Langa Fonua: In Search of Success

How a Tongan *Kainga* Strived to be
Socially and Economically Successful in New Zealand

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Fakamalo

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"Blessed is the spot...where mention of God hath been made and His praise glorified."

Abstract[1]

In search of social and economic success, Tongans started to migrate to New Zealand more than 40 years ago. Government studies and other research show that Tongans and other Pacific ethnic minorities are on the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a; Pacific Directions Report, 1999). In the midst of these negative statistics, there are pockets of success, but no detailed research has been conducted in this area (Pacific Directions Report, 1999).

This thesis explores the diverse perspectives on and attitudes to, social and economic success in four generations of a migrant Tongan *kainga* (extended family). It examines the insights and understanding of this particular *kainga* of the concept of success, and analyses the values and motives that drive them to achieve it. It investigates the strategies they employ to achieve goals, the challenges they face, and why they are successful.

An exploratory study, this thesis argues that more research should be conducted on the socio-economic success of Tongans. Findings from such research can inform policies and strategies for socio-economic development for Tongan families and community groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. This research will contribute to the construction of a larger and more representative study of successful Tongan *kainga* that can inform the development of social and economic policies for Tongans in New Zealand.

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[1] A Tongan translation of the Abstract is attached as Appendix One

Introduction[2]

The majority of Tongans, and other Pacific peoples, in New Zealand are currently at the lowest level of the socio-economic hierarchy in New Zealand society. While policies have been set and implemented to remedy this socio-economic disparity, no studies have been done on the experience of the successful minority, which, while exposed to the same socio-economic forces, is more socially and economically successful. Although exploratory, this thesis aims to offer insights by identifying the factors that contribute to the success, and achievement of one such part of that minority. This chapter provides a brief snapshot of the socio-economic status of Pacific peoples, including Tongans, and argues for research on the experience of the successful few.

Tongan Socio-Economic Status In New Zealand

The low socio-economic status of the majority of Tongans and other Pacific peoples in New Zealand and the contributing factors has been well documented over the past two decades (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a; Pacific Directions Report, 1999).This disadvantage is apparent across a range of key social indicators. In health, for example, the Ministry of Health (2004) noted that compared with the total New Zealand population, Pacific peoples have poorer health status, are more exposed to risk factors for poor health, and experience barriers to accessing health. It further noted that, 'Pacific peoples in New Zealand currently experience an independent life expectancy at birth of approximately of 62.5 years, about four years less than the national average' (Pacific Health Chart Book 2004, p. xxix).

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[2] A Tongan translation of the Introduction is attached as Appendix Two

The low socio-economic status of Pacific peoples is also demonstrated in their level of income and type of accommodation. According to the New Zealand Census 2001 the real median annual income of Pacific peoples, age 15 and above was $14,800, while the median income for the total New Zealand population was $18,600.

The census also revealed that:

- The median annual income for adult males of Pacific ethnicity was $17,800, nearly $5,000 more than the median of $13,000 for females.
- 1 in 6 adults of Pacific ethnicity had a tertiary qualification as their highest qualification.
- Nearly 2 in 3 adults of Pacific ethnicity were in the labour force.
- 4 in 5 employed adults of Pacific ethnicity worked full time.
- The most common occupation groups for adults of Pacific ethnicity was plant and machine operators and assemblers (12,804), followed by service and sales workers (11,382), and clerks (11,097) (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a, p. 11).

Furthermore, only 26 per cent of Pacific peoples own their own homes, compared to 55 per cent for the national population. Housing conditions are also worse for Pacific peoples, with 21 per cent living with more than two occupants per bedroom, compared to three per cent of the national population. The census also revealed that:

Nearly a third (31 percent) of Fijian adults (aged 15 years and over) stated that they owned or partly owned their own home. For Tuvaluan people, a less established population, the equivalent proportion was 16 percent. By comparison, 26 percent of the total Pacific adult population, and 55 percent of the New Zealand adult population owned or partly owned their own home in 2001. The younger age structure of the Pacific ethnic groups is a contributing factor to this difference. The levels of home ownership among the remaining major Pacific ethnic groups were: Samoan (27 percent), Niuean (25 percent), Cook Island Maori (24 percent) Tongan (23 percent), and Tokelauan (22 percent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a, p. 12).

Successive governments have been responding to these problems, especially over the last two decades. Acts were amended, policies were approved with structures to implement strategies and related action plans. For example, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs was restructured in the late

1990s, and took up an advisory role to Government and to all ministries to ensure they defined Pacific objectives and established programs to deliver measurable milestones for Pacific populations. Under this role, the ministry collaborated with other government departments and established the Pacific Capacity Building initiative: the policy framework that guides government departments to respond to Pacific peoples' socio-economic needs. As a result, most ministries now have Pacific strategies with Pacific staff to implement their respective plans[3]. The Ministry of Health, for instance, has its Pacific Health and Disability Plan in place while the Tertiary Education Commission has a specific Pacific strategy in its overall Strategic Plan for the tertiary education sector.

As briefly described above, this response to address Pacific issues is based on the analysis of its negative socio-economic status. It is a problem-focused approach. While focusing on the deficits of Tongans and other Pacific peoples results in understanding of underlying causes and produces more appropriate remedies, focusing solely on the deficit has disadvantages. For example, accentuating the negative creates a negative image (Smith, 1999; Helu-Thaman, 2002) that can influence the dominant group's expectations of the group, and can further undermine the self-worth of the researched, which is already a marginalized minority group. Although it is factual, focussing on aggregated data masks the ways in which the social capital of successful sub-groups within the population contributes to the economic utilization of meagre resources. That approach also masks the ways in which sharing and reciprocity lift the social and economic status of a whole *kainga,* rather than its accumulation in one nuclear family at the expense of others in the same extended family unit. Similarly, other such insights that are based on proven strengths and which can offer hints as to how best to work with, and help Pacific peoples, are not identified. In short, only part of the story is told. In many instances, the untold part may be of great importance to the researched

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[3] See the website of the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, http://www.minpac.govt.nz/, for links to these strategies

since it may hold the key to effective approaches to both understanding and transforming their situation.

The study of those models and of the processes which are adopted in these successful sub-groups can contribute to a more balanced and complete story of Tongan settlement, and provide a counter-balancing academic narrative. The resulting insights and understandings can also inform future policies on social and economic development for Tongans in New Zealand. Durie (2003) argues for such a balance with regards to Maori development. He writes:

> The balance between a deficit model and a model of positive development needs to be struck (a move towards the positive is required if real progress is to be made) otherwise there is a risk that policies will be formulated only on the basis of Maori being a marginalised minority (Durie, 2003, p. 160).

Shifting Focus to Positive

Although exploratory, this thesis attempts to draw lessons from the experiences of successful Tongans for the reasons which have been discussed earlier. The review of relevant literature (as discussed in Chapter One) confirmed that no academic research or studies of the social and economic success of Tongan groups and individuals in New Zealand had been conducted. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that some Tongan groupings in New Zealand, especially some *kainga* have demonstrated on-going success (Tu'itahi, 1998).

The *kainga* is regarded by the majority of Tongans as the basic social unit, (Mahina, 1992; Helu, 1999) hence the decision to conduct this study on an extended family. Other researchers agree. As Vaden (1998) writes:

> In spite of the impacts of emigration and western society, the *kainga* (extended family) still stands as the backbone of Tongan society. The *kainga*, at its best, can be a wonderful example of cooperative beings working together to survive. On the other hand excessive family demands and in-fighting can smother individual creativity and wreak havoc with individual professional pursuits (Vaden, 1998, pp.126-127).

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But not all *kainga* are, as the quote above implies, as 'successful' as each other. This raises the important question of what makes some *kainga* more 'successful' than others. This is best revealed by detailed study of a particular *kainga* that has succeeded, and may reveal which, of a number of possible factors, makes the crucial difference. The *kainga* at the centre of this study includes four generations. It includes great grandparents, parents, nine of their eleven children and their partners, and ten grand children (17 years of age and above) in New Zealand. For the purpose of confidentiality, this *kainga* is named the Tahi *kainga*.

The decision to conduct the research with this particular *kainga* was based of the following additional reasons:

- many of its members have been successful in education, business, or in their professions or trades, and have overcome the challenges and seized opportunities which migration has presented. In this respect, this *kainga* is successful than many other Tongan extended families, and may therefore contain the key to understanding why this is the case.

- members of the *kainga* gave their consent and were very supportive of this research. The *kainga* was happy to share its experience as a contribution to the building of knowledge that can assist in the overall development of Tongans and other migrants.

- A level of mutual trust between the researcher and the *kainga* members as participants was already high and well established.

This case study approach provides in-depth insights to the worldview of a Tongan *kainga,* and into how Tongan *kainga* structure and organisation, can provide a platform for collective success in an individualistic and materialistic society. It provides a more accurate understanding to how members perceive and define "success". It reveals the values, inspirations and motives that made them

migrate, work, pool together resources to buy properties, and set up educational schemes to educate *kainga* members. It shows how the *kainga* structure provided a basis for these activitivities. It also examines tensions within the *kainga* as it adapts to new circumstances and looks into the future. There is no scope in this thesis to provide insights to extended families that are not successful.

Chapter One

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

My decision to write a thesis that focuses on the strengths and potentials of Tongans, rather than their deficit and problems, stems from decades of observation of that community, first as a journalist and later as an educator and health worker. While interviewing and writing on people who achieved and were successful in various fields and at high levels in Tonga and in overseas Tongan communities, I discerned a consistent pattern among the individuals involved. This pattern included having specific social and economic goals, a very positive attitude, knowledge, determination and perseverance and working hard. These resilient people never gave up once they set on their goals. I continue to observe the same phenomenon among some of the Tongans here in New Zealand. While teaching at a Pacific tertiary educational institution, PIERC Education, in Auckland, I began to ponder deeply why these Tongans achieve goals and are successful in fields that most of their fellow Tongans can only dream of.

My curiosity led to a research and writing project in which I interviewed some ten Tongans who were successful in their respective fields. The purpose of the project was to record the stories and experience of Tongan migrants in New Zealand. The final outcome was a publication in the Tongan Language, *Ikuna e Tonga 'i Aoteaora* (Successful Tongans in Aotearoa), published by PIERC Education, in 1998. The set of common factors that I discerned among successful Tongans in Tonga and mentioned above was very similar to the factors that emerged from my interviews and analysis in my book. Given the well-documented negative statistics on the socio-economic status of Tongans and other Pacific peoples, I decided to conduct this research that focused on success as a means of learning more which could be instructive in formulating policies on Tongan community development.

Literature Review

While no research has been conducted on the socio-economic success of Tongans in New Zealand, many aspects of the social and economic life of Tongans in general have been documented and researched by Government agencies and research institutions. For example, the 2001 Census of Population revealed the overall socio-economic status of Tongans compared to other Pacific peoples and to other populations group in the country, as detailed later in Chapter two. Similarly, the migration pattern and contribution of Tongans to the economic and social life of New Zealand, other overseas countries, and Tonga, have been topics of research over the past thirty years. Some aspects of this body of literature that are relevant to this thesis, especially the topic of *kainga* and the socio-economic well being of Tongans in Tonga and New Zealand are briefly reviewed below.

The Role of *Kainga* in the Socio-economic Well Being of Tongans

The role of the *kainga* in contributing and sustaining the socio-economic well being of Tongans has been discussed in several studies (Ahlburg, 1991; Small, 1997; Vaden, 1998; Evans 1999; Helu, 1999). Most of these research studies discuss the *kainga*, not as their focus but, in relation to socio-economic topics such as remittances and migration. For instance, Ahlburg (1991) and Evans (1999) refer to the *kainga* in their study of remittances of Tongan migrants and their impact on and implications for the development of Tonga. Only two of these studies, Cathy Small (1997) and Bradley Dean Vaden (1998), focus on the *kainga* and social economic well being.

Small, an American anthropologist who did field work for some 15 years in Tonga and America traces the migration of a Tongan *kainga* to the United States in her book, *Voyages – From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs* (1997). This case study provides insights and understanding into the

perspectives of members of this *kainga* about their experiences of migration and the associated opportunities and challenges they faced in the United States. For example, her research reveals how reciprocal exchanges between members of the *kainga,* contribute to maintaining the relationship among members, despite being dispersed in different countries.

Small's research is of great relevance to this thesis for a number of reasons. Her study focuses on a *kainga*, their reasons for migrating, their experience and views of migration. More importantly, it provides insights on how members of the *kainga* used specific strategies such as sharing resources and helping each other, and resolving conflicts and tensions, as they strived to attain better social and economic well being in America and in Tonga.

In his doctoral thesis, *Kainga: Tongan Extended Family as Agents of Change*, Vaden (1998) explored the dynamics of the Tongan extended family network and the way in which its needs are defined and met. Vaden included in his research cases studies of four Tongan *kainga*, many of whose members migrated mainly to the United States but also to New Zealand and Australia. These case studies revealed how members of these four *kainga* were able to share resources to support members. Vaden argued that:

> Development processes should accurately reflect the needs and wants as well as the structure and dynamics of the extended family...and the inability of governments and international aid agencies to meet the needs of the masses of people, requires one to reassess the methods and goals of development policies. Instead of governments or outsiders dictating the needs and methods of obtaining their needs, communities and families are empowered with the skills, knowledge, and access to the decision-making process (Vaden, 1998, p. iv).

Vaden's study is relevant and lends support to the focus and argument of this thesis that a study of the *kainga*, and specifically successful *kainga,* can be a useful way of finding more approaches to improving the low socio-economic status of Tongans in New Zealand. In particular, I agree with his

argument for 'communities and families' to be 'empowered with the skills, knowledge' and to be accepted as parties to decision-making, especially in policy decisions that directly impact on them.

While analysing the findings of this research, three explanatory models were found to be appropriate vehicles for exploring the subject of the research. These models include the strengths-based approach, the social capital model, and an indigenous Tongan model, *fonua*. This chapter outlines the three frameworks, discusses briefly how each one was relevant to the analysis, and argues that one particular model is more appropriate than the other two in trying to understand the experiences of the Tahi *kainga*. Additionally, the actual methods used to collect the data, and related issues are discussed. The first model to be briefly discussed is the strengths-based approach.

The Strengths-based Approach

The strengths-based perspective is an approach that recognises 'the wisdom of the human spirit, the inherent capacity of transformation of even the humbled and the abused' (Saleebey, 2002, p.1). This approach evolved from the field of social work, in particular, from the experience of helping clients to recover from negative experiences such as abuse.

In explaining the social work background against which the strengths-based approach departs, Saleebey (2002) noted that 'social work, like other helping professions, has not been immune to the contagion of disease-and disorder-based thinking.' Much of the theories and practice of social work is 'constructed around the supposition that clients become clients because... they are in some essential way flawed or weak' (2002, p. 3). He further elaborates:

> To discover the power within people and communities, we must subvert and abjure pejorative labels; provides opportunities for connections to family, institutional, and

communal resources; assails the victim mindset; foreswear paternalism; trust people's intuitions, accounts, perspectives, and energies; and believe in people's dreams (Saleebey, 2002, p. 9).

As Saleebey (2002) points out, the strengths-based approach is built on the strengths and potentials of the client and not on the negative and deficit. It requires a mind shift on the parts of both the social worker and the client, from thinking in terms of 'illness' and 'deficit' to focusing on 'strong hope' and 'belief' in the ability of the client, and the innate power of the human spirit.

The strengths-based approach not only works for individuals but also is effective with groups and communities, such as marginalised minorities. Commenting on the strengths-based approach and Indigenous peoples in the United States, Waller and Yellow Bird (2002) observe:

> While European Americans have persistently attempted to destroy Indigenous cultures and remold Native peoples in the image of the white man, Indigenous peoples have steadfastly struggled to preserve their cultural integrity...One of myriad examples is resistance to government's use of boarding school to force assimilation. Until the last of these government-run schools was closed in the 1970s, children were forcibly removed from their homes and relocate to off-reservation boarding schools where they were forced to look and act European, and were severely punished for speaking their languages or exhibiting any other reflection of their Native identities (Waller & Yellow Bird, 2002, p. 50).

To counter these assimilative activities, indigenous peoples set up tribal colleges in their reservations where they teach their languages and revive other aspects of their cultures and resistance activities such as storytelling, practicing of traditional spirituality and healing practices, and political activism (Waller & Yellow Bird, 2002).

Social Capital

Social capital is another model that may help to identify factors in a *kainga*'s experience and in particular, its success. Whereas strengths-based approach focuses on the inner strengths and

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qualities of an individual or group, social capital refers to the relationships between individuals and groups. Social capital is one of several forms of capital. Other forms of capital include financial capital - funds, physical capital – land and tools, human capital – skills and knowledge, and cultural capital – values, tradition, history which link people (Spellerberg, 2001). Capital in an economic context is an asset that can be invested to generate income (Spellerberg, 2001). The notion of social capital is not new. It can be traced back to an article by an American school reformer, L. Hanifan, in 1916 (Woolcock, 1988), but its re-emergence over the last two decades came from the discipline of sociology, especially from the works of James Coleman (1988), Robert Putnam (1993), and Pierre Bourdieu (1986).

According to Bourdieu, social capital is the 'aggregate of the actual potential or potential resources which linked…which provides each of its (group) members with the backing of the collectively owned capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). Bourdieu's definition of social capital suggests that the concept of social capital is a resource for members of groups to tap into for their benefit. In this regard, it is similar to the definition by Coleman, although the latter focuses on what social capital does, rather than what social capital is.

> The function identified by the concept of 'social capital' is the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests. (Coleman, 1988, S101)

Essentially the definitions of social capital by Bourdieu and Coleman briefly discussed above are similar to Putnam's definition. Putnam (1993) defines social capital as the features of social organisation such as 'networks, norms and trust that facilitates coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.' Putnam further noted:

> Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical or human capital…Working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital (Putnam, 1993, para. 3-4).

Based on these definitions social capital can be understood as a resource, comprising of norms, trust, reciprocity and relationship, to be utilised for the collective, social and/or economic benefits of members of a group, like the *kainga*, and other social formations in society. As a model, the social capital framework can be used as a tool to measure the social and economic capacity of peoples (Spellerberg, 2001).

Trying to define social capital in a Maori context, Robinson and Williams (2001) observe that the European perspective and approach to social capital focuses on 'networks that are created outside the family and it conceptually separates family from community' (2001, p.55).

> In contrast, the Maori concept of family (whanau) moves seamlessly from the immediate family to the wider family network (hapu) and the tribe (iwi), where the (extended) family becomes the community and the community is made up of the (extended) family. Social capital is created through networks and relationships that are within all of these expressions of 'family' (or community). Thus, in the Maori context, the distinction between cultural and social capital disappears. Cultural capital is an important aspect of social capital, and social capital is an expression of cultural capital in practice. Social capital is based on and grows from the norms, values, networks and ways of operating that are the core of cultural capital (Robinson & Williams, 2001, p.55).

The disappearance of the distinction between cultural capital and social capital, in a Maori context, as discussed above by Robinson & Williams, is of interest to this study of a Tongan *kainga*. In a Tongan context, there is a significant overlap between social capital – trust, reciprocity and networking, and cultural capital which is about values, traditions and history. As pointed out by Hau'ofa (1993), two of the underpinning values and practices of Tongan culture are *fe'ofo'ofani* (love and unity), and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity). Networking in social capital is a central element of Tongan cultural capital, known as *tauhi va* (maintaining relationship) as pointed out by Mahina (2005) and Ka'ili (2005).

Having discussed the first two theoretical frameworks, the strengths-based and social capital, approaches, we now turn to the third and final model, *fonua*.

Fonua

Fonua means land and its people and their on-going relationships, a concept that is present in many other Pacific cultures. It is vanua in Fiji, *fanua* in Samoa, *whenua* in Maori, *'enua* in the Cook Islands. It refers to the intricate web of connected, on-going relationship between the entire physical and social environment and humanity, and between man (and women) and his fellow human beings (Mahina, 1992, 2005; Taufe'ulungaki, 2004).

Taufe'ulungaki (2004) elaborates on the concept of *fonua*, in the course of defining the concept of health and well being from a Pacific perspective. She observes that,

> The concept of 'health'...means the well being of the whole person: that is his/her spiritual, mental and physical well being, which is an interpretation that is consistent with the Pacific's holistic worldviews. Well being and health refer not just to individuals but also to communities, the environment in which they live, and the relationship that binds them together. This set of interdependent relationships is what I meant by 'fonua' in Tongan, 'vanua' in Fijian and 'whenua' in Maori. In other words, 'fonua' is a Pacific concept of community (Taufe'ulungaki, 2004, p.3).

Central to the explanation of *fonua* by Taufe'ulungaki is the interdependent relationship among peoples, and between people and the environment. The ultimate purpose of this relationship and exchange between the environment and humanity is to maintain harmony in life in sustainable ways. The concept and practice of *tauhi va* (literally maintaining of space) refers to the maintaining of these multiple relationships (Mahina 2004, 2005; Ka'ili, 2005). At the community and national level, the maintaining of these relationships is called, *tauhi fonua* (maintaining the well being of people and society*)*.

Certain processes in the Tongan culture, and elements in Tongan language, illustrate the significant influence of the *fonua* construct in Tongan thinking and socio-political and economic organisation.

One example is the natural cycle of human life (Mahina, 1992; Ka'ili, 2005). In the world of the womb, the baby is sustained by her *fonua*, the placenta. The baby is later born into the *fonua* (land), where she experiences life and builds relationships with the *fonua*: the entire ecology, including its human inhabitants. As part of the birth process, the remains of the *fonua* (placenta) that sustained the baby are returned by burial to the *fonua* (physical land). The *pito* (umbilical cord that connects the baby to the *fonua*, placenta) once it falls off, is also returned to the *fonua* (physical land) through a similar burying ritual. Upon her death, she is returned to her *fonualoto*, (land within the land), or her grave.

Underpinned by the *fonua* framework, this life cycle process signifies how humanity is physically, spiritually inseparable from its ecological context. In other words, humanity cannot exist independently of its environment, hence the inevitability of the need for a harmonious and sustainable approach to life. As Mahina (2005) notes:

> As a 'model' fonua espouses a philosophy of the life that systematically combines both society and ecology, in on-going relations of process, cycle and exchange to one another, with sustained aims of creating harmony and beauty between people and their environment (Mahina, 2005, para.32).

Another example is how *fonua* as both a concept and a practice is applied in a number of specific contexts. The various ways of applying *fonua* demonstrate the multi-dimensional nature of *fonua* which, in turn, explain its centrality and influence in Tongan culture and society. Some of the *fonua*-derived concepts and notions and specifically the political, economic, and spiritual dimensions of *fonua* are briefly discussed below. These dimensions are complementary facets of one entity and should, therefore, be treated as such for a fuller understanding of the *fonua* framework.

The political dimension of *fonua* refers to the use of power and authority to order society, and to guide the relationship between fellow human beings as well as between man and nature. In terms of governance and leadership, the concept *tufunga fonua* refers to statecraft and nation-building, and transforming societal disharmony to harmony (Bott, 1982; Mahina, 1992). The concept of *tauhi fonua* refers to the role and responsibility of guarding society and maintaining peace and harmony. The institution and personnel entrusted with this role are known as *ha'a tauhi fonua* (societal custodians) (Bott, 1982). The concept of *'ofa fonua* (love the land and its people) signifies the deep historical, psychological, spiritual relationship between Tongans and their society of origin, Tonga. The concept of *langa fonua* refers to positive, community and nation building. Conversely, the concept of *holoki fonua* refers to negative, seditious and revolutionary processes. A stronger synonym of *holoki fonua* is *fakafonua kovi*. The latter is often employed to describe specific acts such as plotting a revolution and murdering a ruler. The derogatory label *kainanga-e-fonua* (eaters of the soil/land) is essentially a social ordering label used by those in chiefly positions towards who are *tu'a* (commoners) to keep them at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Mahina, 1992).

The economic dimension of *fonua* refers to the symbiotic and reciprocal relationship between humanity and its environment. For instance, *tala-e-fonua* (system of knowledge of the land) informs the traditional agricultural practices of Tongans (Mahina, 1992) as to when to prepare the land, when to plant and harvest, or why and how to fallow the land. Many Tongans also draw from the same system of knowledge for their farming practices to inform their marine activities such as navigation and fisheries.

Maintaining a sustainable, harmonious and balanced relationship with nature and one's fellow human beings, both at the individual and collective levels, illustrates the spiritual dimension of *fonua*. Since the introduction of monotheistic religion, Tongans re-conceptualised the spiritual dimension of *fonua* to include God, the creator of the universe. The concept of *"tokalingolingo-e-*

melino-he-fonua" (peace and harmony rule supreme in the land) refers to both a process and a state when peace and harmony is reached in society, and its balance and sustainability is successfully maintained.

The Three Frameworks: Similarities and Differences

Having discussed the three frameworks, strengths-based approach, social capital, and *fonua*, we now examine their commonalties and differences, and the reason why one of the models was chosen as the preferred framework for this thesis. The three models share commonalities in terms of their purpose and, to some degree, the specifics of their substance. While acknowledging the negative challenges, risks, and difficulties - all three models focus on the positive, human potentials, and strengths rather than human weakness and problems. Therefore the strategic tools they offer are based on positive, actual success and achievement, rather than strategies drawn from negative experience. These tools are premised on theories grounded in real life experience.

