Tauhi vā: the hope in Indigenous thought for New Zealand born Tongans

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Abstract

This thesis explores how tauhi va, one of the four fundamental pillars of Tongan culture, is enacted and applied in Aotearoa New Zealand from the cohort of New Zealand born Tongans. When translated, 'tauhi' means to nurture or look after, and 'va' translates to space. Thus, to use tauhi va in everyday contexts is to tend to the sacred and necessary space between relationships. Tauhi va has proven to transcend generations, climates, and changing circumstances. Within Aotearoa New Zealand, tauhi va is an instrument still being implemented among Tongan communities across the country; an instrument that has been translated from the innately collectivist culture of the Kingdom of Tonga, to Aotearoa New Zealand. New Zealand born Tongans find themselves in a unique position of being exposed to two cultural spheres – one that was given to them by birth-right, and the other passed on from their parents. The purpose of this research was to explore the ways in which tauhi va is being implemented by New Zealand born Tongans, in their distinctive experience of negotiating the phenomenon of dual culture. To explore this notion, five New Zealand born Tongans aged twenty five to thirty five engaged in one-on-one interviews – all of which were underpinned by talanoa as the main form of methodology. These talanoa sessions centred on key themes such as identity, being Tongan in a non-Tongan society, personal experiences with tauhi va, and many more. The findings of this study have invaluable implications not only for New Zealand born Tongans as a cohort, but on how Indigenous thought has the ability to blossom in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand society.

Acknowledgements

Ke ‘ihe ‘Eiki ‘ae kolōlia mo e langilangi ‘o ta’engata.
To God be the glory and honour, forever.

Having my name alone on the cover of this thesis feels bizarre because I am nothing but a levitation carried by the fierce legion backing me.

To the many warriors in my village:
My legacy leaving Grandparents Mosese, Eseta, Samiuela and ‘Api, my brother Nasoni, cousins Api, Salote and Bessie, Uncles, Aunties, best friend Taivei, mentor Lisa, my girls’ Lavinia, Anaseini, Ester, Elaine, Oriana and Serenade (I’m missing so many but you all know who you are), my Massey family, and church families at CoV and Elim – I love you guys. Thank you for keeping me sane and bringing out my inner hyena.

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To my parents:
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If you can’t read between the lines – I am oh so very blessed. And these words only skim the level of gratitude I so fervently feel. ‘Ofa lahi atu.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

My Mum's childhood was rich. Not by any financial means, of course, but in sheer depth of experience. Ha'ateiho, Tonga, is where her roots lie. Even though she was very much aware that her immediate family consisted of two parents and four children, she behaved as if each member of her village was also close in kin.

Woken up before the break of dawn to devour fish Pa had caught out at sea a few hours prior, trips to the watermelon plantation, and sharing peanuts with neighbours were all things that Mum remembers relishing as a child. Village life was all about community.

However, in primary school, she recalls encountering an existential newness. A perplexing view of the world arrived, courtesy of the imported schoolbooks from the land of the long white cloud.

"They were filled with illustrations of palangi girls… sitting in flash houses… sheltered under flowerful trees."

Mum also remembers the books depicting Aotearoa New Zealand as a dairy farming country, affluent with treasures like butter, milk, and chocolate—items Mum could only dream of grasping as a kid.

When Mum turned nine, my Grandpa was selected in the first group of male workers to migrate from Ha'ateiho to Aotearoa New Zealand. Although Mum couldn't quite understand why Pa had been granted entry into the prosperous land she had just learned about in school, one thing she was certain of was that he was on his way to greatness.

One year later, Todd Motors, a Mitsubishi assembly plant in Porirua, Wellington sent Mr. and Mrs. Watson to bring my Grandma, Mum and her siblings from Tonga to

> Aotearoa New Zealand. Mum just knew that the arrival of the Watsons had to be special, and for three reasons: one, she assumed the Watsons were the parents of the kids depicted in the story books; two, Grandma made them all wear their Sunday best; and three, she watched as Grandma hugged everyone in the village just a little bit tighter and longer than usual.
>
> Accompanied by the Watsons, the five of them journeyed from Ha'ateiho, to Auckland and then onto Porirua where they were finally reunited with one of the hardest working men at Todd Motors.
>
> Fifty-one years on, though she has gratefully savoured the rewards of her Father's hard-work and sacrifice, the roots of my Mum's existence and identity remains in the place she still proudly proclaims as home – Ha'ateiho.

I wanted to start my thesis with the story of my Mum's arrival in Aotearoa to chronicle the journey that has, all these years later, founded my own positionality as a New Zealand born Tongan. The narrative signals some key elements of Tongan identity. Firstly, it sets a historical context that resonates with the experiences of many migrants, especially those from the Pacific. This can be seen in the sacrifices the process of migration brings. These sacrifices include, first, as in the case of my Grandma, an added responsibility in being the only parent at home and physically present for their kids; and the uncertainty of when the family would be reunited. On the other side of this, there was the remarkable gain in starting a new life in Porirua, Aotearoa New Zealand. Secondly, my grandparents' experience of migration highlights the distorted views that migrants can have of lands outside their own. As a result of the schoolbooks, Mum had developed a fictitious view of Aotearoa New Zealand which was that everybody was white and rich. It took the experience of living in the suburbs of Elsdon to realise that life in this country was far from what the stories told. Thirdly, and most extraordinarily, the narrative told by the migrants about their experience forms the genesis of a new generation. It produces a series of questions: What are the implications of those experiences for the children of migrants? What expectations will be passed on regarding the upholding of Tongan values and traditions in the foreign land? Will those children come under pressure to adhere to the culture of the new country?

These are questions with which New Zealand born Tongans like myself are endlessly negotiating. Although my Mum shares in some aspects of switching between her Tongan roots and the Western culture to which she was introduced at the age of ten, her identity has always been strongly entrenched in the fact that by birth right, her principal culture is Tongan.

Contrastingly, for a demographic like New Zealand born Tongans, the constant switch between two identities leaves a 'gap' because of a divergence of values between both cultures. Regardless of where New Zealand born Tongans are placed on the cultural spectrum - whether it be from a childhood infused with an insistence that they adhere to Tongan culture, from a granting of freedom to delve into Western ideals, or to a mixture of both - identity is something that each Tongan young adult born in Aotearoa New Zealand must navigate. Though the experience of dual culture is heavily dependent on how individual Tongan households function, the critical juncture for a young Tongan adult is where they must hammer out their cultural positionality. In the negotiation of this cultural positionality, a Tongan concept that is crucial for the formation of Tongan identity is tauhi va.

Tauhi va

Due to the ongoing traces of a nineteenth century expectation by Imperial powers that societies outside Europe recognise Europe as the centre of civilisation, the process of describing Indigenous concepts including tauhi va can be an onerous task. Part of the difficulty comes from the fact that there is no clear or direct translation of 'tauhi va' into English, able to fully encapsulate it as a concept. Instead, the default has been to reduce the meaning to English terms such as 'reciprocity' and 'respect'. Some could argue these words are in the same arena as tauhi va. It could also be argued, however, that neither reciprocity nor respect encompass either the depth of meaning, or the processes by which that meaning is learned, that tauhi va renders. Attempting to characterize all that tauhi va is, has felt like excavating a stone from a rockpool. Interestingly enough, after my initial attempt of doing so with my supervisors, they immediately clasped on to ideas from cultures outside the English language to find any point of personal connection with and social relevance of the concept.

When broken up, the word 'tauhi' means to look after, to tend to, or to take care of (Koloto, 2017); while 'va' translates to the idea of space, both in the physical and social sense (Ka'ili,

2005). McFall-McCaffery and Cook (2016) deem the meaning of tauhi va as "literally caring for and looking after relationships" (p. 1). Similarly, Kalavite (2019) presents the definition of tauhi va as an intentional preservation of good relationships. Although both definitions effectively capture tauhi va in a simple sense, Kaili's (2017) definition provides an elaborated sense whereby tauhi va becomes a "sociospatial connection and space between people or things" (p. 89). Tauhi va is a reciprocal activity where the love one group of people feels toward another is displayed in a profound, tangible way through a simultaneous generation of connection and space between them.

Tauhi va gained special status in the latter years of Queen Salote Tupou III's reign over Tonga in the early 1960s, when she introduced what is now known as the *faa'i kavei koula*, which are the four golden pillars of Tongan culture (Faletau, 2020). These pillars are *faka'apa'apa* which means respect, *anga fakatokilalo* which translates to humility, *mamahi me'a* meaning loyalty, and *tauhi va* (Faletau, 2020). Although all four concepts are vital in the composition of *faa'i kavei koula*, tauhi va has particular social significance because of a performativity that is central to the concept. The presence of values such as 'ofa (love), anga fakatokilalo (humility) and mamahi me'a (loyalty) do not have to necessarily be conveyed through actions, but instead can remain internal aspects of an individual or family's existence. However, in this regard, tauhi va is set apart from the rest because of its existence in the performance of one party to another, and then its reciprocation. Though some may argue that values like 'ofa (love) are performative, there is still the possibility for it to remain static – to be consumed by one individual toward another – and therefore to remain relatively fixed and immobile. In contrast, when tauhi va prevails, it acts as an operational mechanism for tending to relationships, ready to be performed when circumstances call for it, or when families or individuals deem it a satisfactory time.

One of the key elements that differentiates tauhi va from Westernized concepts like reciprocity and respect is the circumstances surrounding each term. On a general basis, when reciprocity is displayed in Western settings, there is an expectation for parties involved to return the same quantity of goods or resources back in whatever form it was first delivered (Burger, 2009). Similarly, with the concept of respect, there is the widely held belief that in order to get respect, you have to give it, which immediately puts an expectation and value on respect (Spagnoletti and Arnold, 2007). These concepts resonate with exchange under

capitalist conditions, where transactions can be quantified and precise relations between things measured. Tauhi va moves completely away from capitalist logics, or even from an expectancy to reciprocate. Instead, tauhi va's fundamental focus is on acting in a way that *tends* to relationships, whereby respect and love are manifested, and there is an openness to reciprocity but not an expectation. Additionally, for many Tongan families across the world, tauhi va is generational. Within Tongan thought and discourse, tauhi va conveys an understanding of and belief in ancestral blessing (Ka'ili, 2017). Thus, families use tauhi va as an everyday function innate to culture, not only because of the practical importance in tending to relationships, but because the extension and continuation of tauhi va, as displayed by ancestors, is of pre-eminent significance in Tongan culture.

Cynicism in Western thought

With tauhi va spanning the generations, New Zealand born Tongans face a considerable challenge performing the concept in a Western setting. Some may argue this is simply because of the disparity between Tongan culture and the predominantly Western culture of Aotearoa New Zealand. A larger obstacle is at work, however, in the guise of a concept that is subtly prevalent in mainstream New Zealand society but that is evaded in Tongan culture—cynicism. While much of Tongan thought exists and ultimately functions because of notions including tauhi va that underpin it, a foundational basis that is not always made explicit within Western thought, is that of the cynic. Cynicism, and the subject-position of the cynic, are a primal threat to the existence and prosperity of tauhi va in societies like Aotearoa New Zealand. The centrality of cynicism to New Zealand society, coupled with its incompatibility with tauhi va leaves New Zealand born Tongans with the challenge of adhering to tauhi va in a land inhospitable to it.

Sloterdijk (1988) argues that cynicism is the presiding construct in the consciousness of people currently living in Western societies, that would include New Zealanders. In Sloterdijk's understanding (1988), modern cynicism has taken a different form from its predecessors because, unlike the original cynics whose scepticism was overt and individual, "modern mass cynics" see their stance as being a collectively realistic way of viewing society (p. 5). Sloterdijk (1988) argues that cynicism is so fundamentally embedded in societies such as this one, the prospect of hope ceases to exist in modern thought and what is left is merely a "little irony and pity" (p. 6).

Levy (2005) refocuses Sloterdijk's argument in a suggestion that the root cause of cynicism penetrating through Western thought is a distrust in political systems not upholding democracy. Levy (2005) notes that "no one should discourage the observation that political systems do not distribute power evenly among people, that powerful interests compete in society and not necessarily transparently and for the good of all" (p. 348). Levy (2005) echoes Sloterdijk's notion of cynicism as a dangerous footing for society, because it "allows the existence of imperfections to cast a shadow over the possibilities of life" (p. 349).

However, there is a new layer of danger in this because modern-day cynics frequently use this footing as the rationale for entertaining cynical thoughts, as opposed to entertaining transformation-based frames of thought for the betterment of society (Levy, 2005). On the same wavelength, Stanley (2007) argues that cynicism has come to prevail in Western discourse because of a shift in focus from politics and social justice to an overarching acceptance of the inevitable. The inevitable now includes the current condition in which pragmatic conservatives call for cynicism to be widely applied as a means by which to ensure their survival. Stanley (2007) goes on to say that after various attempts throughout Western history to "craft a more just world, cynics presumably resign themselves to getting by as best they can in a necessarily corrupt world" (p. 386). Stanley (2007) explains that the ideology of cynicism operates in two stages, both of which have powerful implications for Western society. The first stage finds adherence grow to the notion that society will never evolve into a collective that is honourable and noble; and the second, is the prescription for a universal state of cynicism, that people should behave cynically as a result of the basically dishonourable nature of social life.

This particular notion suggests one important way in which the fundamental rationale behind contemporary Western culture is the antithesis of Indigenous thought. Unlike Indigenous thought where notions like tauhi va act as a moral compass, an implicit desire to control runs through Western thought, and this desire for control allows for judgment and scepticism to ascend.

Power in Indigenous discourse

In the current era of late-stage capitalism with all its attendant challenges for people and for the non-human, natural world, and where Western thought has become synonymous with

cynicism, the prospects of Indigenous frameworks to reconfigure the meaning of relations between people, including tauhi va, are considerable and could not come at a more opportune time. For New Zealand born Tongans, the core conundrum they are facing is how to apply tauhi va within the setting of Aotearoa New Zealand, where the belief systems passed down from their parents are directly challenged and contradicted by the structural foundations of Western discourse. The menace of capitalist modernity has left individuals with a desire for wealth that will never truly be appeased because of the incessant cycle of endless accumulation in which its settings are stuck. In a situation as dire as now where the members of capitalist society are constantly searching for things to fill the void of consumer-related desire, Indigenous mechanisms that have proven to span generations, changing climates, geographical environments and social structures could be the very answer Western thought has been so desperately trying to find. The historical richness in Indigenous knowledge is what sociologists may justifiably pin hope on for the future.

New Zealand born Tongans not only face the complex issue of having to navigate Indigenous values like tauhi va in a Western context, but also a change in circumstance when compared to Tongan ancestors. In the 1970s when Tongans began migrating to Aotearoa New Zealand for economic purposes, there was an elevated motivation that piloted the decision to leave the great Kingdom. The desire for first-generation migrant Tongans to care for their families in ways the land of Tonga could not at the time provide, was enough for families to make the difficult decision to migrate to an unknown land. This elevated level of motivation led to the direct translation of institutional settings from Tonga to Aotearoa New Zealand which saw the establishment of churches and communal social structures. With this came the practical application of tauhi va by migrant Tongans to the kin they had left behind.

