga. She courageously decided to unite a reunion of the two factions under the name Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga.²⁹ Due to her positive influences, the bitterness that had characterized the past relationship between the two factions gradually faded away.³⁰

Her people believe that Queen Salote inherited the character of their first King Tupou I, his oratorical gifts and his commanding personality. She had the same strong concern for the preservation of national unity and independence, a similar combination of geniality and an imperious will.³¹ She was respected by her people not only for her proven wisdom in addressing parliament or

²⁵ Rutherford (1977): 189.

²⁶ Wood (1977):192.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Latukefu(1975):79.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid:80

³¹ Wood (1977):179.

public gatherings but she also showed a command of language, quoting Tongan proverbs and the Bible when they were relevant.³²

Parliament in her view was essentially to pass the laws required of it by government (that is the Privy Council) and not to debate, criticize or control. In fact she treated parliament much the way her great-great-grand-father had King Tupou I, she referred nothing to it for consideration, expecting it merely to pass the laws that she wanted. The members were expected to explain the laws to the people and let them know what was expected of them.³³ Salote's style of government was described as traditional and conservative.

Queen Salote also fulfilled her duty as a wife and mother to her three sons, her eldest son (who eventually succeeded her as King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV) born on 4 July 1918, and her two other children, William Tuku'aho, who was born on 5 November 1919 and John Tu'pelehake born on January 7 1922. Unfortunately William died on 28 April 1936 due to the effects of rheumatic heart disease, Queen Salote having growing up, often being deprived of loved ones throughout her life, told her people on more than one occasion this made her rely more on God.³⁴

In the early years of Queen Salote's reign, her capabilities extended towards the installation of telephones in 1919. As well as a wireless station in Nuku'alofa in 1920 with another in Vava'u in 1925, the establishment of a Land Court in 1921 and the beginnings of a State Savings Bank in 1926, to mention only a few of her achievements.

In no part of the nation's life was the Queen's influence greater than in the promotion of the welfare of women. Queen Salote achieved a major victory in 1922 when she had a law passed allowing women to inherit land in cases where there was no male heir. Previously, men through woman could inherit

³² Ibid:193.

³³ Campbell (1992):126.

³⁴ Ibid:196.

land, but not directly by women.³⁵ She also founded an organization called 'Langa Fonua' which was formed in 1953, and the Queen was its President until her death. The aim of the organization was the improvement of living conditions in the villages and the fostering of handicrafts. Not only was the traditional making of mats, baskets and native cloth encouraged, but also classes were conducted in the villages for sewing and cookery. This progressive movement in the people's homes brought some of the greatest benefits of the Queen's reign. With the advent of tourism it also gave a small but worthy outlet for the village people who sorely needed more income. Competitions were held for the best-kept villages, with excellent results.³⁶

The role of women in preserving the cultural heritage of making handicrafts, appealed greatly to Queen Salote. She also took a deep interest in the Women's World Day of Prayer, an international and inter-denominational movement. Also later in 1951 the constitution was amended to give women the right to vote although they did not pay tax.³⁷

Connected to the question of land, but more connected with the security and perpetuation of the Tupou dynasty, was the Royal Estates Act of 1927. By the constitution, the eldest son inherited nobles' titles, and the younger sons technically inherited the legal status of commoners.³⁸ By legalizing her dynasty she was able to ensure noble status for each of her sons. Throughout her reign she was also preparing the sons she would one day leave behind a joyous ceremony, the double wedding of the royal princes.

On 10 June 1947, Tupouto'a Tungi (later King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV) married Halaevalu Mata'aho, eldest daughter of 'Ahome'e, Governor of Ha'apai and John Ngu Tu'ipelehake married Melenaite Tupou- Moheofo, great-great-grand-daughter of the last Tu'i Tonga.³⁹

³⁵ Campbell(1992):134.

³⁶ Wood (1977): 204.

³⁷ Campbell (1992):80

³⁸ Ibid:134.

³⁹ Wood (1977): 202.

After the Prince Consort's death in 1941 the Queen's two sons assumed increasing responsibility in the Government. The Crown Prince had been educated at Tupou College, then at Newington College, Sydney, and had successfully received a Bachelor of Arts and Law degree from the University of Sydney. The Queen believed that he should be trained for his eventual kingship, so she made him Minister of Education in 1943 and also of Health in 1944. After the death of Solomone Ata, who had succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, she appointed her elder son as Premier in 1949. The Queen's second surviving son, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, had also been educated at Tupou and Newington Colleges before pursuing a course in Agricultural Science. He was appointed Minister for Lands and succeeded his brother as Premier when the latter became King.⁴⁰

The exodus of many young Tongans for overseas study or for employment was an objective of the Queen's since the 1920s. By the 1950s, this educational drive was bearing fruit, and the government was able to begin replacing employees with Tongan nationals who had tertiary qualifications.⁴¹ Queen Salote had reached her goal, the government had terminated altogether the practice of hiring foreigners for the permanent public service.⁴²

On 17 December 1965, Queen Salote died, deeply mourned by her nation. The changes which had taken place in Tonga since her accession forty-seven years before, were profound. The Tupou dynasty was now secure, having been made so by policies and strategies of her reign rather than by those of her two predecessors. Her sons had married as she arranged, and their children which secured the dynasty against any foreseeable challenge.⁴³ Queen Salote's reign stabilised the relationship between the Tongan Government and British officials, and included the development of social services, particularly in education and public health, which had reduced infant mortality and brought a steady growth in population.⁴⁴ A transformation of

⁴⁰ Ibid:206.

⁴¹ Campbell(1992):183.

⁴² Ibid:184.

⁴³ Campbell(1992):187.

⁴⁴ Latukefu(1975):82.

government had taken place, to a large, modern public service staffed almost entirely by Tongan, increasing numbers of who had completed tertiary education from overseas.

Just as Tupou I had sought to defend Tonga's independence in the nineteenth century by modernization of culture and government, his great-great-granddaughter had worked to reclaim and declare Tonga's independence by a similar modernization and preservation through managed change.⁴⁵ Her love for them was heartily reciprocated. Now, many years after her death, the Tongans still speak of her as 'Our Beloved Queen'.⁴⁶

King Tupou IV

On the 4 of June 1967, two years after the death of his mother, Prince Tungi was crowned Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. King Tupou IV's first major public speech after his accession was to set a new pattern for his entire reign. It was a comprehensive report on the nation and government plans for development,⁴⁷ with economic interests being the basis of his policies.

King Tupou IV declared four immediate objectives: the establishment of technical education, initially using the services of foreign experts; the greater utilization of land: increased exports to earn money for capital investment; and the establishment of industries which would create non-agricultural employment. This same year Tonga had created its own currency changing from the old pound and sovereign to pa'anga –dollars and seniti-cents. He wanted Tonga bought up to standard in comparison with the rest of the world.

In 1968 King Tupou IV made amendments to the treaty with Britain deleting some of the restrictions present in the 1958 treaty. This meant less interference from the British government in Tongan matters. Tonga still

⁴⁵ Campbell (1992):187.

⁴⁶ Ibid:209

⁴⁷ Campbell (1992):189.

remained under British Commonwealth protection purely for the reason of security, Tongan becoming fully independent in 1970.

The institution of education was one investment in which Tonga was able to create, an institution that Tupou I, the founder of modern Tonga, created in which to fulfill the dream that one day educated Tongans would take Tonga to the world. By the 1970's King Tupou IV appealed to the New Zealand government to allow Tongans to gain New Zealand work experience. The result was a scheme, which was not intended to relieve Tonga's population problem as such, but to provide income for the migrant worker⁴⁸ to send back to the Kingdom of Tonga.

⁴⁸ Ibid:198.

Part Two: Methodology

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

In an attempt to allow the reader to understand the content of this publication by introduction, I will briefly share the rationale of my chosen methodology. The primary focus for my choice of research method was the welfare of the Tongan families who were selected for this research. As a member of the Tongan community and a New-Zealand born woman, my concerns were for cultural competency towards Tongan people in conjunction with meeting the academic requirements of research.

I acknowledge that within our New Zealand society the dominant Palangi cultural interests are maintained by societal structures, which have been created and maintained by this particular dominant group. Therefore, research in Palangi societal structures create and maintain the dominant group interests. Stokes (1985) describes Palangi research methods as a way “to gain power and prestige...” whereas the purpose of this research is the development of people, the primary focus therefore being the welfare of the Tongan people. Like Stokes I believe that research must “place the emphasis on people, and important ideas of generosity, cooperation, reciprocity, mutual assistance, kinship and village identity.”¹ By carefully selecting the right methodology and embracing cultural protocols in respect to my people group I know that the process provided will be culturally safe for all who engage in the research.

The first two chapters of this thesis are about how Tongan society has very strong oral traditions, knowledge itself was never held to be universally available. Traditional Tongan society valued knowledge highly, to such an extent that certain roles in the Tongan society were entrusted to only a few people. “Knowledge was considered to be tapu and there were sanctions that ensured that it was protected, used appropriately, and transmitted with

¹ Stokes(1985): 2

accuracy.”² Knowledge was regarded as the property of a fa’ahinga, (extended family) and was treated with much faka’apa’apa (respect).

A person’s rank in Tongan society would allow for opportunities such as education to be available.

Accessing this type of research has been an opportunity provided by HRH Princess Siu’ilikutapu on behalf of the Tongan people in New Zealand as well as the families who consented to participate in the research. As an insider researcher I will live with the consequences of my chosen processes on a day-to-day basis alongside the family participants in my community. For these reasons I developed research-based support systems that ensure safe and best cultural practise. I met and consulted with Tongan community leaders and academics to assist as advisors to the research. I created relationships within my community that helped remind me of how important understanding my role within my community is, especially when undergoing this research.

A Tongan academic assisted me in exploring the concept of Tongan research, some Tongan words, which could be aligned, are fekumi, to investigate or find out. Fifili- wonders or wondering, Vakili or hakule- to search, thoroughly, turn upside down. Fakakaukau – to think and fakafehu’i –to question.

There was a further challenge in the defining of youth, as youth in the Tongan culture is often associated with those who are still single. For the purpose of this research I have stipulated the age group for New Zealand-born Tongan youth to be between the ages of 15-25 years.

Method

The type of methodology used could be identified as an interpretivist methodology, which tends to view social reality as something that is socially constructed and negotiated. This type of methodology supports the concern

² Smith (1986): 4

to understand the world from the point of view of the individuals and groups who are participants in the research.

Criteria for Recruitment

According to the 2001 Census 40, 716 Tongan people live in New Zealand, making the Tongan population the third largest Pacific group in New Zealand. Every 4 in 5 people of Tongan ethnicity in New Zealand live in the Auckland region. The demographics also indicate a very youthful population, with half of all Tongan people living in New Zealand being New Zealand born.

From these statistics a sample group was selected from Auckland and consisted of four families whose parents were Tongan-born with first generation children who were born in New Zealand and in the age group of 15-25 years. The families were selected randomly from within the community I am involved with. This includes sport, youth activities, church and other community organisations

The research being one of *kainga* identification and the emphasis of *kainga* in our Tongan culture, ensured the method for collation of data was determined through family groups. The Participants for the research had to belong to the same family. If a person from one family disagreed to participate the family could not participate in the research. Every participant within the family was asked to sign their own consent (*appendices 2 - 3*).

Participatory Families

The family diagrams below outline the makeup of each family. Although the families represented are large, only the youth born in New Zealand and between the ages 15-25 were interviewed. Those interviewed are shaded in geno grams presented below.

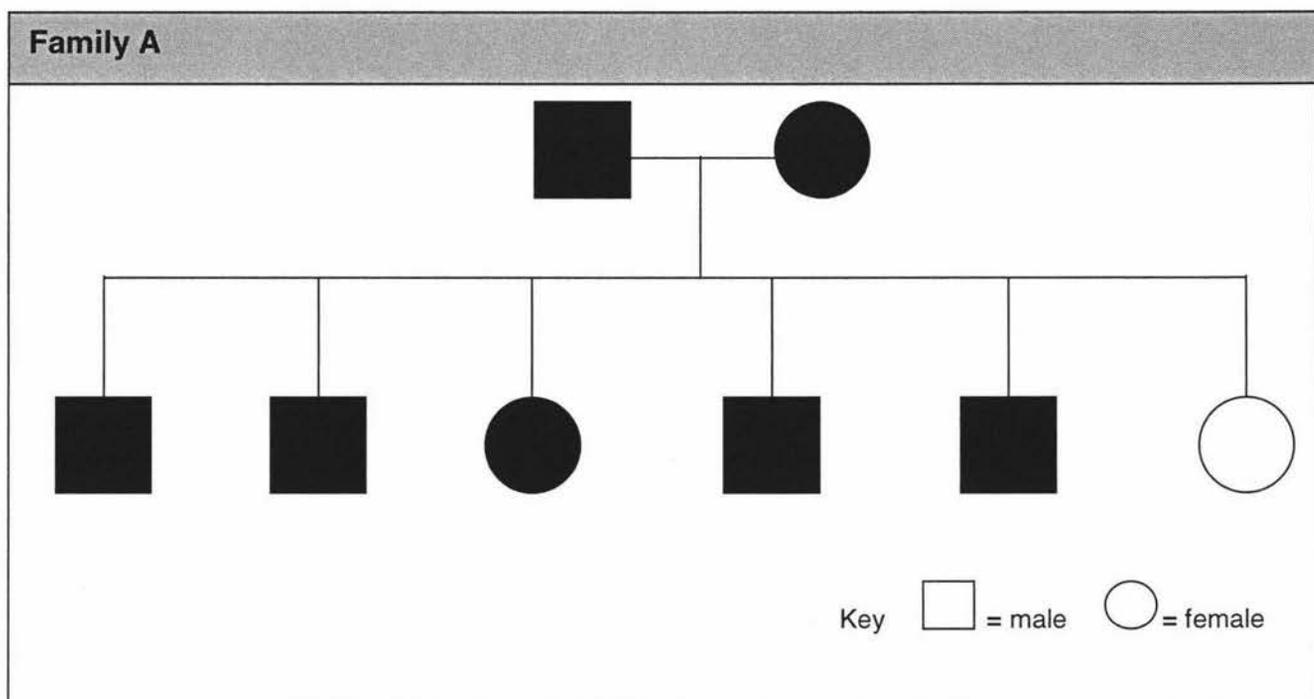


Table 1: Geno make-up of family A. (*shades indicate interviewees*)

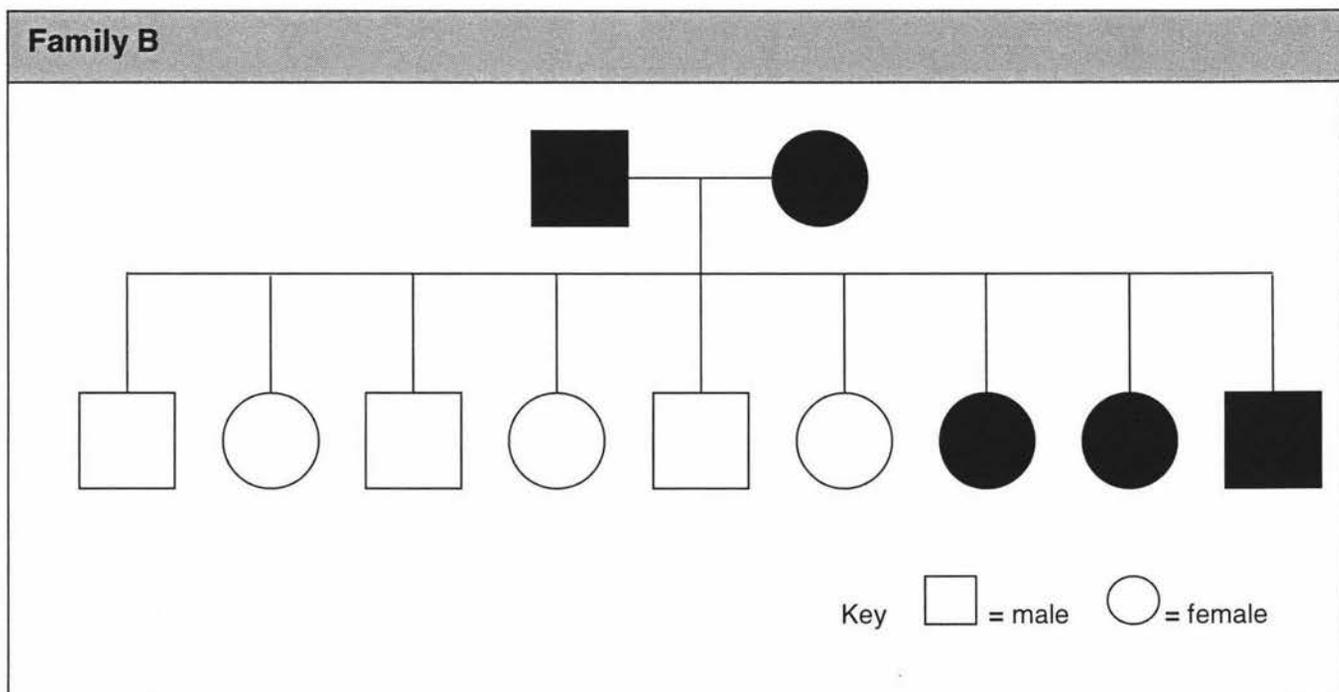


Table 2: Geno make up of family B. (*shades indicate interviewees*)