Turning to their differences, the first one is that of scope. This refers to the fact that whereas the strengths-based approach focuses on the inner strengths and potentials of the individual and group, the social capital model concentrates primarily on the relationship – norms, trust and network – between individuals and groups, while the *fonua* framework embraces the focus of both the strengths-based model and the social capital framework. *Fonua* is holistic and more multi-dimensional than the other two models. *Fonua* is a Tongan framework that encompasses most, if not all aspects, of the Tongan culture and society. As discussed above, *fonua* is the framework through which Tongans view the full cycle of life – from birth to death, and maintaining relationship, *tauhi va*, and sustaining community, *tauhi fonua*. As a model it has political, economic

and spiritual dimensions, offering structures and practical tools such as *langa fonua*. For these reasons, *fonua* is the most appropriate and preferred framework for this study.

There are two other reasons as to why *fonua* is chosen as the framework. Firstly, the *fonua* model was grown within Tongan cultural contexts. It is, therefore, a natural tool to employ in exploring and explaining a Tongan experience. Secondly, as part of the research process, the use of a Tongan framework to explain a Tongan phenomenon or subject matter is an empowering exercise for the researched and the researcher. This is especially valid and relevant in the universe of research which is largely dominated by western views and practices. Furthermore, using Tongan research and theoretical frameworks, instead of other theoretical underpinnings, will help the participants to relate their views, values and experience through a framework that is most likely to convey them accurately (Smith, 1999; Helu-Thaman, 1999).

Acknowledging the value and relevance of indigenous systems, Durie (2003) noted that although it is, 'often positioned in the past, and is sometimes valued because of its antiquity, indigenous knowledge has its applications to modern times in so far as it provides frameworks for understanding and exploring current and future worlds'(Durie, 2003, p.277).

Methodology

The researched is a *kainga* unit in an ethnic minority that is marginalised –economically and socially- to a certain degree in the New Zealand society. The qualitative research strategy employed in this study uses ethnographic methods such as observation, participation, and semi-structured interview. Such methods were the most appropriate for the nature and purpose of the study. Participant-observation and ethnographic techniques are better suited than exclusively quantitative

methodologies for documenting the lives of people who live on the margin of society (Bourgois, 1995). Since the study is to explore in-depth data - the experience, views, attitudes and perspectives of a small social unit, an extended family, and not 'surface counting' (Sarantakos, 1993), ethnography is the most appropriate tool.

In addition to observation, interviews and focus groups, the traditional Tongan methods of constructing and sharing knowledge and social realities – *potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* were employed in the gathering and analysing of data, and the dissemination of findings. *Potalanoa* (talking into the night) refers to a form of conversation in which Tongan participants analyse and reflect deeply on a subject or range of topics and issues that leads to constructing of new ideas or deconstructing and re-arranging of existing ones (Manu'atu, 2000). The aim is not only to understand and be enlightened, but also to identify possible application of new ideas and approaches. The process of *fakalotofale'ia (creating within the house)* is the in-house meeting of the extended *kainga* to investigate perspectives, facts and Tongan socio-economic realities, and to plan on how to apply knowledge, skills and information for the benefit of the extended *kainga*. Both methods were used to triangulate and supplement the open-ended interview and focus group approach. This added to the robustness of the study. This also helped to minimise any bias that I might have had as the researcher.

Both *potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* cater more readily for the circular thinking style of most Tongans. This means that Tongans view things in their totality and interconnectedness and therefore share information in story telling format, rich in facts, feelings, and opinions. *Potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* have a certain rhythm and mood which, when attained, allows for the free flow of ideas and recollection of memories that can unfold significant information. Unlike a Tongan *fono*, a formal and directive dialogue between a chief and his people, *potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* are

normally informal and open for all to participate. Additionally *potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* often take place among participants who have prior established relationships such as members of a *kainga* or close co-workers. Participants therefore participate more as equals, thus normalising the asymmetrical power relationship that the interview method brings with it. The interviewer/researcher becomes just another participant and observer. Participants in the *potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* framework can both ask questions of each other, and contribute their knowledge to the issues discussed. *Potalanoa* and *fakalotofale'ia* are not only about investigating, defining, and applying knowledge and skills, but are also about building a trusting and respectful relationship between participants and the researcher. These characteristics of the two tools are in line with a central feature of Tongan culture, which is being holistic and communal, where the collective good of the group is the ultimate goal of any activity.

The proposed research strategy was presented to the March 2005 meeting of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee and approved by that committee. The documents relating to that application, and the participant information and consent forms required by that committee are included in this thesis as Appendices Five, Six and Seven.

Applying the Methodology

As a journalist and writer, the present researcher observed and took notes of the progress of the Tahi *kainga* over the last 30 years. A very close relationship and mutual trust was built over the same period. The *kainga* story of its migration from a small island and of how it carved, over time, a successful life in the main island of Tongatapu, and later in overseas countries such as New Zealand, was common knowledge among three generations of *kainga* members. The parents, Fonua and Mele, readily gave their consent when the present researcher discussed the possibility of

conducting a research on its migration story with the *kainga*. The request was then discussed at a formal *kainga* meeting where the *kainga* also approved and gave its blessings to the research. The *kainga* was happy to share its experience as a contribution to the building of knowledge that can assist in the overall development of Tongans and others. A level of mutual trust was already high and well established between the researcher and, the *kainga* members as participants. Such an approach is aligned with one of the traditional ways of searching and sharing knowledge within the Tongan culture, that is, a communal and collective approach to the searching, defining and sharing of knowledge, as described by Tongan educator and researcher, Konai Helu-Thaman (1999) in her *Kakala* research model.

The Participants

The participants were informed of the project's intent and the nature, and of the 'costs' of their participation in it, in the required participant information sheet during the formal *kainga* meeting to approve the research request. The present researcher also discussed the project and answered members' questions and concerns when I met participants for their interviews.

A major challenge in this research was the concern of the Tahi *kainga* that their identity be kept confidential. Their concern reflected their practice of the Tongan value of *faka'aki'akimui* (humility). While they were happy to help, members did not want to be misconstrued as being *fieha* (conceited), arrogant, and flaunting their achievement. The *kainga* rightly pointed out that many other Tongan *kainga* are equally or more successful and can be the subject of a more representative study for the learning of Tongans. As mentioned earlier, the *kainga's* acceptance to be the topic of this case study is based on their trust and willingness to help the present researcher. To address the *kainga* concern for their identity to remain anonymous, names of participants, and any other subject

identifying information were deleted from all records of the interview. Key coding files were set up and pseudonyms were used to keep the anonymity of the *kainga*.

A total of 27 members were interviewed over a period of three months. These included the parents, nine (who live in New Zealand) of their 11 children, and the spouses of those who have families, and ten grandchildren. (See three genealogy maps below). The parents and the nine children and their spouses were all available for one-on-one interviews so there was no need for a focus group for these second and third generation members. All were interviewed in their own homes. These interviews were conducted in the Tongan language, the preferred language of the participants. Ten of twelve grandchildren who were 17-years of age or above and lived in New Zealand at the time of the research were also interviewed. Seven of these fourth generation participants were interviewed in a focus group, while three were interviewed on a one-one basis, their preference. All were informed to use either English or Tongan as they preferred. In the focus group, three participants spoke in English while the other four used mostly Tongan with a little bit of English. The three participants that were interviewed separately used both English and Tongan. The mix of the two languages did not pose any challenge, as this presenter researcher is competent in both languages.

Map 1.1: Genealogy Map A below shows Tahi and her wife, Tapu, and their seven children. These *kainga* members were not interviewed. This was because the focus of the research was on Fonua (eldest son of Tahi and Tapu) and his wife, Mele and their *kainga*.
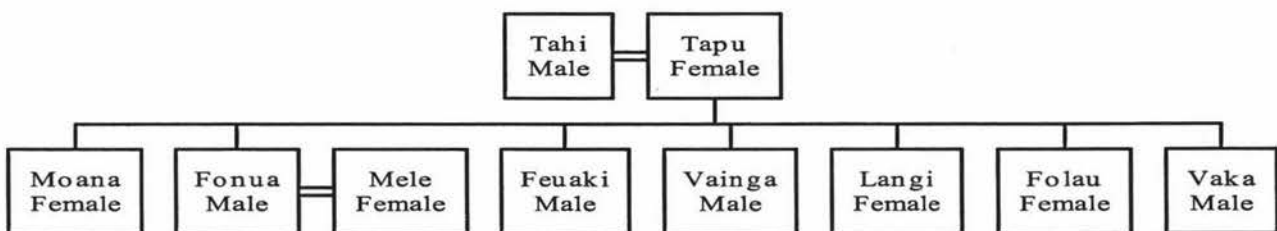
Map 1.2: Genealogy Map B below shows Fonua, his wife, Mele, nine of their 11 children, and their spouses. Two of the children, Fo'ou, and Tonga, and their spouses, were not interviewed as they live in the United States and Australia, respectively. Therefore, they are not included in the map.