Due to significant differences between the contexts of Tonga and Aotearoa New Zealand, however, the elevated motivation that acted as a driving force for many migrant families has diminished for New Zealand born Tongans. The motivation that allowed for so many men to make sacrifices all those years ago, now takes shape in a different form. The complexity in trying to maintain tauhi va generationally in a setting where it has to compete with other ideas and ways of relating presents New Zealand born Tongans with a multifaceted enigma. Having to negotiate their own cultural positionality means unpacking how they might perform tauhi va in a way that upholds ancestral values, but fits within the setting of Aotearoa

New Zealand. This research project not only produces clear insights into how New Zealand born Tongans navigate dual culture in this country, but in extension, how the notion of tauhi va may be applied within this predominantly Western culture. It raises the following questions: How might tauhi va be shifting in conjunction with new national contexts in which Tongan peoples now live? To what extent is Tongan people's practice of tauhi va in Aotearoa New Zealand contingent upon links and ties to the transnational Tongan community, and upon the openness or lack thereof of the host culture? Finally, when the national context hinders the full application of tauhi va to social settings, what compensatory practices do Tongan people develop to keep the spirit of such a concept alive?

Tauhi va, when performed and applied by groups like New Zealand born Tongans, gives rise to an emergent space outside the contours of Western thought, to which the nation of Aotearoa New Zealand finds itself subjugated. In this emergent space, New Zealand born Tongans are pioneers in a unique position of being able to direct how the phenomenon of dual culture can be performed through future generations; a social power from which Western counterparts could garner great lessons.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Introduction

To understand the relevance of dual culture as negotiated by New Zealand born Tongans through the aid of concepts including tauhi va, it is important to contextualise the group. As a consequence of Tongans being marginalised within Aotearoa New Zealand, Allen and Bruce (2017) note that their representation in the media is "neither transparent or innocent" (p. 226). This positioning works to "create rather than merely reflect realities" of Pacific groups such as Tongan citizens. The association of Tongan peoples to demeaning terms like minority, small, or victim, produce that marginalisation (p. 226). At the root of these portrayals is a manipulated imbalance or political tension between the social power of majority interests and others: Eurocentric, Western powers constitute the majority interest, and Pacific groups including Tongans are positioned as other. According to Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain and Nikora (2006), "Pacific people cannot locate themselves on their own terms because they are already socially positioned through the media, and are often compelled to act in accordance with the expectations of more powerful groups" (p. 102). Parallel to the notions of Allen and Bruce (2017), Loto et. al (2006) note that despite the growing population of Pasifika in Aotearoa New Zealand, there is still a tendency for media accounts of such a demographic to correspond with places such as "hospitals, courts, ghettos, welfare offices and prisons" (p. 103). The identification of this particular narrative is crucial because of how the narrative misinforms and misrepresents Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand, including Tongans. Unfortunately, only a limited amount of literature exists that, as a counterweight, informatively highlights the experience of Tongans currently residing in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The following chapter offers a contextual repositioning of Tongans from the perspective of Epeli Hau'ofa's 'Our Sea of Islands' (1994). This lens enables us to think about tauhi va in sociospatial terms. This insight into the concept will help us generate further understandings into key studies on the experience of Tongans living abroad, inclusive of those living in Melbourne. Additionally, it will help prepare us to anticipate what second-generation Tongans may yet face as a result of the current socio-political climates in which they now live.

Lens of Oceania

Hau'ofa (1994) offers a contrasting view of peoples from the Pacific Ocean to that portrayed by the mainstream media. He argues that Pasifika societies, for many different reasons, have been falsely associated with the condition of smallness. 'Our Sea of Islands' (Hau'ofa, 1994) presents a uniquely Oceanic perspective that counters this association. For far too long, Hau'ofa argues, people of the Pacific Ocean have been corralled in the minds of Western peoples as mere occupants of islands – islanders – a term he deems derogatory because it diminishes the Oceanic vigour of generations of Tangata Moana that continue to reside in New Zealand born Tongans and Polynesian peoples more broadly.

This reframing of what it means to be Oceanic is a vital lens for the contextualisation of this thesis. Through this reframing, we learn that to be Tongan is to not be a small, miniscule locale of people. Rather, to be Tongan is to be a product of courageous Oceanic voyages with an agency that makes them members of the vast, grand Ocean.

Hau'ofa (1994) unapologetically opens his article by stating that:

> Views held by those in dominant positions about their subordinates could have significant consequences for people's self-image and for the ways they cope with their situations. Such views, which are often derogatory and belittling, are integral to most relationships of dominance and subordination, wherein superiors behave in ways or say things that are accepted by their inferiors, who in turn behave in ways that serve to perpetuate the relationships. (p. 149)

Thus, the implication here is that the supposed sense of smallness which Pasifika people have internalized for decades is a result of an ideological adoption from superior powers. Hau'ofa identifies smallness as a perceived characteristic of "small island states and territories of the Pacific", with an added connotation that societies on those islands can only be economically sustainable so long as they receive aid from larger, wealthier countries (1994, p. 150). Hau'ofa battled with this tension after identifying as a lecturer that he unknowingly promulgated the idea of smallness to his optimistic students, whose views had not been ignorantly vanquished by Western perceptions of themselves. This tension manifested through a series of hard, self-reflective questions he posed such as, "what kind of teaching is

it to stand in front of young people, people who you claim as your own, [to] tell them that our countries are hopeless?" (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 150). According to Hau'ofa , the main issue with the Western notion of smallness is that it completely omits the rich cultural history embedded throughout Pasifika stories. Due to historical encounters with European powers including the blatant denunciation of Oceanic culture, a long-standing internalization of belittlement has acted as a destructive force, blinding Pacific people to their own authoritative liberty as by-products of the Ocean. Hau'ofa (1994) brings readers' attention to the fact that a term like smallness is always relative, and that the pronouncing of the world of Pacific peoples as small is based solely on the land surfaces visible to those making such claims. However, his notion is that:

> If we look at the myths, legends, and oral traditions… it becomes evident that they [Pacific peoples] did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it. Their world was anything but tiny. Smallness is a state of mind. (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 152)

In accordance with this notion, Hau'ofa identifies a tension between two terms that, to the general eye, produce a similar meaning: Pacific Islands and Oceania. He argues against their convergence. People seldom use Oceania to describe the islands in the Pacific and Hau'ofa (1994) believes this is because it draws humans into a regard for the Pacific as something awe-inspiringly grand; a notion that opposes the Euro-centrism of Western discourse. He concludes his piece by offering an advanced view of the sea of Islands, exclaiming that "Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding… Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us" (p. 160).

Hau'ofa's notion of the Ocean directly parallels the mechanisms of tauhi va. Tauhi va, while representing the relational ties between parties, also exists in a way which allows space for those parties to acquire their own autonomy. Although Hau'ofa does not refer to 'tauhi va', it is evident his writing correlates with the concept: the vastness of the Ocean allows space to persist between Pacific nations, allowing each to preserve their unique histories and traditions while still identifying as a collective of Oceanic peoples. For Tongans, including those in the diaspora, tauhi va differentiates them from other Pacific nations even as other Pacific cultures

employ equivalent concepts. Identifying this difference is essential in introducing my topic because it helps provide insight into the ongoing negotiation by New Zealand born Tongans in search of a clear identity.

Tauhi va – a sociospatial concept

Ka'ili (2005) describes tauhi va as the nurturing of sociospatial ties. Ka'ili (2005) first became aware of tauhi va's power when he was a research assistant in Seattle for a project on Pasifika adolescents. He said that the ample interest from Tongans living in Seattle to participate in his research was partly because of their "desire to maintain va" with him in light of his genealogical ties to them (Ka'ili, 2005, p. 96). As a way of thanking the willing participants, he volunteered to tutor their children, which is in itself, an overt display of tauhi va (Ka'ili, 2005). At the beginning of his piece, he recalled a similar interaction during a visit to a market in Maui, Hawaii where he immediately spotted a Tongan woman in full black attire selling bananas, coconuts, taro, and various Tongan ornaments. When greeted with a polite "hello", Ka'ili greeted back in fluent lea fakatonga (Tongan language) which instantly set the tone for the encounter to be a meaningfully joyful one because of the cultural connection that had been made. After conversing for a few minutes in which they exchanged details of their genealogy and villages, Seini, which he found out was her name, called her son to get a bag of the best bananas to send Ka'ili on his way. This reciprocal exchange after a chance and short meeting exemplifies tauhi va as a profound way of "locating social connections by organizing and connecting sociospatial worlds" (Ka'ili, 2005, p. 85). In spite of the fact that Ka'ili lived in Seattle and was merely visiting Hawaii, the genealogical links made to Tonga constructed a social space for the two diasporic Tongans to connect.

Unfortunately, despite the large number of migrants from Tonga currently living in countries like Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and the United States, there has been no real study examining the significance of the spatial aspect in aiding transnational Tongan relationships (Ka'ili, 2005). In Ka'ili's (2005) words, "space is central to this understanding because transnational practices involve the movement and flows of people within space and across spatial boundaries while the people maintain sociospatial connections with one another, in the homeland or abroad" (p. 87). Based on a study conducted by Cathy Small, the migration of Tongans outside the Kingdom does not, in any way, parallel an abandonment of tradition. Instead, the sociospacial connection produces a security in knowing that there is a higher

likelihood for cultural obligations to be met during chance, and other, encounters (Ka'ili, 2005). Despite the distance from the physical land of Tonga, tauhi va remains an essential element that has been woven through the fabric of households in the Kingdom and abroad. Ka'ili (2005) notes that as opposed to an empty space that divides people, the space prescribed by tauhi va exists in a one-way function to create links which furthers and deepens relationships.

However, Ka'ili (2005) also presents an intriguing part of tauhi va that people tend to overlook when describing the concept. The practice and performance of tauhi va requires a lot of time, energy and resources which has meant some families are forced to be selective in which va (spaces) they tauhi (look after). Ka'ili (2005) noted that despite the exquisite display of tauhi va with Seini at the Hawaiian market, there were other Tongan stalls who saw him merely as a customer, as opposed to a fellow diasporic Tongan. Highlighting this particular aspect of tauhi va is not to condemn families who are selective in whom they display it to, but rather, to bring to light a layer in negotiating identity that New Zealand born Tongans will eventually have to decipher.

Ka'ili (2005) notes that "in this cross-generation context, children are born into multiple pre-existing social spaces" (p. 93). This is important to indicate because although being born into these spaces produces new genealogical layers for New Zealand born Tongans, the pressure that might be felt with tauhi va may be too much for some members of the Tongan community to bear, given the austerity of contemporary economic policy and the conservativism of New Zealand's current political climate. It may be the case that Ka'ili's notions of a sociospacial nurturing required for young adults who are torn between their host culture and the parents' culture, may not exist when those young adults have children. That prospect may yet turn on how tauhi va develops within a land far from its origin.

Redefining Tongan identity

Finding literature that specifically speaks to the experience of dual culture within a demographic like New Zealand born Tongans has proven to be a difficult task. An invaluable piece amongst that lack is that of Helen Morton, who conducted a four-year study from 1995 to 1999 on how anga fakatonga (the Tongan way of living) is manifested in Melbourne, Australia. Morton (1998) writes that "migrants do not construct their ethnic identity from

scratch" and that instead, "they each bring their own evolving version of it with them to their new home" (p. 3). While historical accounts and traditions are essential in contextualising culture, Morton (1998) argues that there should be equal significance given to the opportunity for cultural evolution. She suggests that an individual or group's cultural identity should be in constant development, as opposed to an unchangeable, set way of existing.

Anga fakatonga is translated as 'the way of the Tongan', encompassing all the cultural elements, traditions and ideals that culminate in what Morton (1998) describes as a person's 'Tonganness'. She notes that "anga fakatonga is a fluid, manipulable, yet powerful concept" (Morton, 1998, p. 12). Anga fakatonga is what Tongans themselves use to measure their personal degree of Tonganness. For example, a young adult woman in Morton's (1998) study named Ana described herself as "not really Tongan" but that her parents are "totally Tongan Tongans" because while they endorse a household seeping with instruments like tauhi va, her personal lifestyle differs completely (p. 12). Ironically, one of the participants in Morton's (1998) study expressed contempt for anga fakatonga. In their view, anga fakatonga has the ability for people to "twist it around and just have the culture suit in what you want to do" (p. 12). Thus, according to Morton's (1998) findings, "some individuals can make choices about which aspects they will keep and which they will modify or reject" (p. 12). This finding may provide solace for New Zealand born Tongans because it suggests that, while some may believe adherence to Tongan culture to be disingenuous in a foreign land, it may be possible to recreate anga fakatonga in a way that takes into account the social climate of that land.

Over the course of her four-year study, Morton (1998) discovered some clear trends among Tongans living in Melbourne, toward the formation of sub-cultures. There are four clear groups that Morton describes in her study, into which each of her interviewees was categorized:

1. Tongans labelled as "rebellious", who do not adhere to anga fakatonga and discard its ideals completely.
2. Tongans who value anga fakatonga.
3. Tongans who have a footing in both anga fakatonga and Australian culture.

4. ‘Born-again Tongans’ who were set in being members of the rebellious group but due to certain circumstances, have ultimately changed their minds.

In the first group, Morton (1998) found that there was a “rebellion”, but that the root cause of this was a resentment toward parents for pushing the expectations of anga fakatonga too strictly within individual households. Thus, instead of listening to the guidance of their parents, certain interviewees felt the need to create a culture of their own, outside the anga fakatonga model.

With the second group, Tongans who value anga fakatonga, their adherence ironically stemmed and aligned with an assertion from their parents to adhere to Tongan cultural ideals. However, Morton (1998) also observed that this obligation can come with either a genuine desire to fulfil anga fakatonga, or a slight aversion to it.

Morton (1998) discovered many factors for interviewees who adhered equally to both Tongan and Australian culture. Surprisingly, one of the elements was recognition by Tongan parents that in order to thrive in Australia, education and schooling must be at the forefront. For example, ‘Ana’s parents discouraged her from speaking lea fakatonga “on the grounds that being successful in Australia will depend on good English-language skills”’ (Morton, 1998, p. 13). Based on the constantly evolving shifting character of culture , Morton (1998) also recognized that a culture gap “between successive generations” does force some family members into an all-or-nothing choice between the Western, Australian ways or anga fakatonga (Morton, 1998). For some, however, this might be a temporary step on the path to finding a more stable, negotiated identity.