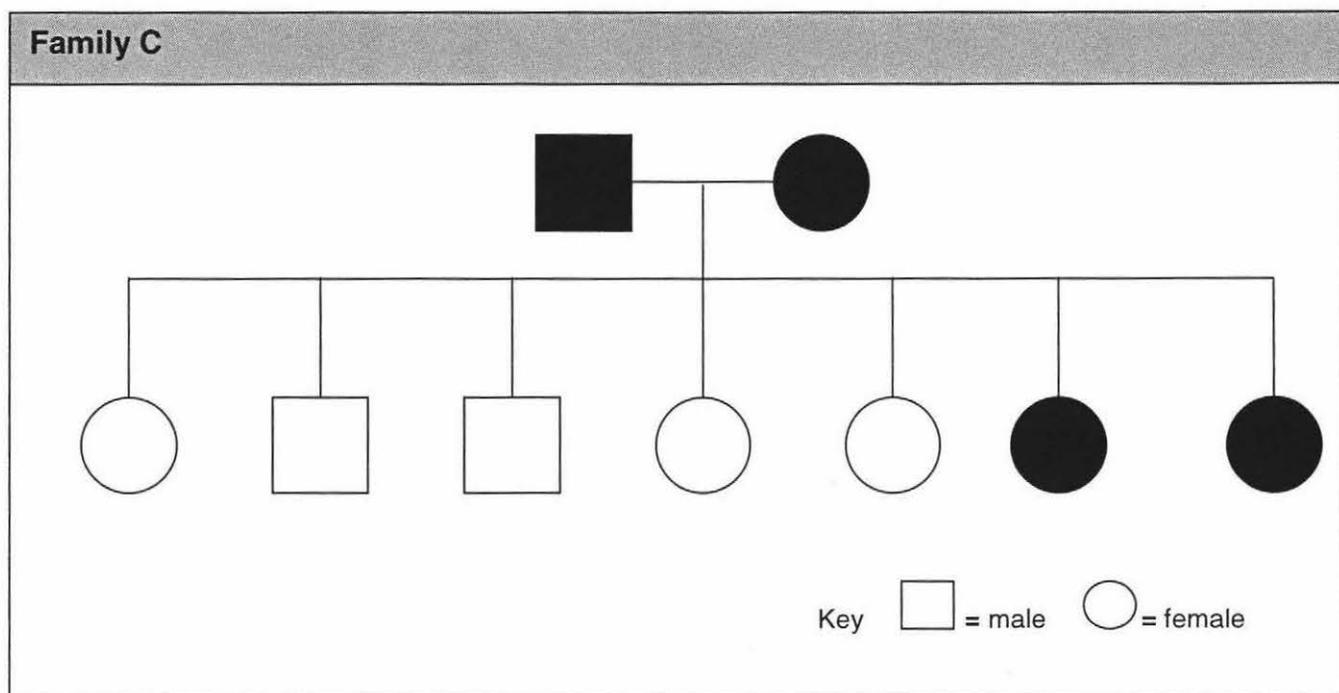


Table 3: Geno make up of family C. (*shades indicate interviewees*)

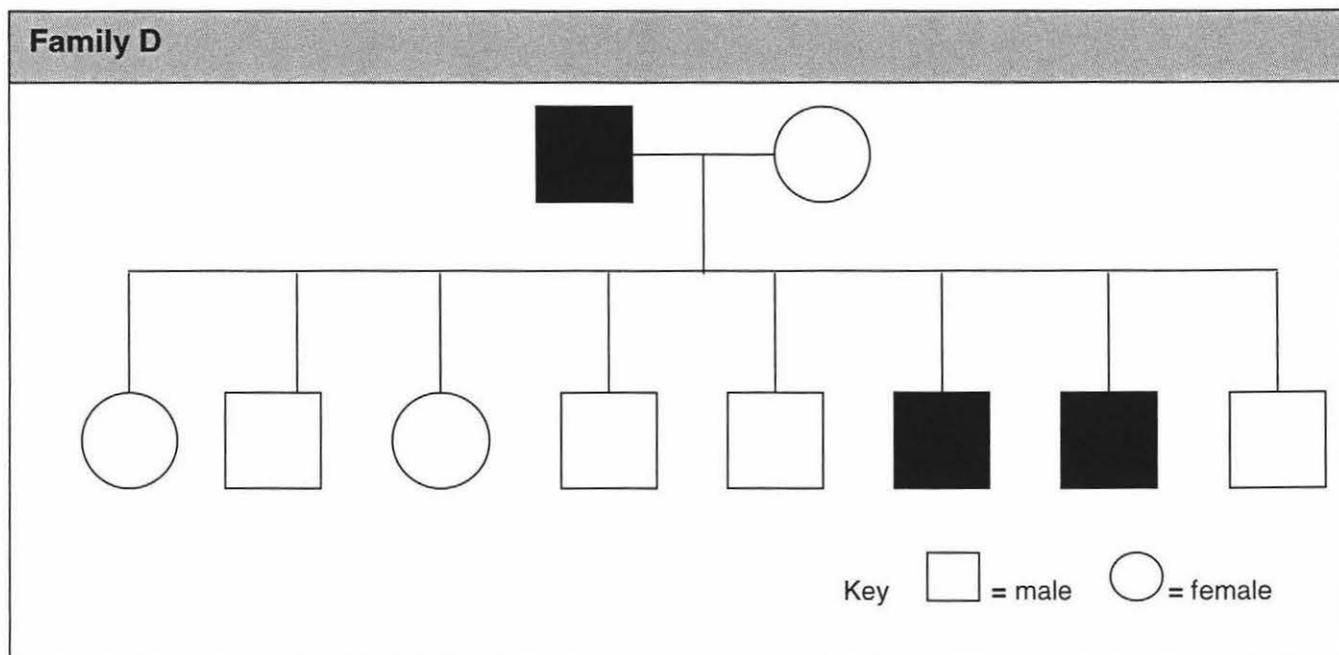


Table 4: Geno make up of family D (*shades indicate interviewees*)

(refer to appendices 4-5 for family geno gram diagrams)

Designing Questionnaires

With interpretive methodology there is a preference for qualitative research techniques, including the unstructured or semi-structured interview, which uses open-ended questions to allow respondents to express their ideas and experiences more fully.

Given the sensitive nature of the research and what would be required of the participants - only individual in-depth interviews were able to elicit qualitative information from their views, thoughts, feelings, and opinions. The questions designed were similar for both parents and youth participating in order to show comparative results of the views. Two questionnaires were developed for both the Parents and Youth groups of the families (*appendices 6 –7*). Included in the NZ-born Tongan youth questionnaire is a Tongan language fluency scale, used to measure the amount of exposure to the Tongan language used in the family environments (*appendix 7*).

Interviews

The qualitative interviews were conducted with each participant within a time frame of 1.5 –2 hours. Prior to the actual interviews an initial meeting time was arranged with each participant, to discuss availability times, explain the purpose and objectives of the research, the process involved and what was required of them. An information sheet was given to participants during these initial meeting times (*appendices 8-9*). A lot of time was invested in explaining the proposal and why I chose to undertake research of this nature. Although it was quite lengthy, the process was necessary, to ensure the participants were fully aware of their participation and commitment to this research. If the need arose for further clarification from the initial meeting, time was also made available for another meeting, before the actual interview.

Confidentiality

Participants were assured of confidentiality through the interview process, including the transcribing of interviews (*appendices 8-9*). Furthermore, all

names have been changed for purposes of confidentiality, and certain events altered to preserve the identity of participants of this study.

Interview process

Parents-to-Parents Interview

I understand that to better accommodate a Tongan family the research must incorporate family involvement, and take seriously the consideration of cultural protocols. As the inside researcher for this thesis I was then faced with the elements of discomfort to interview my elders, the parent participants in the research.

The initial meetings with each parent added some comfort to the situation and it was at these meetings where our cultural protocols were practiced and relationships identified through family lineages and village associations.

Supported by a Tongan senior academic, I decided to provide the parent interviewees with three interviewing options (i) be interviewed by myself, (ii) be interviewed with me accompanied by a translator or (iii) be interviewed by my Tongan-born parents. These options provided cultural sensitivity and showed the respect I had towards them for participating in the interviewing process.

There were seven parents to interview in total, (three married couples and another who was a widow). Three of the seven parents felt comfortable and allowed me to interview them, with the other four parent participants requesting my parents conduct their interviews.

In order for my parents to be able to address the questions in the correct manner I also spent time with my parents explaining the research, we also rehearsed the questionnaire through practice mock interviews.

For each of my parents, especially my mother, there were a lot of expressed emotions during the interviewing process. She told me how she could relate to the places and people in the stories and the story telling was most often accompanied with tears and laughter. But for my father I understand the process might have been rather difficult because Tongan men are not accustomed to sharing their thoughts or feelings openly especially in a directive manner towards other men.

On reflection, all parent interviews shared positive feedback. The parents indicated that they enjoyed the process of the interview because they felt appreciated. They described the interviews as a place of recognition and acknowledgement in the journeys they had travelled and they appreciated that their children were also involved in the research as it gave them purpose. As a child in their eyes I felt very humbled to hear the stories of their journeys and to have consent to share these stories in this publication.

Youth Interview

I conducted twelve Tongan youth interviews amongst the four families involved. The Family diagrams indicate the size of each family and those shaded in the geno grams were interviewed according to the family structure and having met the selection criteria for the research.

The initial meetings helped ease the actual interviewing process, I believe there was also comfort for them to have others in their family participate, they felt they were involved in a process which could be significant for their family. For the older youth participants in the research there were emotions shared, this could be due to the fact that there was more sense of responsibility amongst the older youth towards their family. They were also better able to express themselves and articulate the concerns they faced either in their family or community. Each interview was very different, for the younger youth I felt there needed to be more explanation given for questions asked and a request for elaborations for some of their answers, maybe there was a little nervousness on their behalf envisioning me as an elder amongst their community.

On reflection I really enjoyed the process of interviewing and once again as an insider to the research could relate to some of what was shared. I thoroughly enjoyed my time with the participants in the interviews and I know that in the chapters to follow, you will also be encouraged despite the youthfulness of their journeys.

Post-Interview

After the interview I also consulted with the participants to ensure they had considerable control over how the data was disseminated and how they, as participants, would be represented in the final publication. I assured all participants through individual consultation that they should fully understand and approve the progress of the work, and see the benefits for themselves.

Procedure

The purpose of the epistemology used in this research is to identify and make available knowledge of the Migrant Tongan world in New Zealand. As well as traditional perspectives and perceptions and how they have been developed over time. The use of Tongan cultural values and attitudes in the process is significant for me as a researcher but it cannot be assumed that there is a universal Tongan view on things. Tongan people have their own cultural indexes as far as knowledge, learning, teaching and research definitions are concerned.³

The following chapters in Part five of this thesis, as discussed earlier, by way of methodology rationale, will be presented subjectively. Intersecting our Tongan principles is *tapu* (*sacred*) my way of access to these forms of knowledge needs to be continually treated with respect and care. These sacred stories of knowledge relate to knowledge that is specific to the *kainga*, (family) *fa'ahinga* (*extended family*) and *ha'a* (*village*).

³ Stokes(1985)6.

In the next chapter we will hear the parent participants narratively share the effects of migration through stories of how they overcame obstacles, the sacrifices they made, reasons they migrated to New Zealand and their way of child rearing. Followed by a chapter from their children (the New Zealand-born Tongan-youth), their life experiences, providing valuable insights as they share the construction of their own ethnic identity. And finally in chapter 6 of the results I will present a comparative synopsis of both perspectives presenting the similarities and differing views one kainga could inherent from policy settings.

Part Three: Transition Tongan Settlement in New Zealand

Chapter 4. PARENTS

In the 1970s, New Zealand's booming economy was reflected in the expansion of its many industries. The demand for cheap labour outside New Zealand pointed industrial headhunters to some of the Pacific Islands¹.

The 'friendly islands' the Kingdom of Tonga was one these Pacific Island groups. As a result of the high demand for cheap labour many Tongans were brought over to New Zealand through a temporary Tongan Employment "work scheme" visa agreed between the two Tongan and New Zealand Governments.

In 1971, the New Zealand government began issuing the first formal work permits for Tongans to work in New Zealand. Within four years, the majority of the recruits were targeted to meet the shortage of labour in specific cities, particularly Auckland and Wellington.²

Tongan Employment Scheme

According to the government documents,

"The current scheme provided work where local labour was not available. The period of employment under the scheme was eleven months. The employer was required to advance the cost of the worker's return fare. The government selects the workers who must be between 20 and 45 years of age. Workers must remain in the employment provided."³

By the end of the 1970s, the temporary employment work scheme encountered a severe crisis as the New Zealand economy suddenly started to experience a down turn across all industries, particularly the manufacturing industry resulting in company restructuring and employment redundancies.

¹ Halapu (1997): 242

² Ibid

³ Ibid

Tongans together with many other Pacific Islanders, who arrived into New Zealand under the temporary employment scheme, were the first to feel the wrath of New Zealand's economic depression, as cheap labour was no longer required.

As a result for many of the Tongans migrants who had come to New Zealand with the hope of long-term employment, as a communal group of Pacific Islanders, Tongans and many other Pacific Island migrants had embraced their work colleagues establishing good working relationships and friendships within their working environment. All of a sudden, repatriation became a severe problem.

For the Tongan migrants, repatriation not only meant the loss of employment in New Zealand, but the possibility of returning back to unemployment in Tonga. Many Tongan migrants had already left Tonga at the invitation of the New Zealand government to work in the devised work scheme, designed first and foremost to service the need of a growing economy in New Zealand and now that the economy was in crisis, the social wellbeing of these Tongan migrants was being ignored by the New Zealand government. As a result, many Pacific islanders went into 'hiding' from immigration authorities to avoid being sent back to the Pacific Islands.

Dawn raid/Immigration policy

The New Zealand government's repatriation scheme failed. Many Tongan homes had been raided in the early hours of the morning and in some cases unnecessary force was used. The Immigration Service increased its staff and worked in partnership with the police to specifically cater for hunting overstayers. In 1983, the Labour government realised the enormous task of trying to use force to capture the overstayers, so a new measure of partial amnesty was inaugurated. Some Tongans were included among those given amnesty allowing for many Tongan migrants to remain in New Zealand cities. By the end of 1986, more than 1,700 Pacific Island people had benefited from the partial amnesty program; a high percentage of these were Tongans.⁴

⁴ Ibid: 243

In this chapter I will present the Tonga-born parents interviews conducted and collated. First I will allow the families participating in the research to introduce themselves, for sake of clarity and anonymity I have used fictitious names for all parent participants interviewed. I will then continue to subjectively present the interviews in topical categories rather than in coupled relationships as families or parents. I will begin by allowing the parent participants to describe in their own words their migration journey from Tonga to New Zealand.

Migration to New Zealand

The general responses from all the set of parents interviewed clearly highlighted the importance of coming to New Zealand for a better life compared to that in Tonga.

Mele and Soane

The first set of parents interviewed arrived separately into New Zealand at a young age in 1976 for further education. Mele travelled here alone with a younger sister and was fostered by an Uncle to attend a prominent college in Auckland. Coming straight from Tonga to do school certificate in fifth form was difficult so after her first year at secondary school it was decided that she would try a secretarial course for a year at a Private Training Establishment ***“I think it was 6 months before I liked this country, because I was home sick and I wanted to go back home.”***

Shortly after she enrolled in her studies Mele met her husband Soane who was also Tongan. Both had seen each other at community events in New Zealand. Mele thought it only right to marry a Tongan because ***“it was important to marry... someone that would understand my culture. I think in my mind I believed that- that someone would love my family too”***.

Similar to Mele, Soane shared how he didn't want to come to New Zealand. He had other goals to finish his secondary education in Tonga and go onto the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. This was not the case, as Soane was forced by his parents to come to New Zealand, and he describes this moment in his life as being completely shocked ***“I was a bit loss, everything was different here... I had a goal to become a dux and be captain at school in Tonga at the time prior to leaving, I was motivated to obtain these goals.”*** Soane's reflection on arrival to New Zealand was that New Zealand schooling was hard ***“ it was cold walking to school during winter I was really struggling. I think at school I was in my 5th form year...I had***

three other friends who came from Tonga together at the same time and they didn't cope well."