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                                    ┌─────┬─────┐
                                    │Fonua│ Mele│
                                    │Male │Female│
                                    └─────┴─────┘
┌────┬─────┬─────┬─────┬────┬─────┬────┬─────┬────┬─────┬─────┬─────┬────┬────┬────┐
│Lotu│Sina │Feleti│Lenisi│Fili│Tupou│Vei │Selu │Motu│Samiu│Malohi│Taufa│Manu│Lahi│Vaka│
│Male│Female│Male │Female│Male│Male │Female│Female│Male│Male │Male │Male │Female│Female│Male│
```
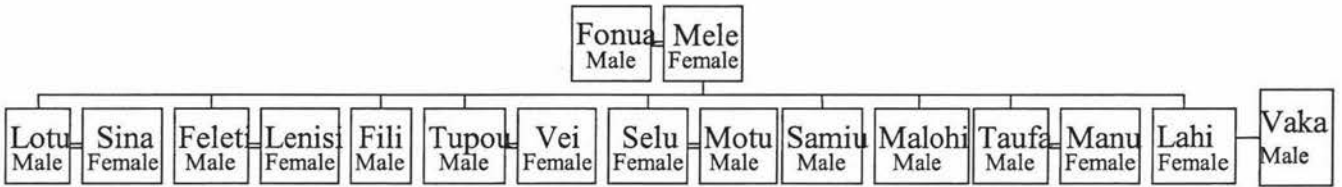
Map 1.3: Genealogy Map C below shows the ten grandchildren who were interviewed.

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┌────┬────┬─────┬─────┬────┬────┬────┬────┬────┬────┐
│To'a│Tino│Matiu│Si'i │Lani│Sio │Tohi│Siu │Meti│Sale│
│Male│Male│Male │Female│Male│Male│Male│Male│Male│Male│
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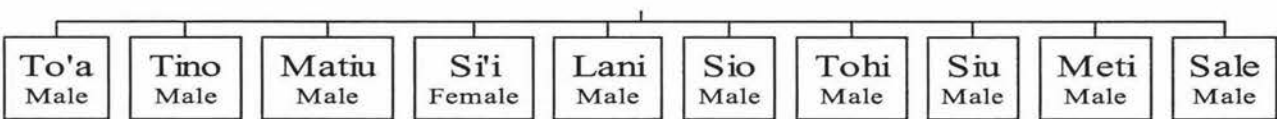
Although the *kainga* as a whole gave their overall consent to the study, all participants were again reminded of their right to withdraw at any point of the interview or from the research project. All read and signed their consent forms and none subsequently withdrew.

All interviews were recorded on audio tape with the prior consent of participants. Each interview lasted an average of 1.5 hours, except for the focus group which was 2.5 hours. This duration was long enough to establish a rapport with participants, create a relaxing environment for them, and to solicit information and explore key areas adequately. An interview schedule with a set of open-ended questions guided the interview. The key areas that each interview focused on were:

- Participant's understanding of social and economic success,

- Participant's experience of life in New Zealand,

- Participant's views and attitude towards life in New Zealand,

- Perspectives on factors that contribute to success, and to failure,

- How participants handle challenges and opportunities in New Zealand,

- Perspective on journey into the future –individually, and collectively

There was no need for follow-up interviews except in the case of the parents. With their prior consent, they were briefly interviewed a second time at their homes to fill in gaps in the chronology of events and to obtain vital statistics of *kainga* members.

The interview data was transcribed and analysed for themes and concepts that emerged. This preliminary analysis was then discussed with *kainga* members in a family *fakalotofale'ia* meeting for the purposes of checking accuracy and to secure further elaboration on the themes, where required. The meeting was opened with devotions and biblical readings. The research was one of several items that were discussed by the *kainga*. Paper copies of the analysis were distributed to all members then the present researcher briefly explained the findings before discussion took place. While comments about ensuring that the anonymity of the *kainga* is kept were made, the accuracy of the data was not an issue and no changes were subsequently made. The ongoing research was discussed in one later *kainga potalanoa* meeting for the same purposes. Except for encouraging remarks from *kainga* members for a successful completion of the research, no new information was added, and no corrections required. Both meetings were held at the regular meeting place for the *kainga*, a meeting house at the *kainga* farm.

Additionally, three adult members who are competent in English and Tongan, familiar with academic research and well-versed in the Tongan culture, checked the several drafts of the thesis,

on behalf of the *kainga,* to ensure accuracy of the information, including the translation of material offered originally in Tongan. Apart from ensuring the accuracy of the data and of its interpretation, sharing the results with the *kainga* ensured that the participants and the author worked in trust, with the understanding that the research would, ideally, empower both parties.

Chapter Two

Tongans in New Zealand

This chapter outlines the migration history of Tongans to overseas countries over the last four decades, with a focus on New Zealand, where most members of the Tahi *kainga* now reside. Providing such a background contextualises the movement of the Tahi *kainga* from the small islands of Ha'apai to the main island, Tongatapu, and then to overseas countries, and therefore enhances our understanding of their response to challenges they faced.

The Kingdom of Tonga[4] is a group of small islands, 171 in total with some 40 inhabited, lying to the North-East of New Zealand, its closest neighbour. It has a population of 97,784 (1996 census) resident in Tonga and an estimated expatriate population of 100,000. Tonga is administratively divided into three main island districts, based on geographical location. The northern district of Vava'u is made up of the Vava'u group of islands, and the two far-north islands of Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. The central district is the cluster of islands called Ha'apai. Tongatapu, the main island and where the capital, Nuku'alofa, is located, and 'Eua island, make up the third district. The northern and central districts each have a branch of the central government. Each constituency elects a number of noble and peoples' representatives to the Tongan Parliament. King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, the current ruler of the constitutional monarchy, is the fourth from the same dynasty, one of three royal lines that have over the last 1,000 years led the only Pacific nation state that did not have foreign rule.

Modelled on the British Westminster system, the Tongan government is made up of the three arms of the Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary. The Executive is composed of the Privy Council,

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[4] See Government of Tonga website for more on government: http://www.pmo.gov.to/

chaired by the king and includes the Prime Minister, 13 other ministers and the two governors of the Vava'u and Ha'apai districts, all of whom are appointed by the king. Under the Council is the Cabinet, which implements decisions from the Council. The Cabinet is chaired by the Prime Minister, and its members include the 13 ministers and two governors, who are appointed for life by the king. The Legislative Assembly makes laws and approves the government's annual budget and is made up of the Cabinet members, nine nobles elected by the 33 noble title holders from within their ranks, and nine members elected by the common people, who make up some 99 per cent of the total population.

One of the strongest criticisms against the Tongan system is that it is not democratic. The system has been challenged over the past three decades by a growing demand for a democratic form of government, in particular, for the majority of the people to have a greater say in how decisions are made on their behalf, and with their tax. The pro-democracy movement has been gathering momentum over the past five years, becoming stronger, larger and increasingly well-supported by the majority of the public. Recent events indicated strongly that political change is building momentum. For instance in 2005, the king appointed two new ministers from among the nine members of the common people. In September 2005, the Government gave in to the demand for a salary rise from members of the public service, who went on strike for six weeks and were working closely with the pro-democracy movement[5]. A National Reform Committee was also established in late 2005, with the blessing of the Government to survey the needs of the Tongan public for a political and social reform. In early 2006, the Prime Minister, second son of the king, resigned[6]. His oldest brother, Crown Prince Tupouto'a, who was Prince Regent at the time, appointed a commoner, Dr Feleti Sevele, Minister of Labour and Commerce, Acting-Prime Minister. Another significant aspect of this appointment is that Dr Sevele is one of two ministers recently appointed by

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[5] Matangi Tonga magazine, http://www.matangitonga.to
[6] http://www.matangitonga.to/article/tonganews/government/tonga-pm-resigns

the king from among the nine parliamentary representatives of the commoners. Furthermore, he was chosen ahead of ministers who had been appointed ministers long before him.

A largely subsistence economy, one result of government's effort to modernise Tonga in the 1940s onwards was a marked urban drift from the hamlets to bigger villages, and from small, outer islands to the main island of Tongatapu. Families moved to find jobs, wage and salary income, and a better education for their children. Small and Dixon (2004) noted that Tonga's population was about 32,000 in the 1930s, with less than half living on Tongatapu and only one in 10 Tongans were residing in Nuku'alofa, the capital. A fast growing population also fuelled the movement. From a total of 77,420 in 1966, the population further grew to 90,000 in 1976 (Statistics Department of Tonga, 1996). According to Campbell (1992), by 1976, 'sixty-four per cent lived in Tongatapu – about double the proportion of a generation or so earlier. By 1979, the population of Nuku'alofa was more than 18,000 (or twenty per cent of the total), compared with 15,658 in 1966 (Campbell, 1992, p.197).

At the time, government authorities were worried of a possible socio-economic crisis that could be caused by the exponential population growth in an island state with an area of 748sq kilometres of which only two-thirds can be cultivated, and which is remote from the international trade routes. The internal migratory routes soon had parallels in the form of out- migration to overseas countries, especially New Zealand, Australia and the United States. De Bres (1975) noted that 25 per cent of the total Tongan population, some 24,822 people, left Tonga to seek a better standard of living between 1969 and 1974.

The Tongan search of a better living standard was part of the Pacific-wide migration from the small island homelands with limited resources and opportunities to bigger, metropolitan economies that had the pulling powers of better paid jobs, higher education and other positive socio-economic

attractions. Ahlburg (1991) calculated that there were 15,072 Tongans in New Zealand in 1989. Small & Dixon (2004) estimated that more than 1,900 Tongans a year were leaving the country by the mid-1980s. The 1996 New Zealand Census recorded 31,400 Tongans in New Zealand and noted that the Tongan population more than doubled between 1986 and 1996 due to the increase of the numbers of Tongans who were born overseas. According to the 2001 census, there were 40,700 Tongans in the country.

The effect of the internal and out-migration was evident in the last census of Tonga, 1996. Some 70 per cent of the total population of 97,784 now reside on Tongatapu. About a quarter of the population lives in Nuku'alofa, the capital. Despite a high birth rate, the total population net growth between 1986 and 1996 was less than one per cent, due largely to overseas migration. The Tongan Government over the past two decades has been trying to stem the drift from the smaller villages and islands by building infrastructure such as schools, health clinics and has encouraged business and economic development. This effort has not been successful as shown by in the pattern of internal migration in 1996. Districts such as Ha'apai and Niua continued to lose their population to the main district of Tongatapu where people have a better chance of finding work and better schools for their children.

Small & Dixon (2004) observed that 'although recent population estimates suggest that migration overseas may be slowing, today, half of the estimated 216,000 Tongans in the world are abroad...and almost every household has a relative resident in another country' (Small & Dixon, 2004, para. 8). They further estimated that about two in 10 of Tonga's expatriates are residents of Australia, four out of every 10 overseas Tongans live in the US, and another four out of 10 live in New Zealand.

Once dependent on copra and bananas for export earnings, the government's attempts since the 1970s to diversify into light industries, tourism, and other short-term cash crops have not been successful enough to improve the country's trade balance significantly. This global spread of Tongans helps to keep the nation's economy afloat with the remittances sent from relatives abroad, many of whom are at the lowest rung of the socio-economic pyramid in their new home countries. Ahlburg (1991) noted that the value of remittances to Tonga has been growing strongly since 1970. For example, the remittances during the financial year of 1979-80 were TOP$17.7 million (or NZ$23 million), while the 1984-85 period was TOP$28.5 million (or NZ$37 million). The growth rate increased by 10 per cent per year in the early 1980s, but dropped by four per cent, for reasons which were not clear, towards the end of the decade as indicated by the 1989-1990 total of TOP$22.8 million (or NZ$ 29 million) (Ahlburg, 1991).

Tonga has been recording trade deficits for more than three decades with the value of its imports consistently higher than exports. Remittances contributed to make up the difference. As Ahlburg (1991) noted, in 1989 remittances covered 65 per cent of Tonga's imports and covered 80 per cent of its trade deficit. Furthermore, remittances constituted 45 per cent of Tonga's gross domestic product for the same year. Today, this reliance on remittances not only continues but is also becoming greater. As Small & Dixon (2004) noted:

> At the national level, remittances are the major source of foreign exchange and accounted in the financial year 2002 for about 50 per cent of GDP. At the village and household levels, remittances are an integral part of income and consumption...Seventy five per cent of all Tongan households report receiving remittances from overseas, making remittances the single most widespread source of income in Tonga (Small & Dixon, 2004, para.11).

While extended families and village communities in Tonga become more and more dependent on this hard-earned money from overseas, for their daily existence and building community infrastructures, the standards of health and education of their migrant relatives abroad are well

below average for the states in which they reside. With their relative lack of social and technical skills, and knowledge necessary for money-based economies, many expatriate Tongans have low-paid jobs and struggle to meet basic needs such as food and housing, thus creating a vicious cycle of poor health, educational under-achievement and inter-generational low-income levels. Another contributing factor is the high birth rate that results in large families to provide for. The 1996 and 2001 census figures show Tongans has the highest birth rate in the country. Being recent migrants to societies and systems that are largely mono-cultural, many Tongans also struggled to adapt to the new cultural environment. The experience of Tongans in New Zealand provides a vivid illustration of the history of Tongan migration and the current socio-economic status of Tongan overseas communities. This New Zealand experience is the focus of the rest of the chapter.

During the second half of the last century Tongans, mostly small time farmers and fishermen from a small, agricultural economy, took up unskilled, low-paid jobs in urban New Zealand from the 1960s on. This was a period of economic growth in the host country following the diversification of its economy. Tongans and other Pacific peoples provided a cheap and convenient labour force. Krishnan, Schoeffel, & Warren (1994) noted that by the early 1970s, semi-skilled and unskilled workers from the Pacific islands made up six per cent of the immigrants to New Zealand. In addition to the personal individual efforts of Tongans to migrate to work, the Tongan Government arranged short-term labour migration schemes in the 1970s, as a means of boosting Tonga's development (Lee, 2003).

The initial aim of most Tongan workers was to make money to send home to their own families' meet basic needs, such as food, clothing and shelter, and *kainga* and community obligations such as school fees for children and monetary contributions to the churches (De Bres & Campbell, 1975). As a result, remittances were and still are a major contributor to the Tongan economy, as discussed

earlier in this chapter. The Tongan migrants realised that they needed to stay longer than their short vistors' permits allowed (De Bres & Campbell, 1975) in order to save enough for goals such as building a family house, meet extended family or church obligations, or initiate a small business, before returning home. An increasing number decided to settle permanently because they preferred the new lifestyle and better standard of living in New Zealand, hence most overstayed their work or visitors permits (De Bres & Campbell 1975). Some stayed on legally after getting married to New Zealand citizens or permanent residents. Employers and authorities largely turned a blind eye to the over stayers as they were still providing much needed labour especially in parts of the labour market which local labour was deserting.

When the New Zealand economy contracted in the mid-1970s, following the world oil crisis, and the decision by Britain to trade more within the then European Economic Community, now European Union, rather than with a former colony located half way across the world, the Tongans and other Pacific over stayers became a problem to authorities (De Bres & Campbell, 1975). Methods such as raiding homes at dawn with police dogs, arresting people at work, were used to hunt and deport over stayers (De Bres & Campbell, 1975). Tongan leaders and other Pacific island co-workers, along with civil rights and human rights groups such as the Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE), made representations to successive governments, and fought through the justice system for solutions. As a result, there were amnesties and other changes in the immigration policies that enabled illegally resident Pacific peoples to become legal residents.

The 1990s were difficult years for Tongans and other Pacific peoples. Macpherson (2001) noted that the Pacific 'population continued to grow as the economy and the labour market contracted and as government structural adjustment programmes impacted on occupational areas in which the population has become concentrated' (Macpherson, 2001, p.27). These industries included the

manufacturing industries and some of the government's operations such as the railways and hospitals. Furthermore, the social and economic effects of the contracting economy were not confined to the immediate period. The effects of a declining real income, protracted unemployment and reduced social provision limited the life chances of children born into and brought up within those households at that time, and also in ways which will only become apparent in the next two decades.

Successive governments began to respond to the social needs of Tongan and other Pacific communities when it became very clear that they were here to stay and that they were growing relatively rapidly at a time when domestic population growth was slowing. (See table below for Pacific population growth)

Table 2.1: Pacific population growth since 1986

Year	1986	1991	1996	2001
Population	130,296	167,073	202,233	231,801

Source: Statistics New Zealand

For example, the predecessor of the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, a Pacific Island Affairs unit, was established in 1978 to provide training for Pacific peoples and advice to government on Pacific matters. A Pacific educational institution, Pacific Island Resource Education Centre (PIERC Education), now known as Pasifika Education Centre, was opened in Auckland in 1978 to cater for the learning needs of Pacific peoples and to provide training for others that work with Pacific peoples. As Pacific peoples grew in numbers, and became a substantial political force, governments began to consult with them and formulated new policies in key areas such as health, education, employment and housing, social welfare to cater specifically for Pacific people's needs. For

example, the Health and Disability Act was amended in 2002 to ensure that the health of high need such as Pacific peoples and Maori were addressed properly. The Education Act was amended in the same year for similar reasons.

Meanwhile, within the growing Tongan community, individuals and groups started to put order and structure into a community that had largely migrated with very little preparation for life in a different culture and society, and without a coherent, strategic plan. The table below shows the growth of Tongans since 1971.

Table 2.2: Growth of the Tongan Population since 1971

Year	1971	1986	1996	2001
Population	1,273	13,600	30,300	40,700

Source: Statistics New Zealand

Contacts were made with organisations such as churches in Tonga to set up branches in cities where large numbers of Tongans lived and to provide pastoral care, cultural orientation and spiritual sustenance (Tu'itahi, 1998). Tongan parishes representing at least ten different Tongan denominations began to appear in many of the Auckland suburbs with church buildings purchased with the proceeds of each congregation's fundraising. Many of these church complexes not only became homes of spiritual nurturing, but also sites for cultural sustenance and education for members. The role of the church, along with other Tongan institutions is further analysed later in this chapter.

Tongans in New Zealand Today

Forty years on and moving into the 21st century, Tongans are the fastest growing population group in New Zealand, according to Statistics New Zealand. The 2001 New Zealand Census of Population noted that the total of 40,700 Tongans in the country constituted 18 per cent of the total Pacific population of 235,000, and was the third largest group, after the Cook Islanders (23 per cent) and Samoans (50 per cent). New Zealand-born Tongans make up 53 per cent of the Tongans, thus making a younger age structure, while the remaining 47 per cent of overseas born Tongans have an older age structure. Some 78 per cent of the total Tongan population live in the Auckland region, with 35 per cent living in the southern district of Manukau City.

Many of these former small-time farmers and fishermen who came as unskilled labourers remain at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy of New Zealand. Their dream of making it rich and providing better education for their children in the 'land of milk and honey' is yet to be achieved. Their New Zealand-raised/born children are not achieving well at school. The 2001 Census further revealed facts and trends in key areas such as education, housing, and income that clearly demonstrated the low socio-economic status of Tongans. In education for instance, the census showed that:

> 64 per cent of Tongan adults held a formal educational qualification – the same proportion as the Pacific population - while 49 per cent listed a school qualification as their highest qualification. A further 15 percent held a post-school qualification. By contrast, 32 percent of the New Zealand adult population held a post-school qualification. (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b, p.5)

In terms of housing the 2001 census revealed a low per centage of home ownership and high dependence on rental accommodation, in particular, state housing. As the census stated:

In 2001, 23 percent of Tongan people aged 15 years and over said they owned or partly owned their own home – slightly below the level of 26 percent for the Pacific population. The comparable figure for the New Zealand population was 55 percent. The proportion of Tongan people living in rental accommodation increased from 57 percent in 1991 to 60 percent in 1996 and to 65 percent in 2001. Conversely, the proportion of the Tongan population living in dwellings owned (with or without a mortgage) by a member of the household decreased from 43 percent in 1991 to 40 percent in 1996 and to 35 percent in 2001. Among those Tongans living in rental accommodation, 58 percent lived in Housing New Zealand accommodation in 2001 – down from 59 percent in 1996. Of those Tongans living in rented accommodation in 2001, just over half (51 percent) were living in households paying less than $150 a week in rent. By comparison, the equivalent proportion for the New Zealand population was 38 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b, pp.10-11).

Similarly, Tongans were not doing well when it came to income. As the 2001 census showed:

Tongan adult population had a median annual income of $11,800 in the year to March 2001. The median annual incomes of the Pacific and New Zealand populations were $14,800 and $18,500 respectively. The median annual income of Tongan adults in employment in the week preceding the 2001 Census was $20,700 – equivalent to 75 percent of that of the New Zealand population ($27,700). The real median annual income (adjusted for inflation to 2001 dollars) of Tongan people increased by 4 per cent from $11,300 in 1991 to $11,800 in 2001. During the same period, the real median annual income of the Pacific population and the New Zealand population increased by 16 percent and 11 percent respectively. Wages and salaries were received by 53 percent of Tongan adults in the year to 2001. The equivalent proportions among the Pacific and New Zealand populations were 58 percent and 57 percent respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b, pp.9-10).

High dependency on government monetary support was another fact showed by the census that illustrates the poverty of Tongans. As the census further revealed:

One in three Tongans (33 percent) received some form of income support at some stage during the 12 months prior to the 2001 Census. 'Income support' refers to monetary support from the government, excluding ACC payments and New Zealand Superannuation. Similar proportions of New Zealand-born and overseas-born Tongans received income support in 2001 – 34 percent and 32 percent respectively. Comparable figures for the Pacific and New Zealand populations were 33 percent and 19 percent respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b, p.10).

Clearly, as the statistics shows, Tongans in New Zealand are among the lowest in the socio-economic hierarchy. These figures are significant not only for what they reveal about the present situation of Tongans but more importantly, about their future. These are reflections of trends and

are also significant because they will also affect the life chances of New Zealand born Tongans in the future. Unless there is intervention, this disadvantage is highly likely to be reproduced in succeeding generations. This is why the case study in this thesis is interesting because it looks at ways in which Tongans may be able to use collective strategies, to overcome the economic and social disadvantage which these figures belie.

Pockets of Success

While on one hand, government statistics shows that the majority of Tongans struggle socially and economically, there are pockets of achievement and success, and positive development in Tongan communities. Such developments include the building of multi-million dollar church complexes, formation of health and social service providers such as the Tongan Health Society Inc. and the Tamaki Langa Fonua Trust; the establishment of traditional groups such as Tongan *kava* clubs, and the creation of professional associations. These formations collectively provide much needed services. In addition, they provide a sense of connectedness, direction and leadership to Tongans.

The Church

A brief analysis of some of these institutions will provide an insight into their contribution to Tongan community development. Of these Tongan establishments the church is the most visible and influential. According to the Census 2001, 92 per cent of Tongans have an affiliation with a Christian religion while seven per cent said they had no religious affiliation. Almost a third of the New Zealand population had no religious affiliation. There are at least 10 different Tongan Christian-based denominations and other religious movements in New Zealand. These include Tongan parishes of world-wide movements such as Roman Catholicism, Methodism, Assemblies of

God, Seventh Day Adventists, the Latter-Day Saints, the Baha'i Faith, as well as branches of denominations that originated in Tonga. The second category includes movements such as the Free Church of Tonga, the Free Constitutional Church of Tonga, and the Tokaikolo Fellowship. There are also some denominations that originated in New Zealand such as the Kahoa Tauleva Trust, Mizpah group, and the Uniting Church of Tonga.

The church complexes that have been established in Auckland and other cities not only provide spiritual sustenance and pastoral care but also become centres of cultural development and education. Many of the Tongan church properties in Auckland have early childhood centres. Tongan language is the main medium of communication and teaching in these centres and in church activities. Cultural festivals among branches of each of these denominations, especially performing arts, are a regular feature of church activities. Many church halls also double as youth drop-in centres, and study centres for primary and secondary school students. Several church groups have collaborated with community health and social service providers to provide culturally appropriate services to parishioners and other Tongans in the neighbourhood and suburbs where these churches are located. Many church leaders are beginning to collaborate with health and educational professionals to address some of the Tongan people's socio-economic and health disparities. For example, several Tongan churches, along with other Pacific churches, in Manukau City have established health promotion programmes in conjunction with the Pacific Team of the Counties Manukau District Health Board[7]. A Tongan Methodist parish in Epsom, Auckland, provides office space and gives its blessing to a Tongan youth service, the To'utupu Tongan Trust. Many Tongan churches in Auckland, collaborate with the Tongan health provider, Tongan Health Society Inc.,[8] to ensure their members have better access to health programme and activities.

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[7] See details of this initiative on the website: www.cmdhb.govt.nz
[8] For details on the Tongan Health Society, see the website: htt://www.tapanz.com/tongan

While the churches play a central role in Tongan community development they are also the target of criticism from within the community, especially from Tongan professionals in education, health, and social services. Some points of criticism include encouraging parishioners to donate to the church coffers, building big churches which drain the meagre resources of an already impoverished community. Another point of contention is the inability of several denominations to adapt the duration, content and frequency of the activities to suit the New Zealand environment. For example, some critics say that there should be less church activities during week as adult members have to work and children have to focus on their education.