Morton (1998) coined the term ‘born-again Tongans’ to describe a group of participants who originally courted Australian culture but, due to events including visits to the homeland, or seeing other Tongans overtly apply anga fakatonga to daily life, had a sudden desire to redefine their level of ‘Tonganness’. Morton (1998) found that among this particular group, there used to be a sheer apathy toward Tongan ways of living. Pivotal to that change was the construction of more Tongan churches in Melbourne and a resurgence amongst Tongans in Melbourne of the Christian faith. This movement allowed anga fakatonga to become more accepted among youth.

An important point made by Morton (1998) is that "a renewed interest in ethnicity has been interpreted as a means of coping with the alienation of modern society, by providing a sense of belonging and community" (p. 19). An interview with a Tongan minister suggested that Tongans, particularly young adult Tongans, are more open to 'Tonganness' because of the opportunity this brings for claiming something as their own, which gives clarity to their identity amidst uncertainty. An extension to this, and which resembles Hau'ofa's (1994) notion of Oceania, is that as well as wanting to be identified as Tongans, participants also saw themselves as members of the Pacific. Morton (1998) notes that "this desire to emphasize sameness… stands in stark counterpoint to the current trend in theorizing that focuses on difference" (p. 22). This preference to be seen not only as Tongan, but as Pacific, shows the powerful symbolism that a sense of community belonging can bring, while also being part of a trans-community collective.

A contrasting view that acts as a warning for second-generation Tongans is Lee's (2006) research 'Tonga Only Wants Our Money: The children of Tongan migrants'. Lee's general finding is that a recent decline in remittances from second-generation Tongans threatens the economic and social state of the Kingdom. In pursuing her research, Lee's (2006) main prerogative was to "investigate the transnational practices of second-generation Tongans, particularly those in Australia, in order to discover the form and extent of their ties to their parents' homeland" (p. 124). Lee opened her article with a statement from Richard Wolfgramm posted on Pacific Beat online in 2005, who wrote in relation to the remittances that Tongan parents insist on sending back to Tonga: "for the issue of identity, let me ask you this: why should we sustain the economy of a country that hasn't made an effort to embrace our generation?" (Lee, 2006, p. 121). According to Lee (2006), this is reflective of the views held by second-generation Tongans who see the performance of tauhi va through remittances as a major burden to their parents. Some may argue that this perspective reflects an influence upon Tongan perceptions of Western cynicism. Richard Wolfgramm went on to say that in extension to this burden, he feels his position in Australia to be an economic go-to for his kin in Tonga. This exists in contrast to feeling known or accepted by his kin as one who is truly Tongan. Lee unpacks the practicalities of remittances by saying that, being more than a financial gift, remittances are sent to the Kingdom for things like personal investment and land ownership, but that if these are the current, fundamental reasons for remitting, the next generation of Tongans will not feel the same obligation. Despite the major trend that transnationalism has become worldwide, the small amount of literature on diasporic Tongans

suggests that “transnational ties differ markedly between the first and second generation” (Lee, 2006, p. 124). Lee (2006) refers to findings from a study by Bryceson and Vuroela (2002) that ties substantially weaken between home and new country in the transition between migrant generations. Furthermore, Bryceson and Vuroela (2002) identify other contributing factors such as a loss of language and knowledge about their motherland as well as the cultural complexity in having to navigate two very separate worlds.

Lee (2006) argues that the culture of their host nations play a big part in dictating whether tauhi va and anga fakatonga are to be furthered or not among second-generation Tongans. The examples she gives are in Sydney, Salt Lake City and Los Angeles where the culture for youth in these mass cities revolves around drugs, substance abuse, and gang affiliation. Within the current cultural climate, Lee (2006) contends that there is no way to forecast the continuity of ties for migrant Tongans to their Motherland. In support of this proposition, Tongan academic Professor Futa Helu observes that Tongans born in diaspora “would not have the same sentiments” or “attachment to the homefolks as their parents had", so the slow abolishment of tauhi va in the form of remittances is unavoidable (Lee, 2006, p. 123). Lee (2006) mentions work by Anapesi Ka’ili, who has argued that despite these vast cultural differences, there is still a major group holding on to their Tongan culture, but reinventing what it means to be Tongan. Regrettably for first-generation migrants, the practice of remitting income to Tonga is losing its prestige as part of this identity. Anapesi Ka’ili adds that “many of the younger Tongans overseas do want to keep up their connection with Tonga” but to do so in other forms of tauhi va like “phone calls and return visits” (Lee, 2006, p. 126). Such changes inevitably create intergenerational tension between cohorts including New Zealand born Tongans and their parents. It also raises concerns around the degree to which such groups may alter anga fakatonga in comparison to their ancestral forebears, and whether the reconfiguration of cultural concepts including tauhi va is justified, because of the societal circumstances of the host nations.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

Introduction

The main aim of this study is to illustrate how tauhi va is shifting in the context of young New Zealand born Tongans' experience of growing up with dual culture in Aotearoa New Zealand. Within anga fakatonga (the Tongan way of living), there were unique epistemologies that resulted in sustainable livelihoods, but that were deemed primitive and savage in nature by early European settlers (Vaioleti, 2006). From the outset, it should be made clear that the methodological practices introduced in this chapter stray far from these fabricated conceptions of Tongan epistemology, generated by early European voyagers. As mentioned above, tauhi va emerges from the Oceanic character of Tongan existence (Hau'ofa, 1994). Sociologically, there is something formidable about the perspective that Tongans are Ocean-dwellers as well as land occupiers—where their existence is concerned with both the lands they inhabit and the surrounding waters (Hau'ofa, 1994). Ensuring that Tongan-specific forms of methodology were used for the present work was essential in cultivating and embracing what it means to exist as active beings of the Ocean. Given the nature of this particular exploration, a qualitative research strategy was chosen because, as Njie and Asimiran (2014) reveal, there is a "humanistic virtue" in qualitative research, that "is needed to understand certain situations, settings and complexities between relations which are way too important and intricate to be understood by mere foraging through random sampling or the calculation of means and modes of results" (p. 35). Qualitative research focuses on what Nije and Asimiran (2014) also describe as "the revelation of meaning buried in the nature of reality as understood and interpreted by people" (p. 35). In the qualitative research process, I will be paying particular attention to how specific discourse is used by New Zealand born Tongans to talk about their experience; to the wider social meanings of situations and actions; and will build on themes based on the overlapping patterns found in the data collection (Fossey, Harvey, Mcdermott, Davidson, 2002). Thus, as the core objective for this thesis is to platform tauhi va's shift through the emergence of dual culture for young Tongans born in Aotearoa New Zealand, it was important to seek a methodology that allowed for this form of personable, non-restrictive research.

In the current chapter, I will discuss the central role that talanoa (see below) plays in the study, the recruitment process by which I enlisted participants, and the use of semi-structured interviews to explore participants' experiences and practices of tauhi va. In addition, I will reflect on the ethical matters that arose with the interview process.

Talanoa

In lea fakatonga (Tongan language), *tala* means to "inform, relate, command, as well as ask or apply", while *noa* means "of any kind or ordinary" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 23). Thus, talanoa literally translates in English as "talking about nothing in particular", which means it functions under no strict framework or rigid set of directives. To practice talanoa in methodology, the 'noa' aspect of the word informs the spatial conditions of research, while 'tala' encompasses the emotions and experiences of both researchers and participants, creating a harmonious collaboration that is essential in Indigenous Tongan methodologies.

In her article on Indigenous thought in higher education, Tongan poet Konai Helu-Thaman (2003) acknowledges that "decolonizing Pacific studies is about reclaiming Indigenous Oceanic perspectives, knowledge and wisdom, that have been devalued or suppressed because they were or are not considered important or worthwhile" (p. 2). In deciphering what methods to pursue for the research process of this project, it was important to seek out methodologies that aligned with tauhi va and that would enable new insights to be developed. Nothing was more fitting than that of talanoa—a form of methodology that is Indigenous to many Pasifika nations including the Kingdom of Tonga. In alignment with the nature of qualitative research, talanoa immediately grants special liberty to the experiences of research participants in allowing them to tell their stories first-hand and with authenticity (Fossey et. al., 2002).

According to Vaioleti (2006), talanoa is "a personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and aspirations" in a way that "allows more *mo'oni* (pure, real, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods" (p. 21). Tongan scholars argue that talanoa was constructed because of the dangers in assuming that Western methodologies are as effective with Pasifika communities as other ethnic groups (Vaioleti, 2006). A significant aspect of the dangers involved is that much Western research is positivist in kind, testing abstract hypotheses which

does not necessarily require a close, personal relationship between researchers and their participants (Vaioleti, 2006). Vaioleti (2006) sums it up well by stating that "researchers whose knowing is derived from Western origins are unlikely to have values and lived realities that allow understanding of issues pertaining to knowledge and ways of being that originated from the nga wairua (spirits) and whenua of Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu or other Pacific nations" (p. 22). Thus, the solutions for Pasifika-specific issues, along with the expansion of Pacific knowledge, should not be pursued with research methodologies that are tailored to expanding discourse of dominant cultures. Talanoa as a form of methodology was produced following quantitative studies that showed Pacific people have a shared aversion for research that requires filling out surveys or answering yes/no questions, deeming them tedious and tiresome (Vaioleti, 2006). Within positivist methodology, one of the core issues is that power is given to the researchers to "make sense of [Pasifika] stories" and subsequently relay what they deem is relevant, as opposed to authentically sharing what participants have openly contributed. The danger here is that as a result, researchers of this kind can "distort, make invisible, overlook, exaggerate, and draw conclusions [based on] hidden value judgments and often-downright misunderstandings"; research methods that are in direct contrast to the innate mechanisms of tauhi va (Smith, 1992, as cited in Vaioleti, 2006, p. 23).

Talanoa focuses on the oral aspect of dialogue, as opposed to the written, which can be accredited to the emphasis on preserving native languages (Vaioleti, 2006). Thus, the etiquette of talanoa means "people are flexible and open to adaptation and compromise" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 25). Although it is now renowned as a form of methodology in research, talanoa still plays a core part in everyday Pasifika culture as it dictates the way in which people hold social events including kava parties, gatherings, and official engagements (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 25).

Talanoa immediately suspends the hierarchical system to which the Kingdom of Tonga still adheres (Sikala, 2014). It does so by removing the preconceived space between researcher and participant, and instead, ensuring that talanoa is primarily an oral exchange between two people who can safely share in their experience. In further elaboration of the reciprocal character of talanoa, Vaioleti (2006) notes that talanoa reflects the Māori proverb, 'ka tou rourou, ka taku rourou, ka ora e te iwi', which translates to 'with your food basket and my food basket, we will feed the people" (p. 26). Thus, talanoa is a reciprocal exchange where

Tongan characteristics including tauhi va are performed and embodied in the use of space in the encounter between people.

The recruitment process/Questions

> We present navigation and wayfinding as an art that affirms and generates connection, where the collective (relational self-tied to place, ancestors, people) may thrive. (Matapo and Baice, 2020, p. 27)

As Tongans are a collectivist people whose relationships with one another are built on notions of togetherness, harmony, and community (Matapo and Baice, 2020), recruiting participants was not a difficult task. According to the 2018 Census, the two highest populated cities in Aotearoa with New Zealand born Tongans are Auckland and Wellington. Thus, recruiting participants from these two areas was imperative to ensure an accurate depiction of how tauhi va moves in relation to New Zealand born Tongans' experiences of navigating dual culture. The journey began by reaching out to friends and family members in both Auckland and Wellington via social media outlets including Facebook Messenger and Instagram. Within hours of reaching out, I had responses with names given from my mutual connections. The next day I had a list of five keen participants who fitted the selection criteria I was looking for—young adults born in Aotearoa New Zealand to Tongan parents (aged 25 – 35).

Four of the five participants I had previously met through mutual community obligations, while one I knew only by association. I wanted to get in touch personally with each of the participants to ensure that any queries or questions they had were answered before confirming their interest. Four of them I managed to get phone numbers for and had a good, initial discussion with each to go over any issues they had. Regarding the participant I had not met in person yet, she connected with me on Instagram so I felt comfortable enough just to discuss the project with her online. All the participants asked what it entailed and I explained that it would be centred on tauhi va through their experiences of being New Zealand born Tongans. After the initial phone call to build rapport and to introduce the core aspects that the research would cover, I obtained each of the participants' email addresses, to which I sent the Information Sheet and Consent Form (Appendix A and Appendix B). In

these emails (Appendix C), I still made it clear that if they had any questions, I would be more than happy to answer them.

All five participants were born in Aotearoa New Zealand and have spent most of their lives in either Wellington or Auckland. At the time the research was taken place, each of them was employed in a professional role. All five of the participants opted to go under a pseudonym. This is because although the implementation of talanoa as a form of methodology meant that a safe space would be created for participants to openly speak on their experiences, there is a level of faka'apa'apa (respect) that is essential in anga fakatonga (Tongan way of living). Thus, going under a pseudonym would uphold the sacredness of what is being spoken about, and protect the va (space) between both researcher and participant.

Name	**Age**	**Occupation**
Ana	26	Policy Analyst for Government Ministry
Losa	29	Liaison at Pacific Health Centre
Pola	32	Special Projects Advisor for Law Office
Melelose	33	Liaison for City Council
Tina	34	HR for Accounting Firm

Combined with talanoa was the use of semi-structured interviews to explore participants' experiences and practices of tauhi va. Talanoa and semi-structured interviews overlap in many ways, but the latter is particularly suitable for this kind of research as the researcher is required to prepare only a small schedule of questions, and to then engage in an improvisatory but analytical way that builds upon what participants have shared. Therefore, semi-structured interviews allow for researchers to construct new lines of questioning around what emerges from the discourse being exchanged, as opposed to keeping to a fixed line of questioning (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006).

Going into the interview process, my main research question was:

> According to young New Zealand born Tongan adults, how is tauhi va shifting in their current negotiation of dual culture?

This research question, along with those that followed, came about as a result of mock interviews I had done with my Mum, sister, and best friend. I opted to do a mock interview on my Mum because her field is academia and although she would not be able to directly relate to the experience of being New Zealand born, her expertise of the Tongan culture and vast knowledge of tauhi va were pivotal to the successful honing of the questions. My sister and best friend are both New Zealand born Tongans so it was incredibly helpful to gauge what areas needed to be touched on, and whether my pre-prepared questions were adequate for giving interviewees the platform to speak on their experiences.

From my mock interviews, I realized that my questions incited thoughts of their childhood, so without knowing that their thoughts would be taken right back to those times, all three participants spoke about their experiences in their homes as children because these were the spaces that tauhi va first became known to them. Other themes that shone through as a result of the mock interviews were identity, first-hand experiences of tauhi va, tauhi va's performance in multiple spaces including the workplace, and the place of individual autonomy within a performative concept like tauhi va. As a result, three camps of thought became vivid during the course of the mock interviews and I used these to navigate the actual interviews:

1. The negotiation of tauhi va
2. Tauhi va (today)
3. The direction tauhi va now takes in the negotiated spaces of dual culture

Under each of these camps of thought, I made a list of pre-prepared questions that were constructed, again, as a result of how the mock interviews took shape.