Aleki

It was in 1963 following a hurricane in an outer island of Tongatapu, Haa'apai that Aleki, his siblings and his parents moved to Tongatapu the main island of Tonga. It was also the foresight of Aleki's parents that the education of their children would be better off on the mainland as there was no secondary school on Ha'apai. Aleki's memory of leaving Ha'apai as a young man remains very clear to this day ***"When we grew up in Ha'apai, there was no electricity, nothing. Then we came to Tonga it was a big shock to us, I was 11 years old and hadn't seen a light on the street, or a plane landing – it was a big jump when you came to the main island...so when we came over to Tonga, there's heaps of vehicles, traffic aye and everything is big"***.

After five years of living on the mainland of Tongatapu, Aleki's parents thought it would be best that the whole family (all twelve siblings and two parents) move to New Zealand. For Aleki, there was no choice but ***"If there was a choice, I'll come...there was no way I was going to stay in Tonga. Well, first and foremost, I'd never seen NZ in my life, secondly, our mum was already in New Zealand preparing for our family to move I was happy to come over and be together with my mother after two years, this is what I was looking forward to. I don't think anyone of my family members would have stayed. It was 1966 when I was only 16 years of age when our mother first came to New Zealand we really missed our mother. When we came from Tonga over to New Zealand we came through Fiji, once again, it was surprising how big and different Fiji was compared to Tonga. From Tonga to Fiji then New Zealand - and when we hit here, ooh...big world, big world. I said to myself, this is the life. Luckily we came step by step"***.

Malia and Sione

Sione and Malia married in Tonga and had two children before travelling together to New Zealand to seek new opportunities for themselves and their children ***“I was worried about moving to New Zealand as I had a family to bring with me. I knew that we would be moving to a different country, environment and living standard. A very big change from the life I lived in Tonga. I was in New Zealand for 3 months on a previous visit and it was then that I decided to move to New Zealand mainly because I wanted my children to have better education and future than what I had in Tonga. I knew that New Zealand would offer us all, a better living standard.”***

On arrival into New Zealand, both Sione and Malia realised this was the country that would provide for their welfare through employment opportunities and better education for their young family ***“I like New Zealand as it presented better opportunity of succeeding in life. New Zealand was very big with bigger houses, very beautiful. There also were a lot of families living here already I knew could support us; it was a chance to meet them after several years.”***

The “B” Family

The “B” Family moved to New Zealand because at the time the eldest son of their nine children was very sick and they knew it would be best to bring him to New Zealand for medical treatment. They shared that there was no other option. The couple met and married in Tonga and travelled over with six children, their last three children were born in New Zealand and are also participants in the youth interviews for this research. The wife shared that

“it was a very difficult time for me. My husband and eldest son were already in NZ as my son was seeking medical treatment in New Zealand. I was looking forward to seeing both of them and at the same time felt very sad because I would be leaving a lot of people whom I loved behind.”

First Impressions of New Zealand

Aleki spoke of his first impressions of New Zealand as being a surreal experience. The transition from Ha'apai to Tongatapu to Fiji then New Zealand prepared him better for what was to be expected from a new and bigger country. He spoke that if he had arrived into New Zealand directly from Ha'apai, the culture shock would've been too big ***“New Zealand is a bigger country with bigger houses and office buildings and much cleaner than Tonga. The main problem I had with New Zealand when I first arrived was that it was too cold. I found it almost unbearable at times.”***

Mele once arriving in New Zealand realised that whatever a person wanted be it food, clothing or material objects you were able to get it without worrying whether it would become scarce. Everything seemed unlimited as compared to Tonga ***“....New Zealand was a very rich place; I'm not talking about money wise...If you want this you get it, if you want that you get it. Whereas Tonga was very limited, everything was limited. Sometimes you run out of sugar there, sometimes you run out of flour, but here, you can have whatever you like over here, you can get it***

Sione's response reflected the wealth New Zealand had to offer. Regardless of qualification or experience, employment in New Zealand meant earnings in one week was vastly greater than what one would ever earn in one year if living in Tonga ***“What I liked about the New Zealand was the reward “wages” I would get from any employment would far exceed anything that I have ever earned while working in Tonga.”***

Fine recalls everything being 'big', and the quality of life for her small family had improved in regards to unlimited availability of shops and a wider choice in selection when spending her income ***“Everything here was new to me. The shopping Malls were bigger and the road codes were new also. I like New Zealand because we had money to spend. We now earned better money so we can afford to buy things that we could not afford before such as better food”***

Employment

The work scheme made available to the participants on arrival from Tonga was perceived as a blue collared or lower skilled occupations in this country. However their living standard materially had improved dramatically from what they were accustomed to in Tonga allowing for sense of pride in their independence and a capability to provide for their family needs financially. The jobs that were available to the participants were sufficient in meeting their new living standards. There wasn't a lot of emphasis placed on up skilling or education this was often an added bonus from their workplace.

When Aleki arrived he was 18 years old. He ***“had no friends, no experience whatsoever, his English language was very limited, a few sentence here and there but overall it was very broken. When we (my three older brothers and I) first started work, I got \$31 a week and that's big bucks compared to Tonga where I think I only got \$7 a week.”***

There was nothing that Sione did not like about New Zealand when he first arrived. He worked for a company that manufactured building materials from concrete and supplied them to the building industry. He said he felt very happy on his first day at work ***“I knew that my life would change for the better, as I would earn better money for my family and myself. I felt comfortable in the workplace.*** His wife Malia just recalled how it didn't matter what sort of employment you did, what mattered was that she was earning her own income ***“My first job in New Zealand was in a Homestead. I was working in the laundry section...it was something that I had never experienced before in my life. I found myself working for real money; everyone got paid for what they were doing.... I didn't know that you could get paid for doing laundry”.***

Fine couldn't believe that many of the skills she had learnt at home in Tonga like sewing and ironing could actually be utilised in New Zealand and rewarded ***“My occupations when I first arrived in New Zealand was sewing from home and selling the garments to help us with our bills. I***

then did outwork before being employed as a machinist. My first experience in the work place was that I was keen to learn and to control the use of the industrial machine”.

Education

Paula shared of his privileged life in Tonga, where he had attended boarding school; there were 3 days of school work and 3 days of working in the school’s plantation every week. He then attended a teachers college graduating as a primary school teacher. Prior to arriving from Tonga he was working as the manager of a hotel **“When arriving in New Zealand there was no thought of going back to school. It was too late.”**

Aleki didn’t attend school in New Zealand, there were responsibilities that came with his age **“I, my sister and two brothers, we all had to work to help support mum and dad, when we got here. There were six of us who had to work to do our family savings... First job I did was freezing works, working with fishermen. Not a butcher, but I think they call it knife hand now... my dad was working in the freezing works too and another one of my brothers. I was working with them for probably two or three years...working at that time was good. It’s a big thing for us, because when we were in the islands...I only worked in the school holidays and then we starting working here we awoke every morning, 6 o’clock...but we managed and got use to it. The labour here at the time is like office work, everything done in Tonga was done manually, but in New Zealand everything was done by machine. All you have to do is just show your face and that’s it, compared to Tonga, where its heavy labour and you had to work for your money.”**

“I first worked as a labourer at a sheepskin factory in Onehunga. In fact I quite enjoyed my very first day at work. I was happy to find out that the majority of people who worked at the place were Tongans. I had no problems with the workplace. I met many of my friends through work mainly, social kava drinking, and through my works in our church

community. The cultures of my friends are very important to me. I am more opened with my Tongan friends, as they know more about my culture. There are certain jokes and ways we talk that only “your kind” would understand.”

Relationships

Relationships could be deemed microstructures, which are the informal networks, developed by the migrant themselves in order to cope with migration and settlement. These formal networks include psychological adaptations, personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendships and community ties, mutual help in economic and social matters.⁵

Fine confirmed that the majority of her friends are Tongan and was fortunate to meet them through her teaching job and through the church group that she belonged to. She expressed that ***“it matters to me the culture of my friends. I will support any of our Tongan children to value our Tongan cultures. It is important for them to know their identity. The main difference in my behaviour towards my Tongan friends than any other friends is communication. I can communicate clearly to my Tongan friends, as we are all Tongan. We speak the same language and understand the “Tongan jokes” that we often share.”***

Some parents have continued their friendships from when they were at school, however the church has played a major role in assisting with maintaining such relationships. Soane said that ***“he can really get on with anybody, although he finds Tongans more easy going and laid back and it’s quite different from other cultures.”***

Paula found that he had slightly more non-Tongan friends than Tongan friends and he thought that this was probably due to the fact that he was now living in New Zealand. He still felt it important to have good Tongan friends

⁵ Castles & Miller (1993): 23

for the same reasons as the others, simply because there is a unique understanding that comes from having friends of the same culture. Although, there was a comment from Malia who thought that some of her Tongan friends were old fashion and she often found herself reacting differently to their ideas.

Constituting your Tongan ethnic existence

In this section I will outline the discussion I had with the parents regarding the ways they raised their children as Tongan descendants and if or how they were responsible in their own homes to allow for their own children to learn the Tongan culture.

The parent's reflections are rather similar both in desires and struggles. Mele spoke of how she thought it would be better to speak English to her children for educational purposes, but now realises that it was probably a mistake ***“I tried my best to bring them up in the Tongan way but one thing that I was really disappointed in is that I didn't raise them up to speak in Tongan, they can't speak Tongan and I think that is my fault. I taught them how to respect each other as sisters and brothers, the faka'apa'apa (respectful) way”***. As the children grew older Mele encouraged them to be involved in Tongan activities ***“making them join Tongan dance and dress them like a Tongan so people can know that they are Tongan and they can feel proud to be Tongan.”***

Aleki encouraged the Tongan language to be spoken in his family home, both his wife and him felt it very important that their children know their Tongan language. Unfortunately, once the children started school in New Zealand, they slowly started to speak English more and as they got older, the English language became more spoken in the household than Tongan – even to the point where Aleki was started speaking English them ***“we spoke Tongan – when we had our children, mum and I were very strict with our children talking Tongan, and they did speak in Tongan – but when they grew up***

and went to school, they started talking English and picking up the English words, either from school or on the road, they brought it home. One child speaking English was not so bad, but the others joined the older ones and when they were together at home they all started talking in English....this is how their Tongan language started to slowly disappear....they still understand when I talk to them in Tongan but some of them, only a few of them respond in Tongan, and their Tongan is a bit broken". Aleki was pleased by the fact that his children are well aware of who they are as Tongans. He felt he didn't need to force their Tongan identity upon them, as he believes it was considered normal for them to know who they were due to their close relationship with all their extended family "... *my children they know...I don't say, you are Tongan and don't forget that you are Tongan, no, it just sticks with them, they have known all their lives growing up" I think that being Tongan...just comes through".* Aleki thought by going back to Tonga to start a business would make a difference to his younger two boys who were teenagers, but soon realized by the time he had taken his boys back to Tonga it was too late, as both his sons (who were both born in NZ) were very 'palangi' in their ways "*I tried to return to Tonga only recently with the children, I was running a little business there. It was very successful, but our youngest boys didn't want to stay there and I don't blame them. I took them over when they one was 15 and the other 13 when I took them to Tonga, it was too late. They missed their mates and they missed New Zealand, they really missed New Zealand".*

Another parent shared that he believed that the Tongan values his parents taught him were "*very important to cling to. Culture often identifies who you really are. I have brought them up as Tongans.*" He identifies taking his children to Tongan gatherings and encouraging them to take part in Tongan performances in cultural festivities. He has also sent them to Tonga so they can learn the language and to experience life in Tonga "*I speak Tongan to my children so that they always know how to speak the language. They can learn by mixing with the right people other Tongans, the type of people I grew up with, it is very important to teach them to be*

very proud of their Tongan heritage. It is not easy, as sometimes they cannot differentiate between Tongan culture and “being too old fashion”.

One parent was able to differentiate between what he had learnt has a child from his parents to what his children who were all born in New Zealand were currently experiencing as young Tongans ***“I teach my kids to be proud of their background and where they’re from but they are not actually brought up in a real faka’ tonga way. It’s hard because you don’t have much choice here so you try and raise up your kids in a easy way, so I can also cope with the different lifestyle in New Zealand, I try not to be one sided and be balanced.”***

In different parts of the interview the parents openly shared their background and family history ***“it is important that my children know where I came from and appreciate their roots.”*** All the parent participants agreed on the importance of sharing their stories with their children about their childhood as often as possible, they saw it as apart of teaching them how to appreciate life and know the level of standard of living their parents had tried to provide. Sione shared his own family inheritance ***“my mum and dad were very much involved with the Church community. They were both leaders in the local parish community. My Dad was the chairperson of the community until his death. Like me, he had a very strong musical background.”*** All parents noted that although their parents were not educated, they were very skilled and talent in other areas ***“y Mum didn’t go to school but she was brilliant with weaving. My Dad did go to school and he became a great fisherman”*** and its these stories that reminded the parents of where they came from and who they could identify themselves as Tongans.

Church - Community

The Church is the most obvious and perhaps still the most powerful of the ethnic communal institutions among the Tongans in Auckland. An integral

part of Tongan culture since its introduction in the early 1820's by the missionaries (Latukeyu, 1974) it has now been transplanted into New Zealand as part of the Tongan families' search for spiritual guidance and more importantly a support network.

All the parent participants are actively involved in their church and other groups within their church. Their reasons for involvement vary from wanting to support the Tongan youth and/or being with their own children through their spiritual development.

Aleki describes the reason for his involvement in his Tongan church community in this way ***“to continue doing my dad's lifestyle, he liked mixing with his own countryman...I also love doing that because it's my inheritance and my culture and also I just like mixing with people.”*** Sione highlighted that what he was doing in New Zealand with his church community did not differ greatly to what he was accustomed to in Tonga. ***“I am very active in our church community as I am the conductor in our choir and the vice chairperson. I lead and teach the members of the choir. I also have a major influence in decision-making for the group as we worked together as a unit. I enjoy my roles. I like my roles in the community, as it is a way of life that has become a part of me. I was brought up in the very same way.”***

Each of the parents at the time of the interview were actively involved in the church and each having significant roles. One of the parents shared the challenges faced ***“It is not always easy to achieve the goal that I am setting for myself but I do persist.”*** All parents found their church community to be similar to being surrounded by family as all of the participants were in church communities with many other Tongan families therefore enjoyed the company of the members at church. There was only one thing that Malia shared that she did not like about her leading role in the church, and that was that it was ***“very hard to convince other members in the group that I am making an unbiased decision especially when members of my family are also involved in running the group.”***

There have been times though where the parents have felt that they are getting older and need to maybe retire from some church activities in order ***”to focus on my personal things such as my family.”***

Reflections on the Current Tonga

Most of the participants whose families still reside in Tonga visit the island regularly. On reflection they found that Tonga was tidier when they were children than it is now. Two of the seven participants thought they would love to return to Tonga and retire when their children were more grown up ***“I like going back for my holidays and probably when I retire I’ll go back for a little while but would prefer to stay close to their children”*** whereas others spoke of Tonga, the new people, new faces and the big changes ***Tonga has changed a lot since I left the country. Tonga has gone through a lot of changes in their living standard”***.

A few of the participants spoke of the negative media Tonga has been receiving and strongly felt it better for those not living in Tonga to leave matters to those in Tonga ***“I think people should leave Tonga alone...it’s been alright for over 100 years and its running alright for the Tongan community who live there, but there are influences from overseas.”*** One mother strongly believed that ***“People should have freedom of speech to voice their concern. By prohibiting them to speak, it would create a rift in the relationship of the government and the people. I still support the idea of Tonga remaining with the monarchy as this is how the kingdom island was first formed, but I would love to see the government find a way to enable them to listen more to the need of the people”***.

Another spoke of how Tonga has grown economically and he enjoys going home to visit his extended family, he notes that ***“you can now see more people in Tonga have regular jobs. I would not return to live in Tonga as my family is here in New Zealand now and New Zealand provides a better standard of living”***. This is similar to the response provided by a mother parent who shared ***“If I return to Tonga I would be too old to start***

again. I am a lot older now. I would not be able to live the same life style as I have here in New Zealand. New Zealand is home to me. “

New Zealand Government

Unanimously the participants felt that our current New Zealand government (Labour) was doing a great job. In comparison to their homeland they identified that their children and grandchildren had better opportunities to accessing good education and work with improved income.

Soane shared that they **“have more chances to be involved in decision making”** within the growing Pacific Island population. He also expressed positive comments about the governmental structure in New Zealand. Although initially when he first migrated he sensed elements of racism in the workforce something he hopes his children will never experience.

Aleki shared that he has been voting Labour all his life **“Funny....when it comes to the elections, you just go tick Labour....I reckon we have a good Government and good people even though many would disagree with me, if you look back in history this Government has done more for the people of New Zealand. I just do local politics – school, church, community, sports – that’s my life. I trust the people I vote in and I hope they do the right thing”**.