Kava Clubs

Another development is the growth in the number of Tongan *kava* clubs. *Kava* is a traditional and social drink, especially for men, prepared from the roots of the *kava* plant (Piper methysticum). In the evening, especially in the weekend, men gather at the club to drink *kava*, socialise and discuss the affairs of the community. Membership is usually based on a set of shared commonalities such as kinship ties, religious denomination, common village ties or being former students of the same school. Social and economic initiatives are established as a result of the deliberations during the *kava* drinking. For example, many *kava* clubs sponsor scholarships for Tongan students at secondary and tertiary levels both in New Zealand and Tonga. Several village development projects in Tonga were initiated and are being sustained by *kava* clubs in New Zealand. Funds for such projects come from contributions and fundraisings of club members. *Kava* clubs are also the centres for cultural development. For example, members learn Tongan history, customs, principles and practices and other such aspects of the Tongan culture from elders and community leaders such as church ministers and professionals at the *kava* club. Certain genres of Tongan music such as *hiva kakala* (contemporary love songs) are promoted and practised mostly in *kava* clubs. An increasing

number of *kava* clubs are promoting health messages such as 'smoke free' and 'healthy' lifestyles to their members. It is estimated that there are some 50 *kava* clubs in the greater Auckland area, most of which meet in church complexes or at private homes.

Professional Bodies

A third positive development is the establishment of professional associations for workers in areas such as health, education, business and the media. Some of these groups provide advice and information for the Tongan community. Other such bodies focus more on advocacy and providing a voice and leadership to Tongans on articulating their needs especially in interaction with government services. This advisory and advocacy role is more significant when it is carried out for a marginalised, minority group such as Tongans, which often do not have the ability to provide their perspective in the decision-making process, especially at the policy level. Two such groups are the Aotearoa Tongan Education Association (ATEA), a think tank, and the Tongan Advisory Council (TAC). ATEA is a national body for Tongan educators and those who have an interest in education in New Zealand. It focuses on advocating and creating public dialogue on educational issues. TAC provides advice and liaises with political leaders on socio-economic projects for Tongans in New Zealand, and Tonga.

Highly Skilled Migrants

A more recent phenomenon in the Tongan migration pattern is the growing number of highly skilled Tongans who have migrated to New Zealand over the last decade, and especially the last five years. Many of them are already making positive contributions to the development of Tongan communities in New Zealand. Most of these recent migrants used to work in the public service in

Tonga but decided to retire or resign and migrate for the education of their children. Some left because of the unstable socio-economic environment created by the increasing tension between the current political regime and the pro-democracy movement.

These recent Tongan migrants bring expertise and international experience from years of working in Tonga and abroad. Some are now holding senior positions in community providers and in the public service. For example, a former director of planning for government is now the chief executive of a health provider in Auckland, the Tongan Health Society. The establishment of this important health service was managed by a medical doctor and former lecturer at the University of Auckland who currently heads the School of Public Health at the Fiji School of Medicine. A former Minister of Justice recently set up a law practice in Wellington. A former senior economist is now the coordinator of the Pacific team at Census New Zealand. A former Director of Tourism is the Dean of a School of Tourism in a tertiary education provider. Several medical doctors and other health professionals work in mainstream health services. Many Tongan teachers who have migrated from Tonga are now teaching in primary and secondary schools.

An increasing number of these migrants are collaborating with their counterpart who migrated in earlier decades or were born and raised in New Zealand, to provide leadership and set strategic directions and plans for Tongan community development. A notable aspect of these co-workers, who are collaborating to advance the Tongan community, is that many come from extended families that have been providing leadership at the local and national level in Tonga, and have also been leading the development of the Tongan community in New Zealand.

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has summarised the migration of Tongans, the challenges they have been facing, the attempts to address those issues and efforts to improve their community's low-socio-economic situation. Four decades and three generations after the first wave of migration in the late 1960s, Tongans are increasingly taking ownership of, and focused on addressing their socio-economic needs in New Zealand, even while they continue to contribute to the needs of relations in Tonga.

While the majority of migrant Tongans are struggling to meet basic socio-economic needs, and while government is trying to address these disparities, there are also signs of new and effective leadership from within the community, community-sponsored initiatives for socio-economic development and, there are already pockets of success. The present situation, where the majority are struggling and only relatively few are successful, underlines the need for more effective ways and approaches to addressing these socio-economic disparities.

What approaches and strategies might help? In the introduction to this thesis, I argued that focusing on the positive achievements and learning from the experience of successful Tongans may provide insights and findings that can inform formulation of policies and design of programmes to help in improving the socio-economic status of Tongans. To demonstrate the possible benefits of this approach, one successful Tongan extended family, or *kainga,* has been chosen as a case study. Chapter three outlines the story of this *kainga,* the Tahi. Their determined pursuit of both socio-economic success and social well being over four generations is outlined and provides an indication of how they define 'success', evidence of their success and of the means by which they have achieved it. Chapter four analyses the story of the Tahi *kainga,* identifies themes that emerge from

the case study and investigates in more detail the factors that have contributed to their socio-economic success. Chapter five discusses the policy implications of the findings in the previous chapter and makes specific recommendations.

Chapter Three:

The Story of the Tahi *Kainga*

This chapter outlines and narrates the story of four generations of the Tahi *kainga*. It describes the migration of its members first within Tonga and, later, outside Tonga. It traces their life journey as a *kainga*; outlines their achievements; the challenges they have faced; and explain how they resolved them and the role which the *kainga* played in this process.

The summary begins with Tahi, the only son in a family of six in a small village on one of the islands in the central Ha'apai group, in the Kingdom of Tonga. Born in July 1899, Tahi was the fifth child in his family. Three of his sisters died young. Tahi was a teenager, when his parents passed away. Two maternal uncles who lived on Tongatapu, the main island, twice took him over there to adopt him and to help him seek a better future. But Tahi was homesick in the new environment and went back to his Ha'apai island because of his sense of responsibility to his two surviving sisters, and because he missed his young friends in the village.

Tauhi fonua: Serving the community

The following two decades (1912 -1932), saw marked progress in Tahi's socio-economic status. More remarkable were the vision and goals that he set, worked towards and achieved. He was a strong proponent of education. With two sisters to take care of, Tahi was determined to take up life's challenges. He became one of the top farmers in the village, raising both crops and livestock. Within a few years, he was one of the most productive farmers on the island. Tahi applied many techniques to ensure that fruits of his agricultural labours were not wasted and that more people benefited. While most farmers, during the main harvesting season, dug up their harvest and stacked

them in their storage as a source of pride and for ease of access, Tahi would keep his yams in the ground. Furthermore, while most families ate yams only during the harvesting season, Tahi would encourage his *kainga* to consume other harvests such as breadfruit. With his approach, Tahi saved space in his storage, and kept his yams fresh and free from rot for buyers during the off season when the price peaked. People from other villages and nearby islands would often come to buy Tahi's yams for seedlings and or for consumption. More income was generated from his farming and copra-making activity when people borrowed that money.

On one hand, Tahi, the only money-lender in the village, accumulated financial reserves. On the other hand, he was not solely out to make a profit from this activity. Rather, he ensured that his wealth and knowledge was utilised for the benefit of others. For example, in response to their requests, many of his relatives and friends were granted money for school fees for their children and other such worthy causes. Widows in the village received a constant supply of food. Cultural obligations to the noble were always met. The island church minister also received a constant supply of food. All these monetary grants, provision of food supplies, and cultural obligations were without charges. In one of his trips to the provincial capital, to collect his annual bonus money from his copra-making, Tahi came across the fundraising for the building of the Government's premiere secondary school, Tonga High School. He donated all the money, a substantial amount at the time, to the high school. His reasoning for being a philanthropic was that this educational initiative was a very worthy cause. This story is a source of inspiration for many of his grandchildren and great grandchildren, who, many years after Tahi's death, graduated from the school.

Through his leadership, Tahi advised and motivated the village youth and young adults who turned uncultivated bush into productive agricultural land. Following his example, these young farmers

also cut copra and sold their surplus crops for cash income. Being scattered islands, shipping was the mode of transport for the Ha'apai group at the time. The village Elders' Committee had already bought the village's first sailing boat. Before long, Tahi and the farmers formed a village development committee and bought a second boat to transport goods to the main island market and provide transport for Ha'apai people. The village church committee appointed him as treasurer and its steward.

Tahi's financial management skills proved beneficial to the church and other village groups such as the village's women. For instance, as the church steward and treasurer he noticed how every year, the women would each raise pigs for feasting at their annual church meeting on Pangai, the main island in Ha'apai. This feasting took place at the village residence, an old thatched-roof hut that provided very little protection when there was adverse weather. When Tahi suggested selling all the pigs, except one to be kept for the feast, and use the money to build a more durable building there was initial grumbling among the women. The disquiet turned to joy when, upon arrival on the main island, the women constructed their own new building and when there was still enough pork to eat and celebrate. The building was also used as a community residential hall for many families from the village who moved to Pangai for the education of their children.

Tauhi e Kainga: Family Development

While he was leading the community's socio-economic development, Tahi also made similar progress within his first circle, his own family. He married a village girl, Tapu, in 1920 and they raised seven children. They sent their eldest son to live in Tongatapu with his maternal aunt, Selu, to be educated as there was no secondary school on the island. For his industriousness and leadership in community development, the island's noble awarded plots of land for Tahi and each of

his four male children and his eldest daughter who married and stayed in the village. His other two daughters left the village when they married their respective husbands who came from different islands. Apportioning plots for most members of one *kainga* was not the usual practice for the noble as land was scarce on the small island, but it illustrated his confidence in Tahi, whose advice and assistance the chief often sought. Tahi and Tapu managed the *kainga* income from sales of copra, crops and livestock, and money-lending. They built *fale papa palangi* (house made of imported timber, European style) for each child and their respective families. Expensive but more durable, these houses were also stronger and better able to withstand natural hazards such as cyclones, than the thatched-roof houses that most islanders could afford at the time.

The First Migration

While life on the small island was idyllic, and his *kainga* prospered under his direction and care, Tahi advised his children that the future for their families and children lay in education. To achieve their educational potential, they needed to migrate to the main island, where there were more and better opportunities for both education and work. So when Tahi died in 1957, at the age of 58, his children implemented the migration and development plan that their father set out for them through his work. Leaving their Ha'apai land and homes for cousins to utilize, Tahi's sons, and some of their cousins, left in 1958 for Tongatapu, the main island, to find land as a base for the *kainga*. With the help of second cousins, grandchildren of Tahi's maternal aunt, Selu, they were given land by a noble who was a cousin of Selu's children. Under Tongan law, nobles are to provide land of a certain size to males upon reaching 16 years of age.

The Tahi brothers farmed the new land and raised livestock, replicating the development plan they learned from their father in Ha'apai. Initially, the second eldest brother, Feuiaki, his wife and

children lived at, and managed, the new farm. The eldest brother, Fonua, secured a town allotment in one of the suburbs near the capital, Nuku'alofa. Feuiaki followed suit. Together they secured additional homes within the suburb for their sisters, Moana, and Langi and brothers, Va'inga and Vaka, and their families who eventually migrated to Tongatapu in the early 1970s.Their children went to schools in the capital.

Food for urban members of the *kainga* was supplied from the rural farm. Surpluses were sold in the market to pay school fees and to meet other basic needs. The lagoon near the new settlement was a fishing ground for protein supplement. *Kainga* houses on the original island were later dismantled, shipped over and rebuilt in their new 'home'. At the time, the low-lying area was all uncultivated bushland. Today, the Tahi *kainga* of three generations, have 15 homes in an area that is one of the fastest growing suburbs of the capital, Nuku'alofa. Four of these homes belong to the *kainga* of Fonua and Mele and their children while six belong to Feuiaki and his children. Two belong to Moana and her children, while another two belong to Va'inga and his children. The 15th home belongs to Langi and her family. These properties were deliberately acquired and located within walking distance of each other, and close to the capital so that the children of the Tahi *kainga* could be close both to schools and *kainga* members for mutual support.

There is not scope within this short thesis to discuss the situations of all seven children and their families, so this case study is on the descendants of one of Tahi's seven children, Fonua, who become the focus of the study as from here on. Tahi's other children are only referred to where it is relevant to the understanding of the situation of Fonua and his *kainga*.

The Oldest Son and His *Kainga*

Tahi's eldest son Fonua, whose *kainga* is the focus of this study, gradually took over the leadership role in a succession plan formulated earlier by their father Tahi. Upon completion of his secondary school in Tongatapu in 1946, Fonua returned to his island home, in Ha'apai, and became a primary school teacher for five years.

When they married in 1948, Fonua and his wife, Mele, broadened the development plan that Tahi and Tapu had started. They jointly decided on a strategy that focused equally on developing the material, intellectual and spiritual well being of their *kainga,* and of their village. Their action plan included providing the best possible education for their children, generating income through work and business, and serving the church and the community in which they resided. Mele was an equally competent co-worker and business partner. The daughter of a religious minister, she came from a *kainga* with a similar strategic outlook on life, and with a sense of mission to develop community and help others. In addition to being the home executive, Mele managed the small family shop and bakery. Fonua left teaching and worked as the first copra inspector for the island, managed their plantation, and led community initiatives. Proceeds from the sale of copra brought prosperity to the village and the island.

Fonua initiated a housing and village health scheme by encouraging most male adults in the village to join a *kautaha* (a village development group). *Kautaha* members regularly contributed to a pool of money that helped to build homes and water tanks for each member. Community gardens were also established to provide crops for both home consumption and sale. Under Fonua's leadership, the *kautaha* took over the management of the village's two sailing ships, mentioned earlier. The boats generated revenue from transporting passengers and cargo between the islands in Tonga.

Proceeds were used to maintain the ships and to support community development activities. The community continued to thrive as a subsistence economy but over the last three decades many changes took place in Tonga which affected the island. An increasing number of families from the island migrated to Tongatapu; copra was no longer a cash crop due to a decline in world prices. More efficient means of air and sea transport made the sailing ships obsolete. Today, the remaining families in the village continue to live as subsistence farmers, relying on their fishing and remittances from relatives outside Tonga.

Fonua and Mele had eleven children. Their four eldest children were boys: Lotu, Feleti, Fili, and Tupou. The next three children were daughters, Selu, Lahi and Tonga, while the youngest four were sons: Fo'ou, Samiu, Malohi and Taufa. With eleven children to support, Fonua and Mele had to re-think their strategy. In search of socio-economic well being for the *kainga* and education for their 11 children, Fonua and Mele decided to look overseas as tertiary level education was not available locally then. The strategy which the Tahi *kainga* used, and the practical experience gained in Ha'apai, underlay their decisions, and their progress when they migrated to the main island of Tongatapu, and later to New Zealand and other overseas countries.

The Second Migration

Fonua was one of hundreds of Tongans who came to work in New Zealand in 1970, during the economic boom. A second purpose for his trip was to observe first-hand the potential of New Zealand as a future destination for migration. He also used the trip as an opportunity to visit his eldest son, Lotu, who had come to New Zealand under a Tongan government scholarship to study at one of the universities. Convinced of the potential for better social and economic well being in New Zealand, Fonua planned a second exodus. He returned to his family and community duties in

Tonga, and arranged for his second and third sons, Feleti and Fili, to migrate and work in New Zealand, and to save and send money, before deciding either to return home, or to settle permanently in New Zealand. When Feleti and Fili settled in Auckland by the mid-1970s, the three sisters, Selu, Lahi and Tonga, came over to work and live in flats and a home that their two brothers and their male cousins had acquired as bases for the *kainga*'s resettlement.

At the same time, Fonua shared the migration plan with his brothers and sisters whose children also migrated along with the Fonua children. Over three decades (1975-2005), the pattern of growth and development that their fathers established in Tongatapu, after they migrated from Ha'apai, was replicated by their children here in New Zealand. Homes were acquired; families were raised with a balanced focus on promoting, harnessing and sustaining the material, intellectual and spiritual well being of each nuclear family, and of the whole *kainga*.

Fonua and Mele's children are a case in point. Six of the children have gained tertiary qualifications. Some hold highly paid jobs while the rest either work as tradesmen, or are self-employed and own businesses. At the same time, most of them are engaged in different forms of voluntary involvement, in the areas of education, health, media, and community development, and are contributing to the socio-economic well being of the Tongan community and other Pacific communities. For example, Lotu and his wife, Sina, and Malohi used to provide a free homework centre for Tongan children in the family church hall, once a week. Lahi, is serving in a parish with her husband, who is a church minister in Auckland. Another sister, Selu, is the volunteer leader of a number of youth projects for her parish. Tupou, who works in education and health, is a volunteer host of a weekly radio talk-back show that provides advice and information on health, education and community development. He is also a member of Pacific professional associations in health and education.

At the time of writing, nine of Fonua and Mele's 11 children and their families live in New Zealand. Nine have families. This may not always be the case as the family now also has members living in the United States and Australia. One of the eight brothers, Fo'ou, and his family, live in the United States. Fo'ou migrated from Tonga to the United States in the early 1980s to visit his adopted family and then decided to live there. One of the three sisters, Tonga, and her family, live in Australia. Tonga first came to New Zealand in the early 1980s, and then migrated to Australia a few years later where she married and settled. The presence of these relations in other nodes of the Pacific migration system, presents options for the family. Tongan families have been shown to move routinely between different nodes as opportunities open up in centres to which they have access.

The table below (Table 3.1) summarises the progress of up skilling and further education that third generation members of the Tahi family in New Zealand have attained over the last three decades. Their names are listed in column one while the year of migration and skills they came with is in column two. Column three lists their skills and/or qualifications gained up to 2005.

Table 3.1: Progress of Skills Development of Third Generation of Tahi *Kainga*

Name	Skills when migrated to New Zealand	Year of migration to New Zealand	Skills and qualifications gained in New Zealand as of 2005
Lotu	BA	2002	Postgraduate diploma, Business owner,
Tupou	Diploma	1994	Studying for Masters degree, Certificate in Teaching, Business owner
Malohi	Form 4	1984	Masters degree (Hons) BA
Feleti	Unskilled labourer	1971	Owner, two businesses Trade certificate
Fili	Unskilled labourer	1974	Owner of farm and other properties, Mechanic Certificate in Horticulture and Farm Management
Samiu	Unskilled labourer	1981	Carpenter
Taufa	High school	1984	Electrician, Business owner
Selu	No high school	1978	Masters Degree,

	qualification		Postgraduate Diploma in Counselling, Diploma In Social Work, Own counselling service
Lahi	Unskilled labourer	1978	Nurse aide

Material Prosperity

In terms of material development, the Tahi *kainga* in New Zealand have so far acquired ten homes in different Auckland suburbs. One of the *kainga* properties is an 18-acre lifestyle farm which also serves as a centre where members of the three generations regularly meet to bond, socialise and strategise for future development. The first four homes, owned individually, were acquired through a kainga-based home buying scheme where the children pooled their savings for down payment. The rest were bought by individuals as the children and their spouses began to earn higher incomes. These homes are valued at between $250,000-$400,000 each depending on their location and size while the farm is valued at $600,000. Given the low rate of Tongan home ownership in New Zealand, the Tahi *kainga* must be considered exceptional since all now own homes, except for two of the children, who choose not to buy homes yet. While the level of home ownership in itself is significant, the homes and more especially, the equity in these homes allows the *kainga* to use them as collateral for loans to take advantage of other opportunities as they arise. It means that they are in a position to secure lower cost finance, and to avoid the high interest, unsecured loans provided by finance companies to which many have to resort. Furthermore, since homes in the Auckland region have appreciated at average annual rates of around 10 per cent in the last 5 years, the Tahi's increasing equity represents a very successful investment strategy.

Business

The *kainga* established and, for almost a decade, managed a *kainga*-owned business that imported Tongan food, and exported re-conditioned home appliances such as washing machines to Tonga. Although profitable initially, the brothers decided to close down their business in 1995. There were two reasons for closing the collective business. Firstly, there was a decrease in profit margin due to increasing competition in Tongan food importing. Secondly, there were two different views on how the business should be managed. Some members thought that the business should be managed by those with the appropriate skills. The other view was that the older brothers should manage the business because they are senior members of the *kainga*. The solution agreed on was to fold the collective business and for those with business interests to pursue their individual ventures.

Savings Cooperative

Meanwhile, the children continue to contribute $20 each a month toward a common fund. That fund is reserved for contributions to events such as funerals and emergencies within the *kainga* and the greater Tahi clan. For example, one of the brothers sustained serious injuries in an accident while working in Tonga. He was flown over to New Zealand for treatment. The fund was used to pay for his family of five to come to New Zealand and their living expenses, totalling $7,000, during the three months this brother was in hospital.

Kainga Support Network

The members have also set up a socio-economic well being network to support their children and other *kainga* members. The network provides activities such as a learning support, counselling and

advice, financial support, and a drop-in centre. Following the example of the founder of the family, the descendants have continued to value education of their children and to provide educational support for them. Every Tahi home has a learning space, equipped with resources such as a small library and computer. Parents are the first educators for their own children. Where parents cannot help with a particular need, their children contact other parents within the *kainga* who can help. While children who go to university seek help from their parents, uncles and aunts, they, in turn, help with the learning of their siblings at high school and primary levels. Parents, and other adult *kainga* members, who do further study also receive help from the network. For example, those who have graduated from university help those who are still studying by assisting with writing skills, proof-reading and discussing topics for assignments or research.

General life skills and career advice for all children are provided by parents who have the appropriate skills. There are at least five members in the *kainga* who are educators or have had teaching experience. The parents also support each other if any of their children need financial support for school. For socialising and recreational purposes, two of the *kainga* homes have allocated space for youth and children. A third drop-in centre for all the children is a meeting house at the life-style farm that is equipped with musical instruments and fitness gear for the children. Reviewing the effectiveness of the support network is often in the agenda of the *kainga* meetings.

Fourth Generation Experience

Three decades on, after the initial migration in the early 1970s, fourth generation members of the Tahi *kainga* are making similar progress to those of their second and third generations. Several of Fonua and Mele's grandchildren have acquired tertiary qualifications; some are working in well-paid, high-level, skilled positions or trades. Several are currently at university and polytechnics.

Like their parents, they have a clear vision and strategy that focuses on a balanced material, intellectual and spiritual development. Many of these grandchildren know the story of the *kainga* migration–from Ha'apai to Tongatapu, and from Tongatapu to New Zealand - and regard those journeys as points of reference and as sources of inspiration. They acknowledge that the strategy that their grandparents adopted is the basis of the model that they are following, with their variations, and wish to emulate and pass on to their own children.

Chapter Four:

The Anatomy of Success