These questions were:

1. The negotiation of tauhi va

- In terms of culture, how would you describe your childhood?
- Can you pinpoint a time when you realized you were Tongan? And in extension, how and when did you realize you were a Tongan living in a non-Tongan society?
- What are some spaces where you feel most 'Tongan' most 'Kiwi'?

2. Tauhi va

- How did you first learn or become aware of tauhi va?
- Are you able to give me some examples of your early recollection of tauhi va?

3. The direction tauhi va now takes in the negotiated spaces of dual culture

- Responses to an illustration of tauhi va and personal autonomy
- How do you see tauhi va shifting in Aotearoa New Zealand?

For the first question under the third camp of thought, I created a diagram depicting tauhi va as a rainbow. On one side of the diagram, titled Side A, tauhi va is shown as an overarching rainbow with an individual placed within it. On the other side, titled Side B, the individual is significantly larger than the rainbow which is placed at the bottom of the individual's image. My best friend suggested that this would be an effective way to clearly ask whether tauhi va is something that acts as a blanket for how Tongan individuals live, or whether individuals have the autonomy to decide when and how tauhi va is performed.

Talanoa Protocols

Vaioleti (2006) outlines a set of ethical protocols based on anga fakatonga that researchers must implement in order for talanoa to be truly effective and culturally relevant. These are "faka'apa'apa (respect), anga lelei (tolerant, generous, kind, helpful), and mateuteu (well prepared, professional)" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 29).

Faka'apa'apa (respect)

For researchers, displaying faka'apa'apa means acting in a way that is not domineering. This is done by being thoughtful with body language, by attending to how we sit and look, as well as by ensuring that we communicate well. This took shape in my interviews through a conscious effort to keep a calm tone, allowing space for my participants to answer the questions without interruption, and positioning myself directly opposite them so that we were physically on the same level (Vaioleti, 2006).

Anga lelei (tolertant, generous, kind, helpful)

According to Vaioleti (2006), it is important for "participants to feel their contributions are worthwhile and helpful" (p. 30). Additionally, Vaioleti (2006) notes that it is important for researchers to display mata'ofa which translates as a loving face, so that participants do not ever feel demeaned or belittled by their vulnerability in sharing their stories. To ensure this, through the interviews I always asked whether they wanted to add more and made sure my demeanour was always kind and respectful. As well as this, participants received a small me'a ofa (gift) at the end of each talanoa as a small token of my appreciation.

Mateuteu (well prepared, professional)

Exchanging in talanoa, especially within a research capacity, is a sacred practice and should not be taken lightly (Vaioleti, 2006). As such, it is important for researchers to be well equipped and knowledgeable about their topics so that participants' time spent during the talanoa is not wasted (Vaioleti, 2006). As Vaioleti (2006) indicates, it is disrespectful to go in without having prepared questions or not to have put in the work to ensure the interviews run smoothly. As a researcher this is why I felt it absolutely necessary to undertake mock interviews, to ensure that the questions posed were well thought out and logical. In addition, this is why it was important for the initial Information Sheet to contain a thorough explanation of what the interview process entailed. On a personal level, I always ended correspondence whether it be via email or social media, with a reiteration that participants could contact me at any time with queries they needed settled.

Ethics

As a New Zealand born Tongan myself, there was the potential for me to impose my own personal thoughts and experiences during the data collection process. This was certainly an area of concern for the ethics committee, who queried the conflict of interest in me knowing participants even from a distance, after they had assessed my study to be low risk. Within research that is fundamentally based on the notions of tauhi va and talanoa, as with Tongan research, the idea of a conflict of interest (of the kind raised by the ethics committee) is foreign. According to Havea, Alefaio-Tugia and Hodgetts (2023), "from a Eurocentric perspective", involvement from insider researchers "might be classified as a conflict of interest or bias. From a Tongan perspective it means that the seeds of connectedness and the tauhi va are already in place to be cultivated further and brought to the fore through our cooperative interactions" (p. 427). Thus, the mutuality in experiences and shared stories

strengthens Indigenous knowledge, as opposed to it being a problem (Vaioleti, 2006). The historically embedded Tongan concepts used in this study including tauhi va, faka'apa'apa (respect), anga lelei (tolerant, generous, kind, helpful), and mateuteu (well prepared, professional) all add a unique richness to the research. They paint the study with a beneficially positive light for the demographic that is New Zealand born Tongans. For this group, their experiences of dual culture are finally being platformed amidst an exploration of how they are negotiating tauhi va. Conducting this research is undeniably advantageous not only to such cohorts, but in adding value to the wider conversation about the phenomenon that is dual culture.

Chapter 4 – Tauhi va, it just is

Introduction

There is an ambience to the art of weaving that is particularly potent within Pasifika spheres; Tongan culture is no exception. When wandering through villages like Ha'ateiho, Sopo and Veitongo, celebrations or big events are forecasted by the image of women sitting around piles of flax or kakala (flower), ready to create. Whether the end goal is a new piece of ngatu (fine mat), a garland, or a basket to commemorate the upcoming event, weaving not only conveys the artisan's dexterity, but symbolises the very essence of Tongan culture as a collective force, woven together by traditionally and historically valuable threads.

The following chapter will mimic the art of weaving. It is my intention that every newly introduced idea in this chapter is looked at as an individual strand and, once woven together, all point to the larger notion of tauhi va as an already existing thing of life.

The different strands by which this chapter is comprised include Queen Salote's pronouncement of tauhi va as one of the four golden pillars of Tongan culture; discussion on the Kingdom of Tonga's role as an oral culture; how Tonga's oral history has established tauhi va as a norm within anga fakatonga (the Tongan way); and finally, a presentation of participant experiences, particularly their origin stories with tauhi va.

Queen Salote

In the introductory chapter of this thesis, I discussed the faa'i kavei koula, directly translated as the four golden pillars upon which Tongan culture rests. Although these principles had long been an important part of Tongan culture, the faa'i kavei koula were introduced to the world as a set by Queen Salote Tupou III during her speech to inaugurate the Tonga Culture and Heritage Society in 1964 (Gucake, 2020). This is widely recognised as an important moment in the consolidation of Tongan cultural values.

The decade between 1950 and 1960 was described as the Information Age for the South Pacific Islands because of a collective desire by governments to seek new knowledge from the West (Ward, 2005). This took shape through significant funding by governments of

initiatives, programs, and reports to advance their societies in areas such as education, technology, economy, commercial agriculture, and more (Ward, 2005). In 1948 for example, the formation of the South Pacific Commission signalled to the world that countries in the Pacific were not only getting serious about economic and social development but that it was being done in a collaborative effort (Ward, 2005). The introduction to new waves of knowledge put into question how far governments would be willing to receive expertise from the outside world, while faithfully conserving traditional knowledge and practices. For the Kingdom of Tonga, Queen Salote Tupou III was keenly aware that her country would ultimately benefit from external knowledge. She was also aware, however, that greater engagement with the world also carried certain risks. As such, she deemed it essential that as a leader, she solidified what it meant to exist as a Tongan.

During Queen Salote's reign from 1918 to 1965, there was what Latukefu (1967) described as a "peaceful, gradual and closely controlled development" in various areas (p. 159). In terms of the impetus of such development, coming as it did from Queen Salote, it is important to note that terms like 'power' and 'hierarchy' carry different definitions for the Tongan culture when compared to cultures in the West (James, 1992). As Tonga functions within a hierarchical system where the royal family is highly revered by most Tongans, it is common practise for citizens of Tonga to honour the Royal Family by displaying faka'apa'apa (respect) on an overt level. Thus, with Queen Salote presiding as the Sovereign over Tonga, combined with her well-developed leadership skills, many Tongan people proudly pledged their loyalty to their Queen amidst the plans for social development (Latukefu, 1967).

Parallel to the shifts of the South Pacific following World War II, Queen Salote wrestled with how to properly preserve Tonga's cultural identity amidst the myriad changes and challenges facing small states in the Pacific (Crozier, 1966). As a younger woman, Queen Salote had seen the impacts of the great depression on Aotearoa New Zealand and other Western countries alike (Crozier, 1966). For Aotearoa specifically, its citizens were enduring what has now been coined as 'the sugarbag years'. The nation was hit by unprecedented low economic growth and an unemployment rate of over forty percent for male workers between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five (Temin, 2010; Macrae and Sinclair, 1975). Knowing that not even comparatively advanced and prosperous nations were immune to the pressures of modernisation, Queen Salote recognised the need to embrace change whilst preserving that which made Tonga unique. Crozier (1966) notes that "she appreciated the values of

interdependence, of economic and social cooperation, of sharing, which were expressed through kinship in Tonga" and that it was this that ultimately "led her to place new emphasis on the preservation of Tongan custom, on Tongan tradition and on Tongan genealogies, which cemented the bonds of kinship" (p. 402).

The wider geo-political context of rapid change coupled with the loss of several close members of her family led Queen Salote to the conclusion that traditional Tongan knowledge and culture were at risk and needed to be formally preserved (Crozier, 1966). This programme for change would provide her people with the solid cultural basis from which to navigate a changing world. Thus, she took it upon herself to assemble the oral histories of the great Kingdom and synthesize them through writing. According to Crozier (1966), this is why Queen Salote sought out anthropologists and archaeologists to conduct research on her land and people. In addition, she stressed the practical manifestation of customs such as wearing ta'ovala (fine mats) when appropriate, which she wore to each formal event. Her unmatched knowledge and deep understanding of Tongan customs eventually resulted in her official pronouncement of the faa'i kavei koula in 1964, just a year before her passing. Effectively, she was enabling her people to enter the uncertainties of the modern world. Though there had already been invitations issued by Western countries like Aotearoa New Zealand for members of the Kingdom to migrate, it is undeniable that at the time, the citizens of Tonga never anticipated just how many would move. Queen Salote's directives to preserve Tongan culture suggest that she may have anticipated change on a vast scale.

Amongst the uncertainty that comes with change, the sovereign brought a new sense of potency to the cultural pillars which told the Tongan people bound for new horizons that these are the things that make us Tongan and are thus, worth holding onto. Essentially, she was enshrining fundamental Tongan values at a time of great change.

In the thesis introduction, I presented my Mum's initial sentiments regarding the land of milk and honey. Evidently, Queen Salote's convictions paralleled my Mum's. Those convictions enabled her to realise that in order for her people to thrive in places like Aotearoa New Zealand, Indigenous thought in the form of the faa'i kavei koula was necessary. The faa'i kavei koula would provide Tongans living in Aotearoa with a stable platform for their thought, that they could apply in those changing contexts and circumstances. The articulation of tauhi va by the highest person at the head of the Tongan hierarchy bears immense

significance. If anyone else had tried to pronounce the faa'i kavei koula, it would not hold nearly as much weight or meaning, and would arguably not exist in the foundational way it does now. To this day, many Tongans all over the world have embraced the four golden pillars, using them as palpable mechanisms for upholding the rich histories that our ancestors envisaged all those years ago.

Queen Salote's pronouncement of tauhi va as one of the four golden pillars allowed Tongan thought to exist as more than just a fragment of oral history or a rudimentary norm. It carries the solidity required to prosper in diasporic settings like Aotearoa New Zealand.

Oral Culture

From being a performative concept passed orally through generations, and that Tongans have exercised as means of cultural existence, to its solidification through discourse by the figure at the top of the Kingdom's hierarchy, tauhi va has taken quite a journey. In order to understand its relevance to cohorts including New Zealand born Tongans, an appreciation of how tauhi va has moved orally through Tongan culture is necessary, such that it has become a cultural feature that 'just is'.

The Kingdom of Tonga's history is largely chronicled through oral means whereby hundreds of years of rich history going back to the arrival of our ancestors has been passed on by word of mouth, from generation to generation (Bornat, 2006). In this way, oral history "draws on memory and testimony to gain a more complete or different understanding of a past, experienced both individually and collectively" (Bornat, 2006, p. 261).

Tonga is just one of many Indigenous cultures whose long-standing history rests on oral mechanisms. The status of such has produced its own issues, with histories being misrepresented, if not manipulated, by Western powers. In speaking on the grievous situation of the Indigenous people of Canada who have found that accurate portrayals of their history seldom appear in literature, Cruikshank (1994) observes that:

> There are certainly concerns "around who gets to frame and to tell the story – whose voices are prominent in these discussions and whose are marginalized. Increasingly, Indigenous people are demanding that their oral traditions be taken seriously as

> legitimate perspectives on issue. The issue, for them, centres on who controls the images and representations of their lives portrayed to the larger world. (p. 403)

The recognition of oral testimony as a sound form of historical archive is a growing phenomenon that has been largely endorsed by the social sciences. This push has mirrored the contemporary need to decolonise history (Mercer, 1979). In addition, the insistence by rigid Western research frameworks to translate and interpret oral history has inevitably left room for distortions of Indigenous discourse (Mercer, 1979). The decolonisation of history supports a foregrounding of oral testimony by Indigenous groups, whereby their perceptions of historical truth are given explicit limelight. This is paramount because as Mercer (1979) contends, the ways that people perceive the world "are very largely determined by social and cultural backgrounds", meaning that one culture's conception of something could be polar opposite to another for reasons no more profound than background (p. 139). In his words, "it is not just a matter of reaching different conclusions about the world from the 'same' evidence; the very evidence which was given to them as members of different cultures may be different" (Mercer, 1979, p. 139).

The intriguing nature about oral histories comes from the fact that the "successive personal messages revealed to listeners in repeated tellings" seems to be more substantial than the analysis and public interpretations of such histories, as evidenced in the ongoing functionality of Indigenous communities (Cruikshank, 1994). By the same token, the intergenerational transmission of foundational notions has countered modern-day issues of conflict and disagreement between groups within the communities (Cruikshank, 1994). Oral traditions are used as a compass for Indigenous cultures that not only indicate what has previously materialised but that sets out how their members might navigate the present. Cruikshank (1994) notes that:

> Orally narrated accounts about the past explicitly embrace subjective experience. Once considered a limitation, this is now recognized as one of oral history's primary strengths: facts enmeshed in the stories of a lifetime provide a number of insights about how an understanding of the past is constructed, processed, and integrated into one's life. (p. 408)

Western historiography is plagued with biases and inaccuracies which makes it open to contestation and debate (Young, 2014). Thus, though some present-day historians may still be sceptical of oral history's validity and relevance to contemporary society, as Cruikshank (1994) writes, "while the details, participants, and symbols in an oral account may change, its purpose, like that of written history, is to allow people to interpret the past and present in new ways" (p. 410). Essentially, when oral traditions and customs such as tauhi va are put in practice, they become a practical, fundamental manifestation of such customs, as opposed to formalised objectives that merely sit in history books.