However, some of the participants shared their concerns about New Zealand government this is best expressed in the words of Fine **“I do believe that New Zealand is the right place for my children. The standard of education in New Zealand is much higher than in Tonga. My children would have a far better opportunity to succeed in New Zealand. Pacific Islanders are getting a lot of support from the government; I do not like the racist attitude that is often practiced in NZ. The Palangi seems to have the posh jobs and the pacific islanders are given the manual jobs. The Pacific Islanders are missing out on a better education e.g. University because their parents cannot afford to send them there**

because of their low earning capacity. They (the NZ government) could do more by targeting financial help to those who need assistance. There should be very little help for those who are sitting back and waiting for their unemployment benefit. I want my children to succeed in education and to work in areas of expertise. I am not too sure about this, but they would be much better off here in New Zealand”.

Parent-Relationship

I asked the parents about their own reflections on their parenting and whether they thought they had done a good job in raising their children in New Zealand. Mele’s concern was that she never spoke Tongan to her children enough *“I think the only thing I regret is that I didn’t teach them to speak more Tongan...they know they can come to me when they need something but now my oldest boys work they don’t have much need but I still cook for them”*. Soane speaks openly and frankly about his relationship with his children *“Yeah I think I have made a few mistakes, like one thing is that I was pretty hard on them when they were young as that is how I was brought up and I did it to them and if I was to do it again then I’ll do it different. There are a lot of things New Zealand presents to you but I think you’ve got to go out there and achieve it yourself and I always force them to go out there and do well and try to achieve better than I. I try to be available always to listen to them and especially with the younger children and if they need things for school”*.

Paula and Fine speak of a very good relationship that they share with their children, and they would not change anything in the way they have brought their children up in New Zealand *“NZ has provided my children with the opportunity of achieving a better life, better employment”*. Both have not forced their children to be anything other than themselves *“I still want my children to have more interest in Tongan ways of life...it’s their choice really, to make for themselves”* Both strongly agreed that whilst they are both still alive they *“have the responsibility to assist them in any way”*

Aleki when responding was very expressive when talking about this relationship with his children ***“I don’t have favourites, from the top to the bottom, they’re all the same...not like before, when the kids were growing up, I was like my dad, but as the years went by, I understand more, as you get older and wise they say, ‘you learn a lot’”. “Funny though they’d rather talk to their mum, instead of me – when asking for something. I don’t know why....probably too scared I might say no....whatever she said, I’d go along with it”*** Aleki also spoke of the choice of whether he would raise his children in Tonga or New Zealand he says ***“I’m very pleased to have my children brought up here, but no way would I bring up my children in Tonga – unless I had a good job or my own business especially the number of children I have”***.

Chapter 5. YOUTH

Family Life

The responses below have been transcribed based on questions around the youth participant's role and relationship with their parents and family as a whole. The general response was that each young person interviewed clearly identified their role within the family unit and what role and responsibilities were required of them. It was found that youngest child or the daughters had a far more open and closer relationship with their parents as opposed to sons who were the eldest in the family.

“Because I’m the eldest girl I always feel that I have to represent by being good and set a good example for the youngest. I basically do what my mum does and when she is not here I have the responsibility to do her role such as cooking, washing etc”.

“Being the middle child, there’s not really a role that I must play not like my eldest brother who has more responsibility. He’s often referred to as the one we should all follow, our role is to try and keep up with him, he is our role model. He is the one that is has the most burden with most of the responsibility”.

“It has its highs and its lows. Because I’m the youngest, because I’ve been babied by my mum and dad – or whatever you want to call it, I don’t see it babied, but because I’ve spent the most time with them, it’s easier for me to talk to them than it is for my older brother... it’s hard for me to explain. It’s easier for me to talk to my parents than it is for my older brother to express how he feels, I could tell my parents how to do this, but he’d never simply because that’s often what he does as the eldest”.

School Life

All the participants interviewed all come from a Catholic background and all were educated from primary school right through to secondary school through a Catholic curriculum. One participant spoke very positively about how her spiritual upbringing was very beneficial to her doing well and at the same time enjoying school ***“I’ve always went to a catholic school... I really liked it there, I did, honestly. I did enjoy going to mass, when we used to have mass every Friday, I just liked the religious part of it because they (the school) kind of held some values, unlike co-ed schools... It was, good. I had a good experience in all the schools I went to”***.

The point of being Tongan was not identified as the pre-requisite for being spiritual, although being brought up in a Tongan catholic family would have been a contributing factor. One participant found that through her secondary school years and possibly the fact that she attended a single-sex school, hugely contributed to her participating in activities without hesitation. Furthermore connecting on a spiritual level not a cultural one highlights the importance of a young person’s spiritual well being ***“Yeah, for me I did kind of like school, there was a spiritual part to school, not just going there and just learning about.....subjects like history but there was a (spiritual) connection there, that you could also have, and they (the teachers) did encourage it, especially at St Grace’s where we had duties like Ministers of the Word or Eucharistit was like being a leader”***. Traditional ways were seen as important to the day-to-day lives of our young participants, and as young students in school developing friendships with good friends was seen just as important. The fact that many of the participants enjoyed their schooling in New Zealand, a comparison cannot be made with another country ***“Yeah, I just liked it because....we held on to the traditional ways, I really liked that and it just kept a lot of troublemakers out of school.... not many trouble makers would last that long in school.. The girls were genuine, they were all really nice and everyone just got along”***.

Community/Church Activity

Participants were asked open questions about how active they are as members of their church or community, and whether their level of activeness was by individual choice or by pressure from their parents to participate in such activities. Most of the youth participants had something in common, their church and community were both one in the same. As young people, it seemed only natural that their attendance to church and community activity resulted from their parents pressuring them to attend. This was clearly picked up in all the responses given ***“Yes, I did. I’d say that was more about my parents pressuring me, because I had to go to Sunday School because my mum was always like the leader, or one of the main teachers at Sunday School, so I always had to go, up until I was 18 – 7th formmy church friends were really my friends, but that was by choice – it was just because my parents pushed me to go and make friends with them”***.

“Some of the times my parents would have had to force me to join things like the Tongan Group at school or even things to do with like Tongan community. I wouldn’t want to, as I just because I felt I had better things to do. But then I would eventually end up doing them and in most cases learn to like it”.

One young participant was able to discern the shame their parents would experience if he or his siblings were not actively involved in the Tongan community. The community that all these participants belonged to was small, therefore, expectations to be like all the other Tongan children in the community were experienced by the participants at a very young age. The participants enjoyed good relations with the other young Tongan members of Sunday School and Youth group, but the expectation of ensuring they do not embarrass their parents clearly became an evident issue by many of our participants ***“in the Tongan community when we were little...we didn’t really want to do all that stuff. I think it was because my parents were scared that people were going to talk bad about them saying – ‘look at***

their kids, why aren't their kids coming to church', probably saying that their kids are better than my parent's kids, so I think that's what they were scared of. Oh, I know that they were scared of that". There were fun times spoken of by the participants when they were actively involved in the church – and these times were based around annual events in summers *"Beaches, the BBQs, everyone plays league in the water, that was the only good times, and that was only like once a year – so you're only happy for that day and that's it".*

The only time the participants felt they could avoid or be excused from attending community or church activities was when school work became a priority *"No, not at the moment, because I'm just concentrating on my school work".*

Friends

For youth growing up in New Zealand, it was very important as part of this research to discover whether being NZ- born Tongan automatically meant to be associated with other Tongans – be they NZ-born or not. The question of whether the culture of your friends mattered indicated 'yes' as many of the participants found that mixing with Tongans was a lot more harder than mixing with non Tongans *"Yes I find it easier being friends with girls that aren't Tongan because I feel if I have Tongan friends their parents watch over you".* Being NZ-born Tongan did not automatically mean you would instantly get on with other NZ-born Tongans as this was what was found from the participants when asked if there were similarities with other NZ-born Tongans, *"Yeah, there is a reason for that. I have just a few Tongan friends, and the reason for this is because....there's just a thing about Tongans. Probably the majority of Tongans that I come across, I just don't click with them on their level. My closest friends are not Tongan...so I'd say probably the only thing that's different in behaviours between my Tongan and non Tongan friends are their sense of humour. When I'm hanging out with Tongans, the sense of humour is different - It's OK to*

mock, on all levels...like there's no boundary compared to when I'm hanging out with my friends that are non Tongan you have to be careful".

One participant found that Tongan friends had a tendency to take for granted their friendship by continually borrowing clothes and not returning it, and money and not repaying it back - due to the fact that many of their Tongan friends found this behaviour to be acceptable and considered the 'island way' *".....I don't like that when they're comfortable with you, they just help themselves to things that are yours but they think its fine, because, that's just the way it is. I don't like it when they can take your clothes and stuff like that and not return it...and it's the same thing when it comes to borrowing money, once they get comfortable, they can just ask you for anything – even to the extent of money and its just not a big thing for them to pay it back to you because they think, oh, you know, you're my friend, that's what friends do. That's the understanding they have over in Tonga, I think that would be the main reason why. Yeah, I don't like it when they get comfortable, so sometimes, I don't make friends with them, I don't let them get to that stage".*

Interestingly, it was the parents that also influenced a few of the participants to whom they could associate with. One participant spoke of how her parents encouraged her to only associate with Tongan friends *"They didn't encourage me to have friends but the only friend they liked was my Tongan friend".* When participants chose to associate with Tongan friends, language and connectedness was evident in the friendship *"Yeah, I have more Tongan friends than any other cultural group...we just talk in Tongan to each other... Sometimes at school I speak Tongan... I treat my Tongan friends differently because in a way I admire them because they are hard out Tongan. I admire them for the fact that they know their culture so well".* Another participant spoke of the opposite when associating with Tongan friends – it was the Tongan way that he found annoying and only believed that parents had the exception of behaving in such a manner *"...I like to hang out with Tongan people, but it's just the Tongan way that*

bugs me. But, I like Tongan people; I can be around Tongan people, its good, my best friend is a Tongan....it's just.....some Tongans have this real rudeness to them, you know because they're older they think they can do this and that and you have to just accept it, it's just the respect factor. I believe that in order to gain respect, you should give it as well. There are certain people that we will just have to accept like our mum and dad.....because they're our parents".

Another participant spoke of his pre-conceived ideas of Tongan born Tongans and because they couldn't speak English very well, he thought they behaved in a very staunch manner until he was able to sit down and really talk to them and come to understand that the Tongan born Tongans he played in the same rugby team with were really good people *"I thought that Tongan friends, that couldn't really speak good English were really staunch, but they were actually really friendly people. When you talked to them, they would ask me "how are you?" and after a few beers after the game they would really talk to you in their broken English but they were trying their best. I thought they were all staunch, but it's until you really get to meet them and you know them, they're really cool".*

The male participants spoke of how it was easier to hang out with Tongan friends as they differed from their other friends of different cultures. They found that when you mixed with your own culture you were more likely to be looked after like a family member *"they look after me when we go out. They talk. They just look after me, like we're family, but with your other mates, its "do this and that" and its usually bad things and these are my friends I try to keep away from".*

Tongan Culture – A New Zealand experience

The question posed to the Youth participants was based on how well they could relate to their Tongan culture and identity, and what conflicting issues may have arisen whilst growing up in New Zealand. What became evident

was the clear differentiation between the Tongan culture faka-Tonga the parents know of and the clash it had on these young participants growing up in a New Zealand environment and education system. ***“I don’t like the Tongan way, oh I like the Tongan way but then there’s some things that are bull crap. Like you can tell your mum how badly you don’t want to do something, but then in the end you’re just going to have to do it”.*** Many of the participants were aware of the faka-Tonga way due their parents teaching them throughout their childhood as many would speak of what was considered faka-Tonga and what was considered a bit silly or old fashion ***“We’ve had relatives come from Tonga and you know how your sisters aren’t allowed to wear pants around you. When getting in trouble from my grandma – we were like “what?” It was a really bad thing apparently. We weren’t allowed to watch TV together. So our response is like, ‘nah that’s stupid’.***

All participants were well aware of whom they were as children of Tongan parents ***“To be straight up, I don’t really know that much about my family history. I do know that my mum’s full Tongan and my dad is full Tongan. That’s basically it”*** but when discussing the issues of wanting to fit in and not be different to New Zealand young people few would have stories to tell on how they would try very hard to fit in without their parents finding out ***“I went to this beach trip when I was 5, with my class and I wanted those togs, those swimming togs with the little skirt, yeah. But my parents couldn’t get it for me; I just had to wear T-shirts and shorts. So I took one of my church dresses and I cut it up because like the dress was like, had layers of frills, so I cut up all the frills and left like the top layer and cut off the sleeves, so I had like togs, with like a little frill - and I had to make it look like one of those skirts. Yeah, that’s because I wanted to be like the palagi girls in my class, I don’t want to wear shorts and teeshirts”.***

Participants identified raised expectations by parents as NZ-born Tongan children particularly the elder siblings in the family, much pressure was placed on them to be role models to the younger family members ***“Yes, I’m***

probably the one they expect to probably excel because I'm the first one here, I was the first born here and they probably thought that I have accessed all the opportunities compared to the rest of my brothers and sisters. Yeah, so they expect me to do well in school and to get a good job, yeah and get good money. Yeah, I do give my parents like money every week, even when I'm not staying here at home, it's just something that we do, and it's just to support our parents".

Participants were able to freely express how strict their parents were in raising them – maybe too strict in some cases causing conflict between the young participant and their parent. *"As a teenager I started to clash with my parents, about the way that they thought things should be for me, but it was just different, because I was living in a different country and brought up in a different time. They're very old fashioned. It was when I was 18, I actually ran away from home. I was living away from home for about six months and then I came back and I started to really appreciate what I had at home. It was because I wasn't allowed to do anything, it was really strict and I just needed to get out for six months and just work, trying to support myself I finally came home, because I missed my parents too much".*

Constituting a Tongan Identity in New Zealand

How well participants considered themselves to be Tongan and if they were proud to actually be Tongan produced some interesting insights into how Tongan youth constitute their identity through their experiences of growing up in New Zealand. All participants considered themselves to be Tongan, but when asked why they considered themselves to be Tongan, the responses varied from *"Because my parents tell me"* to a very detailed explanation of a participant's knowledge of Tongan protocol taught at an early age by her mother *"she had brought me up to know who my grandparents are and who my great grandparents are. She also explained who our ancestors were and the villages that we came from, so that I would have a sense of*

belonging.... if there was a Tongan occasion, like a wedding or a funeral, she would explain the Tongan custom involved in either event...like which mats (koloa) to distribute and who gets it – it'll be your father's sister and stuff like that, based on Tongan Custom. She'll explain that to me so that when I go to a birthday and its done in a Tongan Way, then I can understand it, instead of sitting there and not knowing”.

All participants were proud to be Tongan, but at some stage of their life there was a point where being Tongan was nothing to be proud of **“Yes, I consider myself Tongan and before I couldn't say that when at Sacred Heart College because there weren't many Tongans there.....I didn't want to be Tongan or anything. But then I went to Aorere College and that's where I met all my Tongan friends....they changed my mind and I'm proud to be a Tongan and stuff – just some things need to change.....I guess it's just all the cool kids at Aorere were all Tongan – it was like ‘yeah man, they're Tongan’”**

Another participant spoke on how he wasn't a proud Tongan as a younger person, but now he is **“I am trying to get use it, but I show my pride by saying that I am Tongan. I stick up for Tonga even though I am not good at Tongan”**. Another spoke of how **“I use to say ‘Oh, I'm part Samoan and part German’ – make up lies and now I can fully say I'm Tongan and if someone asked if I was Tongan I'd say ‘oh yeah, I'm Tongan’ and some would say ‘oh aye?’ or ‘oh, we don't really like Tongans’ I' would respond back immediately and ‘oh, that's your fault’**. If ever this female participant was asked by friends whether she was proud to be Tongan her response was always **“I'm proud to be Tongan....everyone thinks I'm a Maori or Samoan and when I say' I'm Tongan' and start speaking Tongan, they'll freak out!”**.

Language

When looking at ‘culture’ the question of whether you can speak the Tongan language and understand it was asked and the response from many of the participants was no, they couldn't speak the language but yes, they could

understand it ***“I can understand fluently, but I can’t talk it. There are some bits I can, but its hard when your living in NZ and everyone’s talking English, but you should go to Tonga and stay there for ages man, you forget about your English because you’re too busy talking your Tongan language”***. One participant responded by saying ***“I’m Tongan but not Tongan....because I don’t know the Tongan language”*** and for many Tongan born Tongans and NZ-born Tongans this is clearly the point of difference that determines whether you are 100% Tongan or not.

All participants definitely knew how to say or identify Tongan profanity because it was considered good to know this amongst your Tongan peers ***“No we can’t speak Tongan, but we can swear at each other in Tongan”***. Based on the Tongan language fluency scale used in the Youth questionnaire (appendix 7), most of the participants fell between 3 (*can speak some and understand some Tongan language*) and 4 (*can speak some and understand most Tongan language*) ***“I can speak some of the basics and I can hold a conversation if it was half English half Tongan – but I’m not fluent”***.