To understand and appreciate the Tahi *kainga*'s success, the research project focused on identifying how members of the *kainga* defined 'success', and the factors which underlie their achievements, and which have allowed them to overcome the challenges that they have faced. Some key concepts and themes that emerged from the interviews are explained and analysed below. These include the *kainga's* definition of 'success'; the framework of its development strategy; and its application in the achievement of its goals; and the ways in which religious principles and Tongan cultural concepts such as *fakapotopoto* – the core body of knowledge, skills and values in wise leadership and prudent management of resources- are employed for the benefit of the *kainga* and society. Alongside these more general goals, were specific strategies that members employed to achieve their goals, overcome challenges and to cope with the changing contexts they faced.

Success is more than achieving material prosperity

The Tahi *kainga* defines the concept of 'success' (*ikuna*) as achieving set goals within a framework of three dimensions: *faka-sino* or physical, *faka-'atamai* or intellectual, and *faka-laumalie* or spiritual. The physical dimension refers to the body and its material needs such as food, clothing and shelter. The mind or intellect and its need to acquire knowledge, to broaden its horizon, and to be enlightened, make up the intellectual or educational dimension. The spiritual dimension refers to the human soul and its needs for spiritual sustenance, and for *kainga* members to live a life that is guided by Christian principles. This last dimension is the lynchpin in this model as it helps members keep the *potupotumalie* (balance) in their progress. *Potupotumalie* means that all dimensions progress at equal pace and status, and therefore a healthy balance in life is achieved.

This idea was expressed in different ways by members in different generations but contained similar elements.

Malohi, aged 42, a third generation male, expressed this idea in the following way,

Ko e ikuna ko 'ete a'usia 'ete ngaahi taumu'a kuo te fokotu'u he tapa fakamatelie kae'uma'a 'a e tapa fakalaumalie 'oku mahu'inga ange. Ko hono mo'oni ko e ikuna ko e lava'i 'ete ngaahi taumu'a he tapa fakasino, faka'atamai mo fakalaumalie 'o e mo'ui. Ko hono fua e ikuna mo e lava me'a 'aki e tapa fakamatelie pe, 'o hange ko ia 'oku fai 'e he ngaahi fonua fakalakalaka fakamatelie, ko e fua fakakonga pe ia 'o e 'ata kakato 'o e ikuna.

Which translated is:

Success is not only achieving your material goals that you set but also, and more importantly, achieving a balance between your material needs and your spiritual well being. In fact, success is achieving your goals within the three dimensions of physical, intellectual and spiritual well being. To measure success within only a materialistic framework, as most developed countries do, is only measuring part of the whole framework of success. (Malohi, 42, male, third generation)

Lotu, aged, 56, a third generation male, expressed a similar idea:

Ko 'ene tonu ange 'a e fua e ikuna mo e lava me'a kapau fua e mo'ui kakato 'a ha tokotaha pe kulupu. Toe saiange kapau 'e laka atu ki ha to'utangata 'e ua pe lahi ange. 'E pehe 'oku ikuna e kulupu ko ia kapau 'oku feto'aki ka ko e fakalukufua 'i he tapa 'e tolu 'o e mo'ui 'oku hake ma'u pe ki 'olunga.

This in English is:

It would be more accurate and reliable a measure if success and achievement of a person or a group is measured throughout his/her whole life span. Better still if the measure is done over at least two generations. We should expect some 'ups' and 'downs' but the overall pattern, in all the three major dimensions, physical, mental, and spiritual, should be an upward trend. (Lotu, 56, male, third generation)

Si'i, aged 22, a fourth generation female, shared a similar perspective:

Success is achieving the goals you set. True success is when you achieve equally in your physical, intellectual and spiritual goals, and you contribute to the community. (Si'i, 22, female, fourth generation)

The Origins of the Framework

Where did this *kainga* definition of, and framework for, 'success' come from? Two sources can be identified as contributing factors: Christian teachings, and Tongan cultural values and practices. Fonua recalled how his parents, Tahi and Tapu, during their weekly *kainga* devotions, would always emphasise the need to keep the balance between the spiritual and the material, and to ensure that members make meaningful contributions to society. A devoted Christian *kainga*, their regular devotional meetings would include readings from the bible, singing of hymns and saying prayers, activities that all focused on admonishing *kainga* members to obey God, live a virtuous life, be industrious and serve the *kainga, siasi mo e fonua* (*kainga*, church and country/society).

Based in Christianity, this ideology meshed well with Tongan cultural principles of *fe'ofo'ofani, fetokoni'aki, and faka'apa'apa* (love, reciprocity, and respect) which were also instilled into *kainga* members to practise in their daily life. It is worth noting that Tahi grew up in a *kainga* and a community where Christianity, within its first 100 years in Tonga, was central to their life. Therefore, Tahi's ideology and practice, to a great degree, was a product of his environment. The historian Ian Campbell (1992) noted that, 'in almost a century of Christianity in Tonga, Christian belief and practice has become so absorbed into daily life that is an integral part of Tongan culture.' (Campbell, 1992, p.128)

Reproducing the Ideology and Practice

The above ideology was reproduced in the following generations. Fonua and Mele continued the same model that was handed down to them from Tahi and Tapu in their own *kainga*. Fonua, now 80, recalled how this was done, and why he believed spirituality was essential to the success:

Ko e tafa'aki fakalaumalie na'a ne ha'iha'i 'a e famili. 'E lava 'o fakalakalaka 'a e ngaahi tapa kehe 'o e mo'ui kapau 'e tomu'a fakakapapau'i e tapa fakalaumalie. Ko e lotu ia na'a ne ha'iha'i kimaua he ta'u eni 'e mei 60 'o ma nofo fe'ofo'ofani pea tauhi e fanau kotoa ke fakalakalaka e mo'ui fakasino, 'atamai mo e laumalie. 'Oku ma pehe kuo ikuna 'ema fononga pea 'oku ma fiefia mo fiemalie.

which in English is:
It is the spiritual dimension that binds our family together. Without spirituality we could not have made progress in pursuing our material goals of health, wealth, and education. Because of it, we have been in this loving relationship for almost 60 years now - raising and sustaining the material and spiritual well being of our children. We consider our life journey a very successful one and we are happy and contented. (Fonua, 80, male, second generation)

His wife Mele, also 80, recalls the process in similar terms:

Ko e sipinga tatau pe he famili na'a ku tupu hake ai. Na'e fakamamafa'i e lotu mo e ako. Pea u mali mai 'o vakai 'oku tatau pe 'a e sipinga pea vaofi ange ai 'ema fengaue'aki aipe hono tauhi homa ki'i famili...Lahi homa tapuaki mei he 'Otua. Ka ne ta'e'oua Ia na'e 'ikai mei lava ke faka'uli homa famili he ngaahi faingata'a ne fetaulaki mo ia. Ko homa ta'u 80 eni, ma kei mo'ui lelei pe 'o sio atu ki he koloa'ia e hala kuo fai mai ai e fononga. Kei mo'ui kotoa e fanau mo 'enau takitaha fanau. Ko hono fakakatoa 'oku ma fakamalo.

which in English is:
I grew up in a family that had a similar model of three dimensions. The educational and spiritual dimensions were especially emphasized. When we got married I noticed the similarities. As a result our collaboration in raising our family was even closer...God has blessed us in many respects. Without Him we would not have been able to steer our way through the many challenges that we faced. We are now into our 80 years of age,, still relatively healthy, looking back at our rich life experience. All our children have been educated. No death in the family yet. Overall, we are most grateful to God. (Mele, 80, wife of Fonua, second generation)

Third and fourth generation members were unanimous in pointing out that the continuing emphasis on spiritual principles such as *fe'ofo'ofani* and *fetokoni'aki* (love and unity, and reciprocity) in the *kainga* were central to the overall achievement of the *kainga* over the generations. They said these principles led them to adopt a positive attitude towards life, have resiliency to persevere and overcome challenges, work hard, and acquire material wealth that enables them to meet their needs and obligations.

They noted that the spiritual principles made them share their resources readily to support one another in the *kainga*, and also to reach out and serve the community in a number of ways.

Feleti, 55, and third generation male, recalled how the *kainga* practised these spiritual principles.

> *When I was a child I used to follow my uncles when their father told them to carry food for widows in the village...Over the years I witnessed how my father and his brothers and sisters helped each other...sharing their resources and ideas enabled them to advance the whole family...we (third generation members) are doing the same. (Feleti, 55, male, third generation)*

Lahi, 48, and a third generation female made similar observations:

> *Na'e fetokoni'aki e ongo matu'a he anga 'ena fakakaukau mo ngaue malohi fakataha ke tauhi kimautolu he'emau kei iiki...'iai e ngaahi taimi faingata'a he masiva he na'a mau fu'u tokolahi ka ko 'ena 'ofa mo 'ena tauhi ne mo'ui ai e famili.*

> Which in English means:
> *Our parents supported each other, sharing their ideas and as worked hard to look after us when we young children...there were hard times, struggling to make ends meet as there were many of us, but their love and care sustained the family. (Lahi, 47, third generation female)*

Matiu, 24, fourth generation member and son of Lahi, observed 'that grandpa and grandma are role models, and we grandchildren have learned heaps from their love and hard work to improve the family.'

In each of the four generations, there are many examples of how the spiritual principles influenced members in their actions for the *kainga* and for the community. For instance, Fili is one of many members of the third generation who made significant decisions out of love for *kainga* members and the community. When one of his brothers came to New Zealand for medical treatment following a serious accident in Tonga, Fili and his wife, Line, bought and moved to their life-style farm, vacating their first home for his brother and his family. Furthermore, they offered that brother a portion of the land for a home. The same offer was made to anyone else in the *kainga* who might struggle to buy a home. So far, none of the children has taken up the offer for two main reasons.

First, most are self-sufficient. Second, while they stand willing to help one another, Tahi *kainga* members prefer to be self-sufficient, rather than being dependent.

Other third generation members agreed that their religious ideology and spiritual principles provide them with a moral compass that influences their decisions to study, work hard, help each other, and share their experience and resources with the community. Selu, 49, a third generation female explained that this represented the continuation of a *kainga* tradition,

> *Ko e me'a pe ia na'a ku mamata ai he'eku fanga kui mo 'eku ongo matu'a. Na'a nau ngaue malohi 'o tauhi honau famili pea tokoni he lotu mo 'aonga ki he kakai. Na'a nau tauhi tatau e mo'ui lelei 'a e sino, 'atamai mo e laumalie. Ko e mo'ui 'oku tanaki koloa fakamatelie 'ata'ataa 'oku 'ikai kakato ia.*

> Which in English means:
> *I observed how my grandparents, and my parents, work hard for the well being of their families, served the church and made meaningful contributions to society. They maintained the balance between physical, intellectual and spiritual well being. To live only for accumulating of material wealth is rather incomplete.*
> *(Selu, 49, female, third generation)*

Some members argued that helping others from a commercial or profit motive has its limitations. It will not, for instance, lead us to help those who are disadvantaged and marginalised, especially in lean economic situations. As Malohi, 42, a third generation member, said,

> *'Oku 'ikai fa'a fakamahu'inga'i pe lekooti e fetokoni'aki he 'oku 'ikai ko ha fo'i 'uhinga faka'ikonomika ia. Ka ko e fo'i 'uhinga fakalaumalie ia 'oku ne vete 'a e palopolema faka'ikonomika. Ko e ngaahi me'a ko ia, hange ko e 'ofa, 'ofa ki ho famili, 'ofa ki ho kaunga'api, fietokoni, fa'a kataki, fe'ofa'aki 'oku kofukofu'i ai 'a e fa'ahinga ivi 'oku ne vete 'a e palopolema faka'ikonomika. Ko e me'a ia 'oku mau fetokoni'aki mo fe'ofo'ofani ai.*

> Which translated means:
> *More often than not, reciprocity and sharing are not fully appreciated and acknowledged because it is not an economic principle but spiritual principles rectify economic problems. Other such spiritual principles – love, love your kainga, love thy neighbour, helping others, have endurance, love one another – are endowed with the power to solve economic problems. That's what makes us (Tahi kainga members) share and help each other. (Malohi, 42, third generation male)*

The influence of the spiritual principles is also evident among fourth generation members most of whom have been born in New Zealand and away from the social and economic circumstances

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which gave rise to the original philosophy. As an older member of his generation, Tino, 27, with the blessing of his parents, converted his double garage into a drop-in centre for his cousins and their friends to hang out in. An information technology consultant, he had turned the space into a multi-media entertainment/educational centre with a mini-gym attached next door. He also helped out with his cousins' transport to work and social outings. Tino said he was influenced by the love and unity among his father, aunts, uncles, and grandparents.

A *Kainga* Strategy

From the stories of the interviewees, a composite picture of a multi-dimensional, holistic framework with distinct features, which are summarised in the table below, emerged.

Table 4.1 Five Dimensions of the Tahi *Kainga* Strategy

Dimensions	Key features	Some Indicators
Spiritual well being *Mo'ui Lelei Fakalaumalie*	God Moral principles Love Care and concern Unity Reciprocity	Members have a strong belief in God Loving and caring members Unity, harmony in *kainga* Resources shared for the well being of all
Intellectual well being *Mo'ui Lelei Faka'atamai*	Life-long learning Academic excellence Learn trade or profession Generic management skills	Members are well educated and trained in fields of choice Acquired meaningful work and career
Physical health and well being *Mo'ui Lelei Fakasino*	Meet basic needs of food, shelter, clothing, health and well being. Financial capacity to meet needs	Members' basic needs are met successfully. Members have financial capacity to meet needs
Collective *kainga* health and well being *Mo'ui lelei e Kainga*	Healthy *kainga* Educate *kainga* Create wealth to meet needs and	*Kainga* is healthy, educated, and is able to maintain love and unity

	obligations	
	Love & unity in the *kainga*	
Contribution to Society *Tokoni ki he fonua*	Positive contribution to society	Collective and individual contributions to society are made

Over four generations these five key dimensions of the strategic framework have guided the decisions and influenced the practice of Tahi *kainga* members in their pursuit of individual and collective goals. The influence of the framework on third and fourth generation members indicates its systematic reproduction by Fonua and Mele through regular meetings, role modelling, and the three-yearly *kainga* reunions, described later in this chapter. This raises the question of how the framework is reproduced and how it becomes such an influential narrative in the lives of successive generations of the *kainga*, particularly those which have been born and raised in a society in which materialism and individualism are central social values.

Reproducing the Framework

Third generation members recalled having daily morning and evening prayers where biblical readings were recited reviewed and ethical principles contained therein were emphasised. These included passages from the book of Proverbs, Psalm 23, the Beatitudes, the parables about the servants who were given talents, and the sower of seeds, and Jesus' sermon on the Mount and. While the Bible was important, it was not the sole source of validation. Stories with morals, from both *kainga* history and Aesops' Fables, on the value of unity, striving for educational excellence and other such guidelines were also invoked by their parents. Observing their parents 'walking their talk', and achieving their goals was also instructive for the children.

Selu, aged 49, third generation female, recalls that this was central in the familiy's daily life,

*Ko e pongipongi kotoa na'e fafangu kimautolu 'e he ongo matu'a 'o mau lotu fakataha
'i loto fale he hoko 'a e fitu...ko e me'a tatau na'e fai he valu efiafi kimu'a pea taki taha
ako 'ene lesoni mo fai 'ene homueka.*

or, in English:
*Every morning mum and dad would wake us all for morning prayers at 7 o'clock...a
similar prayer session would happen at 8pm before we did our homework and studies.*

Fili, aged 53, another third generation male, recalled how the Biblical and secular material

had been combined in their parents' teaching:

*Ko u manatu ki he fa'a talanoa ma'u pe 'e he ongo matu'a he lotu faka-famili 'a e
mofesi ngofua 'a e va'akau 'e taha kae faingata'a ke fesi'i 'a e ha'inga 'akau. Ko e fo'i
akonaki ko ia ki he fe'ofo'ofani mo e ngaue fakataha 'oku ou manatu'i ma'u pe.*

or, in English:
*I remember how our parents, during our prayer session, would often tell us the story,
from Aesop's Fables, of how one twig can be easily broken whereas a bundle of the
same is very hard to break. I will always remember that lesson on unity and solidarity.*

Feleti, 55, a third generation male, reveals the significance of his parents' conduct in his own

business practice:

*Na'a ku ako e poto he alea mo e pisinisi mei he ongo matu'a. Na'a ku sio ki he poto 'a e
tangata'eiki he alea, poto he pisinisi, poto he feohi lelei mo e kakai. Ko e fine'eiki na'e
'ikai ngata pe he'ene tauhi kimautolu kae toe fa'a ngaohi 'ene ngaue fakamea'a 'o
fakatau he meili.*

or, in English,
*I learned how to negotiate, do business and get on well with people by observing our
father. He gets on well with people, knows how to negotiate a deal and conduct business
with customers. Our mother not only looked after us really well but also she made and
sold handicrafts.*

When they grew up and migrated overseas to New Zealand, Australia the United States, the

strategic framework, inculcated into them in their childhood and formative years was their guide

and compass as they were confronted with the challenges of the new environment. Fili, 53, third

generation male, recalled how it had shaped his sense of purpose when he arrived in New Zealand:

*Na'a ku ha'u 'o ngaue 'i Nu'usila ni na'e 'ikai te u si o pe kiate au. Na'a ku sio ki he
lelei fakalukufua 'a e famili katoa.*

or, in English,

When I came here to New Zealand to work, I was not thinking of my own well being only. I was thinking of the well being of our whole kainga.

Tupou, 51, a third generation male, states that not all of the teaching was explicit. He recalled the impact of their parents' conduct.

Na'e mahu'inga mo ongo ange kiate au 'ena taa sipinga he fa'a akonaki mo malanga 'emau ongo matu'a. He na'a na fe'ofo'ofani mo fetauhi'aki mo'oni. Tuku hona ivi, pa'anga mo e taimi ke teke 'emau ako faka'atamai mo fakalelei homau 'ulungaanga 'o kimautolu fanau. Pea na ngaue malohi he siasi mo e fonua.

or in English,

More important and influential than homilies and moral bombardment from our parents was the fact that they led by example. They were loving and faithful to each other. They put their money, time and effort, behind their goals of moral and academic excellence for us, children, and they served their church and the community.

However, this alone does not explain the extraordinary resilience of the ideology and model. The family has moved to ensure that the framework and values are maintained even as the family begins to disperse to different locations. Over the last 12 years the *kainga* of Fonua and Mele held three reunions in New Zealand. These events brought together all 50-plus members of the *kainga* from Tonga, Australia and the United States. The purpose was for all members to socialise, strengthen kinship ties and to reflect on the past while planning for the future. Organised during the long holiday period, these week-long reunions gave second and third generation members ample opportunities to share their personal experience and to reflect on the collective vision, goals, values and the strategy of the *kainga*, the reasons for migration, the ideology and strategies they used to counter the challenges they faced in Tonga and other countries, and prospects for the future. Fourth generation members asked questions and also shared their experience and observations too, thus learning and appreciating the ideology and practices of the *kainga*. Prayers, biblical readings and advice shared during the devotional sessions further reinforced the *kainga* strategy and its underlying principles for all members. Meal times, sports sessions, and recreational activities such as bush walking and dancing, provided opportunities for inter-generational bonding across nuclear

families within the *kainga,* especially those from outside New Zealand. Facilitated in an egalitarian, inclusive, and participatory fashion, the reunions minimised any asymmetrical relationship that might be due to gender, age and nature of connection to the *kainga*. The approach engendered a great sense of identifying with, belonging and closeness to the *kainga,* especially among fourth generation members and spouses of *kainga* members. Fourth generation members found these reunions very powerful in bonding them to older generations, and internalising *kainga* values, goals and practices.

For Tohi, 18, and a fourth generation New Zealand-born male, the sessions on family history and sharing of family experience were inspiring for him. He recalled,

> *Na'e fakalotolahi e ngaahi talanoa ki Ha'apai mo Tongatapu...faka'amu au na'e fa'ele'i au 'i Tonga pe te u 'alu 'o sio 'i Ha'apai*

which in English means,

> *The family stories about Ha'apai and Tongatapu were inspirational...I wish I was born in Tonga, or could visit Ha'apai.*

Siu, 19, male and fourth generation, recalls one of the ways that the *kainga* vision and goals were effectively conveyed during one of the reunions,

> *Na'e mahino 'aupito e kaveinga 'a e famili, 'a e 'lotu, ako mo e famili' he falani ko ia na'e tufa mai 'e Fo'ou mei 'Amelika,*

> Which in English means,
> *The family goals of 'lotu, ako and famili,' (spiritual and intellectual development, and family) were clear on those T-shirts that Uncle Fo'ou brought for us from America.*
> *(Siu, 19, fourth generation male)*

The Role and Significance of Tongan Cultural Concepts and Practices

Along with their Christian ideology, Tongan concepts have also influenced the positive development of the Tahi *kainga*. Central among these is *fakapotopoto*, translated by Schneider

(1977) as, 'prudence; wisdom; economy.' Rabone (1845) translated *fakapotopoto* as 'to act wisely or prudently.' *Kainga* members, especially the second and third generation, often referred to *fakapotopoto* as a concept and tool that significantly shaped their individual and collective lives as a *kainga*. Tahi and Tapu's children explained that their parents were successful in their life because they were *fakapotopoto*. They added that the talent of *fakapotopoto* allowed Tahi to prioritise his life goals, and to manage many of the challenges he faced wisely and tactfully, and in the process he became a successful person. Similarly, children of Fonua and Mele acknowledged Tahi's wisdom and effective leadership and described their parents and grandparents (Tahi and Tapu) as *fakapotopoto* people. To gain a better understanding of this concept and tool that is integral to the experience of the Tahi *kainga*, *fakapotopoto* is given a thorough analysis next.

The Meaning and Significance of *Fakapotopoto*

Fakapotopoto is a derivative of the root word *poto* which means wisdom, knowledgeable and skilful. Churchward (1959, p.125) defines *poto* as 'to be clever, skilful; to understand what to do and be able to do it.' Discussing *poto* in the context of Tongan education, Helu-Thaman (1995) suggested that:

> Poto in the context of Tongan education (ako) may be achieved through the appropriate use of 'ilo (knowledge and understanding). Poto may therefore be defined as the positive application of 'ilo (knowledge and understanding), and the "educated person" (tokotaha poto) as the one who applies 'ilo with positive and successful results (Helu-Thaman, 1995, p.10).

Researching on why Tongans in Auckland gamble, Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Hand, Htay, & Tu'itahi (2004) observe that *fakapotopoto* is a significant factor in the ability of some Tongans in Auckland to avoid involvement in problem gambling. They wrote:

> Fakapotopoto means being wise, knowledgeable, and skilful. It is about being sensible with resources, proficient in distribution, practical, smart, thinking ahead and consistent. These are attributes that many participants and commentators have remarked as an

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underlying reason why Tongan people do not gamble, or are able to control gambling habits (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Hand, Htay, & Tu'itahi, 2004, p. 115).

The word *fakapotopoto* is often used in the context of discussions of Tongan leadership and management. For instance, when a Tongan uses his wisdom, knowledge and skills to manage his life successfully and help others, such a person is referred to as a *tokotaha fakapotopoto* – a wise and prudent person. An intelligent, but inexperienced, person who embarks on a project and makes mistakes along the way, is referred to as *"ko e potopoto-'a-niu-mui,"* (wise but still a fresh, green coconut).

The significance of the concept of *fakapotopoto* to Tongans can be best demonstrated when they are asked which type of *poto* they really prefer. Often, the response is that they want *fakapotopoto*. *"Ko e poto fakapotopoto 'oku fiema'u taha."* "The most preferred form of *poto* (wisdom) is *poto fakapotopoto* (wise, prudent, effective leadership and management). A person who is not *fakapotopoto* is called *"tokotaha fakavalevale"* – an unwise, not prudent, and extravagant person." A Tongan saying, often expressed by people of the main island of Tongatapu to describe the people of Ha'apai is *"Ha'apai fakapotopoto"* – the people of Ha'apai are wise and prudent. Essentially, the saying refers to two phenomena: the survival skills of Ha'apai people in the harsh conditions of their small scattered islands, and that many Ha'apai students excelled in education over many decades.

Like many Tongan concepts, *fakapotopoto* encapsulates a body of accumulated knowledge, principles, skills and practices, based on time tested practice and experiential research. Within the context of the largely oral Tongan culture, pithy sayings and other literary devices such as *ta'anga* (poetical and/or musical *compositions), fananga* (folk tales), and *tala tupu'a* (creation myths and legends) are employed to capture the essence of the wealth of knowledge, skills and qualities learnt, and therefore help to ease the transfer of such intellectual properties to succeeding generations (Mahina, 1992). Scholarly research and analysis, combined with an in-depth understanding of

Tongan culture can unravel these accumulated knowledge, skills and experience that are clothed with brevity and symbolism in concepts such as *fakapotopoto*. Like other Tongan concepts, *fakapotopoto* can be used in a number of ways. As a verb it means to work wisely and prudently as illustrated in the Tongan expression: *"Puke 'a e faingamalie pea ngaue fakapotopoto 'aki"* (Seize the opportunity and manage it with wisdom and prudence).

Fakapotopoto, therefore, can be conceptualised as the Tongan art and science of wise leadership and prudent management. As a leadership and management tool, *fakapotopoto* is scientific in that it is a systematic and methodical approach to the management of resources based on and the application of specific knowledge, skills and experience that have been proven over time to be effective in a variety of contexts. It is an art in that one has to weigh up the facts, the perspectives of others, make a judgement, and then communicate his decision to his co-workers. When further unpacked, *fakapotopoto* appears to have four major dimensions, namely, *taki fakapotopoto* (strategic leadership), *pule fakapotopoto* (effective management), *ngaue fakapotopoto* (application of knowledge, skills and experience), and *anga fakapotopoto* (application of ethical or spiritual principles). These are now dealt with individually below, with examples drawn from the experience of the first three generations of the Tahi *kainga*. While these dimensions are analysed separately for the purpose of learning and understanding, it should be noted that they are aspects of one tool. Consequently, the effectiveness of *fakapotopoto* is best realised when its four dimensions are applied in an integrated fashion, with latitude for overlapping.

The first dimension of *taki fakapotopoto* (wise and prudent leadership) refers to the ability of a person to see beyond the current, collective boundary and limits of the group and to be able to navigate unknown waters to reach new horizons that bring more opportunities to all.

Many third generation members demonstrated being visionary and strategic when they migrated to New Zealand. Fili, 53, a third generation male who owns a farm and started the home buying scheme for the *kainga*, explains what taught him to be strategic,

Na'a ku ako kotoa e ngaahi founga ni mei he ongo matu'a 'i Tonga. Na'a ku fakatokanga'i pe 'ena ngaue malohi ke ako'i kimautolu, pea ke 'i ai ha me'atokoni mo ma'a ma'u pe 'a e 'api mo mo'ui lelei. Neongo ne u ki'i fa'a hola he ngaahi Sapate 'e ni'ihi 'o tau mata'u, ka na'a ku feinga ke muimui ma'u pe 'ia kinaua ki he Lautohi faka-Sapate. Katoa e ngaahi lesoni ko ia na'e toka ia hoku loto he'eku tu'uta mai. Pea ko 'eku mape folau ia.

or in English,
I learned all these skills from our parents back in Tonga. I observed then how they worked hard to ensure that we all have a good education, that we have enough to eat and the home is always clean and healthy, and although I did take off fishing on some Sundays but I would almost always follow them to Sunday school. Those lessons and experience made a very strong impression on me when I came here. It serves as my road map. (Fili, 53, male, third generation)