Though Queen Salote Tupou III has been acclaimed for setting tauhi va in stone, and rightfully so, its wave of orally transmitted history and performance has elevated it to take shape as a behavioural norm; a norm still permeating through the lives of Tongans all over the world, including those of New Zealand born Tongans.

Norms

In the context of oral cultures, behavioural norms help embed normative frameworks like tauhi va within everyday life.

> Today's challenge must be shouldered proudly because it is no less than the sacred heritage passed on by generations of ancestors who sacrificed and died to preserve the notion of their being (Mohawk Taialake Alfred in Mikaere, 2004, p. 9).

As Mohawk Taialake Alfred (2004) declares, responsibility for perpetuating these oral histories and for paying homage to their historical accounts and chronicles rests on Indigenous groups. They do so by putting those histories into meaningful practice. One way to do this, that Indigenous cultures have already adopted, is to perform them as normative behavioural traits that exist from day to day, or in abbreviation, norms.

Axelrod (1986) defines a norm as existing "in a given social setting" where "individuals usually act in a certain way and are often punished when seen not to be acting in this way" (p. 1097). Norms are immense driving forces, permeating key areas such as the political and social scene, with the ability to establish conventions in a way that regulates conflict, stabilises society, and creates a sense of consistency and predictability for individuals and

groups (Axelrod 1986; Burger, 1977). Furthermore, Axelrod (1986) stresses the psychological fulfilment that comes from participating in norms. Norms work because they can meet personal needs for membership of something beyond the lone individual. For Indigenous cultures like Tongan culture that are founded on collectivist principles, the transition of actions into norms, for those actions to be seen as "socially appropriate", involves a large degree of performance by its people (Cialdini, 1984 in Axelrod, 1986, p. 1105).

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, Mikaere (2004) speaks on how tikanga (customary system of values appropriate to Māori culture) has taken on a normative role for Māori people. As a result of iwi histories being passed on orally between generations, tikanga has taken on the aura of something that is intrinsic to iwi life. Mikaere (2004) regards "tikanga as the first law of Aotearoa" because "it arrived here with [their] ancestors and it operated effectively to serve their needs for a thousand years before Pakeha came" (p. 12). Despite tikanga being deemed immaterial by "coloniser's law", it is still an indispensable part of te ao Māori that is adhered to in a way that is inherent to collective life (Mikaere, 2004, p. 13). Mikaere (2004) observes that healing from the damage of colonisation, for Māori, is found in tikanga. This is because, though the practices of tikanga may adapt over time, its underlying principles of "whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha, mana, tapu, noa, wairua and utu" remain pillars by which collective life is woven (Mikaere, 2004, p. 12). In support of this point, Warne (2021) argues that tikanga's role in the establishment of normative structures is that "tikanga are tools of thought and understanding" that "help differentiate between right and wrong." In the same way tikanga takes on a normative role for Maori, tauhi va exists and is alive within Tongan communities, ingrained in their everyday functionality.

Queen Salote's assertion of tauhi va as a central pillar for Tongan culture, coupled with Tonga's history as an oral culture, in addition to the normative character of tauhi va, weave tauhi va into a concept that exists because as, the chapter title suggests, it 'just is'. These threads and notions are all supported in participant experiences. In terms of New Zealand born Tongans, the question remains of how does this cohort perform tauhi va as a normative framework in the context of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand society? The next portion of this chapter focuses on the legacy of these deeply remarkable historical moments.

Participant experiences of tauhi va

The insights presented by writers thus far, point to tauhi va being a norm passed on from generation to generation among Tongan communities and groups. This notion is supported by participants' experiences regarding their first discoveries of tauhi va. It becomes evident for these participants that the performance of such a concept had become second nature to them; second nature to such an extent that their realisation of tauhi va as 'a thing', came much later in life. The relative lateness of this realisation has occurred despite them exercising tauhi va their whole childhood.

When I ask participants to pinpoint a time they first became aware of tauhi va, their responses are all similar.

> So in my first year [at Uni] I did a Pasi101 paper. It was just one of those things where I remember sitting in class, and they're teaching me about tauhi va. And I was like, wait, hold on. You guys are telling me what I've done my whole life? Without even consciously knowing I was doing it. It just had a proper title now. It was weird for my lecturer to talk to me about my culture. Like, the fact that it had an actual name to it. (Pola)

> To be honest, it was just always there? I don't remember my parents teaching me tauhi va like the alphabet. But just always knew what to do because of their example. (Tina)

> In terms of tauhi va being a proper concept? Like having a word to describe it? Probably not until I was a lot older, but in terms of practicing tauhi va, I think it's something we were always raised with. Like when we were little, the main one was tauhi va between brothers and sisters. I don't know a specific point, but I know in my childhood I was always doing it. It was good though, to have a word for things that are just natural to you growing up. Having a term to describe it just made it more significant I guess. (Ana)

> I honestly can't pinpoint a time. It was just always there I feel like. There was no day or event to be honest. And my parents never sat me down and were like – this is tauhi va. It was more they taught us how to conduct ourselves and in that, was tauhi va. (Losa)

> It's funny because, even though it was all around me, I don't think I put a finger on it until I was in high-school. Thinking things like, 'oh – this is why people show up when we need them. (Melelose).

In putting a name to it, I felt it important to ask for their personal definitions of what tauhi va meant to them. Fundamentally, they all align.

> It's maintaining relationships. But it's like – beyond the transactional. So for me, it is being there and looking after the person, in what they need. Underpinning tauhi va is 'ofa (love). That's the root of why we do things. So for me it's like, I'm looking after you in this season because you need it and I have abundance. (Melelose)

> It's like, looking after… relationships. The relationships you have with other people. (Ana)

> My understanding of tauhi va is being able to keep a relationship. As in, a respectful relationship between you and someone else. (Losa)

> For me, it's maintaining relationships. Upholding relationships to a high regard. And it's not just specific people. We use it all the time. As Islanders we're like, 'treat the cleaner the same way you would treat the CEO'. It really is true when you're Tongan. It doesn't matter who you are or what you're doing. I see love right across the board when it comes to tauhi va. (Pola)

> Keeping relationships. It's funny because I teach the kids all about this stuff but when I sit back I'm like, wait, what does it actually mean? Is there an actual definition of it? (Tina)

Following Tina's response, we end up laughing because of the fact that when a concept is so innate to the way you behave and are constantly performing it subconsciously, the task of defining or describing it in words is complex.

In the first phase of the interviews, a theme that came through from participants was the influence of their parents. This relationship ultimately dictated the participants' first

interactions with anga fakatonga (the Tongan way) and in extension, tauhi va. This did not necessarily come as a surprise given that the *kainga* (family) structure is at the heart of Tongan culture, and traditionally, the hierarchy that exists within *kainga* in individual households is headed by the parents (Havea, Alefaio-Tugia, Hodgetts, 2021).

In pondering her childhood growing up in Taita, Melelose describes herself as a daughter of the community. Within her household, as a child to a single Tongan-born Mother, she describes Tonganness as being strongly enforced, so much so that her first language was leafakatonga.

> I make jokes about being a daughter of the community and what that means, but actually – it really was like that because we were raised by our community and so I'm also obligated to then return and give back in the same way. (Melelose)

> I don't think I spoke English until I started school. But even then, we weren't allowed to speak English at home because our nana didn't understand it. I guess that's the same for most first-generation New Zealand born Tongans. (Melelose)

In wanting to unpack what it was like to grow up experiencing dual culture, she responds with:

> I didn't know that there was another way of living. It really set me up for life. Knowing how to be Tongan. (Melelose)

When I ask Melelose whether she could put her finger on a time she realised she was a Tongan navigating a non-Tongan society, her response is:

> I think none of that really registered until Intermediate. Where I was from, 80% to 90% were Māori and from the Pacific. So we were encouraged to be ourselves. But then in Intermediate it wasn't to the same degree because suddenly we were with palangi kids. And then I thought to myself – hang on, something's not quite right. It didn't sit well for me. They're only doing things for Pacific people. They've got these special classes like Poly practice and Kapa Haka… why are they doing these things separate from everyone? Why isn't everyone doing it? (Melelose)

The tension of existing as a Tongan within a non-Tongan society started early for Melelose, and this tension rested on her realisation that despite the influence of her household upon how she developed as a person, Tongan culture had only minor influence in wider society. This is evidenced in her questioning the fact that things like Kapa Haka and Poly practice were held almost in isolation from Palangi society, and not everyone had to participate.

Melelose experienced a condition of endless negotiation between the two cultures in which she grew up. This manifested in her desire to, in her words, 'push boundaries and try new things.' She describes herself as a rebel and when asked what the context of this was, she responds with:

> Growing up there were just all these things I had to do [to be Tongan]. And like, I'll do it, but I need to know why I'm doing it. And for me it was like, well you haven't told me why. And also why I can't go out clubbing with my friends or to the movies or to sleepovers, so since you're not being transparent with me, I'm going to try it. These are the talks I always had with my Mum and Aunties. (Melelose)

> There wasn't a common language between us because, they're speaking as Tongans who have come from Tonga. I'm speaking as a Tongan, born and raised here by Tongans that came from Tonga, who have had to adapt to this new life. (Melelose, Interview)

For Pola, who was born in Auckland, her childhood looked quite different as she was the daughter of a faifekau (church minister). This meant that every four years, her family would have to move to lead a different church community in a new city. She spent much of her childhood in Auckland but moved to Nelson and then to Christchurch and has now settled again in Auckland as an adult.

When I ask Pola what she remembers about her childhood and specifically the parental influence in her household, she responds with:

> I just remember us being really busy serving. Serving our community a lot. It was chaotic all the time. Because that was Dad's job, it ultimately became all of our jobs. So we had to grow up quick. Based on the fact that we were always moving, in terms

> of having to start again, you know, new schools, new jobs for Mum and Dad, new sense of community – we were quite used to having to adapt to things quite quickly. (Pola)

When asked whether there was ever a point in her childhood where she realized she was a Tongan living in a non-Tongan society, Pola says:

> I think it was when I moved to the South Island. To Nelson and Christchurch. When I look back, I'm like 'those cities are not diverse'. We were always the minority there, especially through primary and intermediate. Being Tongan, or even Pacific, was not a thing back then. It wasn't until I moved back to Auckland where I would drive on the motorway and see the Palm trees, or the hibiscus flowers in people's gardens. Even Pacific art, which obviously some people call 'tagging'. Yeah, the stints in the South I struggled just because nobody looked like me or my siblings. (Pola)

Struggling with identity and navigating two spheres are clearly things Pola battled with early in her childhood. This speaks to the notion of familiarity and how once removed from that, she felt isolated because nobody looked like her. Contrastingly, when she was in Auckland, she felt grounded not only because of the church community of which her parents were members but because, in the wider community, she shared similarity with its residents.

Tina was born in Auckland, raised there and resides there currently. As a married Mother of four kids to a Tongan-born husband, she draws connections between her own childhood and her children's experience of being New Zealand born Tongans.

> Looking at my own kids now, things have changed a lot. I mean we used to be out all morning and night. It was all about community then. There was an unspoken trust. But because my parents knew so and so from church, they just trusted that I was alright if that makes sense. (Tina)

For Tina's parents, their relationships with fellow Tongan families, as created within a church setting, reflected village life in the Kingdom of Tonga. Much like my Mum's description of Ha'ateiho where everyone felt like kin despite being biologically unrelated, Tina experienced strong ties within her community in South Auckland.

When I ask her to pinpoint a time in her childhood when she realises she was a Tongan living in a non-Tongan society, she responds with:

> It's interesting because for me, I always knew I was Tongan first and foremost and was proud of that. It wasn't something I had to hide because I was always talking the language, in the church, around people who were proud to be Tongan so it just stuck. Our parents kept that culture going from a young age – you know, learning Tongan, learning the customs, church singing and all of that. (Tina)

Tina's experience of not having to negotiate existence as a Tongan in a non-Tongan society, because of how embedded she was in her culture though in a New Zealand context, is something I never anticipated as a researcher.

When I repeat the question and ask whether there was ever a time growing up where she felt isolated as a member of a minority community, Tina reiterates that it was never a real battle for her because she just loved being Tongan. The key mechanisms that allow her to exist as such include the Tongan values upheld by her parents and community; her peer group whom she met at church and who also held to the same values and culture; and of being constantly surrounded by Tongan norms that, despite being in a diasporic place, secured her identity in the fact that she was above all else, Tongan. Her experience suggests that for some Tongan migrant families, the preservation of Tongan culture a straightforward and effortless when immersed in cooperative spaces.

For two of the participants, Ana and Losa, their parents foresaw the opportunities that Aotearoa presented and, thus, were exposed to extracurricular activities as a way of assimilating into New Zealand culture.

Ana grew up in Tawa and when asked to describe her childhood, specifically her parents' influence, she responds with:

> The first thing that comes to mind is, it was privileged. But not in the sense that we had heaps of money or were really well off. I think the way we were raised, we were just given a lot of opportunities growing up, like doing extracurricular activities and stuff. So I say privilege in the sense that our parents exposed us to a lot when we were

> younger. Kiwi stuff like tap dancing, jazz, girls brigade, swimming lessons. That sort of thing which I know other Tongans didn't really get. (Ana)

Though her parents were very much engrained in their Tongan roots and enforced their values strongly within the household, Ana's additional exposure to 'kiwi stuff' and an immersion in New Zealand culture made her unaware of the fact that she was a Tongan living in a non-Tongan society.

> I honestly didn't really notice a difference until I was at Uni. I mean like growing up in Tawa, there were a lot of palangis, and at college, it was like a predominantly white school. But it wasn't until I went to Uni and started hanging out with more Pasifika people that I noticed the difference and started internalizing a lot of the stereotypes. As in the difference between brown and white people. I mean, I'm sure in college there were moments where I felt it, but in terms of remembering a clear divide, it wasn't until Uni. Things like walking into a lecture theatre and people automatically assuming you're the dumbest person in the room. I just took on those perceptions. (Ana)

Similarly, Losa recalls growing up and feeling rich in both cultures as a New Zealand born Tongan. This was because her parents were embedded in the Tongan community which automatically meant she was, but that she was also allowed the freedom to partake in 'kiwi' things that other girls her age did.

> I had a good childhood. My parents put my siblings and I through a lot of extracurricular activities. I remember it being full on, but realty fun. (Losa)

When I question whether there was ever a time she realised she was Tongan living in a non-Tongan society, she responds with:

> I'm not sure that this is a good example but at primary school, it was just our cultural values and stuff? Even though I was in extracurricular activities with others, there were also things I wasn't allowed to do as a kid or because I was a girl. They were just overprotective and cautious, to the point where I wasn't allowed to go to sleepovers or birthday parties and stuff. And I'd be like, how come I can't hang out

> with them? But all my other friends can? And the worst part was at tap dance classes or whatever, they'd talk about what they did. (Losa)

The interesting notion here is that Ana and Losa experienced a similar childhood in that they were immersed in both cultural camps. However, the realisation that they were Tongan within a non-Tongan society came at different points for each. For Ana, the internalization of stereotypes that her fellow peers at University had taken on forced her to do the same because she was surrounded by them. For Losa, there was a limitation on what she could have done because of the traditions and customs enforced within her household by her Tongan-born parents.