For one participant, the reason for falling into the 3- ranking was due to her parents not forcing it upon her and her siblings at home ***“My dad speaks fluent Tongan; he doesn’t speak English at all. But, my mother is a primary school teacher here in NZ. So when she came home, it was like half English half Tongan. I don’t feel that they encouraged us to speak Tongan....Reasons for them not encouraging us was because they were scared that we wouldn’t fit in, or maybe they didn’t want us to be FOBs. (Fresh of the Boat)”***.

On one occasion a female participant was punished for not abiding by her parents rules to only speak the Tongan language for one week. In hindsight, both this participant and her sister can laugh about it and appreciate the importance of why their parents encouraged speaking the Tongan language in their family home ***“Yes there was one time, it was funny because my sister and I were the only ones that couldn’t speak Tongan – because we were the NZ-born kids. There was this one week when my sister and I got this***

really big hiding because we were speaking hard out in English and I remember getting a hiding....because we had this big promise thing between my parents that we would learn Tongan, but it was good because before that, I probably would have not been able to speak the Tongan language”.

The language barrier was therefore raised as half of the participants who were unable to speak the Tongan language but could understand a bit, felt their parents sometimes wouldn't pressure them into attending traditional Tongan events where only Tongan was spoken ***“Our parents don't pressure us to be involved but I guess it would help if they did talk to us in Tongan. It's hard because I have Tongan friends that speak in Tongan to me but I can't reply back and I feel that I have missed out”.*** As one of the participant's entered their latter teenage years, less pressure was shown by her parents to attend Tongan functions due to the fact that work and school commitments became more important ***“No I am not an active member of my Tongan community, I guess being brought up with it, it wasn't really my thing and lost interest. As years go by they didn't bother with the Tongan way”.***

Parents' Homeland

The questions posed to the participants looked to determining which participants would visit or had visited Tonga and if they had, did they take a liking to the Island. Participants were asked of what their expectations were and if they would like to learn more about the Tongan culture or language. Only two participants who were brothers born in New Zealand went to school in Tonga for a few years. Their parents sent them back with the hope that the both of them would enjoy it and become immersed into the Tongan culture and way of life. For the older brother his response was ***“In Tonga, it was the studying I didn't like. I just didn't like work, books, I just didn't like it. When I was at school, all I wanted to do was just work. But now that I'm working, I don't want to work anymore”.*** Following his education in Tonga,

he was brought back to New Zealand to complete his education but found school to be completely unnecessary for him as he preferred to work. Now older and considerably wiser he now realises how important his education was and if given the opportunity to turn back the clock he would take his education more seriously ***“I want to go back to school, I wish I could rewind back time, forget about everything and just do my school and pass my exams. When I have a few drinks with my friends, I start talking about school and I tell them that I wish I never went that way. People say, it’s never too late, but you have to find the time, with kids and a family to feed, it’s hard”***. The younger brother had more appreciation for his education whilst in Tonga and during his time there was able to differentiate between how he was taught in NZ and Tonga ***“... the difference is that my teacher and classmates just acted like we were all family. It was easier but you would get a lot of hidings from the teachers. I reckon life in Tonga is way easier then New Zealand. People don’t have houses but can live in the bushes and still eat from the coconuts and all that”***.

A younger male participant’s response to whether he would ever visit Tonga was due to the simple fact that he was too afraid to go back due to ghost stories heard by friends and the possibility of getting sick ***“No, I’m too scared to go to Tonga. I’d rather my family from all of Tonga come to NZ. Apart from it being really hot, which doesn’t really matter, but you know how people come back with their ghost stories – yeah, their ‘oh, you know, my mums friend got clapped’ – yeah, its just all that I’m scared of. I’m also scared of going because.....you know how people come back with heaps of scabs, oh not like that matters because I have the meanest scabs and I was born here in NZ, so I guess that’s not the reason, basically its just because I’m scared”***.

Although this participant seemed unlikely to visit in the next few years, he did believe that when old enough he would look at visiting Tonga ***“I want to visit but when I’m older.....old enough to make my own decisions, when no one can tell me what to do. Not go there and then be told ‘do this and that, do this and that”***.

One participant spoke of his visit to Tonga on a very positive note ***“I enjoyed it, I really wanted to stay there, I didn’t want to come back. I just really like the whole Tongan thing. I liked it that it wasn’t really modernized; it was still very much traditionally Tonga. It wasn’t really different from how it was back in the old days”***. Asked if he would return to Tonga he responded ***“Yeah I would. I actually want to go over and live there and teach there.....and have my dad go back to the islands as well and live there for a while because I know that he misses it. I’d like to do that one day”***. This participant continued to say that ***“I don’t have any expectation of Tonga. I always thought of it as a place where I could just lie on the beach and can just walk to all my family’s place because it’s close. I guess also I know that it doesn’t have much pressure as in New Zealand financially as well”***.

One participant just out rightly said ***“I won’t visit Tonga”*** due to the current political situation.

A final question based on the history of Tonga was based around whether the participants were aware of the parent’s stories of migration to New Zealand and one participants answer was ***“Yes I know their story and how hard it was for them and how they came here to get a better education and a better life”***

Tongan Monarchy

Interesting enough, the topic of the Tongan Monarchy was quite limited as not all the participants were completely confident in giving their thoughts on Tonga and the Monarchy as much of the information participants received would be via media ***“It’s a tragic, the only way I find out is through the media. Why do we need a Monarchy? I don’t care to be honest and we could lose our culture by all this”***. For those who felt they could give an opinion, spoke from an angle that the Monarchy was okay but that Tonga itself as an economy was corrupt to some degree and that changes were

needed to meet global current trends ***“Oh, the King...I think he’s pretty alright, I don’t know....there’s a lot of dodgy people in Tonga, I mean there’s dodgy things that happen, but Tonga is still doing fine. I think the King needs to modernize it a bit, because Tonga apparently is almost third world. I think the King just needs to like pray – but I’m not telling the King how to do his job or anything...because if I ever make it as a singer or a dancer, I want to put Tonga on the map”***.

New Zealand Government

All participants found that growing up in New Zealand was very good particularly under a democratic Government ***“I think personally it was good living in a not so strictly Tongan environment, and not related to other people. I know if I was in Tonga I wouldn’t be able to know as much as I do about other cultures”***. For those participants who had lived in Tonga for a period of time found that ***“staying in Tonga; it was really simple compared to the way it is here...but in the long run, I’d say its better being brought up here in NZ because there is so much you can do whereas in Tonga, like the girls, like my cousins, they just go to high school then they become mothers and then they just stay at home. The become ‘stay-at-home mothers’ its still the traditional way, the father, the man of the house is the breadwinner – he’s the one that goes out and works, and the mother stays at home and makes babies”***.

A few also spoke of the benefits of growing up with two different cultures - the New Zealand culture and the Tongan culture - but for many of the participants it is very clear that NZ ***“...is not Tonga, I guess it comes back to, I have been raised up here and I don’t know the difference because I haven’t been there and I can’t really compare it. I’m kind of glad that I didn’t have to live in Tonga because it is not advanced as it is here in New Zealand. Tonga is more old fashion.... there is no place like home, like NZ”***.

Parent Relationship

The general consensus of whether parents were strict on the participants interviewed was 'Yes' ***"They were really strict on me and on my school work, and I didn't want to go to school because of this"*** What the participants realised was that parents were more embarrassed about being talked about by their friends in the community if their kids were not seen attending school ***"...they're thinking what other Tongan parents are thinking about their kids, they're thinking what happens if other parents see their kids on the road and mention it to them, they would be really ashamed, and when I come home they would ask 'why were you walking around on the road' and then most likely end up getting a hiding"***.

One of the male participants spoke of his role as being clearly normal because he was the eldest, the eldest son therefore he was taught from an early age by his parents his responsibilities as a good role model for his younger siblings ***"I'm the oldest and it's expected of me. I have a different relationship with my parents cause I'm the oldest, a boy, I did a lot of things. My brothers and sisters get away with a lot of things that I wouldn't have gotten away with. The younger kids have a better relationship with parents. Being the first born, first time at parenting maybe they got better as each kid came along"***.

The strict behaviour of parents was shown in physical punishment, some participants considered it too harsh, some thought it was just what their parents knew best. One participant responded by saying ***"Gotta break the cycle"***. If he was ever placed in a similar situation with his own children and ***"they don't want to go to school and they would rather do this, I'll just let them.... but you have to talk to your kids on what they want to do in their life....that's what I want to ask my kids when they go through school and all that.... I just don't want them to go through what I went through with my parents"***.

For one participant ***“It was the Tongan way...they didn’t really understand what it was like growing up in NZ and how different it was. For example take this situation when I was younger my parents exaggerated it, like it was worse back in Tonga and all I did was have a guy, as a friend, but this was not acceptable...in Tonga, parents would think that something more was happening between the both of you and there could not be anything innocent about the relationship because to our parents it’s just impossible to just be friends with a guy”***

When participants were asked if they were able to speak to their parents about their personal needs, the general response was that most could speak and communicate better with their mothers ***“I think my mum understood me more than my dad did and she started talking to him and trying to advise him of the way that he should handle us, compared to the way he handled the rest of my brothers and sisters who were born in Tonga. So the communication between my father got better”*** Another participant responded similarly ***“If there was something bothering me, I couldn’t really communicate with my dad...it’s always the dads you have trouble with, with my mum I’m sweet as. I can tell her anything, what I’m thinking, what I’m feeling – but it’s my dad where we have to hold back on some things because he just won’t understand. It’s my dad who’s the firm Tongan you know. My mum, she’s willing to adjust to things, certain things, she can compromise. My dad, he’s stubborn, he wont – what he says goes...typical island man”***

The mention of parents giving too much money to the church was seen as an issue that many of the young participants couldn’t understand, especially considering many would know the status of their parent’s financial situation ***“...they would get paid and then say ‘oh no I have no money’, but I bet you if the church says ‘we have to fundraise \$200 for tomorrow’, you know they would come up with the cash and it would all go to the church, now that’s what I don’t understand, families giving out money to the church – that’s not right because, kids should come first”***.

One participant spoke of how much different life would be if her parents were born in New Zealand and therefore would understand what being a New Zealand born Tongan means, but appreciates the fact that her parents are Tongan born and because of this, her parents have instilled in her what it means to be a Tongan woman ***“...maybe if they were born here in NZ it would be easier for them to understand what I’m going through because I’m a NZ-born Tongan – it would have been easier for them to understand my NZ ways, but I would have lost my sense of history – so I’m thankful that they’re from Tonga because then they can teach me and my siblings where we come from and to be proud”***.

Part Four: New Zealand Born Youth

Chapter 6. Comparative Analysis

Within the Tongan community the kainga (family) is whom you identify with and who identifies you. The concept of not being separate from your family is not only in search of cultural identification but spiritual belonging. The wellbeing of a Tongan person and his or her family should be the objective for any social service practitioner working within a Tongan community. Therefore articulating the relational dynamics of the one Tongan family would assist in minimising any risk for a practitioner working with Tongan families.

From the interviews I have created comparative analysis tables for each family group allowing the differing perspectives of the Tongan-born parents to be contrasted to the worldview of their very own New-Zealand-born children.

The four families selected in the research are very different in make up (*refer to family geno gram diagrams: appendices 4-5*). Of the four families who participated, seven parents and twelve youth in total were interviewed. For the purposes of clarity and confidentiality I have presented the summarised analysis of parents views together in the first column and to coincide this, the youth views in the youth column.

FAMILY "A"

In Family "A" (*appendix 4,*) you will see that five of the six children met the criteria for interviewing as well as both parents. The following table compares their differing worldviews.

PARENTS	YOUTH
<p>I am an active member of the Tongan community, I like to support my youth and be with my kids there.</p> <p>Most of my friends are Tongan. I met them at school and most of them are from my church. Tongans are really more easily going and laid back and it's quite different from those in other cultures...but I can really get on with anybody.</p> <p>I tried my best to bring my children up in the Tongan</p>	<p>I'm not active in the Tongan community. I was involved in the cultural group in High school, only because I had to my parents forced me to</p> <p>Sometimes we're pressured to get involved in Tongan activity.</p> <p>It's hard because I have Tongan friends that speak in Tongan to me but I can't reply back and I feel that I have missed out. I met my friends through school. Culture doesn't matter. I</p>

way **but one thing that I was really disappointed in is that I didn't raise them up to speak in Tongan, they can't speak Tongan and I think that was my fault.**

My thinking is because they go to school here in NZ, they won't speak Tongan so I spoke to them in English so they can understand when they go to school.

I use to show them how to respect each other as sister's and brothers, the faka'apa'apa way.

I made my children join Tongan dance and I dressed them like a Tongan so people can know that they are Tongan and they can feel proud to be Tongan. As long as they are good that's all I wanted.

A lot of time I tried to tell them how hard my life was in Tonga to try and encourage them to do well and better.

I like going back home to Tonga for my holidays and probably when I retire, I could go back for a little while but I think what I want is to just be close to my children because they are here. I would love my kids to go to Tonga.

My kids have more chances to involve themselves with all the PI people and there are more opportunities here and the structure of the New Zealand community is easier which allows for them opportunities to step up and be somebody in their community and different community. They are better off here.

I think I have a good relationship with my kids because they are still at home. I try to be fair. **I think I have made a few mistakes, like one thing is that I was pretty hard on them when they were young as that is how I was brought up and if I was to do it again then I'll do it different.**

There is a lot of things New Zealand present to you but I think you've got to go out there and achieve it yourself and I always force my kids to go out there and do well and try to achieve better.

I always listen to them and I never turn them away, especially at their schooling age because they need things.

The only thing I would have liked to do is to have taught them to speak more Tongan.

They come to me when they need something but now my two eldest boys work they don't have much need but I still cook for them.

It is very different here in NZ because you need money for everything. Where as in Tonga it's not the same because you grow everything for your needs. When I came here I always struggled with money.

find it easier being friends with girls that aren't Tongan because I feel if I have Tongan friends their parents watch over you.

My parents didn't discourage me to have friends from other cultures; the only friend they liked is my Tongan friend.

I'm brown and my parents speak Tongan. They told me I was Tongan and I grew up Tongan. I don't really go around expressing that I'm Tongan. **I grew up with other Tongan families and extended family relationship with cousins and grandparents. This is what makes me Tongan.**

Tongan is language; once you speak it then everything flows from there.

I speak a little bit and understand a little Tongan. My parents didn't encourage it though. I can speak some and understand most Tongan language.

I'm Tongan but not Tongan. I don't know because I don't know the Tongan language.

I did not use to be proud to be a Tongan, but now I am. **I am trying to get use it, but I show my pride by saying that I am Tongan.** I stick up for Tonga even though I am not good at Tongan. I knew Tongan people and kids but didn't really grow up with them.

I visited Tonga, I liked seeing the things my mum told me about Tonga, you get a clear picture of the stories she said. It's good to see where your mum grew up

I have been raised up here and I don't know the difference between Tonga and NZ. I'm kind of glad that I didn't have to live in Tonga because it is not advanced as it is here in New Zealand. Tonga is more old fashion.

I ask my mum and dad for help but I first try and help myself, and if I've tried everything and I still can't help myself then I ask my parents.

The thing about Tongans is that even though they're poor they'll still give money to other families in need. I learnt that from my own family. I don't mind giving to my parents when they need it. Although there are things I want to buy, when my parent's ask for money that's a priority.

FAMILY “B”

This is a very large family (*appendix 4*), with both parents born and married in Tonga, the family travelled here from the islands with all their children except those who participated in the interview. Another child was under the age of 25 but not able to participate in the interview, although she arrived as an infant in New Zealand this did not meet the selection criteria.