The second dimension of *pule fakapotopoto* (wise and prudent management) refers to the ability of a leader to move beyond the vision and strategy, to empower other members to own the vision and participate in implementing the strategy. It further refers to the capability of the leader to manage the implementation phase successfully: that is the desired goals are achieved at the standards and within the time-frame expected. In his generation, Fonua demonstrated *pule fakapotopoto* in a number of ways. For example, the church to which he belonged in Tongatapu took his financial advice and invested its saving in an overseas bank. Two decades later, enough interest was accumulated and a new church building was built without any burden of fundraising by the parishioners. To help other Tongans find better living standards overseas, Fonua, while working as a travel consultant, organised a scheme with many parishes throughout Tonga that enabled hundreds of church members to travel abroad, work, send money home. Some returned to Tonga while others settled overseas.

The third dimension of *fakapotopoto* is *ngaue fakapotopoto* (wise and prudent application of skills and knowledge) This refers to the use of knowledge and skills with wisdom and tact. Such actions

do not only ensure the steady progress of the group but also offers learning opportunities for all. A third generation example is Selu, 49, a social worker and counsellor. She migrated to New Zealand in the late 1970s without any high school qualification but she later took up further studies over the years and qualified as a social worker and counsellor. At the time of writing she completed her Masters in Social Policy. Selu not only utilised her range of skills in her paid work, but also used them in her voluntary work to help youth in her church and Tahi *kainga* members.

Another notable aspect of *ngaue fakapotopoto* in the Tahi *kainga* is their adapting of cultural values and practices to align with *kainga* goals. For example, the *kainga* does not observe cultural events such as birthdays, weddings, and funeral in elaborate, expensive fashion. Rather, such occasions are mostly marked with devotions and simple meals, thus saving income for school tuition or investing in assets. Additionally, *kainga* members readily share assets like homes to support each other. For example, when Lotu and his family migrated to New Zealand in 2002, Samiu, who is single, moved to the family farm, vacating his home for Lotu and his family.

The final dimension of *anga fakapotopoto* (wise application of spiritual and ethical principles) refers to the decision-making, planning and implementation processes, in which the leader adheres to spiritual and ethical principles to guide his or her *anga* (behaviour/action). Some examples of such principles include love, care and concern, justice, honesty and equity. The final outcome of the process should be fair and beneficial to all. The Tahi *kainga* members point to how Tahi was flexible in applying his community development strategy to suit the context but never diverted from his spiritual, guiding principles. Such principles ensured that he was honest, just and fair to all while disadvantaged members in the village, like the elders and solo parents with children were cared for. For his integrity both the church and the village development committee elected him to be their treasurer, a duty that he carried out until he died.

Based on the experience of the Tahi *kainga,* the four major dimensions of *fakapotopoto* are summarised along with some key features and indicators in the table below.

Table 4.2: *Fakapotopoto*: **A Leadership and Management Tool**

Dimension	*Some Features*	*Some Indicators*
Taki Fakapotopoto Leadership	- create vision - set strategic direction - navigate future pathways	- clear vision articulated -strategic direction and plan set
Pule Fakapotopoto Management	-plan of action set -community informed and mobilised -plan is implemented, monitored and evaluated	- priorities set; - goals achieved; - new goals set; - informed community ; - community participate and own process;
Ngaue Fakapotopoto Application of knowledge, skills with wisdom and prudence	Knowledge and skills in management, planning, finance,	Goals achieved according to plan
Anga Fakapotopoto Guiding spiritual and ethical principles	Love, justice, honesty, fairness, sharing	- ethical leadership evident -positive development -Resources fairly distributed - harmony and peace in *kainga* or community sustained

Other Contributing Factors

In addition to the strategic framework, and the leadership and management tool of *fakapotopoto*, there are three other factors that contributed to the achievement and successful experience of the Tahi *kainga*: the influence of the physical and social environment, the contribution of spouses in all generations, and the flexibility of the Tahi kainga to accept changes that contribute to their overall well being. These factors are now examined individually next.

Physical and Socio-Economic Environment

Most of the participants, especially second and third generation members, noted the environment as very influential on their outlook, decisions, and actions. According to Fonua, the smallness of their island home and the harsh realities of being remote from the centre of trade and social services made Tahi *kainga* members determined to work hard, take ownership of their future, and were wise and prudent with their resources.

Fonua and Mele observed that living in Ha'apai was difficult due to the remoteness and smallness of the island which made it very vulnerable to the natural hazards such as the frequent hurricanes that visited the group.

Mele, added,

> *Na'e hoko e ngaahi faingata'a ke ma ako mei ai ke ma fakapotopoto mo sio mama'o atu ki he kaha'u he anga e fakakaukau mo 'ema fokotu'utu'u.*
> In English it means,
> *Such difficult circumstances taught us to be wise, prudent and to be future-oriented in our thinking and planning. (Mele, 80, second generation)*

Even when they re-settled in the low-lying lands outside the capital of Tongatapu, the often-flooded marshland was no match to the distance they had to travel in between the Ha'apai islands and the ravages of cyclones. Combining their parent's examples and their Tongatapu migration experience, Fonua and Mele initiated the migration outside Tonga. They said the Ha'apai and the

Tongatapu experience physically and psychologically prepared their children for the move to New Zealand.

Feleti and Fili, the first of the Tahi children to migrate, agreed. In addition to the cold climate, the customs and culture of New Zealand were alien, but their experiences in migrating from Ha'apai to Tonga, especially the lessons learnt from the challenges were reference points. Risk taking and tackling challenges were not new although the conflicts were not necessarily any easier. The rest who followed were of the similar mindset: in order to gain, expect to encounter difficulties with wisdom and prudence. Many of the children adopted a life-long learning approach towards training and education. As a result, some of those who came with no formal high school qualifications have gained first and second degrees from universities. Those who already had tertiary-level qualifications went on to other fields of studies. Lotu, who was adopted by Mele's parents, is one of them. Others have learned from semi-skilled jobs and set up their own businesses in which they are financially comfortable in as they focus on the education and well being of their children who are doing academically well. At the time of writing, some of the children, fourth generation members, were studying diverse disciplines such as medicine, law, education, sociology, social policy, and carpentry at university and polytechnic level

Having discussed the influence of the physical and socio-economic environment, let us turn to the next contributing factor, the contribution of spouses.

The Contribution of Spouses

The reproduction of the Tahi *kainga's* vision and associated practices in successive generations depends not solely on the family members. It depends, to some considerable extent, on recruiting spouses who can or do share the vision and who become central in its transmission to their children. Recruiting spouses who do not share or who actively contest, these values and practices would make it very much more difficult to transmit these values, particularly in a society which already poses some significant challenges to those values through formal and informal education. However, spouses who do not, initially at least, share the family's vision can adopt it and may, in turn, be changed by and committed to it.

Although spouses in all four generations influenced the development of the Tahi *kainga*, this part of the study focuses only on the spouses who were interviewed. They included Mele, wife of Fonua, and the spouses of seven of their children who live in New Zealand. This analysis concentrates on the contribution of Tahi *kainga* spouses to the progress of the Tahi *kainga* and to the reproduction and transmission of the vision and practices which underlie it. It focuses on their perspectives and in particular, the extent to which these were similar to the Tahi *kainga* models, and how this convergence can be explained. Space precludes the analysis of each individual's contribution, so a representative selection of spouses, some of whom came from families that had commonalities with the Tahi *kainga* and some of whom had different *kainga* backgrounds to show how they contributed to or were influenced by the *kainga*'s philosophy.

Some of the spouses come from backgrounds similar to the Tahi *kainga*. These similarities included having a religious ideology, Tongan values of *fe'ofo'ofani* and *fetokoni'aki* (love and reciprocity) as a source of guidance, a strategic framework that embodies both the material and spiritual dimensions of life, with education as a vehicle for socio-economic progress and mobility. Viewing success as not only improving oneself but also of contributing to the collective good of society is

another common element in the backgrounds of these spouses. An example from the second generation is Mele, wife of Fonua, who comes from a *kainga* that has been serving one of Tonga's biggest Christian denominations for several generations.

Mele met and married Fonua while her parents, the father being a minister, were serving the church in the village next to Fonua's village. Mele learned leadership skills and the value of service to others from her parents who, like most Tongan pastors during that period, adopted a broad community service and development role in the communities to which they were called. They not only provided pastoral care, but also led community development and undertook health initiatives in most villages they served, around the three main groups of islands in Tonga. At the same time, and because they were highly educated, they ensured that their own *kainga* needs, especially their education, were being met. As a result most of Mele's brothers and sisters received the highest level of education that was available locally at the time – secondary school. Furthermore, her oldest brother was one of the first few sons of ministers to access overseas tertiary education. He later became the leader of their church, and retained that position until he retired. Mele brought those skills, knowledge, experience and spiritual values into their *kainga*. Fonua, her husband, acknowledged that Mele was an equal partner and co-worker and that her input was pivotal to the achievements of their *kainga*. He said:

> *Na'e 'ikai ngata pe he'ene tauhi 'o mo'ui lelei kotoa e fanau kae toe tokanga'i 'enau ako, mo honau 'ulungaanga. Na'a ne tokoni lahi foki he fakakaukau'i e hiki mei motu pea mo e feinga ha ma'u'anga mo'ui ma'a homa ongo famili.*

or, in English,
> *She not only raised our children and ensured their health and well being, but she also assisted with their education and moral character. She also helped with planning our migration from Ha'apai to Tonga and here (New Zealand) and contributed to the economic well being of our two extended families.*

Reflecting on more than fifty years of membership of the Tahi *kainga*, Mele agreed that despite the

challenges they met, the *kainga* had been successful in that most of the life goals they set have been

reached. She elaborated further:

> *Neongo e ngaahi faingata'a ka na'a ma ikuna koe'uhi ko 'ofa. Na'a ma fe'ofa'aki, ma*
> *fetauhi'aki, ma tui ki he 'Otua, pea ma ngaue'i 'ema tui mo 'ema ngaahi taumu'a pea hoko*
> *ai e ikuna.*

In English, it means,
> *Despite the many challenges we achieved our goals because of the love of God, our love and*
> *commitment to each other (as husband and wife,) our strong belief in God, and our*
> *dedication and hard work towards our goals and what we believe in. (Mele, 80, second*
> *generation)*

Mele was born and brought up in Tonga and in an environment in which these values and practices

found ready expression and were widely shared. Her family was committed, by religion and by

professional practice, to the service ethic, and lived within a series of communities in which these

values and practices were supposed to find their fullest expression in the activities and conduct of

pastors' families. The spouses in the next generation of the Tahi family had somewhat different

backgrounds and could not be expected to share the same vision as Mele who was a product of a

different time and place. One thing that all shared was that they were Tongan and had varying

exposure to Tongan cultural values and practices, and a religious ideology.

A number of the spouses, like their mother-in-law, came from backgrounds which were similar to

that of the Tahi *kainga*. Two are briefly mentioned here as examples. The first is Manu, 39, and

wife of Taufa. She also comes from a *kainga* that values education and has a holistic framework of

development. Born in Tonga but received tertiary education in New Zealand, Manu holds a degree

in nursing while both her oldest brother and oldest sister hold doctorate degrees. She noted that, like

the Tahi *kainga*, her own *kainga* originates from Ha'apai where her grandfather was a community

leader with a vision and a plan that valued spiritual and material development equally. He also

reached out to help members of the community in many ways – from financial support and food

provision to guiding future pathways. For example, he paid the tuition fees of children in the greater extended family and those in the neighbourhood whose parents were not able to. As town officer, he planned and organised development activities for the village.

The second example is Vei, 48. Born and brought up in Tonga, she is the wife of Tupou. Vei recalled how her parents provided encouragement and material support to their children to strive for excellence in their talents, and worked hard to provide for their children's material needs and spiritual well being. While they provided care for their *kainga*, Vei's parents also provided a base for their relatives who migrated from the outer islands. The parents built a communal house in the *kainga* compound as a temporary home for these relatives and their friends to settle at while they find a permanent home and work. Vei's father was a leader of the religious community that her *kainga* belonged to. One of the first Tongans to be trained in electrical engineering, he initiated projects for youth development and an apprenticeship in electrical engineering. He also helped with the starting of a school in Tonga by providing his extended family land as the first location for the school. As it developed, the school later moved to a different and bigger location where it established other divisions such as vocational training, performing arts, and tertiary level branches. While three of the seven siblings in her *kainga* gained tertiary qualifications as a result of their parents' efforts, Vei did not pursue further education beyond high school. Instead, she worked at her *kainga's* retail shop, but marrying Tupou and gaining exposure to the Tahi *kainga* ethic motivated and reminded her of her own family background that was similar to the Tahi's. When Vei and her husband and their three children migrated to New Zealand in 1994, she took up studies. At the time of this research, she had gained a tertiary-level certificate in health work and was doing further health studies.

For those spouses who came from different backgrounds, exposure to the Tahi family's values, priorities and practices has been instructive and encouraging. Two cases are briefly described here as examples. The first case is Lenisi, 45, and wife of Feleti. Lenisi noted that education was not a priority in her *kainga*. Born and brought up in Tonga, she recalled how back in their village home, her father would often order them off to go to sleep so that their study area –the living room– be freed up for his *kava* party with his friends, who were other parents from the neighbourhood. After observing how education was valued and encouraged in the Tahi *kainga*, and witnessing the socio-economic success among its members, she decided to go back to school. With the support of her husband, who is self-employed, Lenisi was in her final year for a first degree in teaching at the time this research was conducted.

The second example is Vaka, 48, and husband of Lahi. Vaka was born and raised in Tonga. He migrated to New Zealand and later to Australia, working in factories as an unskilled labourer. He recalled that while he had education up to high school level, there was no extra guidance and encouragement from his parents. When he married Lahi he noted with interest how the Tahi *kainga* model, with its underlying principles and practices, provided guidance and encouragement to its members. He also observed how several of his in-laws were successful in terms of education and acquiring material wealth. After training to be a pastor, Vaka and Lahi, and their three children moved back to New Zealand, where their whole family, contributed to *kainga* activities and received support from other members, especially in the form of guidance and support for their children's education. For example, uncles and aunts with tertiary education experience helped with assignments, study skills and goal setting. At present their son and eldest child is a teacher. Of the two daughters, the older one is currently studying at university while the younger daughter is at high school. Vaka and Lahi attributed a great part of the success of their children to the support from the *kainga*.

As discussed above, some spouses came from *kainga* that had commonalities with the Tahi *kainga* while others came from different *kainga* backgrounds. However, they all made contributions such as offering their skills, knowledge, ideas, and material resources, which assisted in the development of the *kainga*. Those with tertiary level qualifications helped with supporting the education of children in the *kainga* by helping with career advice, assignments, and study skills. For example, Sina, wife of Lotu, is an economist and training consultant. She often helps with the *kainga* children's assignments and provided advice to, and research for adult members who do further studies at tertiary levels. Advice and support to *kainga* businesses is another form of assistance that some spouses provide. For example, Motu, 49, and husband of Selu, is a chartered accountant. Without charges, he helps with preparing of annual financial reports and other such accounting requirements for businesses of individual members in the *kainga*. Those from health background provide care and support and health promotion activities. For instance, Manu, a nurse, runs sessions on nutrition and healthy lifestyle during the *kainga* monthly meetings and offers one-one advice to those members who need such assistance. Together with other *kainga* members, spouses participated as equals in the monthly meetings where decisions are made for the well being of the *kainga*. While the *kainga* acknowledge the contributions of spouses they are welcomed in the *kainga* as equals not because of their contributions. Rather they are accepted as they are, and as members of the kainga, and not what they contribute or what status they might have. This value and practice of accepting spouses as equals, and other people for that matter, within the *kainga* is informed by a decision-making model that is based on equality and complementarity that Fonua and Mele adopted. This model is discussed next.

Spouses acknowledged that while they contributed to the advancement of the Tahi *kainga,* they had also introduced some changes at the same time. Two examples of these changes are discussed briefly here. The first one is the dynamics between husband and wife in the decision making

process. In the traditional *kainga* structure the husband is the head of the *kainga,* and therefore has the final say in most *kainga* affairs. However, early on in their family life in Tonga, Fonua and Mele realised the benefits of accepting each other as equals, and valuing each other's contribution to the collective well being of their *kainga*. They therefore worked together as equals in complementary ways, rather than following the traditional Tongan model of asymmetrical power relationship and decision-making process of their generation. This egalitarian decision-making model, in which both partners contribute their ideas and picked the best idea or ideas to implement, was introduced by Mele and complemented by Fonua. Most of the children and their spouses have adopted this model that their parents initially adopted. Spouses acknowledged that this equality model that Fonua and Mele adopted was a positive development against the traditional Tongan kainga structure they themselves are used to, and was very much in line with their observation of New Zealand society, where the equality of men and women are more or less the norm. The second example of changes is the different practices adopted by some nuclear families within the *kainga*. For example, whereas Fonua and Mele used to guide their children to careers they wanted their children to take up, some spouses advised their children to choose the career they prefer. One thing is clear from these changes. The overall framework and strategic goals for the *kainga* – spiritual, intellectual and physical well being - remain the same while the practices are flexible, and *kainga* members, spouses included, can make appropriate changes to achieve their goals.

The Flexibility of the *Kainga*

A significant fact in the discussion above is the flexibility of the Tahi *kainga* to accept and incorporate new ideas and approaches. Adaptable to new ways and willing to adjust traditional *kainga* structures to suit new contexts, enables the Tahi *kainga* to fully utilise the cultural capital and human capital within the *kainga,* and therefore achieve their socio-economic goals and vision.

As shown in Chapter Three, and discussed in this chapter, many members of all four generations of the *kainga* demonstrated, on many occasions, being open to new ideas, adaptable to new contexts, and accepting new ways that improve their socio-economic well being. Clearly, this flexibility is one of the major contributing factors to the success of the Tahi *kainga*.

Changes bring challenges and can cause tensions and conflicts. The Tahi *kainga* faced many challenges and conflicts as they adapted to the changes they met. These challenges and how the Tahi *kainga's* effort to resolve them are analysed next.

Managing the Challenges and Conflicts

Many challenges and conflicts have confronted the four generations of the Tahi *kainga* members. Although these tests and trials have brought stress and strain to the *kainga*, members regarded them as learning experiences and see them as catalysts that have propelled them to achieve their *kainga's* goals. Additionally, many members noted, these conflicts have refined the character of the individuals concerned and brought insights and lessons that helped to enhance the *kainga's* strategies.

The challenges identified by participants in the research are categorised as:

- the physical and socio-economic environment
- the lack of finance
- the diversity of religious beliefs.
- the fourth generation challenges, and
- the conflict of views on leadership and management model

Each of these challenge, and the Tahi's responses to them, are outlined and examined below.

Physical and Social Environment

The physical and socio-economic environment was always a challenge to the Tahi *kainga*. In Ha'apai, the island was prone to cyclones and droughts, far from the main island, and land for farming was scarce. Following the footsteps and plan of his parents, Fonua and his siblings and their spouses migrated to Tongatapu, much to the disapproval of the villagers, on one hand, and with their own apprehension about the unfamiliar territory, on the other. They left familiar homes, lands, and other such capital assets behind, armed only with their experience, faith in God, unity among themselves, and a strong will to achieve. Building life in the new environment of Tongatapu meant they had to reclaim the marshland near the capital where they settled, and travel in a horse-driven cart to their farm which was some 25 kilometres away. Over time, their perseverance resulted in acquiring new material wealth. They contributed to society while educating their children.

These challenges above can be best illustrated by examining the experience of individuals in three generations. In the first generation, for instance, Tahi fled twice from his uncles who tried to take him from his home in the Ha'apai Group to Tongatapu, after the passing of his parents. Although he loved his two maternal uncles and understood their good intentions and their traditional obligation to take care of their sister's children, Tahi was homesick in the new, unfamiliar environment. The experience of being taken from his home island against his will strengthened Tahi's resolve to work hard and serve his *kainga*, and later his community. With his firm spiritual belief, his self-confidence, determination and focus he rose to be a community leader, with the support of his partner. Together, they helped others, educated their children and set up a strong foundation for their descendants to follow.

Similarly, when Tahi sent his eldest son, Fonua, for primary and secondary schooling in Tongatapu, the latter was homesick during the first few years. Fonua said he was only eight years of age, too young to be away from home and *kainga*. Many times, he begged his parents to take him back, but he was told to remain with his guardian, grand aunt Selu, for the sake of his education. His parents repeatedly counselled him to be *fakapotopoto*, wise and prudent, as he was the eldest son, and would be the example and leader for his siblings and the *kainga*. Fonua recalled,

> *Na'a ku fa'a tangi he taimi lahi mo faka'amu ke u foki kae talamai he'eku kui ke u kataki pe he teu sio ki hono lelei 'eku ako ha 'aho.*
> *(Fonua, 80, male, second generation)*

In English, it means,
I cried a lot and wished to return home but my grand aunt said to be bear with and one day I will realise the benefits of being educated.

Fonua persevered and completed his education. He said that this experience taught him how to endure and persevere through challenges until he achieve his goals.

Similar struggles were experienced when the earliest Tahi men migrated to New Zealand during the early years of Pacific migration. The new, and unknown country, was relatively bigger; its climate was cold, and its culture and language were different. The first members to migrate were unskilled labourers who had to work long hours in low-paid jobs, and did not see immediate material benefits from their work since significant parts of their income were returned to the family in Tonga. They did not have the *kainga* network for support and were subject to overt and covert racism by the dominant group, which had started to resent the presence of Pacific Islanders by the time the Tahi men arrived. Despite these many challenges the Tahi men persevered and worked hard. They were very clear as to their mission and goal: to work and accumulate wealth for the well being of the *kainga*. They put up with the long hours of hard labour in factories, and lived frugally. In order to save, they lived together in flats, car pooled to work, cut food to the bare essentials. The challenges and the reward of migrating from Ha'apai to Tongatapu was a source of inspiration and points of

references. The values of *fe'ofo'ofani* and *fetokoni'aki* (love and unity, and reciprocity) guided their actions, and kept them focused. While some of the Tahi members experienced personal racism through comments of co-workers from the dominant group, they regarded such racist attitude as only another barrier to ignore as they strived to achieve their goals. Years later, as discussed in Chapter Three, Tahi members bought properties, brought other kainga members from Tonga, and replicated the economic success and social well being they experienced in Ha'apai, and Tongatapu.

The Lack of Finance

Like the environment, the lack of finance was a constant challenge to the *kainga* of Fonua and Mele during their first decade in Tongatapu. At the time, most of their 11 children were of school age and the costs of meeting their basic needs could not be met by sales of surplus from the farm. Fonua took up various jobs and Mele made handicrafts for sale to help make ends meet. According to Fili, the poverty that he experienced when the *kainga* moved to Tongatapu was the opposite of life in Ha'apai. He added:

> *Ko e masiva ko ia 'a e famili 'i Tongatapu, na'e kehe ia mo e tu'umalie 'i Ha'apai. Ko e taha ia e 'uhinga na'a ku ngaue malohi ai 'i Nu'usila ni ke 'oua na'a toe masiva e famili.*

> In English,
> *The poverty that I experienced in Tongatapu, the exact opposite of my experience in Ha'apai, was one of the motivating factors for me to work hard here in New Zealand, so that the kainga will never experience poverty again."*
> *(Fili, 53, male, third generation)*

The *kainga* situation only began to improve when some of the older children finished high school, started to work and contributed to the *kainga* income. The remittances from those who migrated to New Zealand really improved the *kainga's* fortune.

However, migration brought challenges and social costs which were more marked in the third generation. The challenges were in the form of divorce. Among the nine children of Fonua and

Mele, three of their marriages ended in divorce. One was due to a long term separation when the spouse went to Australia to work and did not return. The other two were due to unfaithfulness on the part of the spouses. The three *kainga* members involved reflected on their experience as learning moments. Two of the members now have new, blended families. The third member, at the time of the research, was contented to focus on his children rather than starting a new relationship.

During these personal crises, the collective welfare network of the *kainga* provided a safety net for the children and the spouses of the broken families. Not only were their educational endeavours supported, but moral and emotional support was provided by other family members within the *kainga*. The *kainga* drop-in centre, where most of the fourth generation members regularly hang out to socialise and support each other, is another effective support mechanism for the children affected. Academic and career advice, moral support from teachers and educators within the *kainga* also helped them to get back on track.