With the experience of dual culture, a tangible subset is identity in certain spaces; spaces that, based on their circumstances, evoke a greater inclination to adhere to one culture over the other.

When I ask Ana about the spaces in which she feels most Tongan, she responds with:

> In family, church and community spaces. I guess it's just being around people that look the same as me. And hold the same values. Like knowing you have the same understanding of the cultural nuances. Like, background and perspectives on things are a given. (Ana)

In wanting to gauge the opposite perspective, I ask whether there are spaces where she feels more drawn to a New Zealand identity. This leads Ana to speak about her religion and how it is very much engrained in her identity as a Tongan because church was a fundamental space for her growing up (and still is). When I ask whether there are any spaces she feels more drawn to a New Zealand identity currently, she responds with:

> I guess work. Just being around people that, well, don't have the same religion or identity as me. I'm not like, completely free to be myself. (Ana)

When I pose the question to Losa about the spaces in which she feels most Tongan, her response is:

> This might sound so weird and crazy. But I feel most Tongan in non-Tongan environments. I think it's because I feel low-key 'plastic' when I'm surrounded by Tongans who can speak the language fluently. I mean, I have a good knowledge of the culture and stuff. But I haven't reached that level that some Tongans have. So I feel plastic. It's interesting because when I'm in an environment where I'm the only Tongan, I can provide insight into my culture, which is where I feel most Tongan. (Losa)

When I ask whether she feels more drawn to kiwi culture in certain spaces, Losa's response is:

> I feel like our parents have embedded the Tongan culture and values into every space I go to, so regardless of whether I feel more Tongan or less, I'm Tongan in all spaces. It's kind of hard for me to differentiate when I'm kiwi or Tongan because I firstly identify as a Tongan living in New Zealand. (Losa)

Similarly, Melelose experiences the same notion of feeling 'plastic' and in her words, fie palangi (wannabe-Pakeha) when the topic of spaces in which you feel most Tongan was brought up. Her response is:

> For a long time I was too fie palangi to be Tongan. As rich as my childhood was in being immersed in Tongan culture, there were still lots of gaps in my understanding. I asked questions like, 'okay why are we doing this? Because yes I know we do it… but why? I want to be able to tell my kids why. Why we do the things we do. What's the purpose? Like what was the intention in first doing it? I come to work and I'm Tongan. I bring all of me to work. But in the community or in family life, I know people still look at me and think 'you're not Tongan enough'. And even though nobody's said it, I feel it. (Melelose)

Losa and Melelose associate their sense of Tonganness with a fluency in the language and a vast knowledge of the traditions and customs. There is an irony here, particularly pertinent with the notion of identity within the diaspora, where there is an insecurity which stems from being born outside the land. Melelose's inquisitiveness and push within the household is encompassing of the New Zealand born experience—where boundaries are pushed; arguably

a trait associated with the land with which we were birthed. These themes will be explored further in Chapter 6.

Melelose mentions the irony in her experience as a New Zealand born Tongan when compared to her Tongan born first-cousins who migrated to Aotearoa much later. In the Kingdom, her cousins spoke of being encouraged to learn and speak English. To Melelose, this shows that:

> Somewhere along the way, the reason for why we moved here in the first place is lost. (Melelose)

Melelose also notes a further irony that there are overt ways she displays the Tongan culture but she is not necessarily convinced that this is the most definitive manifestation of what it means to be Tongan.

> I'd like to think I'm Tongan everywhere I go but it's hard because I know that there are different perceptions of who I am. For me, I feel Tongan in all spaces. Because regardless of what I'm doing, the values I carry are the things that make me Tongan. Because to be Tongan, is to be a good person. And to hold onto those core values. (Melelose)

Melelose acknowledges the endless negotiation of her two cultures in which she engaged, growing up. She described herself as a "rebel" and when asked what the context of this was, she responded with:

> Growing up there was just all these things I had to do [to be Tongan]. And I'll do it, but I need to know why. And it's like simple things like going to the movies or sleepovers that my Mum and Aunties would say no to because we had all this other 'Tongan' stuff to do. (Melelose)

> There wasn't a common language between us because, they were speaking as Tongans who have come from Tonga. And I'm speaking as a Tongan, born and raised by Tongans, but was born in this new place – I had to adapt to this new life. (Melelose)

In discussing her struggles with the practice of her Aunties and Mum to not inform her of every detail about their decision making, a formidable moment Melelose recalls was her Aunty standing up in church and proclaiming, 'how can we expect the next generation to carry on [the culture] if we're not going to give them chances to make their own decisions?' That same Aunty played an important part in Melelose's life – a big reason for this was because from her, Melelose felt supported in both worlds.

> She was Tongan born but it's funny because she wanted to be part of this system [in New Zealand]. She'd been working here for a long time and in that process, came to understand that I need to be proud of my culture as a Tongan, but still pursue the 'other side'. As a Tongan born in Tonga, it's amazing that she could see that. Like I said before, how to be Tongan is actually how to be a good person. And I guess my questions just had me thinking 'well… that's for Tonga. For the people in Tonga. But we are here in New Zealand now and we live in a society that doesn't care about that. (Melelose)

Pola is very decisive about the spaces she feels most Tongan.

> Definitely at home. Second place would be the church because Dad's always been the leader. We were kind of automatically granted positions because of this. I just carry myself a lot as a Tongan now because I appreciate all of the things that make me Tongan. I do the same in the workplace. Like every day I don't walk in trying to be a blonde girl with blue eyes. But on my first day of walking in, I remember feeling crap and going home knowing everyone was rooting for me. And I just wanted to tell them how disappointed I was that no one had a name like mine, and no one looked like me, and how alienated I felt. So if anything, I felt more motivated to show my Tongan side. (Pola)

When I ask whether there were any spaces she feels particularly drawn to being a New Zealander over a Tongan she responds with:

> I would only use that if I was really defensive about something. Like I went somewhere and someone assumes that because I'm brown I'm straight from the islands. I'm happy to be like 'actually no, I was born here. I have a right. I deserve to

> be here as much as you do. So that kind of situation is where I would emphasize being New Zealand born. So if I'm in a space where I feel really awkward or someone's made me feel uncomfortable about having a sense of belonging here, that's the only time I'd ever push the born in New Zealand part. (Pola)

When the question is posed to Tina about the spaces she feels most Tongan, her response is:

> It would definitely be church just because of the traditions and customs. Like everywhere you go at church, when you're walking past people, still have to say tulou (excuse me). But to be honest, even outside of church, it's just weird if you don't apply it. (Tina)

Here, Tina is referring to the custom 'tulou' which is a form of etiquette that respects another individual's personal space and boundaries (Massey Univeristy, n.d.). It is deemed disrespectful to walk past someone, especially if they're Tongan and not say tulou.

> To be honest, I feel Tongan in all spaces. I'd feel weird if I was like, at some function at work or at one of my kids sports games and I didn't follow the Tongan values. (Tina, Interview)

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate the notion that tauhi va, just is. Important context was provided to introduce the chapter with a close analysis on the significance of Queen Salote's pronouncement of tauhi va, the functionality of Tonga as an oral culture, and the position that tauhi va occupies within 'Tonganness' today. These discussions were all supported by participant experiences whereby tauhi va was almost 'second nature' to them, so much so that the realisation of 'tauhi va' as an actual thing only became known to them later on in life. Other areas that were discussed were the parental influence that dictated the experience of tauhi va, the tensions associated with being Tongan within a non-Tongan society, and the dual spaces where participants feel tension between adhering to anga fakatonga, and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter 5 – Tauhi va, it changes

Introduction

> No one has a pure worldview that is 100 percent Indigenous or Eurocentric; rather, everyone has an integrated mind, a fluxing and ambidextrous consciousness, a recolonised consciousness that flows into a colonized consciousness and back again (Little Bear, 2000, in Battiste, 2000, p. 85).

As Professor Little Bear contends, for Indigenous peoples the negotiation of dual culture requires the integration of two spheres. This phenomenon is no new footing for the Indigenous, associated with colonisation. As a result of colonisation, Indigenous communities find themselves inhabiting a "fragmentary worldview" at the same time as, paradoxically, they seek to function as Indigenous (Little Bear, 2000, in Battiste, 2000, p. 82). "Their consciousness", he continues, becomes a "random puzzle, a jigsaw puzzle, that each person has to attempt to understand" (Little Bear, 2000, in Battiste, 2000, p. 84). The following chapter unjumbles the puzzle that New Zealand born Tongans face amidst conditions of dual culture, specifically through their navigation and application of tauhi va. Just like the title of this chapter indicates, tauhi va carries mechanisms that have allowed it to adapt to changing circumstances. This chapter analyses how Indigenous knowledge is now having to adapt in conjunction to life in new lands, as well as observations from participants about how they see tauhi va changing in the process.

Learning to adapt

An ongoing theme throughout this thesis has been the play of Indigenous knowledge against and within pillars of Eurocentric thought. The following section of this chapter will draw upon parallels made by Tuhiwai Smith, Maxwell, Puke and Temara's (2016) between Matauranga Māori and tauhi va in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In an equivalent way to tauhi va, Tuhiwai Smith et. al (2016) present Mātauranga Māori as a way of learning that adapts to dynamic factors. The authors present Mātauranga Māori as a knowledge system that is not outdated or ancient but rather one that has developed a

significant density of analytical insight. This density has developed as a consequence of both historical and contemporary applications. With these robust impulses, Tuhiwai Smith et. al (2016) note, there exists an entire "seascape, landscape, and mindscape that has formed and constituted legacies of language, the storying of people and the understandings of human endeavour and survival" (Tuhiwai Smith et. al, 2016, p. 134). Aligning directly with notions presented by Hau'ofa (1994), Mātauranga Māori has been passed from generation to generation through "songs, visions, prophesies and teachings"; all of which have been deemed illegitimate by Western methodological criteria (Tuhiwai Smith et. al, 2016, p. 137).Tuhiwai Smith et. al (2016) compel readers to ponder the irony in academia's general disregard for Indigenous knowledge when the devices of the knowledge have ensured the survival of Indigenous communities amidst life threatening situations. There is real danger in relegating Indigenous knowledge as ideas and notions that once worked but are not functionable or feasible for use in modern-day society (Tuhiwai Smith et. al, 2016). The authors ask:

> Why would Indigenous peoples not adapt what they knew to the traumatic impact of colonisation when their histories are filled with lessons learned from cataclysmic events that helped form who they are, where they have come from and what teachings they have for the future?
> (Tuhiwai Smith et. al, 2016, p. 145).

Andersson (2008) echoes these ironic notions presented by Tuhiwai Smith et. al (2016), but with the concept of resilience. This is a condition that has proven to be intrinsic to Indigenous cultures but which Western counterparts deem has resulted primarily from gloom-ridden historical moments. Although the general focus within academia has been to dissect the resilience found in individuals after dealing with adversity, researchers have determined that there should also be a focal point on the cultural factors that have allowed for such triumphs (Liebenberg, Wall, Wood & Hutt-MacLeod, 2019). Andersson (2008) contends that it is more complex than a case-by-case framework, because "most Indigenous views of resilience go beyond the individual and negative tone implicit in the capability of Indigenous to cope and flourish successfully in the face of significant adversity or risk" (p. 3). Though adversity is certainly a factor in resilience, it is also the consolidated agents of "spirituality, family strength, Elders, ceremonial rituals, oral traditions, identity, and support networks" that give rise to resilience (Andersson, 2008, p. 4). This not only provides a more holistic, well-

rounded image of Indigenous knowledge, but exhibits its uniquely positive ingredients. Thus, Andersson (2008) renders the Western world's "survival in the face of adversity" notion about Indigenous knowledge as somewhat misleading because it, in his words, "seems to hinge on a relationship with failure" (p. 4).

The authors discussed in this portion of Chapter 5 present Indigenous knowledge as operating within an oppositive, mainstream structure. This is the conundrum New Zealand born Tongans must also decipher in their application of tauhi va. In her discussion on co-existing within Indigenous and settler worlds, Bell (2017) suggests that instead of seeing Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge in juxtaposition, enhanced understanding comes from realising both can work compatibly. Bell (2017) observes that we ought to "consider the ways in which Māori are in fact part of who Pakeha are… to enhance the mana of one is to enhance the mana of the other, and that harm done to Māori also diminishes our/their own flourishing" (p. 21).

Similarly, Hall (1997) argues that identity is a 'production', which in his words, "is never completely, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (p. 222). This production he also refers to as a state of constant transformation, whereby Indigenous cultures acknowledge their histories and use it for continuity of their pillars, but also in a state of adaptation to changing conditions (Hall, 1997). Regarding the current post-colonial era, Hall (1997) quotes Frantz Fanon's words of it being an era infused with "passionate research… directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others" (p. 223). In terms of the adaptation of Indigenous thought to contemporary society, history continues to tell its stories, but instead of it existing in isolation as fact, it enacts itself through a fluid relation with descendants (Hall, 1997). Hall (1997) notes that "cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence, but a positioning" (p. 226). Contrary to the derivatives of Western discourse, Indigenous knowledge centres on what Hall (1997) describes as a "homeward journey"; an edified return to the original constructs of culture but modified in certain senses to adhere to present-time (p. 232). He renders this symbolic journey as "necessary for us all – and necessarily circular" (Hall, 1997, p. 232). With Afro-Carribean people as his chief example, Hall (1997) introduces a 'New World' presence which

points precisely to diaspora and the destiny of migration, travelling and voyaging – all of which are intrinsic to the experiences of Indigenous peoples. This destiny, Hall (1997) accounts, is "continually moving between centre and periphery", thus resulting in a hybridisation of culture (p. 228).

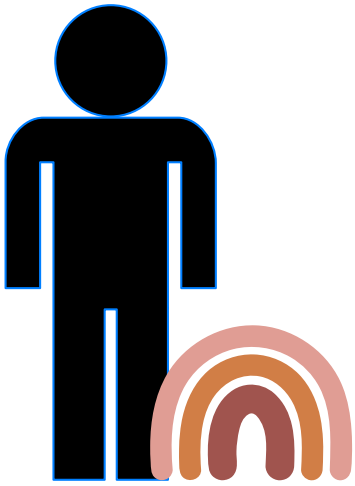
The following section of this chapter sheds light on tauhi va as a means of adaptation and the new forms it takes in the lives of the participants.