PARENTS	YOUTH
<p>I am involved with our local church community. I preferred working with other members at our local group. I was given a role of directing our community's work. My wife and I share our responsibility for the community. I enjoy this role very much.</p> <p>Yes the culture of my friends matter to me very much. Communicating in the same language is the main reason and because I want my children to be aware of the importance of the Tongan culture.</p> <p>It is vital that my children are brought up in the Tongan culture. It is vital that my children are able to communicate fully with my own parents in the Tongan language.</p> <p>I encourage my children to mix with any people and not just Tongans only.</p> <p>Yes I have shared with my children my life history. It is important for them to know their roots.</p> <p>NZ is my home now. I do not wish for any of my children to return and live in Tonga.</p> <p>Especially what been on the news lately in Tonga - people have lost their freedom really.</p> <p>I believe that I have chosen the right place for my children to grow up in NZ. The NZ government has helped with the development of the Pacific Islanders standard of living. The NZ government has also assisted in aids to the Pacific Islands.</p> <p>There is still racism in NZ. There is still comparison between the European and Pacific Islanders especially in the area of employment. The Pacific Islanders are delegated to the jobs that many Europeans would not think of doing.</p> <p>The NZ government has helped the Tongan in some areas. They could do more in assisting the well-educated and high achievers among Tongans, as these people will assist other Tongans and their</p>	<p>Sometimes my parents have had to force me to join things like the Tongan Group at school or even like things to do with being Tongan..... I wouldn't because I feel I've got better things to do.</p> <p>I'd say that it was more about my parents pressuring me, because I had to go to Sunday School because my mum was always the leader, or one of the main teachers. I had to go, up until I was 18years old – 7th form.</p> <p>I don't like that when Tongans are comfortable with you, they just help themselves to things that are yourslike they can take your clothes or stuff and not return it.....even to the extent of money,...and not pay it back to you because they think 'oh, you're my friend, that's what friends do'. That's the understanding they have over in Tonga.....so sometimes, I don't make friends with them.</p> <p>I like to hang out with Tongan people, but it's just the Tongan way that bugs me. Just....some of them have this real rudeness, you know because someone is older they think you have to respect them. I believe that people need to give respect to earn it.</p> <p>You know, I use to like say “Oh, I'm part Samoan and part German” – make up lies ...and now I can fully say I'm Tongan.</p> <p>We got this really big hiding because we were speaking hard out in English and apparently that was the week that we were supposed to speak Tongan.... but it was good because before that, I probably would have not been able to speak.</p> <p>Our parents encouraged us to speak Tongan but in the end, it was always up to us.</p> <p>My parents, especially my mother had brought me up to know who my grandparents are. She also</p>

specific needs. Although in the beginning I had difficulty with the government's policy of immigration and the issue with over-stayers.

I believe that my children can come to my husband and I if they need any help from us.

We always share our ideas with our children. This is what parents are for, to listen to their children.

I still want my children to have more interest in the Tongan way of life. But it is really their choice to make themselves.

explains who our ancestors are and the villages that we come from, so that I could have a sense of belonging. If there's a Tongan occasion, like a wedding or if there's a funeral, she explains the Tongan custom that is involved also.

Most of what we hear about what is happening in Tonga is from the Tongan paper.

I want to visit Tonga but when I'm older. You know, like when I'm old enough to make my own decisions.

its better being brought up here in NZ because there is so much you can do whereas in Tonga, the girls- they just go to high school then they become mothers and they just stay at home... its still the traditional way like the father, the man of the house is breadwinner.

I'm a NZ born Tongan but I'm so thankful that they're from Tonga because then they could teach their children where they're from and be proud of that.

FAMILY "C "

Family "C" (*appendix 5*) was rather an adult family. I interviewed the parents and the two youngest children as they were the only youth in the family under 25 years of age. In comparison to other participants of the study, they were much older.

PARENTS	YOUTH
<p>I am very active in the church community group as I was brought up in a very similar group in Tonga. I also have major influence in decision-making for these groups as we worked together as a unit. I enjoy my roles.....as it is a way of life that has become a part of me. I was brought up in the very same life.</p> <p>The culture of my friends does not matter much to me. The "Culture thing" is too much sometimes. Some of our culture should only be practiced in Tonga.</p> <p>There is no difference in my behaviour to my Tongan friends as compared to my other friends who are non-Tongan. My children are more respectful to all groups of people because they know and understand the Tongan culture. There are Tongan values that can only be learned from home.</p>	<p>We were always forced to go and be involved with the Tongan community. I didn't like it. People were just going to church to talk and to see who's there. We were forced right up until we had our own youth group. It was by choice that we wanted to do that because most of us were NZ born</p> <p>And we were able to better understand what each other were going through. In the Tongan community you would have the adults talking for you, they wouldn't ask for your opinion. Whereas NZ born everyone got to say what they wanted to say instead of our parents saying it for us.</p> <p>Sometimes I don't feel Tongan because I can't speak it, but I can understand it. Also I would</p>

I teach my children to be proud of being Tongan. **I have made sure that they know the basic Tongan values such as respecting the elders, obeying their parents at all time, respecting their brothers.** I took them to Tongan gatherings and encouraged them to take part in Tongan performances in cultural festivities etc.

I did not choose to surround my family with other Tongan families. **I would let my children mix with anyone they wish whether they are Tongans or not.**

I talk in Tongan to my children...so they are able to communicate with the older generation of our family.

I have different feelings towards Tongans especially those who grew up with me.

I sent them to Tonga so they could learn the language and to experience the life in Tonga. **It is important for them to know what I considered to be the values I have kept that made me the person who I am today.** It is important for them to know my history and how I was brought up. They must know their root.

I was brought up as member of a very religious family in Tonga. **I was encouraged to love members of my family as well as everyone else in our community. Community life was very important in order to survive. My family's welfare is foremost in my way of thinking.**

I always love returning to Tonga. I would not want to return to stay. I am lot older now and I do not think that I can change back to what I was capable of doing in order to survive in Tonga. My home is NZ. I like to see my children return to Tonga for holidays only.

Tongan has changed a lot since I left the country. Tonga has gone through a lot of change in their living standard **but I would not like to go back to live.**

We always have a very close relationship with our children. **I would not have brought up children any different to what we have done.**

I am grateful for what NZ has offered my children. **My children have a better standard in this country. It is something that I did not have in Tonga.**

My children can always come to me for help. My children are still my responsibility while I am still alive.

There are Tongan ways that are relevant to their lives today. There are Tongan ways that belong in Tonga only.

be shamed of being Tongan if I hear bad stuff on the radio about Tongans and I say 'gosh why did they have to be Tongan'.

I'm Tongan because I was brought up knowing that I was Tongan because of my parents.

I stand up for Tongans.

I grew up with Tongans through church and family occasions.

I encourage them to talk to me in Tongan so I can learn.

I like Tongans them because they could understand me more and why I do things.

Mum sometimes talks about how coming here has made it easier for us.

I know their migration stories.

I would like to learn more of my culture and my language.

My Tongan friends, they are similar to me, but some of them have some strong traditional cultural values,

My parents aren't as hard as they use to be for my older brothers and sisters. They didn't pressure me into our Tongan culture, and so we weren't brought up in our Tongan tradition. When my parents first came they kind of learnt that the Tongan way would probably not work here in NZ.

As years go by they didn't bother with the Tongan way.

I don't have any expectation of Tonga. I always thought of it as a place where I could just lie on the beach and can just walk to all my family's place because it's close. **I guess also I know that if you live in Tonga you have so many pressures as NZ especially financial pressures.**

I think personally it has been good living in a not so strict Tongan environment, I was in brought up the faka'tonga way I wouldn't be able to not know as much as I do now about other cultures.

I can speak to my parents about my needs, I think I started doing that when I was in intermediate. Mum is very open and dad is cool but with very personal stuff I talk to my brother and my sisters.

FAMILY “D” (Afeaki)

Family “D” (*appendix 5*) is another large family with eight children with the sixth and seventh sons being interviewed. All the children were born in New Zealand but only those interviewed were in the age criteria of youth for the purposes of the interview. The mother of the children interviewed is deceased and the father has a new partner therefore I only interviewed the single parent in this family.

PARENT	YOUTH
<p>Yes, it is very important to me, especially in my lifestyle. I want to continue doing my dads work, he liked mixing with people and his own countryman, I love doing it because I believe it is my inheritance and part of my culture</p> <p>I have non-Tongan friends of mine than Tongan friends. This is probably because of the country I live in.</p> <p>When my wife and I brought up our children we were very strict that they had to talk in Tongan – but when they started school, they started speaking English and they would bring this language home. One child speaking English was not so bad, but the others soon joined and that’s how their language started to slowly disappear from them. They still understand Tongan, I talk to them in Tongan, they understand, some can talk back in Tongan, but it’s very broken Tongan.</p> <p>I didn’t tell them who to be friends in my opinion you can’t do that....It’s their choice, the choice is theirs to make, but at least I tell them what’s good and what’s bad.</p> <p>I’d love to go back and live in Tonga, I tried in 2000, I tried to run my own little business. It was very successful, but our boys didn’t want to stay there and I don’t blame them. There is nothing for them. They missed their mates and they really missed NZ.</p> <p>I do not smack my children because of this country’s laws...when the children make mistakes they turn around and point the finger at the parents first. Pakeha people talk to their children; no hidings are given – only sometimes but very rare to find their kids getting a hiding. When we grew up with my dad, one little mistake, one little mistake – you step out of line, you get a good hiding. That’s how hard our dad was,</p> <p>I think that’s why, that’s the difference, this is the</p>	<p>We didn’t really want to do all that stuff. I think it was because my parents were scared that people were going to talk bad about them saying – look at their kids,</p> <p>Beaches, the BBQs, everyone plays league in the water, that was the only good times, and that was only like once a year – so you’re only happy for that day and that’s it.</p> <p>I don’t understand, families giving out money to the church – that’s not right man, kids come first. It’s hard, its normal though, what people go through.</p> <p>I have more Tongan friends than any other cultural group. If I’m talking to a Samoan guy and I do something dumb they say, ‘you must be Tongan’</p> <p>I thought all real Tongans were all staunch, but it’s until you really get to meet them and you know them, they’re really cool.</p> <p>They just look after me, like were family, but with your other mates, its “do this and that” and they’re you’re friends you try to keep away from.</p> <p>I’m proud to be Tongan, when everyone always asks me.</p> <p>I can understand fluently, but I can’t talk it. There are some bits I can, but its hard when your living in NZ and everyone’s talking English</p> <p>I don’t like the people that are in Tonga it’s like they are fobby. I grew up speaking English. There are Tongans that can speak both English and Tongan but not those fobby Tongans they only speak to you in Tongan.</p>

<p>difference compared to bringing up the children in the islands and bringing the children here.</p> <p>Some people think its all like (that island children get good hidings) but I say it's wrong, I reckon its not true, we love our children, sometimes we have to give them a little slap to remind them.</p> <p>I reckon if you talk, just do what you can do and that's it. If they do it (misbehave) they do it, if they don't, they don't – but you've already done your bit.</p> <p>I was like my dad, but as the years go on, I understand more, as you get older and wise they said, you learn a lot.</p>	<p>I reckon that the life in Tonga is way easier then New Zealand.</p> <p>They were really strict on me on my school, that's what they wanted me to do, you know, you didn't want to go to school but they just forced you – you had to go to school.</p> <p>All parents want their kids to do well at school. But with the Tongans, its different I notice parents, they're thinking what are other Tongan parents thinking about their kids, they're thinking what happens if they see your kids on the road</p> <p>Break the cycle. To be honest, if my kids come to me and say they don't want to go to school but would rather do something else, I'll just let them, but you have to talk to them about what they want to do in their life, I just don't want them to go through what I went through.</p>
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Summary of Comparative Analysis

In summary, I have constructed my own comparative analysis table as an indicator to the differences in the interviews which maybe able to classify a reason for the conflicting effects of social policy on the impacts of a constructing Tongan family in New Zealand.

Parents	Youth
Faka-Tonga- traditional Tongan way of life.	Palangi- New Zealand way of Life.
Aristocratic-governed by a privileged class of people; the nobility.	Democratic-governed by the people or their elected representatives.
Collective- a collection of people	Individualistic- a single person
Monoculture- one type of culture	Multicultural-many types of culture
Tongan Speaking	English Speaking
Family based	Individual based

The youth identified with what they thought was Tongan through what was role modelled to them by their parents in their home. Many differing worldviews were associated with influences from outside of the home, shared in the previous chapter 5. The results chapters show that all the youth have the opportunity to become more cultured, which is dependent on their availability or interest in wanting to learn more about being Tongan. Overall I found the young people identified with being Tongan by natural birth right not by place of birth.

Part Five: Conclusion

Chapter 7. CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this thesis was to show how social policies add to the dynamics of a migrant group particularly through the effects of the Tongan *kainga*.

The results of this research examine the relationship between Tongan-born parents and their New Zealand-born youth and have revealed how social policies in the differing worlds have been transported into the '*api*' (*home*) through different cultural influences.

The relationship of both parent and child have been examined and discussed providing support for the need to subjectively present how 'cultural, historical' social policy clearly impacts the dynamics of a migrant (ethnic) culture group. Results found showed both positive and negative impacts on New Zealand born Tongans raised the *faka*'-Tonga way (the Tongan way).

Previous chapters give historical accounts and this help constitute the ethnic identity of the young New Zealand-born Tongan person within their family unit. The social policy discussed in this thesis recognises that decisions in the political sector influences culture and is derived from dominant groups of highly influential status, who are able to design policies in accordance with their perception of 'what ought to be'.

Appreciative Setting

From conceptualising the young person within their family, community and nation we can begin to identify what is called the 'appreciative setting' in policy making. Policy choices are constrained by the most influential cultural and ideological

horizons of the time¹. These types of policies are often deep-rooted and difficult to resolve hence the likeliness of an occurring conflict of interests produced by the migrant parent whose 'appreciative settings' usually change minimally and slowly.

Tongan people are an ethnic group consisting of mannerisms that are traced back to creation myth (Chapter1) reinforced by the faka-Tonga way of life and again by the inclusion of Tongan protocols set out in 1875 Tongan Constitution. The concept of faka'apa'apa which translates to *respect* has been argued to refer only to an outward expression of the 'inward feeling or mental attitude' of reverence and respect. Kolo criticises and defines faka'apa'apa as an effective form of social control a justification, given for authoritarian control.²

The historical overview emphasises how through appreciative setting the policies that are developed are according to judgments and values of the time.³ Therefore to provide effective policy for any particular ethnic group we must first begin to understand the history and the heart of the people the policy is to benefit.

Environmental Factors

The environmental factors that are affecting the well being of the Tongan kainga are clearly expressed through the parallel narratives of the parents' and youth stories:

¹ Palfrey, Phillips, Thomas, Edwards (1992): 36.

² Kolo, F. (1996): 2

³ Palfrey, Phillips, Thomas, Edwards (1992): 36

Parents

Migration to New Zealand, First Impressions of New Zealand, Employment, Education, Relationships, Constituting your Tongan existence, Church/Community, Reflections on Current Tonga, New Zealand Government, Parent Relationship.

Youth

Family life, School life, Community/Church activity, Friends
Tongan Culture – A NZ experience, Constituting a Tongan Identity in NZ
Parents' Homeland - Tongan Monarchy, NZ Government
Parent Relationship

Culture or Conflict

What stood out in this research was how the young New Zealand born Tongans who identified themselves as 'being Tongan' was very much based on the influences and connectedness of their parents. Although many of the young people interviewed could not speak the Tongan language their active participation in Tongan events and church activities, and through association with Tongan friends and their knowledge of the 'faka'apa'apa way of life provided enough substance to allow themselves to be proud to be Tongans.

Maintaining a balance of both the New Zealand culture and the Tongan culture for all participants was identified as a key task to adjusting to the New Zealand lifestyle and still accepting that there is a place for the faka-Tonga way.

Therefore, this balance when integrated in the kainga within New Zealand allows for the parent and the young person to maintain an optimal sense of their own ethnic identity as belonging to a Tongan family. This is supported by the Tongan scholar Lita Foliaki(1988) where she writes of the dual demand from the Pacific Island parents wishing for educational success within the mainstream papalangi

education system as well as wanting their children to understand, appreciate and be proud of their identity being Tongan.

Social awareness of the conflicting areas for the constituting identity of the kainga will not only result in the understanding for the practitioner but will assist the Tongan family in communicating and relating to one another. By clearly locating a young person's socialisation within the socio-political context of their family and community we are able to explore ways people can consciously interpret their social experiences, including their definition of "being Tongan" and how this is experienced through their parent relationships.

As expressed by the Tongatapu No. 3 Noble Representative in Parliament Hon. Tu'ivakano` speaks of the importance of clarifying who Tongan politicians are representing in parliament "*we are in the house to represent our kaingas.*" Hon. Tu'ivakano` stressed his belief in a statement made by HRH King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, stating, "*Parliament was similar to the gathering of a family to meet and to decide what was best to be done for the whole family.*" He then continued to say, "*...our way of life evolves from within the extended family, and we can't live the individualistic lifestyle of New Zealanders. In the past brothers and sisters did not live in the same house, but now they do. When we sit down to watch television, the whole family comes to one room. What was tapu (sacred) is no longer tapu (sacred), and therefore our respect for each other is eroded. I think we should go back to that, because it is the only way we can keep our way of life, where respect plays a very important role.*"⁴

⁴ Matangi: October-December (1997): 15

Ethnic Specific Policy Development

The increasing need for more social policy can be seen by Pacific people as a consequence of the family having failed to fulfill their natural responsibilities. Through investigating the effects of policy on a single Tongan kainga we have provided justification of our final objective for the need to further develop and resolve specific ethnic problems of a migrant group by suggesting a collaborative approach that is “ethnic-specific” towards policy development.

Therefore, developing an understanding of ethnic specific needs for a family can enable social policy writers and social practitioners how to competently provide the tools to empower a family by initiating ways to meet their own needs.