The Challenge o f Diverse Spiritual Ideologies

A challenge that two of the participants suggested that had tested the unity and solidarity of the *kainga* is the increasing diversity in spiritual ideologies among *kainga* members, especially within the third generation. Their view is that different ideologies may lead to different perspectives and attitudes that can cause disunity and fragmentation. With the exception of one sister, Fonua and his brothers and sisters belong to the same denomination as their parents did: the Methodist church. This sister and her husband and their children, are members of a breakaway movement from the *kainga* church which has very little difference in its doctrine, rituals, programme and practices from the original *kainga* church. Initially, this family was shunned by the kainga but they were later

welcomed back. This means that there is a relatively high degree of religious convergence in the second generation. There are few religious differences within that generation.

But third generation members, the majority of Fonua and Mele's children, either no longer identify with their parents' denomination, or have chosen different Christian denominations. For example, Lotu and Sina no longer attend the *kainga* church regularly and they are highly critical of the church. Feleti and his wife, Lenisi, and their children attend the Roman Catholic Church. Fili and his family have joined the Jehovah Witness movement. Tupou and his wife, Vei, are members of the Baha'i Faith. Lahi goes to the Assemblies of God Church where her husband, Vaka, is a pastor. So far, the diverse religious affiliations have not led to disunity or strained relationship, apart from sessions of robust debate among interested members. Instead, most other members noted, the diversity of religious belief and practice has led to a richness of enlightening views that help members to solve problems they face in life. These members are seen to bring to the *kainga* some of the positive, practical teachings, such as parenting skills, marriage life enhancement, and living in harmony with people of different cultures and beliefs, from their respective belief systems. This willingness, on the part of those who have joined other faiths, to remain engaged with the family and to share with beliefs and practices has made the movement away less divisive than might otherwise have been the case. The rest of the family, who have remained with the 'traditional' denomination, profess to be only too glad to learn from them.

Members who left the *kainga* church further noted that the reason for choosing a different spiritual pathway is that the structure, policies and practices of the original church are not compatible with the socio-economic realities of life in a modern society. For example, the number of church activities per week should be limited to allow time for families to focus on the education and health and well being of their children. Given the low socio-economic status of Tongans in New Zealand, the church should set realistic financial goals that church members can afford to contribute to.

When some of their children first left the *kainga* church, Mele and Fonua were not happy. Now they have accepted the change and are of the view that it was God's will that things developed in that direction. They are no longer particular about which faith their children and grandchildren go to. What matters to them is that their children pursue a spiritual path of their choice in which they can communicate with the one God, and are still able to meet the holistic needs of their respective families, maintain love and unity, and reach out and help others.

Challenges to the Fourth Generation

Fourth generation members see two challenges that are particular to them. One is their fear that mainstream values such as individualism and materialism may cause fragmentation among them. Such a fragmentation can weaken the close ties they enjoy and the sharing of values, knowledge and resources among *kainga* members that they, the fourth generation members, learn and benefit from. They observe that while love and unity among the third generation members is very strong, they doubt whether it will continue to be that strong within their generation because the extended *kainga* is dispersed around the world and that materialistic values are becoming very strong.

Tino, 27, a fourth generation, New Zealand-born male, noted that,

> *Na'e tupu vaofi hake 'emau matu'a 'i Tonga pea nau lea faka-Tonga. Ka ko kimautolu na'e fa'ele'i 'i heni pe 'Asitelelia pea si'i 'emau lea faka-Tonga.*

Which in English means,
Our parents grew up together and lived close to each other in Tonga. They also speak the same Tongan language. But some of us were born here in New Zealand or Australia, and we spoke little Tongan. (Tino, 27, male, fourth generation, New Zealand born)

Sale, 17, a New Zealand born, fourth generation male, was also aware of the competing materialist ideology which challenged their parents' values which are, in turn, the foundations of the family's vision and strategy.

Materialism is very strong here (New Zealand) and we have to work hard to maintain our moral character otherwise the model that our parents have shown us will be lost.

However, participants were confident that the model that has been passed down from their parents and the experience of growing in such a stable, safe, and supportive environment will be valuable guidance for them when they have their own family. None of the participants disagreed with the model. The other challenge is the pressure to be as successful as their parents, uncles and aunties. Acknowledging that the pressure to be successful is more self-imposed than coming from parents, aunties and uncles, fourth generation members noted that the way to deal with it is to use the pressure as a motivation to use their talents and potentials to excel in their chosen fields.

Conflict of Views on Leadership and Management Model

The final challenge to be examined is the conflict of views among members of the *kainga* on which models of leadership and management that are appropriate for the *kainga's* on-going development and evolving needs. These differing views reflect the clash of Tongan leadership values and practices and other forms of leadership. The clash also signifies the on-going adaptation of the *kainga*. Two examples that demonstrate this conflict are briefly examined here. The first example was when Fonua sometimes used his head-of-family authority to overrule majority *kainga* decisions, especially on financial matters. His action discouraged some *kainga* members from contributing to the *kainga* reserve fund and invited criticism from others.

Feleti, 55, observed that,
'Oku faka'apa'apa'i pe 'a e poto mo e taukei 'o Fonua ka 'oku 'i ai e ngaahi fakakaukau mo e founga ngaue 'a e to'u hoko hake 'oku lelei ange.

Which in English means,
While I respect my father and his wisdom of the years, the next generation has some ideas and ways of doing things that are better. (Feleti, 55, male and third generation)

Tupou, 51, and a third generation male, agreed that,
Kuo taimi pe ke hoko atu 'e he fanau e faka'uto'uta e ngaue. Ko e founga ia te nau ako ai.

Which in English is,
It is time for the succeeding generation to take over. They will learn by doing.

Responding to criticism of his practice, Fonua recently acknowledged the need for a more democratic decision-making process, surrendered his chair and treasurer roles, and followed the collective decision.

The second example was when members of the third generation expressed differing views on how to manage the *kainga* business (see Chapter Three for details on this business). Older siblings in the *kainga* wanted to control the *kainga* business. Their view is based on the traditional principle and practice of deferring to senior members to make important decisions for the *kainga*, but younger members argued that such responsibilities should be assigned based on merits rather than on the basis of *kainga* seniority. As a result of that conflict, *kainga* members decided to build individual businesses rather than to continue with collective ventures, and to focus more on sharing ideas and information to help individual members. This solution allowed each to manage businesses in ways of their choosing and removed the tension which existed as long as these conflicts arose within collectively owned businesses.

Despite the strained relationship at times of differences, *kainga* members pointed out that unity was always restored through talking and reconciling among members themselves because there was a strong foundation of *fe'ofo'ofani* and *fetokoni'aki* (love and unity, and reciprocity) as part of the

kainga principles and strategy, and at the end of the day, they would all abide by the same strategic objectives of physical, intellectual and spiritual well being.

Some participants added that conflict is part of the growth process. As Feleti further observed,

> *Ko e fepakipaki mo e faikehekehe ko e anga maheni pe ia 'o liliu mo e fakalakalaka. Ka leva'i lelei, 'oku tokoni ia ke lelei ange 'a e kulupu.*

Which in English means,
Conflict and differences are natural ingredients of growth and change. If managed properly, they help to make the group better. (Feleti, 55, male, third generation)

Thus, while there are clearly emerging tensions which result from the diverging values and experiences of members of the family, there are certain core values and practices, including a belief in the importance of the family for all of its members, which allow members of the *kainga* to manage these tensions. This willingness to adapt or reject old practices, to learn from tensions, and to employ new approaches demonstrates the flexibility that characterises the Tahi *kainga*. Furthermore, this flexibility and being open to change is one of the major contributing factors to the success of the Tahi *kainga*.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations[9]

This thesis has argued that to find solutions for the low socio-economic status of Tongans in New Zealand, their demonstrated strengths and positive achievements, rather than their deficits, should be the focus of research. Based on reasoning outlined in the introduction and in chapter one, the focus should shift from the current practice of analysing aggregated data that shows the majority of Tongans are poor, unhealthy, and are underachieving on a series of socio-economic indicators. While these are unfortunate and significant realities, the study of these trends, and of the individuals who constitute them, is unlikely to provide the key to understanding and transforming either the trends of the situations of those who are caught up in them. Instead, research should focus on the successful few whose success is masked by aggregated data. Findings from such research can inform policies on socio-economic development for Tongan families and community groups. To demonstrate the potential of this approach, this thesis used one Tongan *kainga*, the Tahi *kainga*, from among other successful extended families, as a case study which provided an opportunity to examine the level and the socio-cultural foundations of this family's social and economic success.

A Model of Success

Economically, this *kainga* of three generations has 10 properties in New Zealand and properties in Tonga at the time of writing. Many members of the *kainga* are highly educated., Several members are self-employed in their own business while others hold professional jobs in education, health and other social services. This pattern of success, discussed in Chapter Three, is inter-generational, with strong indications that it will continue, if not become greater.

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[9] A Tongan translation of this chapter is attached as Appendix Three

Socially, the *kainga* is equally successful. It has accumulated very high cultural capital and social capital. There are strong bonds of trust, love, unity, and reciprocity in the *kainga* that are systematically maintained. Based on these spiritual principles of trust, love, unity and reciprocity, resources are readily shared for the benefit of the *kainga*.

Strong support networks operate within the *kainga* where the social and economic needs of children, youth are catered for. The health and general well being of the three generations of the *kainga* is high. The parents at the advanced age of 80, and all 11 children and their children are generally healthy. There has been no death in the family. Tensions and conflicts do occur within the *kainga* but, so far, these have been successfully resolved and have not weakened the *kainga* or the ethos which underlies it.

Why is the Tahi *kainga* successful? What factors contribute to their achievement?

Answers to these questions can be instructive and further reinforce the position of this thesis that we research and learn from success rather than the deficit. The answers lie in a number of factors that has been investigated in Chapter Four but will be summarised and further examined here. First, there were motivational factors. One of them was the harsh, physical environment which motivated the Tahi *kainga* to a flight or fight response. In most cases, the *kainga* chose to 'fight' and they were successful. For example, the island that the *kainga* originated from was not only small, prone to natural hazards but also has the tyranny of distance. This lack of natural of resources in a vulnerable condition elicited a response of being *fakapotopoto* – wise, judicious and prudent – from the *kainga* members, as illustrated in the story of Tahi and Tapu and their children. This *fakapotopoto* response was equally evident when the *kainga* later migrated to Tongatapu and overseas, including New Zealand.

Why did members choose to 'fight' rather than 'flight'? An obvious answer is the human instinct to survive. A second internal source of motivation were the cultural principles and practices such as *fe'ofo'ofani and fetokoni'aki* –love and unity and reciprocity, coupled by religious values such as love and sharing. These were principles and practices, as explored in Chapter Four, the *kainga* strongly adhered to and practised consistently. This combination of Christian-based belief and cultural principles then became a powerful ideology that informed and drove the practice of members of the Tahi *kainga* over the four generations.

As early as the second generation, another influential factor emerged, the power of example. Tahi and Tapu's strong faith and hard work to serve their *kainga* and others was a strong motivation for their children. To the latter, a pattern of success was emerging and a strategic framework for development was beginning to consolidate. As discussed in Chapter Four, the migration to, and the successful settlement of the Tahi *kainga* in the main island of Tongatapu was a replication of the success that they observed and experienced earlier in their home island. When third generation members grew up they saw striving for achievement and success as normal and possible. Success can breed more success. Furthermore some members, especially among the third and fourth generations appear to have internalised the ideology and practice and, therefore, they are largely self-motivated with a strong sense of self-belief in their potential and capacity.

The Crucial Difference

Having an ideology and a model to drive development does not automatically translate into success. The Tahi *kainga* experience demonstrates very clearly that the crucial difference lies in translating the theory into action. Furthermore, the hard work must be consistent and on-going if success is to

eventuate. As detailed in Chapter Four, Tahi *kainga* members did not give up easily on activities and goals. Rather, they were persistent and saw challenges along the way as sources of motivation to spur them towards success. Equally important was the flexibility of the Tahi *kainga* to incorporate changes, and to adapt to new approaches that enable them to progress socially and economically.

The family's achievements thus far represent a form of social capital which can be, and is being, invested in improving the life chances of the children in these families. Thus the benefits of the accumulation of social capital are inter-generational and, as the capital is re-invested in the next generation, the benefits would be expected to be significantly greater as a consequence of the compounding effect. The benefits of accumulations are not confined to the immediate descendants of those who possess them. The family's vision ensures that social capital is put at the disposal of the entire *kainga,* and indeed the wider community in which the *kainga* resides.

Some Lessons from This Thesis:

The success of the Tahi *kainga*, as summarised above, has proven that the *kainga* can be a framework for building socio-economic success. Additionally and more importantly, the success of the Tahi *kainga* strongly supports the position that this thesis has argued for: to conduct more research on the success of Tongans, in particular, on the developmental potential of the basic social unit of Tongan society, the *kainga*. This could be a significant departure from the usual approach which involves documenting and accentuating the deficit and formulating of 'remedial' policies based on negative experience. Shifting the focus to the positive and strengths can bring new insights and knowledge which have the potential to contribute to reducing the socio-economic disparity between Tongans and other populations in New Zealand. This is the first contribution of this thesis.

Framework and Methodologies

The second contribution of this thesis is employing of the Tongan model of *fonua*–the ongoing, inter-connected relationship between people and environment-as the proper theoretical framework for understanding the subject of the research, a Tongan *kainga*. In analysing the story of the Tahi *kainga*, it became clear that they were not creating wealth to keep for themselves individually or for use only within their *kainga*. Rather, they worked and studied hard, and created wealth to fulfil duties and obligations and to maintain the harmonious relationship among their *kainga* members, and others. In short, they were practising *tauhi va* and *tauhi fonua* – maintaining harmony and well being of society. This use of *fonua* is significant because a Tongan experience is analysed through a Tongan framework; a case of seeing the researched through its own eyes, rather than through the eyes of others. Furthermore, using a Tongan model, where academically appropriate, validates Tongan knowledge, its frameworks and associated tools. This thesis, therefore, contributes to the enhancement of Tongan research tools and research in general.

Concepts, Frameworks, Tools

The third contribution of this thesis is the identifying of a Tongan leadership and management concept and tool, *fakapotopoto*. *Fakapotopoto* – the art and science of wise leadership and prudent management - is not only valuable as a concept for academic discussion but is also significant for its potential use in actual management practice. In identifying *fakapotopoto*, this thesis contributes to the academic process of researching for knowledge, in this case, Tongan knowledge, and to have such knowledge validated and verified and for general use. In the case of the Tahi *kainga*, *fakapotopoto* as a concept and tool was used effectively by the Tahi *kainga* for their success and achievement. This successful experience of the Tahi *kainga* strongly suggests that as a leadership

and management framework and tool, *fakapotopoto* has potentials to further mobilise and strengthen Tongans in their collective social and economic development effort.

Some Key Findings from the Tahi *Kainga* Experience

A fourth contribution of this thesis is the key findings it identified in the Tahi *kainga* experience. These key findings include an understanding and self-definition of what elements define and constitute success, and some underlying factors that contributed to the Tahi *kainga's* success, which are briefly outlined next.

To the Tahi *kainga*, success is measured through a three-dimensional framework: physical, intellectual, and spiritual, and a person or group is successful when there is consistent achievement in all dimensions over a life time or over generations. Self-measured against their self-defined criteria, Tahi members consider themselves successful and as achievers. Measured against socio-economic indicators such as education, income, health, and housing, the Tahi *kainga* is successful.

A significant point in this finding is the fact that the Tahi *kainga* self-defined 'success'. This is part of its strategy to direct and control its own development and destiny, using its own tools such as a strategic framework that has guided four generations in three different physical, socio-cultural environments. A policy implication of this particular finding that is instructive, is that strategies and approaches developed within the particular dynamics and complexities of a cultural group, and proven successful, can offer alternative solutions that have a high possibility of success.

The Role of Spirituality and Religious Ideology in the Tahi *Kainga*

These two concepts of spirituality and religious ideology are pervasive in the story of the Tahi *kainga* as significant influences, shaping their worldview, their strategic framework and directions, their principles, and therefore their success. This combination of Christian teachings and Tongan cultural principles has influenced most members of the Tahi *kainga* to work, acquire knowledge and wealth and expend them on the well being of the *kainga* and society. Even when members of the third generation found the framework of the *kainga* church inadequate, they still adopt a framework that includes these two factors. The ideology of the Tahi *kainga* is not unique. Tongans in general view socio-economic well being through a similar frame of spirituality and religious ideology (Taufe'ulungaki 2004; Bloomfield 2002). What is significant, however, is that the Tahi *kainga* has been successful in applying the two factors of spirituality and religious ideology to their development. The experience of the Tahi *kainga* suggests that a research on the role of spirituality and religious ideology on socio-economic development can provide insights and understanding that can inform policies on *kainga* and community development in the Tongan community. An additional reason for such a research is the fact that 92 per cent of Tongans (Census 2001) belong to a church.

Further Research on the Institution of the *Kainga*

Finally, the experience of the Tahi *kainga*, as discussed in chapters three and four, and summarised earlier in this chapter, has offered convincing reasons for a larger and representative study. Insights and knowledge from that study can be helpful not only in developing policies for Tongan families, but also can be adapted for similar studies in other Pacific ethnic communities, given the commonalities in culture and socio-economic status.

APPENDIX 1

Ko e Talamu'aki (Abstract in Tongan)

Na'e kamata 'aukau mai 'i he ta'u 'e 40 kuohili 'a e kakai Tonga ki Nu'usila ni ko e fekumi ki he tu'umalie faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale. Ka 'oku ha 'i he ngaahi fakamatala 'a e Pule'anga pea mo e ngaahi fakatotolo kehe ko e kakai Tonga mo e *kainga* Pasifiki kehe 'oku ma'ulalo taha honau tu'unga he nofo fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika 'a e fonua ni 'i he lolotonga ni. (Vakai ki he Statistics New Zealand, 2002a; Pacific Directions Report, 1999, Pacific Progress Report, 2004) 'I he lotolotonga 'o e to lalo ko eni 'oku 'i ai pe 'a e ki'i ni'ihi 'oku nau ikuna mo faingamalie ka 'oku te'eki ha fekumi ai. (Vakai ki he Pacific Directions Report, 1999)

Ko e fekumi fakaako ni 'oku ne fakatotolo'i 'a e tukunga vakai mo e fakakaukau 'a e to'utangata 'e fa 'i ha *kainga* pe 'e taha fekau'aki mo e ikuna faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale. 'Oku ne vakili 'a e a'usia mo e mahino 'a e *kainga* ni ki he 'uhinga 'o e ikuna, pea ne fa'ala faka'auliliki 'a e ngaahi tefito'i mo'oni mo e 'uhinga 'oku tupunga ai e ikuna 'a e *kainga* ni. 'Oku ne sivi'i mo talanga'i 'a e ngaahi founga na'a nau ngaue'aki ke lava'i ai 'enau ngaahi kaveinga pea talia 'aki e ngaahi faingata'a pea hoko ai ke nau ikuna.

'Oku taukave 'a e fekumi fakaako ni ke fakahoko ha ngaahi fakatotolo ki he ikuna faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale 'a e kakai Tonga. Ko e ngaahi ola 'e ma'u mei ai te nau ala fakamaama 'a e ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue (policy) ma'a e ngaahi famili mo e ngaahi kulupu Tonga. Ko e fekumi 'ahi'ahi 'eni ka 'e tokoni ia ki hono fa'u ha fakatotolo lahi fe'unga   te ne fakafofonga'i lelei e tokolahi e kakai Tonga pea tokoni ke huluhulu 'a e fokotu'utu'u ngaue ma'a e kakai Tonga 'i Nu'usila.

APPENDIX 2

Ko e Talateu (Introduction in Tongan)

Ko e tokolahi hotau kakai Tonga mo e *kainga* Pasifiki kehe 'i Nu'usila ni 'oku nau 'i he takele 'o e mo'ui fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika 'a e sosaieti 'o Nu'usila. Neongo kuo 'osi 'i ai e ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue kuo fa'u ke vete 'aki 'a e vahamama'o faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale ko eni, 'oku te'eki fai ha fekumi 'iate kinautolu tokosi'i 'oku ikuna. Neongo ko e 'ahi'ahi pe, ka 'oku feinga 'a e fekumi fakaako ni ke tokoni 'aki hono taukave'i ke fai ha fekumi ki he ngaahi 'uhinga kuo ikuna mo lava me'a ai hotau ki'i tokosi'i. Ko e vahe ni 'oku ne 'oatu ha ki'i 'ata si'i pe 'o e tu'unga fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika 'o e kakai Pasifiki, 'a ia 'oku kau ai e kakai Tonga, pea fakakikihi'i ke fai ha fekumi ki he ngaahi taukei 'a hotau tokosi'i Tonga kuo ikuna.

To Lalo Faka'ikonomika mo Fakasosiale

Kuo maau malie hono fakama'o'opo 'a e tu'unga ma'ulalo e mo'ui faka-'ikonomika mo fakasosiale 'oku tofanga ai e tokolahi 'o e kakai Tonga mo e *kainga* Pasifiki kehe 'i he ta'u 'e uongofulu kuohili 'e he ngaahi fakatotolo (Vakai ki he Statistics New Zealand, 2002a; Pacific Directions Report, 1999). Hange ko 'eni na'e pehe 'e he Potungaue Mo'ui (ta'u 2004) 'i hono fakahoa ki he kakai fakakatoa 'o Nu'usila, 'oku mahamahaki ange 'a e kakai Pasifiki pea lahi ange 'enau fetaulaki mo e ngaahi tupu'anga 'o e mo'ui mahamahaki pea toe lahi ange 'a e ngaahi fakafe'atungia 'oku nau fetaulaki he fekumi ki he mo'ui lelei. 'Oku toe ha he fakamatala ni 'o pehe:

> Ko e kakai Pasifiki 'i Nu'usila ni 'oku fakafuofua ko e ta'u pe 'e 62.5 'oku nau lava ke mo'ui lelei tau'ataina 'o 'ikai fakafalala ki ha tokoni, 'a ia 'oku nounou 'aki ia 'a e ta'u 'e fa 'i hono fakahoa ki he kakai fakakatoa." (Vakai ki he Pacific Health Chart Book, 2004, p. xxix)

'Oku toe ha foki e masiva 'o e kakai Pasifiki 'i he lahi 'o 'enau pa'anga hu mai mo honau nofo'anga. Fakatatau ki he Tohi Kakai 'o e 2001, ko e vahenga faka'avalisi 'i he ta'u 'o e kakai Pasifiki 'oku 'i he ta'u motu'a ke ngaue, ta'u 15 pe lahi ange, ko e $14,600. Ka ko e faka'avalisi fakakatoa 'o Nu'usila ko e $18,600. 'Oku toe tala 'e he Tohi kakai 'o pehe:

> Ko e faka'avalisi e vahenga 'o e kakai tangata Pasifiki 'oku $17,800 ki he ta'u, 'a ia 'oku ne laka 'aki 'a e $5,000 'i he vahenga 'o e kakai fefine, ko e $13,000. Ko e tokotaha 'i he toko 6 lalahi Pasifiki kotoa pe 'oku 'i ai 'ene tohi fakamo'oni ako ma'olunga. Ko e meimei toko 2 'i he toko 3 Pasifiki kotoa pe 'oku ngaue. Ko e toko fa 'i he toko nima Pasifiki kotoa pe 'oku ngaue taimi kakato. Ko e ngaue 'oku lahi taha hono fai 'e he kakai Pasifiki ko e ngaue he misini mo e falengaue (toko 12,805). Hoko ai 'a e ngaue tu'uaki koloa (toko 11,382) pea fika tolu 'a e ngaue faka-kalake ko e toko 11,097 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a, p.11).

Ko e kakai Pasifiki 'oku 'i ai honau 'api na'a nau fakatau, ko e peseti 'e 28, fakahoa ia ki he peseti 'e 55 'o e fakakatoa 'o e kakai 'o Nu'usila. Ko e peseti 'e 21 'o e kakai Pasifiki 'oku laka hake he toko ua 'oku nofo 'i he loki mohe 'e taha 'i honau fale ka ko e peseti pe 'e tolu 'o e kakai fakakatoa 'oku nau 'i he tu'unga nofo tokolahi ko ia. 'Oku toe fakaha 'e he tohi kakai 2001 'o pehe:

> Ko e peseti 'e 31 'o e kakai lalahi 'o e kainga Fisi, 'oku nau ma'u kakato pe ma'u faka-konga honau 'api tonu. Ko e kainga Tuvalu 'oku peseti pe 'e 18 kuo ma'u kakato pe ma'u konga honau 'api. Ka ko e faka'avalisi 'o e kakai Pasifiki 'oku ma'u 'api 'oku peseti pe 'e 26. Lolotonga ia 'oku peseti 'e 55 'o e kakai fakakatoa 'o Nu'usila 'oku ma'u 'api. 'Oku 'i ai 'a e kaunga 'a e kei ta'u iiki ange 'a e kakai Pasifiki ki he 'uhinga 'oku tokosi'i ai 'enau ma'u 'api. Ko e tu'unga 'o e ma'u 'api he ngaahi matakali Pasifiki kehe 'oku peseti 'e 27 e kainga Ha'amoa, peseti 'e 25 e kainga Niue, kae peseti 'e 23 e kakai Tonga. Ko e kau Tokelau 'oku peseti 'e 22 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a, p.12).

Kuo ngaue 'a e Pule'anga 'i he ngaahi founga kehekehe ke vete ange 'a e ngaahi palopolema ni tautefito ki he ta'u 'e uongofulu kuo toki hili. Kuo liliu e ngaahi lao, fa'u e ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue mo e ngaahi potungaue ke fakahoko e ngaahi palani. Hange ko hono fokotu'ututu'u fo'ou 'i he 1990 tupu 'a e Potungaue Ngaue ma'a e Kakai Pasifiki ke nau nofo taha pe ki he fale'i e ngaahi potungaue kehe 'a e Pule'anga ke fa'u 'enau takitaha palani[10] ma'a e kakai Pasifiki pea ngaue'i ke

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[10] Vakai ki he website 'a e Potungaue ki he Kakai Pasifiki ki he fakaikiiki 'o e ngaahi palani: www.minpac.govt.nz

tonu. Ko hono ola e ngaue ko ia, kuo fokotu'u ai 'i he ngaahi potungaue lahi 'a e Pule'anga 'enau taki taha palani ma'a e kakai Pasifiki pea fili mo 'enau kau ngaue Pasifiki ke nau fakahoko.

Hange ko ia kuo fakamatala'i nounou 'i 'olunga ko e feinga ke vete 'a e ngaahi faingata'a 'o e kakai Pasifiki 'oku makatu'unga ia he fakatotolo faka'auliliki honau ngaahi faingata'a'ia. Ko e fa'ahinga founga ngaue 'oku tefito ki he palopolema. Neongo 'oku hoko 'a e nofo taha ki he ngaahi palopolema 'o e kakai Pasifiki ke toe mahino fakaikiiki ange pea fokotu'u ki ai mo hono ngaahi founga ke faito'o 'aki, ka 'oku 'i ai 'a hono mata vaivai 'o e fu'u hu'ufataha pehe ki he palopolema. Hange ko 'eni, ko hono toutou he'aki 'o e tafa'aki kovi, 'oku ne 'omi 'e ia e fotunga kovi 'o ne holoki e tu'unga ngeia 'o e kakai 'oku fai ai e fekumi (Smith, 1999; Helu-Thaman, 2002) 'a ia ko e kakai pe ia kuo 'osi olo lalo, tokosi'i mo li'ekina. Neongo 'a e mo'oni e ngaahi fakamatala 'oku 'omai kau ki he kakai ni, ka 'oku 'ikai kau he fakamatala ko ia 'a e ngaahi malohinga 'o e kakai ni, hange ko 'enau mo'ui fetokoni'aki mo fepoupouaki 'o lava 'e kinautolu tokosi'i 'oku ikuna 'o vahevahe 'enau koloa si'i 'oku ma'u ke 'aonga mo hiki hake ai e *kainga* tokolahi kae 'ikai puke pe 'e he tokosi'i kae nounou 'a e toenga 'o e *kainga*. 'Ikai ko ia pe, ka ko e fa'ahinga taukei 'oku lava ke ma'u mei ha kulupu ikuna mo lavame'a 'e ala ma'u ai ha ngaahi founga ke tokoni'i'aki 'a e kakai Pasifiki. Ka 'oku 'ikai ha 'a e ngaahi malohinga mo e lelei ko eni ia 'i ha fakamatala 'oku nofo taha pe he tafa'aki kovi mo e vaivai 'o e kulupu. 'I hono fakalea mahino, ko e konga pe 'o e talanoa 'oku fakaha. 'I he taimi lahi, ko e konga ko ia 'oku 'ikai fakaha, ko ia 'oku mahu'inga taha ki he fa'ahinga 'oku fai ai 'a e fekumi.