Participant experiences

The generation of New Zealand born Tongans are in a state of continuous negotiation with the 'puzzle' in which hybridisation is a reality (Little Bear, 2000, in Battiste, 2000). After discussing with the participants their first recollections of becoming aware of tauhi va, their experiences of dual culture, and of the spaces with which participants feel most Tongan and/or most 'kiwi', I felt it important to direct questioning towards the forms that tauhi va now takes. I used a simple schema to test out whether tauhi va is moving further towards 'itself' or changing in keeping with the exposure of New Zealand born Tongans to the personal autonomy privileged within Palangi culture.
Before each participant, I placed the following diagram.

A.

B.



The rainbows in both Picture A. and Picture B. represent tauhi va. As a researcher, I want to find out whether tauhi va acts as an umbrella that dictates how one should behave from day-to-day (Picture A), or whether the individual has autonomy over tauhi va and can pick and

choose when to apply it in every-day situations (Picture B). The responses from participants vary.

When I show Ana the photo, she says Picture A is most relevant to her because in her words:

> I mean tauhi va is just instinctively part of my being in terms of the way I work as a person. It's something that's just naturally always there. Something I'm aware of that I have to take into account. Like even in the workplace, I think sometimes it acts as a barrier.
> (Ana)

When I ask what she means by 'barrier', her response is:

> Like when you experience conflict with your manager or someone higher up. The performance of tauhi va means I just listen to them to respect that space, as opposed to dealing with the issue I had. (Ana)

With Tina, her answer for which picture she relates to most is straightforward. She responds with:

> Picture A. I am the way I am because of tauhi va and how I apply it. Especially when it comes to my kids. Like they know all about what's required of them. (Tina)

When I ask her to delve deeper into this, she responds with:

> I mean it's like the rainbow – it overpowers anything I myself have to say. I am Tongan and therefore must show tauhi va everywhere I go. It's not about me. (Tina)

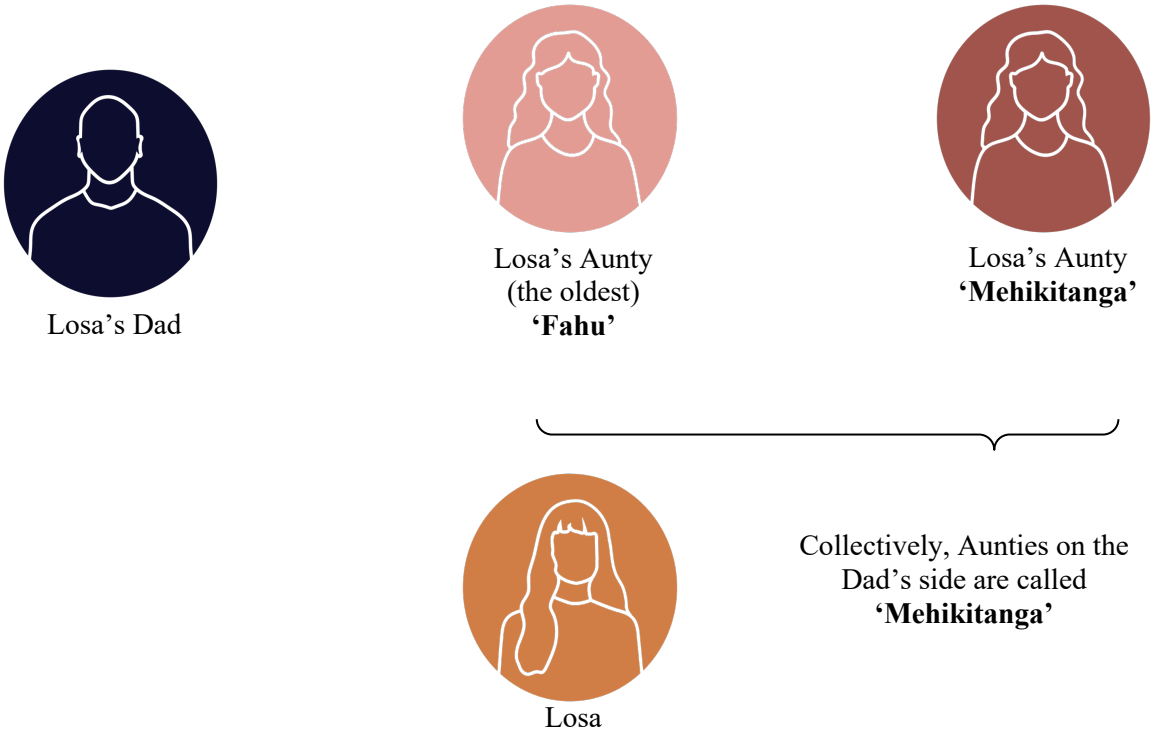
To begin, Losa also opts for Picture A. Her reasoning for this is:

> Because I feel like a lot of the things I do, stem from my values. Like the way I act is influenced by my values and my cultural upbringing. (Losa)

After discussing the implications of both Picture A and Picture B, Losa ends up ultimately changing her decision. This is because of how tauhi va takes shape in a different form here in Aotearoa New Zealand from what the traditional Tongan practices pose. In this regard, Losa is referring to the different roles within families.

Earlier in this thesis, I mentioned the faa'i kavei koula or translated as the four golden pillars that Tongan culture rests upon. These pillars, particularly tauhi va, are most visible in the roles and traditions of a familial setting. In traditional Tongan families, "there are special relationships with kainga (family) that entail responsibilities and obligations between siblings and their children" (The Tongan Working Group, 2012, p. 9). Thus, there are assigned roles based on gender and age. Tonga is a matriarchal culture where women are placed higher in social rankings to men (Scroope, 2018). The most important person in the family is known as the 'Fahu', and is a title reserved for an individual's oldest paternal aunt (Scroope, 2018). If there is more than one sister on the Father's side, collectively they are known as Mehikitanga, but the Fahu refers exclusively to the oldest (Scroope, 2014). Kaepplar (1971) contends that a good categorization of 'fahu' is to use the phrase "above the law" (p. 207). Thus, as being above the law, the fahu is given certain levels of status that her brother's families are expected to uphold. For example, in key family events such as weddings, funerals or birthday's, the fahu is given special treatment. Often times, this means receiving a special sila (envelope with money), gifts such as koloa or ngatu (fine mats), and a seat at the very centre of the event (Douaire-Marsaudon, 1996). Although the fahu and mehikitanga are the direct benefactors, the same privileged status applies to the children of the fahu or mehikitanga. So traditionally speaking, Losa would be a 'doormat' to her cousins that have come from her fahu (Scroope, 2018). This context is important because of Losa's experience with tauhi va in Aotearoa.

Fundamentally, this is her family structure but with which the same roles and ranks apply in any traditional Tongan family:



When I asked why she changed her mind from Picture A. to Picture B., Losa says:

> So with my mehikitanga and her kids, traditionally speaking, I am literally a doormat. Like you do everything for your mehikitanga and her kids. But because in New Zealand, we've all been raised together like siblings, the lines have become blurred. And we don't look at each other in the roles we are supposed to have. I mean of course, for things like weddings and birthdays, we will honour her. But in everyday life, we're all the same. So Picture B. makes more sense to me because I, I mean, our family, are choosing not to necessarily apply tauhi va in certain, every-day situations. (Losa)

Here, the shift in tauhi va when applied in Aotearoa New Zealand is that regardless of the roles that traditional Tongan families uphold, she extends tauhi va to everyone in her family and it is reciprocated in the same way. In essence, had her family been traditional in the way the fahu and mehikitanga are elevated, there would be a clear, hierarchical space between her and her mehikitanga's children. Thus, instead of treating them like siblings, she would act almost as a servant and behave in a way that constantly checks on what she can do within her

means to cater to them.

Pola, in contrast, instantly opts for Picture A because, in her words:

> I think that's based on how I was raised. For me, I was always taught that in order to be a good leader, you serve. And service for me is applying tauhi va. (Pola)

She then gave a practical example of how this would play out where if she were extremely tired from work but needed to be present at something. Because of the value she puts on tauhi va and it acting as an umbrella, she would still press on and her fulfil her duties.

> It's never an individual thing for me. We work as a team. As a collective. Our people move together. So I think based on how we were raised by Mum and Dad, it was all about serving others before ourselves. (Pola)

When I present the visual to Melelose, she asks whether she could offer up a different visual.

Instead of the power dynamics between tauhi va and the individual being clearly separated in both pictures, Melelose suggested that the individual should be the same level as tauhi va. Instead of tauhi va being depicted as a rainbow, it should be depicted as roots on which individuals stand and with which they move in conjunction.

> I would put tauhi va as my roots. It's my source of water. I don't want to say it's something that overarches. But actually something I am grounded in. And when I say source of water – water is the thing that gives people life. That gives nourishment. Hydration. All those good things. Everything that has life needs a source of water. And for me, tauhi va is what gives that. Like, it's something that I can't separate from. So here [points at tauhi va visual], it feels like tauhi va is separate. When actually, it's my roots and I'm rooted in it. I can't escape from it. It's part of who I am. (Melelose).

Thus, as Melelose contends, she views tauhi va and the individual as equal – both with autonomy of their own and in functional correspondence with each other.

In the final portion of interviews, my line of questioning centres on what forms tauhi va now takes for New Zealand born Tongans in contemporary Aotearoa. Although they all offer different answers, the underlying themes are very much in alignment.

When I ask Ana what clear shifts and changes she is seeing in the current performance of tauhi va, her response is:

> I mean, the younger generation are a lot more confident to question and push back the older generation. They push boundaries. Whereas, I think when the older generation learnt about tauhi va, they just took it without question. This generation are a lot more vocal. (Ana)

Following this, I ask whether she perceived this as a positive shift, to which she says:

> Positive yes, in terms of their confidence to vocalize. Like if they think something is wrong, they speak up. But it's interesting because tauhi va allows for it to be done in a way that is respectful. (Ana)

Ana then echoes the notions of other participants, whereby much of the culture, as in tauhi va, is shifting but its core fundamental strengths remain the same. She notes that:

> I think the cultural aspects of Tonga are diminishing, but they still hold onto the importance of looking after relationships with family, community and all. (Ana)

Intriguingly, Ana brings up the performance of tauhi va as being a 'show' of sorts for some families. When I ask her whether she thinks this puts Tongan culture in Aotearoa in a dangerous spot, she responds with:

> I think the way some people practice, it can be. Like people let their ego and pride control how they practice their Tongan culture. Sometimes it's like they're doing it for show, as opposed to it being genuine. (Ana)

Currently, remittances back to family members in the Kingdom are a primary way Tongan families in Aotearoa New Zealand show tauhi va (Addo, 2009, in Lee & Francis, 2009;

International Finance Corporation, 2020). When I ask Ana whether she thinks this form of tauhi va would continue, her response is:

> I don't think so. The next generation just don't have the connection back to their family in Tonga for them to continue the practice. Instead, the focus would be relationships here. (Ana)

Ana raises some interesting notions about tauhi va and the Tongan culture needing to appeal to the younger generation of New Zealand born Tongans. She notes that with the recent phenomenon of 'Red, White and Brass', a 2023 film released about a local Tongan church from Wellington, 'so many people were proud to be Tongan. . She also adds that:

> I was reading this thing about how Koreans were able to keep their language. And this was done by investing in K-Pop. So all the young people saw it as 'cool' and jumped on. So with them, it was about their language. For us, it would be our culture and tauhi va tied into that. (Ana)

In order for tauhi va to keep a steady stride in Aotearoa, Ana believes:

> It's just about the simple thing of practicing tauhi va at home. I mean in terms of my own upbringing and being able to understand the concepts and practice it, it does all come from my childhood and how we were raised. And I think a lot of those things come naturally to me now because it's what we always knew to be true. (Ana)

Losa agrees with Ana, that one of the key shifts she is seeing for tauhi va in Aotearoa New Zealand, is the outspokenness of the younger generation.

> This generation – in workplaces, with superiors, tauhi va traditionally meant keeping that relationship and not questioning anything. But I feel like the world is changing here. Tongans born in New Zealand seem more open to challenge that. (Losa)

When I ask about other forms she is seeing tauhi va take in Aoteaeroa New Zealand, she says:

> I have this colleague at work who's basically a sister to me. But even though we're not with each other all the time, the tauhi va is constant. I guess that's a shift because tauhi va is an unspoken thing we keep in our relationship even though we're not family. I feel like tauhi va now does extend to all my circles. When you are embedded with a value so important to the culture, I feel like you carry it everywhere. Because otherwise, what's the point? I guess that's when you'll be choosing between wanting to be Tongan or wanting to be kiwi. (Losa)

A theme that Tina touches on is her church life. This has been a fundamental space for her where her Tonganness is showcased and tauhi va is amplified. But the most intriguing shift she has seen tauhi va take over the years has been an inclusion generationally, where kids are as important as the adults within the church community.

> The kids are so involved now. There's praise and worship specifically for them, as opposed to old hymns. There's a band for the youth and kids dancing. There's allocated times for the kids. Back then, we were just at church because we had to be. But now because of the change in tauhi va, the kids are getting so much more out of church. (Tina)

An interesting theme here that Tina raises is the notion of obligation versus choice. Church was an obligation for her, but through involving the children and giving a platform to their experiences, the kids find themselves in a unique position of wanting to be present, as opposed to it feeling like a chore. Thus, tauhi va has taken a new form because it has taken into account families on a holistic level instead of the traditional perception which has been to exclusively cater to adults.

For Pola, she performs tauhi va every day. In the workplace specifically, she describes her performance of it as seemingly ordinary.

> It's just the small things. Small, but they count. Like if I ask a colleague for some help on a paper or something, I'd buy them a coffee or a voucher. Tauhi va's just about remembering and then doing things in return when you're able to. It's about being there for people. Maintaining that relationship because then the relationship

> flourishes. And you'll get allies. And community. (Pola)

A current shift Pola recognizes for New Zealand born Tongans echoes other participants, which is that tauhi va is applicable to everyone, not just Tongan communities. Thus, she presents New Zealand born Tongans as a cohort that is now stronger than ever, in terms of being engrained in their culture.

> If anything, we are ten times better than we've ever been before. There's a new kind of passion. What I'm seeing a lot of is New Zealand born Tongans upholding customs, values and traditions. Doing the whole tauhi va but they alter it to suit the New Zealand lifestyle. But that's only in order to hold onto it. To retain it. And I get that. So whether it looks different, as long as the values are the same, that's fine. (Pola)

Pola then proceeds to provide a powerful example of her parents' story regarding their involvement with the dawn raids, and how she views the recent apology as a form of tauhi va from the government.

> When Dad migrated here in the seventies, he met Mum. They got married. Then the dawn raids happened and they were always on the run. There was this specific bridge in Mount Eden they would hide under. Like, in the water. I'm sharing this because essentially it was the Crown, the government, chasing them. And it's just come full circle that they have a daughter that works for the New Zealand government, another daughter working for Crown Law, and another working for the Ministry of Pacific Peoples where the apology for the dawn raids came through. The apology, in itself, was tauhi va. I guess this all shows that it is alive. (Pola)

For Melelose, she is cautious of the 'showy' performance of tauhi va that Ana touches on, where it seems some families do things as an elaborate public display. However, she is hopeful that tauhi va as a pillar will remain intact.