Social policies are designed for the distribution of opportunities and resources available in society for the influencing of well being. Through the shaping the distribution of the access to goods and resources in a particular society you are able to affect the wellbeing of the members of that society. Whether as politicians or theorists, individuals play a role in the making of social policy.

Western society social policy has evolved through creative tension between the increasing recognition of individual civil, social, and political rights and the assertion of group interests. Individualism – the belief that each person should be regarded as a rational and self-determining entity – is the central feature of the legal and political system that New Zealand inherited and adapted from Britain.⁵

Whereas Tongan society can be described as being collectively organised into groups - kainga, fa’ahinga and ha’a, collectively they meet their responsibilities by enhancing human development and advancing social being.”⁶

⁵ Ibid: 140

The results show the Parent and Youth expressions as well as a comparative analysis to differentiate between the worldview of a Tongan-born parent versus their New Zealand-born child.

Parents	Youth
Faka-Tonga	Palangi
Aristocratic	Democratic
Collective	Individualistic
Monoculture	Multicultural
Tongan	English
Family	Individual

The differing policies provide the member of the one family unit conflicting worldviews that could be detrimental to the 'kainga' wellbeing.

Family Responsibility

Ethnicity is an identity that reflects the cultural experiences and feelings of a particular group.⁷ These symbolic elements reflect particular kin structures, diet, religious beliefs, rituals, language, dress and economic activities.⁸ indeed some ethnic groups are invisible to the wider society.

In New Zealand during this twentieth century we are dealing with many Pacific issues, whose concerns for their well being are predominantly ethnic associated

⁶ Shirley (1990): 1

⁷ Spoonley, P. (1988):36

as they are more likely to identify with their ethnic group rather than the blanket term of Pacific people that the Pacific groups are often grouped in.

Social policy is seen to be concerned with the ends and means of distribution ignoring the fact that the 'economy' is the manifestation of human relation and activity, this thesis shows the social costs of the type of liberalisation migration can cause on one particular ethnic family group but for many families they maybe able to identify with the loss of cultural and maybe consequently a cause towards the family breakdown.

Overall this thesis supports the development towards a better understanding of ethnic specific needs for policies to empowering a settler family.

By initiating ways to meet these specific ethnic needs you provide the family with mechanisms to fulfil it's own natural responsibilities. By contributing to the well being of the family you are also contributing to the wider well being of the Pacific community in New Zealand and the state of well being for our nation.

⁸ Ibid:37

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Glossary

Kainga	family
fa'ahinga	extended families
ha'a	village
api	household
faka'apa'apa	respect
palangi	person of European descent
Tagaloa Tufunga	god
Tagaloa 'Atulongolongo	god ancestral
Tui Tonga	dynasty
'eiki toputapu	sacred ruler
Hau	temporal ruler political ruler
'inasi	presentation of the first fruits to the Tu'i Tonga
'eiki	principal chief
mohefo	principal wife
fahu	The eldest daughter

Appendices

Appendix 1:	Consent for research HRH Princess Siu'ilikutapu
Appendix 2:	English Participant Consent Form
Appendix 3:	Tongan Participant Consent Form
Appendix 4:	Family A & B Geno gram Diagrams
Appendix 5:	Family C & D Geno gram Diagrams
Appendix 6:	Questionnaire for Parents
Appendix 7:	Questionnaire for Youth
Appendix 8:	Information Sheet (English)
Appendix 9:	Information (Tongan)

22 November 2009

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

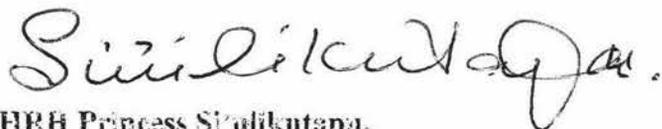
It gives me a great pleasure to provide a letter of support for Emeline Lillian Afeaki.

I have known Emeline for five years; she is an active member within her Tongan Community. Since graduating in 1997 from Massey University with a Social Work degree, Emeline has worked with Tongan youth both in Tongatapu and here in the Manukau area. Emeline is presently working as a Youth worker for Manukau Youth Centre assisting many youth who are experiencing problems.

In anticipation of her Masters in Social Policy based on the Tongan youth in New Zealand, I fully support her research and its' purpose, which is to generate positive change in government policies which are specific to Tonga and Pacific Island communities.

Emeline has the determination and potential to achieve her chosen goals and I wish her much success.

Yours sincerely,



HRH Princess Si'ulikutapa,
Kingdom of Tonga.

PARTICIPANT’S CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and/or have had the details of the study explained verbally to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have a right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without permission.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet or as discussed verbally.

At the end of the research I would like the tape of the interview to be:
Please circle the preferred option (s)

- Retained by the researcher
- Returned to me
- Considered for deposit in an archive (if appropriate quality)
- Destroyed

Signed:.....

Name (please print):.....

Date:.....

**KOE FOOMU NGOFUA MEI HE TOKOTAHA 'OKU NE KAU KI HE NGAUE
FAKA-KULUPU**

Kapau teu loto keu kau kihe kulupu tataki 'oe ngaue ni, 'oku ou ma'u 'ae totonu 'ihe uluaki fakataha keu kau ki hono fokotu'utu'u 'oe ngaahi tu'utu'u ni fekau'aki mo hono fakalele 'ae kulupu.

Koe ngaahi fepotalanoa ke fai te ne fakama'opo'opo ai 'ae ngaahi me'a ni:

Koe fiema'u 'ae fakapulipuli (confidentiality) 'o kinautolu 'oku kau ki he kulupu ni. 'Oku mahu'inga ke 'oua hu ki tu'a ha ngaahi me'a kuo fai ki ai ha fepotalanoa'aki 'ae kulupu.

'Oku 'iai 'ae totonu ha taha pe ke ne nofo mei he kulupu ha fa'ahinga taimi pe pea 'e 'ikai fiema'u ha 'uhinga.

'Oku 'iai 'a 'eku totonu keu 'ave ha ngaahi fakamatala fakataautaha (personal) kuou 'osi fai pe loto ke tuku ia ko ha'a ku tokoni ia ki he ngaue 'oku faka'amu ke fakahoko.

Kuo ou lau 'ae foomu fakamatala pea mo fakamatala'i foki kiate au a'e taumu'a ngaue fakatotolo 'oku fai. Kuo mahino kotoa pea fakafiemalie e ngaahi fehu'i na'aku fiema'u ke fakamahino'i pea mahino foki 'e lava keu toe fehu'i ha ngaahi me'a ange 'iha fa'ahinga taimi pe.

'Oku mahino kiate au 'a 'eku totonu kei nofo mei he ngaue ni 'iha fa'ahinga taimi pe pea lava foki ke 'oua teu tali au ha ngaahi fehu'i 'oku 'ikai keu fie tali. 'Oku mahino foki ko 'eku ngaahi tali ki ha ngaahi fehu'i kimu'a pe au toki nofo 'e kau ia ki he ngaue fakatotolo 'oku fai kapau 'e fiema'u.

'Oku ou loto fiemalie ke 'oange ha fakamatala ki he tokotaha 'oku ne fai 'ae ngaue fakatotolo pe fekumi makatu'unga 'ihe mahino kiate au 'e 'ikai ngaue'aki 'a hoku hingoa ta'e 'iai ha ngofua mei ate au.

'Oku ou lotofiemalie / ta'eloto ki hono hiki tepi 'a hono fakafehu'i au.

'Oku mahino foki 'oku 'iai 'a 'eku totonu keu fekau ke 'oua fai ha hiki tepi lolotonga 'a hono fakafehu'i au.

'Oku ou loto lelei keu kau ki he ngaue fakatotolo 'oku fai 'o makatu'unga 'i he 'u'uni me'a 'oku ha 'ihe foomu fakamatala moe fepotalanoa'aki ne 'osi fai.

Fakamo'oni:

Hingoa:

'Aho.....

Appendix 4

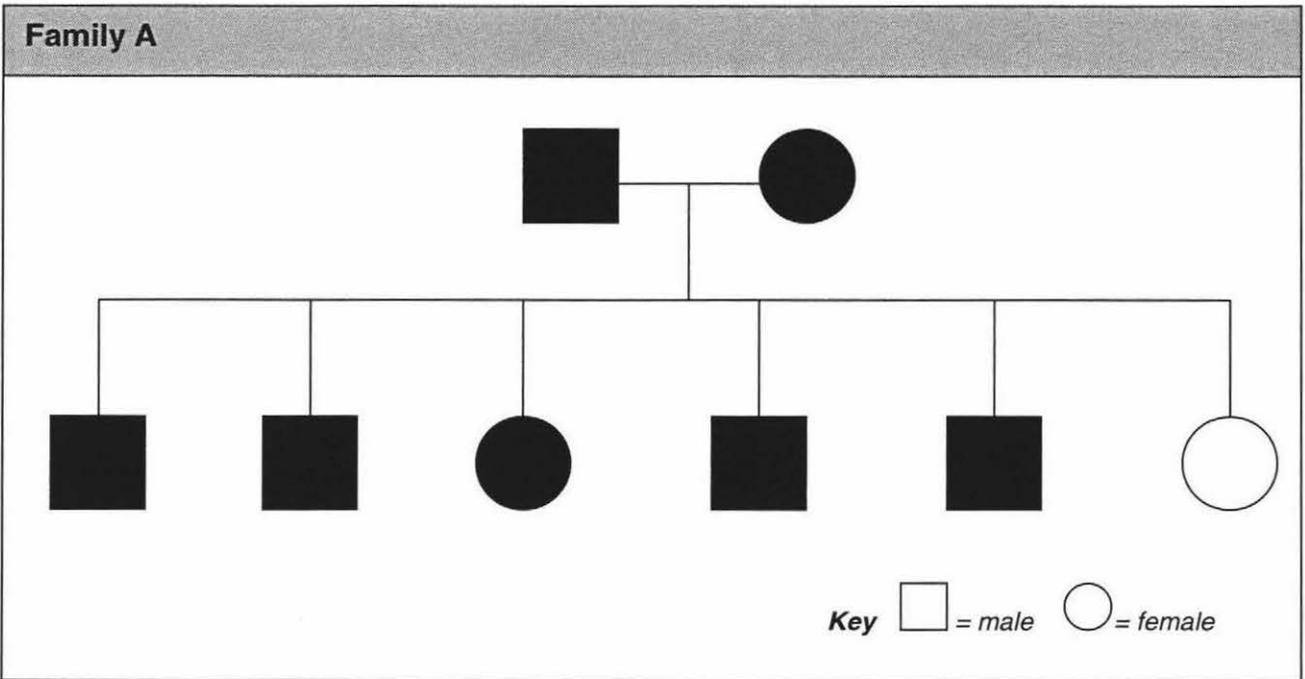


Table 1: Geno make-up of family A. (*shades indicate interviewees*)

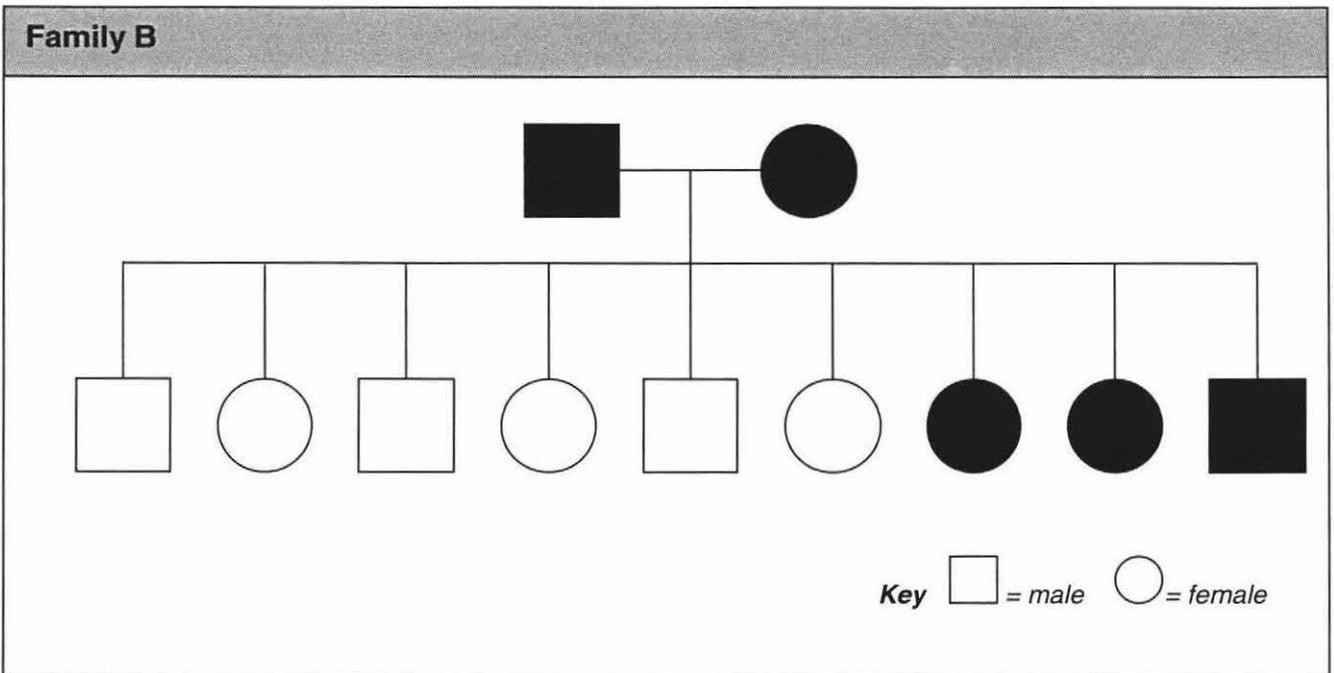


Table 2: Geno make up of family B. (*shades indicate interviewees*)

Appendix 5

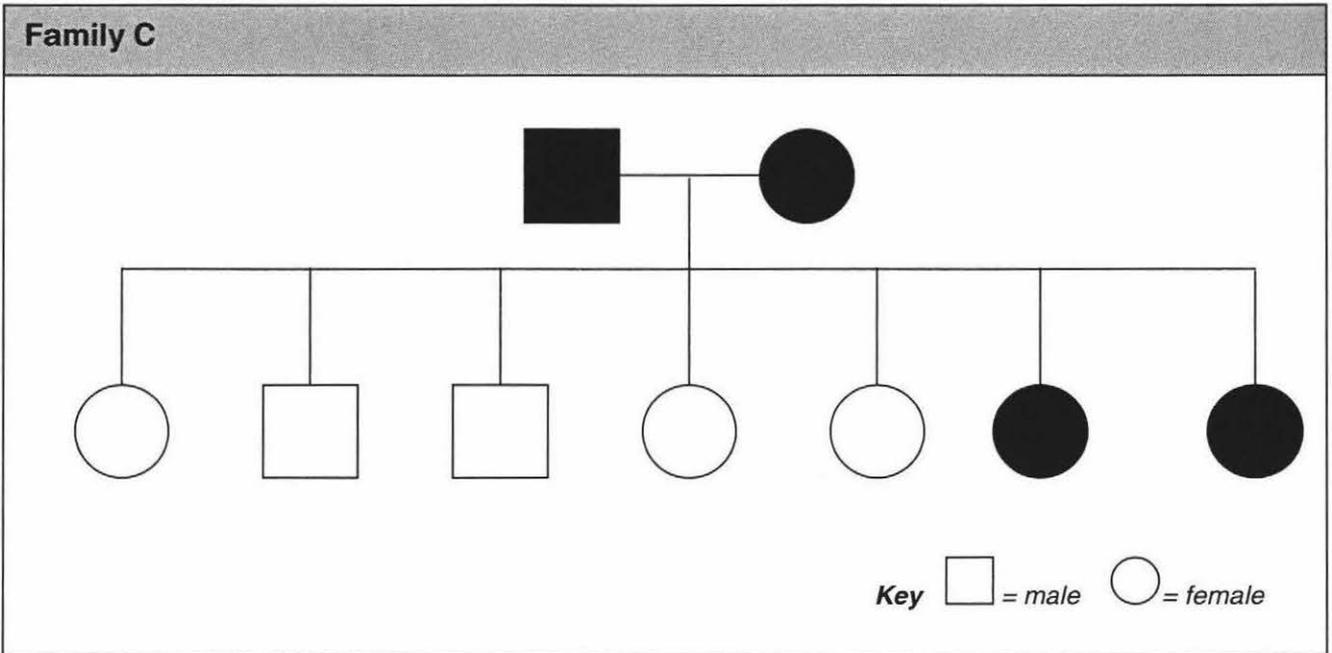


Table 3: Geno make up of family C. (shades indicate interviewees)