Ka fakahoko 'a e fekumi 'i he ngaahi founga mo e sipinga 'a e ni'ihi Tonga tokosi'i 'oku ikuna mo lava me'a, 'e tokoni ia ke fakapotupotu malie mo fakakakato 'a e ngaahi fakamatala fakaako mo e ngaahi talanga kuo fai kau kiate kinautolu. 'Ikai ia ko ia pe ka ko e ngaahi mahino mo e ngaahi taukei 'e ma'u mei ha fakatotolo pehe, 'e tokoni ia ke huluhulu ha ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue

faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale 'e fa'u 'i he kaha'u ma'a e kakai Tonga 'i Nu'usila. 'Oku taukave'i 'e Durie (2003) 'a e potupotu malie pehe 'i he'ene lau fekau'aki mo e fakalakalaka ma'a e kakai Mauli. Na'a ne tohi 'o pehe:

> 'Oku fiema'u ke matu'aki vahevahe malie 'a hono ngaue'aki 'a e sipinga 'oku fakatefito he vavai'anga, mo e sipinga 'oku makatu'unga he ngaahi malohinga he ka 'ikai 'e ala hoko ha matu'utamaki 'i he fokotu'utu'u ngaue 'oku fakatefito taha pe 'i he lau tokua 'oku vaivai mo li'ekina e kakai Mauli. 'Oku fiema'u ia ke hiki ki he tafa'aki 'o e lelei mo e malohinga kapau 'oku fiema'u ke fai ha fakalakalaka kimu'a (Durie, 2003, p. 160).

Nga'unu ki he Tafa'aki 'o e Malohinga

Neongo ko e 'ahi'ahi pe, ka 'oku feinga e fakatotolo ni ke kamata hono 'auliliki 'a e taukei 'a kinautolu Tonga kuo ikuna mo hono ngaahi 'uhinga 'o hange ko ia kuo 'osi talanoa'i kimu'a. 'I hono fakama'opo'opo 'o e ngaahi fekumi kuo fai kimu'a ne mahino mai 'oku te'eki ha fekumi 'i he kaveinga ni 'i he kakai Tonga 'i Nu'usila ni. Ka kuo 'osi 'i ai pe 'a e ngaahi talanoa fakamo'oni 'oku pehe 'oku 'i ai e ngaahi kulupu Tonga, tautefito ki he ngaahi famili pe *kainga* kuo nau ikuna mo lava me'a (Tu'itahi, 1998).

'Oku ma'u 'e he tokolahi 'o e kakai Tonga 'o pehe ko e *kainga* pe famili fakatokolahi ko e tefito'i fa'unga ia 'o e nofo faka-Tonga (Mahina, 1992; Helu, 1999). Ko e 'uhinga ia 'oku fai ai 'a e fekumi ni 'i he *kainga*. 'Oku tui tatau mo e kau fekumi fakaako kehe ki he tu'unga 'o e *kainga*. Hange ko e lau 'a Vaden (1998) na'a ne tohi 'o pehe:

> Neongo 'a e ta'au 'o e folau ki muli mo e sipinga 'a e sosaieti 'o e kau papalangi 'oku kei tu'u pe 'a e kainga ko e pou tuliki ia 'o e nofo faka-Tonga. 'I he'ene ngaue lelei 'oku hoko e kainga ko e sipinga fakaofo 'o e fetokoni'aki 'a ha kakai ke nau mo'ui fakataha. Ka 'iloange kuo ngaue hala 'aki, 'e hoko e mafasia he kavenga mo e fekolo'aki 'i he kainga ke uesia ai e lava me'a 'a e taautaha mo 'ene taumu'a fakangaue (Vaden, 1998, pp. 126-127).

Hange ko e lau ‘a Vaden ‘i ‘olunga ‘oku ‘ikai ikuna mo lava me’a ‘a e *kainga* Tonga kotoa pe. Ko e fehu’i leva ‘oku pehe: “Ko e ha ‘oku ikuna ai e *kainga* ‘e ni’ihi kae ‘ikai ikuna ‘a e ni’ihi?” ‘E mahino lelei ‘a e tali ‘i hono fakatotolo’i fakaikiiki ha fo’i *kainga* kuo nau ikuna pea ‘e ala tala ai e faikehekehe. Ko e *kainga* ‘i he fekumi ni ko e to’utangata ‘e fa. Ko e husepaniti mo hono uaifi, mo ‘ena fanau, mo hona makapuna ‘uluaki ‘oku nau nofo ‘i Nu’usila ni. ‘Oku fakakau mai ki ai mo e ongo matu’a ‘a e husepaniti. ‘Oku ‘ikai te u ngaue ‘aki ‘a e hingoa totonu ‘o e *kainga* ni koe’uhi ko ‘enau totonu he lao ke fakapulipuli. Ko ia ‘oku ou ui ‘a e *kainga* ni ‘aki e fakaiku ko e kainga ‘o Tahi.

Vahe Nima (Chapter Five in Tongan)

Ko e Fakama'opo'opo mo e Ngaahi Fokotu'u

Na'e taukave'i 'e he fekumi fakaako ni 'o pehe ke fakatotolo'i 'a e ngaahi malohinga mo e lava me'a kuo fakamo'oni'i 'i he kakai Tonga, na'a ma'u mei ai 'a e ngaahi founga ke vete 'aki 'a e tu'unga ma'ulalo fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika 'oku tofanga ai hotau tokolahi 'i Nu'usila ni. Hange ko ia ko e ngaahi 'uhinga ne fokotu'u atu 'i he talateu mo e vahe 'uluaki, 'oku totonu ke hiki e tokanga 'a e fakatotolo mei he ngaahi fika mo e fakamatala ki he tu'unga masiva mo mahamahaki 'o e tokolahi e kakai Tonga. Neongo 'oku mo'oni 'a e ngaahi fakamatala fakamamahi ko ia, ka ko hono vakili 'o e ngaahi tukunga ko ia pea mo kinautolu 'oku mo'ua he faingata'a ko ia, 'oku matamata he'ikai ma'u ai ha 'ilo pe ko ha founga ke liliu 'aki 'a e tu'unga 'o kinautolu 'oku to lalo. Ko ia ai, 'oku totonu ke tokanga 'a e fakatotolo ki he tokosi'i ko ia kuo ikuna, 'a ia ko 'enau lava me'a 'oku ta'omia ia 'i he ngaahi fika mo e fakamatala fakakatoa 'o e tokolahi 'oku masiva. Ko e ola mo e 'ilo 'e ma'u mei he fakatotolo ko ia, 'e tokoni ia ki hono fa'u 'aki 'a e ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue ki he fakalakalaka faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale 'a e ngaahi famili mo e komiuniti Tonga. Koe'uhi ke fakamo'oni'i 'oku ngali mo'oni 'a e fokotu'u ko eni, ne fakahoko ai 'e he fakatotolo fakaako ni 'a e fekumi 'i he kainga Tonga 'e taha, 'a ia ko e kainga 'o Tahi. Ko e kainga ni, ko e taha pe 'i he ngaahi kainga Tonga tokolahi ange kuo nau ikuna mo lava me'a. Na'e 'auliliki 'e he fakatotolo 'a e fononga mo e feinga 'a e kainga ni ki he ikuna fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika.

Sipinga 'o e Ikuna

Ka fua faka'ikonomika, kuo 'i ai 'a e ngaahi 'api nofo'anga 'e 10 'o e to'utangata 'e tolu 'o e kainga ni 'i Nu'usila ni, tukukehe 'a e ngaahi 'api 'i Tonga. Ko e tokolahi 'o e kau memipa 'i he

kainga ni kuo lava lelei 'enau ngaahi ako 'o ma'u faka'ilonga. Ko honau ni'ihi 'oku nau ngaue he'enau pisinisi taautaha, pea ko e ni'ihi kuo 'i ai 'enau ngaahi ngaue fakapolofesinale 'i he ako, mo'ui, mo e ngaahi ngaue kehe. Ko e sipinga 'o e ikuna 'a e kainga ni, 'o hange ko ia 'oku 'auliliki 'i he Vahe Tolu 'o e fakatotolo ni, kuo to'utangata 'e fa pea 'oku ha mahino 'e hokohoko atu pea hange ka toe lahi ange. 'I he anga 'enau nofo, 'oku ha mai 'oku ola lelei. 'Oku nau fefalala'aki, fetokoni'aki mo fe'ofo'ofani, pea uouongataha, ko ha ngaahi koloa mahu'inga fakasosiale (social capital) ia mo e koloa tu'ufonua (cultural capital). Pea 'oku ha mai 'oku nau paotoloaki mo tautauhi ma'u 'a e ongo koloa ni.

'Oku kaukaua 'a e tauhi vaha va 'i he kainga ni pea 'oku fakalato 'a e fiema'u 'a honau to'utupu mo e longa'i fanau. 'Oku mo'ui lelei 'a e tokolahi 'o e to'utangata 'e tolu 'i he kainga ni. Ko e ongo matu'a kuo na taki ta'u 80 pea mo'ui lelei mo e fanau 'e toko 11. Te'eki ha mate he famili ni. Neongo 'oku hoko 'a e fepakipaki mo e faikehekehe 'i he anga 'enau nofo ka 'oku nau lava pe 'o fakalelei pea 'oku 'ikai holoa ai 'a e laumalie 'oku ne ha'iha'i 'a e kainga ni.

Ko e ha 'a e 'uhinga 'oku nau ikuna ai? Ko e ha 'a e ngaahi tupu'anga 'enau lava me'a?
He'ikai ngata pe 'i he 'aonga 'a e ngaahi tali ki ha ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue 'e fai, ka 'e ala fakamo'oni'i foki ai mo e taukave 'a e fakatotolo ni 'o pehe ke fai 'a e fekumi ki he malohinga mo e lava me'a 'a e kakai Tonga pea tau ako mei ai kae 'oua 'e kei nofo pe 'a e fakatotolo he tafa'aki 'o e vaivai mo e to lalo. Kuo fakaikiiki 'i he Vahe Fa 'o e fakatotolo ni 'a e ngaahi 'uhinga 'o e ikuna 'a e kainga ni. Ka 'e toe lave'i nounou pe heni mo toe fifili'i pe 'a e ngaahi 'uhinga ko ia. Ko e 'uluaki 'o e ngaahi 'uhinga, ko e ngaahi me'a 'oku ne ue'ia mo fakalotolahi'i 'a e kainga ni. Ko e taha 'o e ngaahi me'a ko ia, ko e ngaahi faingata'a he 'atakai na'a nau tutupu hake ai. Na'e ua 'enau fili, ko e hola pe ko e fekuki mo e faingata'a 'o e 'atakai.. 'Oku ha mai na'e lahi taha pe 'a e fekuki 'a e kainga ni mo e faingata'a, pea na'a nau ikuna. 'O hange ko e ki'i motu si'i mo mohu afaa pea

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mama'o na'e tutupu mei ai 'a e kainga ni. Na'e hoko 'a e 'atakai faingata'a ko ia ke fanau'i ai 'a e tui mo e to'onga mo'ui fakapotopoto he kainga ni pea hoko ia ko 'enau me'angaue. Na'e hoko tatau pe 'a e fakapotopoto 'i he'enau hiki mei Ha'apai ki Tongatapu, pea a'u ki muli 'o hange ko ia 'i Nu'usila ni.

Ka ko e ha ne 'ikai hola ai 'a e kainga ni mei he faingata'a? 'Oku mahino 'a e 'uluaki tali, ko 'enau fie mo'ui. Ka 'oku ha mai mo e tali hono ua, 'a ia ko e ngaahi 'ulungaanga fakafonua 'o e fe'ofo'ofani mo e fetokoni'aki, fakataha mo e ngaahi akonaki fakalotu 'o e 'ofa mo e fe'inasi'aki, na'e fafale he kainga ni. Hange ko ia ne 'auliliki he Vahe Nima 'o e fakatotolo ni, na'e muimui 'a e kainga ni ki he ngaahi takiekina ni pea nau ngaue 'aki ma'u pe. Ko e fefiohi ko eni 'a e tui fakalotu mo e anga faka-Tonga lelei, ko e fu'ufu'unga takiekina malohi ia na'a ne tataki mo fakaivia 'a e ngaue 'a e kainga 'o Tahi 'i he to'utangata eni 'e fa.

Na'e kamata ha mai pe 'i he to'utangata hono ua 'o e kainga ni 'a e toe 'uhinga malohi 'e taha ne makatu'unga ai 'enau ikuna, 'a ia ko e ta sipinga lelei. Na'e hoko 'a e tui malohi mo e ngaue totoaki 'a Tahi mo hono hoa, ko Tapu, ke tauhi hona kainga mo e kainga kehe, ko e sipinga mo e fakalotolahi ia ki he'ena fanau. Na'e ha ki he'ena fanau ko e founga mo e kupesi lelei kuo ta 'e he ongo matu'a. Hange ko ia 'oku fakaikiiki 'i he Vahe Fa, ko e hiki fonua ko ia mo e lava me'a 'a e kainga 'i Tongatapu, ko e sipinga pe ia na'e 'uluaki ha 'i motu. 'I he hoko hake 'a e to'utangata hono tolu kuo hoko pe 'a e feinga ia mo e tuiaki ki he ikuna ko e 'ulungaanga maheni kiate kinautolu. 'Oku fa'a fanau'i ma'u pe 'e he ikuna 'a e toe ikuna. 'Ikai ia ko ia pe ka ne ha mai kuo uho 'aki 'e he ni'ihi 'o e to'utangata tolu moe fa 'a e tui mo e founga ngaue 'a e kainga ni. Ko ia ai kuo nau falala pe kiate kinautolu mo ma'u 'a e loto lahi mo e tui malohi 'oku malava ke nau ikuna.

Ko e Tefito'i 'Uhinga 'o e Ikuna

'Oku 'ikai ko e ma'u pe 'a e tui mo e founga ngaue pe ikuna leva. 'Oku ha mei he taukei 'a e kainga 'o Tahi, ko e ikuna 'oku ma'u ia he ngaue'i 'o e tui mo e fakakaukau. 'Ikai ko ia pe, ka kuopau ke ngaue'i ma'u pe. Ko e tefito'i 'uhinga ia 'oku hoko ai ha ikuna. Hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he Vahe Fa, na'e 'ikai fo'i ngofua 'a e kainga ni he tuiaki ki he'enau ngaahi taumu'a. Na'a nau taukave ke a'u pea hoko e ngaahi faingata'a ko e fakalotolahi ke nau 'osikiavelenga ke ikuna. Ko e toe tefito'i 'uhinga 'e taha na'e hoko ai 'a e ikuna, ko e feliuaki faingofua 'a e kainga 'o Tahi ke tali e ngaahi liliu mo e ngaahi founga fo'ou 'oku kaunga lelei ki he'enau fakalakalaka faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale.

Ko ia ai, 'oku fakafofonga'i 'e he ngaahi lava me'a 'a e kainga ni 'a e fa'ahinga koloa fakasosiale (social capital) hange ko e fetauhi'aki, fefalala'aki, mo e fetokoni'aki, 'a ia 'oku malava ke ngaue'i pea tupulaki ke langa hake 'a e ngaahi faingamalie ma'a 'enau fanau. 'Oku hoko ai ke laui to'utangata 'a hono paotoloaki 'a e koloa fakasosiale, pea 'i hono toe tanumaki atu ki he to'utangata hoko mai, 'oku 'i ai 'a e 'amanaki lelei 'e toe tupulaki mo liuliunga 'o lahi ange. Ko e lelei 'o e paotoloaki e koloa ni 'oku 'ikai ngata pe 'i he loto'i kainga. Ko e kaveinga 'a e kainga ni 'oku taumu'a ke nau ma'u 'inasi pea toe 'aonga atu ki he komiuniti, 'a ia ko e fa'unga lahi ia 'oku kau ki ai e kainga ni.

Ngaahi Lesoni mei he Fakatotolo ni

'Oku hoko 'a e ikuna 'a e kainga 'o Tahi, 'o hange ko ia kuo 'osi fai ki ai e lave nounou kimu'a, ko e fakamo'oni 'oku malava ke hoko e fa'unga 'o e kainga, ko e makatu'unga ke fai ai 'a e langa fonua pe ko e fakalakalaka fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika. Ka 'oku toe mahu'inga 'a e fakamo'oni

e ikuna 'a e kainga ni ki he fakakikihi 'a e fakatotolo fakaako ni 'o pehe ke fai ha ngaahi fekumi ki he ikuna mo e lava me'a 'a e kakai Tonga, tautefito ki he malava ke hoko 'a e kupu si'i taha 'o e nofo faka-Tonga, 'a e kainga, ko e makatu'unga 'o e fakalakalaka. Ka fakahoko 'a e fa'ahinga fekumi 'oku fai ki ai e taukave, ko e liliu lahi ia mei he anga maheni 'o e nofo taha pe 'a e fekumi mo e fakatotolo ki he vaivai'anga 'o e kakai Tonga pea mo hono ngaahi fokotu'utu'u 'oku makatu'unga he faito'o honau faingata'a'ia. Ka ko e ngaahi ola 'o e hiki e fekumi ki he malohinga mo e lava me'a hotau kakai, 'e hoko ko e ma'u'anga 'ilo mo e mahino fo'ou 'e ala malava ke tokoni ki hono fakasi'isi'i 'a e faikehekehe lahi 'i hotau tu'unga masiva mo e koloa'ia fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika 'a e ngaahi kakai kehe 'ihe fonua ni. Ko e 'uluaki ola ia 'oku luva atu 'e he fakatotolo fakaako ni.

Fa'unga mo e Founga Fekumi: (Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology)

Ko e ola hono ua 'o e fekumi ni ko 'ene fili ke ngaue'aki 'a e fa'unga faka-Tonga ke vaka ai 'a e fekumi, 'a ia ko e fa'unga 'o e fonua. 'o pehe ko e fa'unga hoa mo taau taha ia ke ngaue'aki. Ko e fonua 'oku 'uhinga ki he 'atakai mo hono kakai pea mo e fehokotaki mo e fetauhi'aki tu'uloa mo melino 'a e kakai 'i he'enau nofo pea mo honau 'atakai. 'I hono faka'auliliki e talanoa 'o e *kainga* 'o Tahi na'e ha mahino mai na'e 'ikai ko 'enau fakatupu koloa pe ma'a kinautolu taautaha pe ma'a honau *kainga* pe. Mole ke mama'o. Na'a nau ngaue, ako mo fakatupu koloa ke fakakakato honau ngaahi fatongia mo e ngaahi kavenga pea ke tauhi 'a e nofo melino mo fe'ofo'ofani mo honau *kainga* mo e toenga e nofo. 'I hono fakalea mahino na'a nau tauhi fonua – 'a ia ko hono fakama'uma'uluta 'a e melino mo e lelei 'a e sosaieti. 'Oku mahu'inga 'a hono ngaue'aki 'a e fa'unga faka-Tonga 'o e fonua ke fai'aki 'a hono 'auliliki 'o e taukei 'a e *kainga* 'o Tahi. Ko hono mahu'inga he 'oku ngaue'aki pe 'a e vakai totonu 'a e Tonga ke faka'uhinga'aki 'enau taukei kae 'ikai ko e faka'uhinga'aki 'a e vakai 'a e ni'ihi kehe. 'Ikai ngata ai, 'oku hoko hono ngaue'aki 'a e

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sipinga faka-Tonga 'i he'ene hoa tonu mo e fekumi fakaako, ko hono tali mo fakapapau'i ia 'i he mala'e 'o e ako mo e fekumi faka'atamai 'a e 'ilo faka-Tonga mo hono ngaahi fa'unga kae'uma'a 'a hono ngaahi naunau tufunga faka'atamai kehe hange ko e "potalanoa" mo e "fakalotofale'ia" 'oku ha 'i he vahe hono 'uluaki. Ko ia ai 'oku tokonaki atu 'a e fekumi fakaako ni ki he fakalelei 'o e ngaahi me'angaue faka-Tonga ki he fekumi fakaako, pea 'i he 'uhinga ko ia, 'oku toe 'aonga aipe ki he fekumi fakaako fakalukufua.

Fakakaukau, Fa'unga, mo e Me'angaue (Concepts, Frameworks, and Tools)

Ko e tokonaki hono tolu 'a e fekumi ni ko 'ene fakamanatu mai 'a e fakakaukau (concept) mo e me'angaue 'a e Tonga ko e fakapotopoto. Ko e fakapotopoto, 'a ia ko e founga fakangaue mo e faka-saienisi 'o e taki mo e pule fakapotopoto, 'oku 'ikai ngata pe 'i he'ene mahu'inga ko e fakakaukau ki he talanga fakaako, ka 'oku mahu'inga foki ko e me'angaue ki he ngaue 'i he tu'unga taki mo e leva'i ha ngaue. 'I he'ene toe faka'ilo mai 'a e fakapotopoto, 'oku tokoni ai 'a e fekumi ni ki he ngaue fakaako ko ia ko e fekumi ki he 'ilo, 'o hange ko ia ko e 'ilo 'a e Tonga, pea fakapapau'i mo fakamo'oni'i pea luva mai ke ngaue 'aki. 'Ikai ko ia pe, ka 'oku ha mahino mei he ola lelei 'a hono ngaue'aki 'a e me'angaue fakatufunga 'o e fakapotopoto 'e he kainga 'o Tahi, 'oku malava ke langa'i 'a e kakai Tonga 'e he me'angaue 'o e fakapotopoto ke nau fakalakalaka.

Ngaahi Ola Mahu'inga mei he Taukei 'a e *Kainga* 'o Tahi

Ko e lukuluku hono fa 'oku fai mai 'e he fekumi ni ko e 'omai e ngaahi ola mahu'inga mei he taukei mo e a'usia 'a e *kainga* 'o Tahi, 'o kau ai 'enau faka'uhinga mo 'enau fakamatala'i 'a e fakakaukau 'o e ikuna kae'uma'a 'a e ngaahi 'uhinga tefito na'a nau ikuna ai, 'o hange ko ia 'oku fakanounou'i atu he konga hoko mai.

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'Oku fua 'a e ikuna 'e he *kainga* 'o Tahi 'aki 'a e fa'unga 'oku tapa 'e tolu, ko e fakasino, faka'atamai mo e fakalaumalie. 'Oku lau leva kuo ikuna ha taha pe falukunga kakai 'o kapau 'oku hokohoko pea potupotu tatau 'a e ikuna 'i he ngaahi kupu 'e tolu 'i he vaa'ihala mei he fanau'i ki he mate 'a e tokotaha ko ia, pea toe 'amu ange kapau 'oku tolonga e ikuna 'o laui to'utangata. 'I he'enau fua pe kinautolu 'aki 'enau me'afua, 'oku pehe 'e he *kainga* 'o Tahi 'oku nau ikuna. Kapau 'e fua 'aki 'a e ngaahi me'afua faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale anga maheni hange ko e lelei 'a e ako, pa'anga humai, nofo'anga, mo e mo'ui lelei, 'e lava ke pehe 'oku ikuna 'a e *kainga* ni. Ko e kupu mahu'inga taha 'i he konga ko eni ko e hanga ko ia 'e he *kainga* ni 'o fakamatala'i e ikuna mo fua 'o fakatatau ki he'enau fakaakaukau mo 'enau vakai. He ko e konga ia 'enau tukufua taumama'o ke nau pule ki honau kaha'u mo 'enau fakalakalaka 'o ngaue'aki 'a 'enau ngaahi fa'unga fakakaukau mo 'enau fokotu'utu'u, 'a ia ko ha ngaahi founga kuo ne tataki mai e *kainga* ni he to'utangata eni 'e fa pe lahi ange mo 'enau fehikitaki he 'atakai 'o e tukui fonua 'e tolu. Neongo na'e 'i ai 'a e ngaahi 'uhinga kehe, hange ko 'enau tui fakalotu, mo'oni fakalaumalie, 'atakai, mo e tokoni 'a e ngaahi hoa, na'e tokoni ki he malava 'e he *kainga* ni matatali e ngaahi faingata'a kehekehe kae ikuna 'enau ngaahi kaveinga, 'oku mahino mai ko e tefito'i 'uhinga 'enau ikuna ko e taulangi pe kaveinga folau ne fatu pea tukufua mai. Ko e taulangi pe kaveinga folau ko eni na'e 'i ai hono tefito'i taumu'a. 'I ai mo hono ngaahi kaveinga tukupau, pehe ki hono ngaahi akonaki pe takiekina ke huluhulu 'aki e ngaue'i e kaveinga folau. 'Oku fokotu'u atu 'e he fekumi ni 'oku mahu'inga 'a e 'ilo ko eni koe'uhi he 'oku ha mahino mai ko e ngaahi kaveinga folau mo e ngaahi founga ngaue 'oku fatu mei he taukei mo e a'usia 'a ha fa'ahinga pe kulupu mei ha matakali pea fakamo'oni'i 'oku ola lelei, 'oku ngali fakapapau'i 'e ola lelei 'a e ngaahi founga ko ia kapau 'e ngaue'aki ma'a e matakali fakakatoa.

Ko e Tapa Fakalaumalie mo e Tui Fakalotu 'i he *Kainga* 'o Tahi

Ko e ongo fakakaukau (concept) ko ia 'o e fakalaumalie mo e tui fakalotu 'oku ha mahino mei he fekumi, 'a 'ena hoko ko e ongo me'angaue malohi 'i hono takao mo fakafotunga 'a e mahino mo e vakai 'a e *kainga* 'o Tahi ki he mo'ui, pea 'oku na faka'uli 'a e kaveinga folau mo e founga ngaue 'a e *kainga* 'o makatu'unga ai 'enau ikuna.

Ko e Lotu Faka-Kalisitiane mo e anga fakafonua 'o Tonga 'oku fakatefito ai 'a e tui ko ia 'a e *kainga* ni pea ko ia 'oku nau ngaue malohi, fekumi ki he 'ilo mo e poto pea tanaki koloa 'o fua honau ngaahi ngafa 'o fakataumu'a ki he lelei honau *kainga* mo e sosaieti. Neongo ne a'u ki he tu'unga 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he to'utangata hono tolu, kuo 'ikai toe tui 'a e ni'ihi ki he founga mo e fa'unga 'o e siasi ne 'uluaki kau ki ai e *kainga* ni, na'e 'ikai mavahe ai e to'utangata hono tolu mei he ngaue'aki 'o e takiekina fakalaumalie mo e tui fakalotu, 'a e fakava'e 'o 'enau kaveinga folau pe taulangi. 'Oku 'ikai makehe ai e *kainga* 'o Tahi he ko e tokolahi 'o e kakai Tonga 'oku nau vakai 'aki 'a e mata fakalaumalie mo fakalotu ki he ikuna pe tu'umalie faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale (Vakai ki a Taufe'ulungaki, 2004; mo Bloomfield, 2002). Ka ko e me'a 'oku makehe ai 'a e *kainga* 'o Tahi ko 'enau lava 'o ngaue'aki 'a e tui fakalotu mo e takiekina fakalaumalie 'o ola lelei ai 'enau fakalakalaka faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale. 'Oku makatu'unga leva 'i he 'uhinga ko ia 'a e ongo fokotu'u ko eni. 'Uluaki, ke fakahoko ha fekumi lahi ange 'i he kaveinga ko e *kainga* Tonga kuo tu'umalie fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika pea mo 'ene fekau'aki mo e tui fakalotu kae'uma'a e takiekina fakalaumalie. Ko hono ua e fokotu'u 'oku pehe ni. Koe'uhi ko e peseti 'e 92 'o e kakai Tonga 'o Nu'usila 'oku nau kau ki ha siasi pe lotu (vakai ki he Tohi Kakai 2001), 'oku totonu ai ke fakahoko ha fekumi ki he fekau'aki 'a e lotu pe siasi pea mo e fakalakalaka faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale. 'E tokoni 'a e ngaahi 'ilo mo e ola mei he ongo fekumi ko eni ki

hono huluhulu mo tataki ha ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue 'e fatu ma'a e fakalakalaka faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale 'a e kakai Tonga.

Hoko atu e Fekumi ki he Fa'unga 'o e *Kainga*

Ko e faka'osi, ko e taukei ko ia 'a e *kainga* 'o Tahi 'o hange ko ia ne faka'auliliki 'i he vahe tolu mo e fa, kuo ne 'omai e ngaahi a'usia mo e mahino mo e 'ilo 'e ala tokoni ia ki hono fa'u ha fakatotolo 'oku lahi ange mo ne fakafofonga'i lelei 'a e kakai Tonga. Ko e ola 'e ma'u ai, 'e ala tokoni ia ki hono fa'u ha ngaahi fokotu'utu'u ngaue ki he fakalakalaka fakasosiale mo faka'ikonomika 'a e kakai Tonga. 'Ikai ko ia pe, ka 'e ala hoko ia ko e sipinga ki ha fekumi anga tatau 'i he ngaahi matakali Pasifiki kehe koe'uhi 'oku vaofi e konga lahi 'o 'etau to'onga mo'ui pea faitatau foki mo hotau tu'unga faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale.

Appendix Four

List of Interview Participants

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation
Second Generation			
Fonua	80	male	retired
Mele	80	female	retired
Third Generation			
Lotu	56	male	Training consultant
Sina	45	female	Training consultant
Feleti	55	male	Self-employed
Lenisi	45	female	Self-employed
Fili	53	male	Self-employed
Tupou	51	male	Educator and health worker
Vei	48	female	Nurse aide
Selu	49	female	counsellor & social worker
Motu	49	male	accountant
Samiu	44	male	carpenter
Malohi	42	male	Social researcher
Taufa	39	male	electrician
Manu	39	female	nurse
Lahi	48	female	Nurse aide
Vaka	48	male	Pastor
Fourth Generation			
To'a	30	male	Manager
Tino	27	male	IT engineer
Matiu	24	male	teacher
Si'i	22	female	University student
Lani	22	Male	University student
Sio	19	Male	University student
Tohi	19	Male	University student
Meti	18	male	High school student
Siu	18	Male	High school student
Sale	17	Male	High school student

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In Search of Success Research project

INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction
Malo e lelei and Greetings

My name is Sione Tu'itahi, a student at the Auckland campus of Massey University, wishing to do a research on your family, the Tahi family, as part of the requirements for completing as Masters in Public Policy at the School of Social and Cultural Studies. This letter is to inform you of my research plan. It is also an invitation for you to consider participating.

The purpose of my research is to find the reasons for some of the achievements of your extended family over three generations such as gaining university qualifications, working as professionals, buying our own homes, and setting up family businesses with our common family funds. This study can help to make a similar but larger study that can contribute to informing social and economic policies for Tongans in New Zealand.

My supervisors are:
Professor Cluny Macpherson
School of Social and Cultural Studies
Massey University
Albany campus. Telephone 410800 ext 9057

Dr 'Okusitino Mahina
Department of Anthropology
Faculty of Arts
University of Auckland
 Telephone (09) 3737599 ext 85110

Plan for the project
My plan is to interview 26 members in your family that are 17 years of age and older. This is 80 per cent of your total family members. A family advisory group will be elected from among yourselves to advise me and to ensure that my work is done in accordance with the wish of the family while it meets the requirements for my study.

The interview will be held at a venue of your choice, and it will be about two hours. After the interview, I will use codes to replace your name and other information that might help anyone else to identify you. This information will then be kept in a safe and secure place for five years. You can ask that your tape be returned to you, or my supervisor and I will destroy it after five years.

You will be informed of my progress with the research at your family monthly meetings. I will also provide a final report for feedback and comments before I submit the report to my supervisors.

Your Rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study anytime you want to
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.
- Communicate with me in the language that you are most comfortable with i.e. English or Tongan, or both.

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, ALB Application MUAHEC 05/006

Malo 'aupito and Thank you

Sione Tu'itahi

Appendix Six

![Massey University crest] Massey University

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(Information Sheet –Tongan)

Fakatotolo In Search of Success

Tohi Fakamatala ki he Fakatotolo

Tomu'a tuku 'a e fakamalo ki he Ta'ehamai 'i he lava ke tau felongoaki he tohi ni fekau'aki mo e fakatotolo fakaako ni.

Ko hoku hingoa ko Sione Tu'itahi, ko e tokotaha ako pea 'oku lolotonga fai 'a e feinga ki he mata'itohi Master in Public Policy 'i he 'Univesiti 'o Massey 'i 'Aokalani. Ko hoku tu'asila ko e fika 108A Manuka Road, Glenfield. Telefoni (09) 4446462. Ko 'eku ongo faiako 'oku na tokanga'i 'a e fakatotolo ni ko Palofesa Cluny Macpherson, telefoni 414 0800 ext. 9057, School of Social Policy, Auckland Campus, Massey University, pea mo Toketa 'Okusitino Mahina, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, telefoni (09) 3737599 ext 85110

Ko e taha 'o e ngaahi fiema'u ki he feinga faka'atamai ni ko e fakahoko ha fekumi fakaako. Ko ia kuo u fili 'a e kaveinga ko e "Fekumi ki He Ikuna," 'i homou famili ke makatu'unga ai 'a e fakatotolo. Ko e taumu'a ke 'ilo e ngaahi 'uhinga 'oku tu'unga ai e ngaahi ikuna 'a homou famili he ngaahi mala'e 'o e ako, 'ikonomika mo e ngaahi tapa kehe 'o e mo'ui, kae'uma'a 'a e ngaahi faingata'a ne fekuki mo ia pea ne anga fefe hono matatali kae lava'i 'a e ngaahi taumu'a ke 'unuaki e mo'ui fakamatelie mo e fakalaumalie 'o e famili kimu'a. 'E hoko eni ko e tokoni ki ha fakatotolo lahi ange he kaha'u ke hoko ko ha ma'u'anga 'ilo ke tokoni ki he fa'u ha ngaahi fokotu'utu'u 'e tokoni ki he fakalakalaka faka'ikonomika mo fakasosiale 'a e kakai Tonga 'i he fonua ni.

Fakaafe ke kau mai ki he fakatotolo

'Oku 'oatu 'a e kole mo e fakaafe kiate koe ke ke kau mai ki he fakatotolo ni, 'aki 'eku fakahoko hao faka'eke'eke 'o kapau 'oku ke loto ki ai. 'Oku makatu'unga hono fili koe he ko e memipa 'o homou famili pea kuo ke ta'u 17 pe lahi ange. 'Oku 'ikai kau he fakatotolo 'a e fanau 'oku te'eki ta'u 17 he 'oku te'eki ke nau matu'otu'a ke fakamatala 'enau fakakaukau 'o 'ikai toe fiema'u ha ngofua mo ha tokoni 'a ha tokotaha lahi, 'o hange ko ia 'oku fiema'u 'e he lao. Ko e toko 27 fakakatoa 'i ho famili 'oku ou faka'eke'eke 'I Nu'usila ni.

'Oku ou taumu'a ke fai ho faka'eke'eke 'i ha feitu'u 'oku ke loto ki ai, hange ko 'api na. Kapau 'e fiema'u ke fai ki ha feitu'u kehe, pea te u lava 'o totongi ho'o fakamole ki ho'o fefononga'aki.

'Oku 'ikai te u 'amanaki 'e hoko ha faingata'a fakasino pe fakae'atamai kiate koe koe'uhi

Fakapulipuli 'o e Fakatotolo
Ko e fakamatala kotoa pe 'e tanaki mei ho faka'eke'eke 'e tauhi fakapulipuli mo malu 'o 'ikai 'ilo ha taha kehe ki ho hingoa pea 'e matu'aki malu 'a hono tauhi. Hili 'a e ta'u 'e nima 'o hono tauhi e fakamatala 'e faka'auha leva ia 'e he faiako 'oku ne pule'i 'a e fakatotolo. Kapau 'oku ke loto ke tauhi e fakamatala 'e fakafoki mai ia kiate koe.

Ko ho'o ngaahi Totonu
'Oku ke tau'ataina kakato ke tali pe 'ikai tali e fakaafe ni.
Kapau teke tali ke kau he fakatotolo, ko ho'o totonu fakalao ia ke 'oua te ke tali ha fa'ahinga fehu'i 'oku 'ikai te ke loto ki ai;
'Eke ha fa'ahinga fakamatala 'oku ke fie 'ilo ki ai 'i ha taimi pe 'o e fakatotolo.
'Omi ha fakamatala he funga e femahino'aki he'ikai fakaha ho hingoa 'i he fakatotolo tukukehe ka ke loto ki ai;
Ma'u ha fakamatala nounou ki he lipoti faka'osi 'o e fakatotolo ni;
Fekau ke tamate'i 'a e tepi 'i ha taimi pe lolotonga ho faka'eke'eke

Ngaahi Tokoni
Ka 'iai ha taimi 'oku ke ongo'i faingata'a'ia ho loto pe 'atamai koe'uhi tupu mei ho faka'eke'eke, 'e lava ke ke fetu'utaki ki he SLTahaafe Counselling, telefoni 6365241, 6 Nadine Place, Mangere Bridge, ke nau tokoni atu kiate koe. He'ikai ha totongi.

Fetu'utaki Felave'i mo e Fakatotolo
Ka 'iai ha fa'ahinga fehu'i pe ha me'a teke fie'ilo kau ki he fakatotolo fetu'utaki ki mai kiate au:
Sione Tu'itahi
108 Manuka Road
Glenfield. Telefoni (09) 4446262

Pe ko 'eku faiako ko
Palofesa Cluny Macpherson
School of Cultural and Social Studies
Auckland Campus, Massey University, Albany. Telefoni 4140800 ext 9057

Pe ko
Toketa 'Okusitino Mahina
Department of Anthropology
Faculty of Arts
University of Auckland. Telefoni (09) 3737599

Kuo Tali e Fakatotolo ni
Kuo 'osi fakangofua pea tali 'a e fakatotolo ni 'e he Komiti ki he Fakatotolo mo e Kakai 'a e 'Univesiti 'o Massey 'I Albany. Ko e fika 'o e fakatotolo ni ko e 05/006. Kapau 'oku 'iai ha me'a te ke fiema'u kau ki he fakatotolo ni, kataki 'o fetu'utaki kia Associate Professor Kerry Chamberlain, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Albany, telefoni 09 414 0800 x9078, email humanethicsalb@massey.ac.nz.

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In Search of Success Research Project

Interview Schedule

As an interview schedule, essential concept areas will be outlined for the interviews. For each area, a set of open-ended questions will be developed to guide the interview and to ensure that specific topics will given sufficient time for discussion. The discussion guide consists of core questions with subsequent probing questions.

Interview Schedule Sample:

1. Participant's understanding on social and economic success
2. Participant's experience of life in New Zealand
3. Participants views and attitude towards life in New Zealand
4. Perspectives on factors that contribute to success, and to failure
5. How participants handle challenges and opportunities in New Zealand
6. Perspective on journey into the future –individually, and collectively

Arrangements will be made to enable the researcher to make quick verification of facts and other such minor but important needs.

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Glossary of Tongan Words

Anga	behaviour
Faka'aki'akimui	humility
Faka'atamai	mental/intellectual dimension
Fakafonua kovi	a seditious act such as a coup, revolution or murdering of a ruler
Fakamalo	Acknowledgement
Fakasino	Physical dimension
Fakalaumalie	Spiritual dimension
Fakalotofale'ia	an extended family process of meeting and planning
Fakapotopoto	wise, prudent and judicious
Fale	house
Fale papa palangi	house made of timer, European style
Fatongia	duty, obligation
Fe'ofo'ofani	love and unity
Fetokoni'aki	reciprocity, sharing
Fieha	conceited
Fonua	land, people and environment
Fonua-loto	land within the land, grave
Hiki fonua	a specific act to advance a community
Hiva kakala	love song
Holoki fonua	an act to destabilise a community
Kainga	extended family
Kainanga-e-fonua	eaters of the soil/land; a derogatory, social label for common people
Kautaha	village development group
Kava	Tongan social drink

Ikuna	success, achievement
Langa fonua	community development, build society
Mo'ui lelei	health and well being
Ngaue	work, occupation
'Ofa	love, affection
Palangi	foreigner, European
Papa	timber
Pito	umbilical cord
Potalanoa	talking into the night; a process of reflecting and exploring issues
Poto	wise, skilful and knowledgeable
Potopoto-'a-niu-mui	clever but inexperience
Potupotumalie	balance, even
Pule	management
Taki	leadership
Tokoni	help