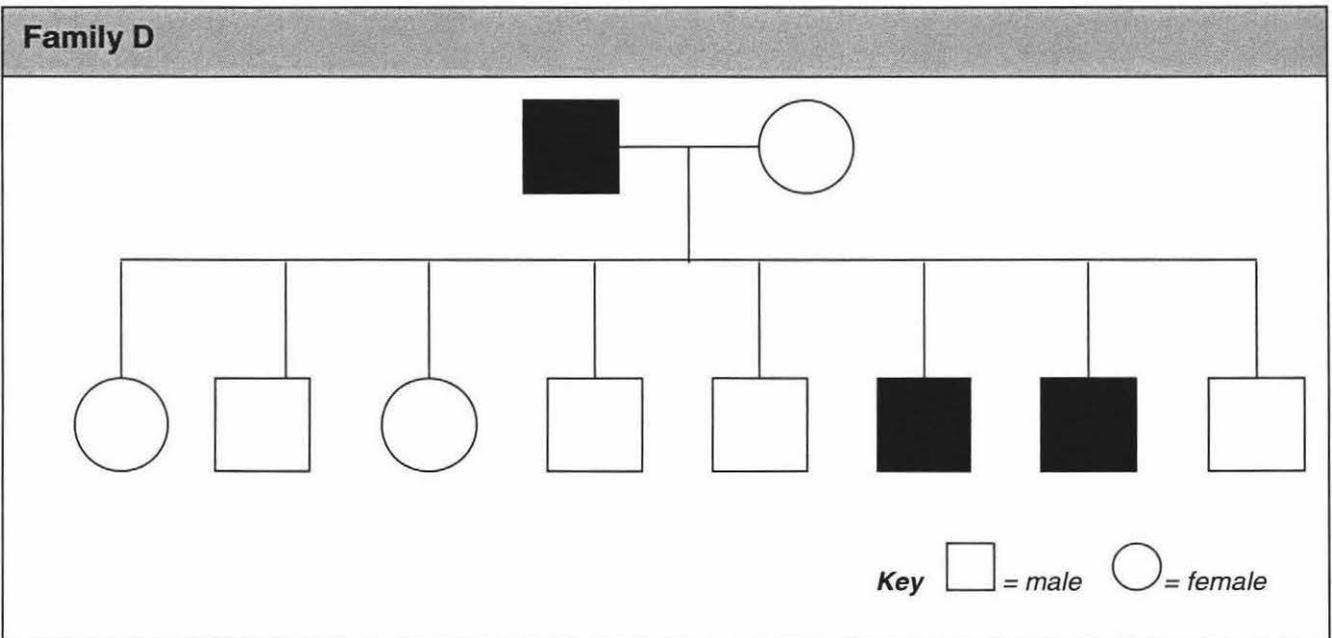


Table 4: Geno make up of family D (shades indicate interviewees)

Interview Questions for the Tongan -Born Parent Participants.

Age
 Ethnic origin
 Village
 Sex
 Occupation

Family Life & Family background:

Ethnicity of Parents
 Family Size
 Locate yourself within the family.
 Does your location have an effect on the relationships you have with your parents?
 Were there any special roles/responsibilities that you had or have in the family?
 Do you know why you believe that is your role?
 Could you share an incident in your childhood with me, which makes you laugh?
 Can you identify any difficult times in your childhood?
 Could you describe a time in your childhood that got you in trouble from your parents?

Could you share the story of your journey from the time you were a child in Tonga to when you decided to migrate to New Zealand?

Why did you decide to come to New Zealand?
 From the time you arrived in NZ did you notice a difference in the surroundings of the country? What was different in NZ from growing up in Tonga?
 What did you like about the new country?
 What did you not like about NZ when you first arrived?

What was your occupation when you first arrived in NZ?
 Can you share with us your first experiences in the workplace when you arrived from Tonga to NZ?

Did you meet your wife/husband in New Zealand?
 Did you decide to marry in Tonga or New Zealand?
 At the time was it an important decision to marry someone from the same ethnic group as you?

How much children do you have?
 Where do you live?
 Did you always live in this area?
 Do you enjoy living in that area?
 What do you enjoy?
 What don't you enjoy?

School Life:

Did you have the opportunity to attend school or receive any education while here in NZ? Can you please express your experiences?
 Why did you choose to go return to study or not to return to study?

After School:

Do you work?

Do you enjoy your work?

Why have you chosen this career?

What did you need to do or learn to be in this job?

Were there difficulties in obtaining this current job?

Was there ever a situation where you were interested in work and felt that you could not fill the position?

Why or why not?

Community/Church Activity:

Are you an active member of any extra curricular activities?

Why have you chosen such groups?

How are you active?

Do you enjoy your role?

What do you like about your role?

What don't you like about your role?

Friends:

Do you have many Tongan friends?

How did you meet your friends?

Does the culture of your friends matter? Why or why not?

Is there a difference in your behaviour to your Tongan friends as compared to your friends who are not Tongan?

Culture:

Do you believe you brought your children up to be Tongan?

What does that meant?

Do you teach your kids to be proud to be Tongan? How do you teach this?

Throughout your migration to NZ did you choose to surround your family with other Tongan families?

Do you the speak Tongan language to your children? Why or why not?

Do you encourage your children to be specifically with Tongan people?

How?

Why?

What do you like about being with Tongan people?

What don't you like about being with Tongan people?

Tongan History: (Constitute your ethnic existence)

As Tongan parents born in Tonga have you shared your history with your children?

Why or why not?

Can you explain your history to me?

Do you know your own family history?

Do you know your mum and dad's experience?

Have you heard of the Tu'i Tonga myth?

Tongan Monarchy:

Since you have lived in NZ have you returned to Tonga for what reasons?
 From your perspective do you think you could make a comparison of Tonga from the time you visited and when you grew up in Tonga?
 Did you like returning to Tonga? Would you like to live in Tonga again?
 Why or why not?
 Where do you call home?
 Would you like your children to go to Tonga?

With what is happening regarding the current affairs of Tonga? And the freedoms of speech for the people do you have any thoughts on this situation?

Do you have any thoughts on Tonga and the Monarchy?

New Zealand government:

Do you believe you have chosen the right place for your children to grow up in?
 What is good about NZ?
 What don't you like about NZ?
 Have you had any experience with local and national government? (example)
 Do you like the current government and what they are doing for Pacific or Tongan people? Do you think that many of their decisions and policies have helped your family and children?
 Do you think they could do more?
 How and where?
 What are our concerns for NZ and your children's future?
 Could your children have a better future if they returned home and lived?
 Can you remember any times in our experience migrating to NZ where you have had difficulty with the government and policies?

Parent- relationship:

Do you believe you have a good relationship with each of your children?
 In reflection from the time you were rearing your child/ren do you wish you did something differently?
 What do you think NZ life has provided for your child?
 Do you believe your children can come to you for any of their needs? Can you articulate why or why not?

Would you like your children to have more interest Tongan ways of life?

Interview Questions for the New Zealand-Born Tongan Youth Participants.

Age
Ethnic origin
Sex
Occupation

Family Life:

Ethnicity of Parents
Family Size
Where do you live?
Did you always live in this area?
Do you enjoy living in that area?
What did you enjoy?
What don't you enjoy?

Family background:

Locate yourself within the family.
Does your location have an effect on the relationships you have with your parents?
Were there any special roles/responsibilities that you had or have in the family?
Do you know why you believe that is your role?
Could you share an incident in your childhood with me, which makes you laugh?
Can you identify any difficult times in your childhood?
Could you recall a time in your childhood maybe between the age group 5-10 years of age where you may have been in trouble from your parents that you could describe to me?

School Life:

What schools did you go to?
Do you enjoy school?
What do you like about school?
What don't you like about school?

After School:

Do you work?
Do you enjoy your work?
Why have you chosen this career?
What did you need to do or learn to be in this job?
Can you tell me of your experiences coming into adulthood?
i.e first job, tertiary school? Driver licence?

Community/Church Activity:

Are you an active member of any extra curricular activities?
Why have you chosen such groups?
Do you choose to be an active member of your Tongan community or is it the pressure of your family?
How are you active?
Do you enjoy your role?
Why do you enjoy this?

Friends:

Do you have many Tongan friends?

Do they think of themselves as Tongan and describe ways they express their Tongan culture?

How did you meet your friends?

Does the culture of your friends matter? Why or why not?

Is there a difference in your behaviour to your Tongan friends as compared to your friends who are not Tongan?

Culture:

Do you consider yourself Tongan?

Why are you Tongan?

Are you proud to be Tongan? How do you express the pride you have in your ethnic group?

Did you grow up with other Tongan families?

Can you speak the Tongan language?

Can you understand the Tongan language?

From 1 to 5 as a ranking for Tongan fluency what number would you rate yourself?

- 1- Cannot speak or understand the Tongan language
- 2- Cannot speak but can understand some Tongan Language
- 3- Can speak some and understand some Tongan language
- 4- Can speak some and understand most Tongan language
- 5- I am fluent in speaking and understanding the Tongan language

Why?

Did your parents encourage you to be with Tongan people?

How, in what way church, sports, etc...

What did you like about being with Tongan people?

What did you not like about being with Tongan people?

Why do you think your parents wanted you to do that?

Tongan History: (Constitute your ethnic existence)

Can you explain your history to me?

Have you heard of the Tu'i Tonga myth?

Do you know your own family history?

Do you know your mum and dad's experience?

Do you know the stories of your parent's migration to New Zealand?

Tongan Monarchy:

Have you visited Tonga?

Did you Like Tonga?

Would you like to go?

What did you like about Tonga?

What are your expectations of Tonga?

Would you like to return to Tonga?

Would you like to visit Tonga?

Would you like to learn more of your culture or language?

Have you seen the Tongan King?

Do you have any thoughts on Tonga and the Monarchy? How do you know these things? From school, parents, experiences, media or family? What do you know about Tonga and it's current state?

New Zealand government:

Do you think NZ is a good place to grow up?

What is good about NZ?

What don't you like about NZ?

Parent- relationship:

Do you think your parents are strike on you?

In what way? How are they strike?

Do you think if they were brought up in NZ like you things would be easier?

Can you speak to your parents about your needs?

Would you be interested in learning of your Tongan History before answering the final questions?

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANT'S.

My name is Emeline Afeaki and I am studying towards a Masters of Philosophy majoring in Social Policy at Massey University Albany Campus Auckland. I am also the Director of Affirming Women a Pacific Social Service Agency. I have worked as an Educator and Social Worker the last six years and have spent time working amongst Tongan families both here and in the Kingdom of Tonga.

Many of the families I have worked with in New Zealand have come from Tonga for work and had their children here. My profession, culture and interest in social policy have encouraged me to do this research on the effects of social policy upon the kainga (family).

The reason I am undertaking this study is because most practitioners working with Tongan youth understand the importance of working within the family structure. In my research I would like to ask some questions to the New Zealand-born Tongan youth and their Tongan –born Parent, hearing their stories of ways they learnt to accommodate their traditions and create family structures to cope with the Western democratic society here in New Zealand.

It is hoped that this information will

- a) Constitute the history of the Tongan family and endeavour to sustain its origin despite the effect of migration.
- b) Develop theory and knowledge on New Zealand born Tongan Youth, their family identity and where they fit within the context of Tongan People in New Zealand.
- c) Possibly generate changes in government policies that may assist practitioners who work within the Tongan youth and their families in New Zealand.

The selection criteria are Tongan born Parents and their New Zealand born children aged 15-25. The Participants for the research must belong to the same family. If one person disagrees to participate they cannot be involved in the research.

If you agree to participate in this study, I would like to meet you at a place that you would find most suitable, maybe your home or close to, where we could talk approximately for one to two hours in private. I anticipate this study may involve you for up to six weeks for three one and a half hour sessions.

I would like to record the interviews with a tape recorder, or if you do not agree to this take notes of our discussions. You may wish to have an interpreter or support person join you in the interview.

If I tape the interview, I will tape the interview or a confidential typist who has signed a confidentiality contract will transcribe these tapes. These tapes will be kept in a secure place and only the researcher will have access to them. The following points are important. They explain your rights as a participant, should you agree to join me in this study.

As a participant you have the right:

- to decline to participate
- to refuse to answer any particular questions
- to withdraw from the study at any time
- to request that the tape recorder be turned off if so desired during the interview
- to have the transcribed data returned to check correctness and to make alterations and to delete information if you desire
- to have the option to retain tapes
- to approve the researcher hold the tapes only until completion of the study
- to request the tapes be destroyed when they are no longer required for study
- to ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- to provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher
- to be given access to a summary of the study when it is concluded
- to have your approval gained prior to any publication of the thesis which has involved you as a participant

The research has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Regional Human Ethics Committee, Albany Campus, Protocol MUAHEC 05/03.

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Affirming Women

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Auckland.

TOHI FAKAMATALA

Ko hoku hingoa ko 'Emeline Afeaki pea 'oku ou 'ihe 'apiako 'univesiti ko Massey 'i Albany.

'Oku ou lolotonga fai 'ae fakatotolo fekau'aki moe to'utupu fanau Tonga ne Fanau'i 'i Nu'usila ni.

Koe u'esia 'ehe nofo fehikitaki (migration) 'ae va 'ae lolonga'i fanau ne fanau'i 'i Nu'usila ni mo 'enau matu'a. Koe ngaahi fakamatala te ke 'omai 'e lava ke ngaue'aki ki hono liliu 'ae ngaahi founga ngaue 'oe pule'anga.

'Oku ou faka'amu ke u ki'i fakataha mo koe koe'uhi ke ta kaunga talaki 'a ho talanoa.

'Oku ou faka'amu ke u fakataha mo koe 'i ho 'api pe 'i ha feitu'u ofi pe ki ho 'api 'e lava ai ke 'oua fakahoha'asi ki taua 'iha houa 'e taha pe ua nai. Kapau leva 'oku ke fiema'u ke ke kau ki ha kulupu fakatokolahi ke fai ai ha felafoaki moe to'utupu 'iha houa 'e ua 'iha fakataha'anga 'e fa nai 'iha uike 'e ono, 'oku 'iai foki 'ae kulupu ke ke kau kiai.

'Oku ou faka'amu ke hiki tepi 'ae ngaahi fakataha ni kapau te ke loto fiemalie ki ai.

Kapau te ke fiema'u ke 'iai ha taha mo koe lolotonga 'e ta fakataha te u loto fiemalie ki ai.

Koe ngaahi fakamatala kotoa te ke 'omai kiate au 'e tauhi malu ia pea ko au pe teu lava ke 'omai 'ae ngaahi fakamatala ni.

'Oku ou faka'amu ke u talanoa fekau'aki moe ngaahi me'a 'oku ha atu 'i lalo ni:

- 'E lava pe ke 'oua ke ke kau 'ihe ki'i fekumi ni kapau 'oku ke ta'eloto ki ai.
- Kapau ko ho fiema'u ia 'e lava 'iha fa'ahinga taimi pe ke ke mavahe ai mei he ki'i ngaue ni.
- 'E lava ke 'oua te ke tali koe ia ha fa'ahinga fehu'i pe.
- 'Ihe taimi 'oku fai ai 'ae ngaahi tali fehu'i 'e lava ke 'oua hiki tepi 'ae fakataha 'i ha fa'ahinga taimi pe te ke fiema'u ai.
- Te u 'oatu 'ae ngaahi fehu'i 'iha pepa kuo 'osi taipe'i ke lau mo fakatonutonu'i.
- Te u tauhi 'ae ngaahi tepi kuo hiki kae 'oua ke kakato 'ae ngaue fakatotolo ni.

- 'E lava ke faka'auha 'ae ngaahi tepi ni kapau ko ho fiema'u ia hili 'ae kakato 'ae ngaue faklatotolo kuo fai, pea 'e lava ke fakafoki atu kiate koe kapau te ke fiema'u ia.
- Katakai ka ke loto tau'ataina ke fai ha ngaahi fehu'i lolotonga 'ae ngaue fekumi 'oku fai.
- He 'ikai 'asi 'a ho hingoa 'iha ngaahi fakamatala tukukehe kapau ko ho fiema'u ia.
- Te u 'oatu ha tatau 'oe ngaue fekumi 'oku fai hili 'ae kakato 'oe ngaue 'oku faka'amu ki ai.
- Teu pulusi 'ae ngaahi konga 'oe ngaue ni 'ihe **tohi 'oku ou fakamatala'i mo fakamo'oni'i ai 'a hono 'uhinga** (thesis) hili ha'aku ma'u 'ae ngofua meia te koe.

Kuou ma'u 'ae ngofua ke fai 'ae ngaue ni mei he komiti "Ethics" 'aia 'oku sea ai 'a Palofesa Mike O'Brien. Ko toketa 'Okusi Mahina mo Tafa Mulitalo 'oku na tokanga'i pe angi 'i he ngaue ni. 'E lava pe ke ke fetu'utaki kiate ki naua 'I 'Univesiti ko Massey 'ihe fika telefoni 443-9700. Kapau 'oku ke fiema'u ke ke talanoa kiate au te ke ma'u au 'ihe telefoni fika 09-2637340 lolotonga 'oe taimi ngaue.