> I hope we, as Tongans, continue to share why we're doing things and the heart behind it. Like okay, we may never understand the nuances or full history. I don't think we'll ever get the full story because we are New Zealand born and our parents only brought

> with them what they brought with them. But if we understand the heart behind those key, core pillars, why as a people we do things, tauhi va will stay alive. (Melelose)

Melelose then speaks of her Māori husband and the great learning she has garnered from him, which she also applies to the application of pillars like tauhi va.

> You can chop and change certain things about the culture, the kawa (protocols and values) are the things that remain solid – the values. There are some ways of changing how it's performed without changing the kawa. So for us as Tongans, it is the same thing. Things might change. And it might look different from how our older generation did it back home in Tonga. But the intent should be the same. I love the analogy of the solid rock. There's water swimming around it, right? But the rock remains the same. It's like the Tongan values. Be respectful. Be humble. Show tauhi va. As long as those things never change, the way you do it can change. (Melelose)

Adding to the notion that tauhi va just is, is the equally important idea that tauhi va shifts and changes according to context. This chapter began with an analytical look into the integration of two spheres, where Indigenous thought is pitted up against colonisation; an experience coined by Hall as hybridisation. Evidently, this phenomenon of hybridisation is pertinent for participants who, in this chapter, discussed aspects and certain spaces of life in this country that all point to their overall experience with tauhi va.

Chapter 6 – Tauhi va, a return to Oceanic rhythms

Introduction

In the introductory portion of this thesis, a series of questions were proposed that were oriented towards the New Zealand born Tongan diasporic experience. Evidently, the navigation of dual culture is a complex process, and is something all children of first-generation migrants must undertake at some point in their lives. In Tonga, tauhi va has been used as a mechanism for maintaining village life. The community-based notion of tauhi va materialized from a mode of survival, whereby simple life on the shores of the Kingdom of Tonga meant people had to rely on each other in a communal, collectivist system (McGregor, 2004). This is a common mode of practice among Indigenous groups, McGregor (2004) deems, as their knowledge has been based on surviving distinct environments. Indigenous gems like tauhi va do not remain fixed commodities that people latch onto, they are what McGregor (2004) describes as "processes". The idea that tauhi va may be a process grounded in material life begs a larger question, "if Indigenous Knowledge is something one does, rather than simply something one knows, how is it acquired?" (McGregor, 2004, p. 391). More specifically, in light of the navigation between cultures, how exactly does such a cohort perform tauhi va in the context of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. As a researcher, I also wanted to, in extension, find out whether the performance and application of tauhi va is even feasible, given the current political climate of the land of the long white cloud. Based on participant findings and relevant academic literature, the following chapter brings answers to these significant inquiries. I can now conclude that though survival in village life was the main source of tauhi va's foundation, it is now taking a different form than had been practiced by our ancestors in their voyaging across seas in search of what is now Tongan soil.

The following chapter will delve into a necessary return to the notion of Tongans as Oceanic beings. In addition, there will be extensive discussion on three schools of thought that were clear from participant findings. These are the New Zealand born Tongan experience as emerged from this research, a tension-filled search for identity, and the hope that lies in tauhi va in enabling that search.

Return to Oceania

> The ocean is not merely our omnipresent, empirical reality; equally important, it is our most wonderful metaphor. Contemplation of its vastness and majesty, its allurement and fickleness, its regularities and unpredictability… excites the imagination and kindles a sense of wonder, curiosity and hope that could set us on journeys to explore new regions of creative enterprise that we have not dreamt of before. (Hau'ofa, 1998, p. 406)

As beings of an Ocean that is consistently fluid and in motion, to be Oceanic, as Hau'ofa notions in the above quote, is to inhabit the same mechanisms. In the same way the Ocean moves in, around and through, so does tauhi va. Despite the columns of Western discourse, tauhi va exists in a form just like the Ocean from which it was birthed— rhythmic in its employment, versatile in interchangeable conditions, and dynamic in its execution. The ability to adjust to constant change and the notion of movement are indispensable factors of being Oceanic; abilities that also translate to the performance of tauhi va.

In light of these principles, this chapter will make a necessary return to the Oceanic rhythms by which groups including New Zealand born Tongans ground themselves. In the literature review, I brought to the fore the notion coined by Hau'ofa, of us as Oceanic beings. Hau'ofa (1998) accounts that it is no coincidental footing that we are members of the world's most expansive body of water. In these presently gloomy times where the politics of greed impregnate modernity and where Indigenous voices still fight for a right to be heard (Wilson, 2023), Hau'ofa (1998) beckons that our identity as beings of such an Ocean enhances our level of resilience and endurance (Hulme, 2008). Moreover, Hau'ofa (1998) indicates that our collective effort to do so would lead to a generation that possesses traits of open-mindedness, vision, and forward-thinking. In his words, "an identity that is grounded in something as vast as the sea should exercise our minds and rekindle in us the spirit that sent our ancestors to explore the oceanic unknown and make it their home, our home" (Hau'ofa, 1998, p. 393).

In trying to inform those in the Pacific of the Oceanic phenomena, Hau'ofa (1998) quoted Sylvia Earle's piece in Time Magazine, which said that "the sea shapes the character of this planet, governs weather and climate, stabilises moisture that falls back on the land, replenishing Earth's fresh water to rivers, lakes, and streams – and us. Every breath we take

is possible because of the life-filled life-giving sea" (p. 403). Despite this immense depth of identity that Pacific beings are gifted simply by being products of the sea, there is a lack of consciousness or awareness of such agency (Hau'ofa, 1998). Hau'ofa (1998) observes that "when people talk of the importance of the oceans for continuity of life on Earth, they are making scientific statements. But for us in Oceania, the sea defines us, what we are and have always been" (p. 405). The free fluidity of the ocean waves should extend to its beings, including humans, and the way they assert their knowledge systems and lifestyles (Hau'ofa, 1998). Although Hau'ofa (1998) was speaking to a particular time, Wendt Samu (2010) notes that their ideas should ultimately "serve as conceptual tools" that teach us of our identities in the myriad realities that Oceanic beings of the Pacific take on now (p. 2).

This understanding of Oceanic existence as a productive force is echoed in the paper 'Towards a New Oceania' (1976), by critically acclaimed Samoan poet Albert Wendt. He wrote that:

> Oceania deserves more than an attempt at mundane fact; only the imagination in free flight can hope – to grasp some of her shape, plumage and pain. I will not pretend that I know her in all her manifestations. No one ever did; no one ever does; no one ever will because whenever we think we have captured her she has already assumed new guises. (Wendt 1976, p. 49)

Wendt's words here about the ocean exquisitely encapsulates the richness in potential and possibility that lies in tauhi va as an operating, active concept. They do so because tauhi va too is a derivative of the Ocean, as Hau'ofa and Wendt argue.This oceanic metaphor of movement informs the present discussion. If we are to follow Wendt's (1976) inclinations, we will never plumb the mystic depths of Oceanic possibility. Nonetheless, the oceanic vigour within which the concept of tauhi va emerged will endeavour to do so. The reiteration of what it means to be Oceanic is necessary to, once again, contextualise the insights of my research participants. It is also necessary to describe how tauhi va dwells amongst the peoples of Tonga. Pacific cultures have always developed on the basis of interaction and contact with others (Pookong, 1994). In alignment with this very notion, the following sections of this chapter will show how tauhi va enacts movement for participants' presently in Aotearoa New Zealand.

New Zealand born Tongan experiences

Tongan ancestors voyaging by vaka (canoe) to find their land is an experience retold in Tongan households both within the Kingdom and amongst the diaspora (NZHistory, 2023). There are three inevitable stages that these voyages would have taken. These are the initial touch that is made with unknown territory and to which the canoers have to adapt; the second being a storm through which canoers must sail; and the third is stillness, this being the moment of reaching the destination to which the water has taken them. These three phrases will be used in highlighting moments in the performance of tauhi va by New Zealand born Tongans. The following section of this chapter parallels the first phase of the journey – the initial touch with unknown territory.

Throughout participant responses presented in chapters four and five, a relation runs between Tongan identity and tauhi va. To be Tongan is to apply values to relations between people including tauhi va, which intertwines with the identity of the individual. Thus, only when sufficient discussion on navigating dual culture is combined with discussions of tauhi va, can there be an adequate picture painted of the New Zealand born Tongan experience. It is important to note that tauhi va is not static but rather, is fluid and in motion, just like the ocean. There is a relational, collectivist aspect which encompasses participant experiences with tauhi va and this is discovered also in New Zealand society, where Tongan cultural identity contradicts elements of the dominant discourses. Tauhi va becomes a means by which participants learn, because of how tauhi va is able to be adapted in diaspora while still maintaining its fundamental roots.

Arguably the most significant finding in the participants' responses was the givenness of tauhi va. Not one of the participants could pinpoint a specific time they remember being told or taught about tauhi va. It was something inherent to the raising of children and which parents had brought over from the Kingdom of Tonga. In and of itself, this is an application of tauhi va: migrant parents nurtured the space between themselves and their ancestors on home soil, by applying and implementing tauhi va within their households in the new land. Evidently, parental influence on kainga (family) holds great value in familial settings (Havea, Alefaio-Tugia, Hodgetts, 2021). Based on participant findings, the impact of tauhi va being endorsed by parents within households went either one of two ways. The first, to which three of the five participants spoke, was a natural assimilation and integration into Tongan circles

here in Aotearoa. From birth, their identities were ingrained in the Tongan culture such that the spaces they grew up in were heavily cultural. Thus, it was not until entry into spaces like primary school or high-school where these three participants realised the phenomena of existing as a Tongan in a non-Tongan society. The second outcome, which two of the five participants displayed, was an openness to explore New Zealand culture through entry into extracurricular activities; a decision obviously made my parents. Plausibly, the second outcome could have stemmed from an awareness that within these new lands of Aotearoa, their Tongan culture is regarded as what Triandafyllidou (2010) and Hall (1997) deem as 'the other' – and assimilation into activities associated with mainstream New Zealand life would benefit the children. The mention here of parents is essential for understanding tauhi va because childrens' experiences with tauhi va derived from familial situations. A unanimous undertone of all participants' responses was the importance of kainga (family). The more I worked through and analysed the shared stories, the more I saw that their experiences were heavily reliant on how much their parents sustained the practice of tauhi va and other values within households (Addo, 2009, in Lee & Francis, 2009).

For all participants, tauhi va pointed to social interaction and to the motion of those relationships. To put simply, it is a concept that is constantly moving in keeping with changes amongst social relationships. The same way people move, ideas move also (Fleck, Heilborn, Santoro, Sapiro, 2020). Similarly, how tauhi va was dictated within households expanded to the totality of their experiences as New Zealand born Tongans. As a researcher, I initially anticipated that much of the talanoa within interviews would remain centred and fixed on tauhi va, but participants included the overall, general experience of what it means to move as New Zealand born Tongans. As mentioned earlier, it is inevitable to include the New Zealand born experience within discourse centred on tauhi va because of the ever-flowing, mobile activity occurring within these spheres. Thus, tauhi va is part of a larger movement. Generations before the current New Zealand born Tongan generation held onto values like tauhi va and it was a straightforward process in imparting it to their children because it was standard practice within angafakatonga (Tongan way of living). Presently, tauhi va takes a hybridised form because it cannot be as dominant a concept as it was for Tongans living in Tonga. Thus, it is doing the job it intended to do but in hybrid ways of responding to the needs of Tongan experience amidst the already established and solidified norms of Western culture. This complex state of affairs has brought about tension for New Zealand born

Tongans in their search for identity.

A tension-filled search for identity

Along the voyage of discovering lands including what became the Kingdom of Tonga, adversity would have made its unwelcome appearance in the form of storms and rocky water following entry into the unknown territories. The following paragraphs reflect this – the rocky water being the tension that comes in searching for identity.

Identities are never fully formed, in fact they are something you become (Bradatan, Popan & Melton, 2010). In their negotiation of two worlds, it came as a surprise to me as a researcher that two participants resonated with feeling inadequate when compared to other Tongans. Both Losa and Melelose referred to themselves as 'plastic'; a derogatory word to describe the lack of authenticity in one's culture (Mauafu, 2022). Betz and van Meijl (2016) note that in spite of a "clear self-identification as Tongan, Tongan young people often feel existentially questioned by other Tongans who criticise them as being 'plastic' or fake'" (p. 115).
This tension in the navigation of two cultural spaces had two clear outcomes, one for each participant. Losa spoke of an insecurity which stopped her from speaking fluently in Tongan spaces. Additionally, she found herself speaking freely of her Tongan culture and its traditions only when in spaces that were not overtly Tongan. In contrast, for Melelose, the notions of her feeling 'plastic' and being labelled 'fie Palangi' (wannabe Pakeha) drove her to raise questions about the traditions her head-strong Mother adhered to in her household. Melelose's experience is particularly significant for different reasons. Firstly, she had a desire to understand the why they participated in certain traditions. Within traditionally Tongan households, this questioning of tradition is deemed unusual. As mentioned, Tonga is a heavily hierarchical system based upon familial lines and roles are assigned to certain members of the family (Betz and van Meijl, 2016). A daughter questioning her Mother is what some traditional Tongans would deem tapu (taboo), suggesting a lack in faka'apa'apa (respect) (Havea, Alefaio-Tugia, Hodgetts, 2021). On the other side of the same coin, Melelose's experience speaks to what I as a researcher consider an interesting shift in tauhi va, specifically because of her experience as a New Zealand born Tongan. Traditionally, tauhi va has sometimes deterred difficult conversations. Speaking out against one's parents, whether justified or not, is considered tapu (taboo), and this often falls under the guise of wanting to maintain the socio-spatial gap between relationships. Melelose's openness to

enquire after the traditions in her household has produced great tension in her search for identity. Melelose's experience has been echoed in literature. Helu-Thaman (2008) notes that:

> Many Tongans have agreed that their western-based education has brought about the development of a strong individualizing tendency among many people. In Tonga, a person is often said to be individualistic if s/he is seen to be consciously striving to achieve something for himself/herself. However, what needs to be understood is that individual success needs to be acknowledged and validated by the group(s) with whom an individual identifies and/or relate to, since the sanctioning of people's behaviour in Tonga is still largely dependent on social rather than individual considerations. (p. 466 – 467)

Tongans, like many migrant groups in Aotearoa, are not immune to the individualising tendencies of Western education. This can take shape in the form of needing to understand the particulars of a decision made by parents, without immediately heeding to it as they would tend to do in traditional households in the Kingdom. In light of this, Betz and van Meijl (2016) argue that this is due to "hybrid social spaces in contemporary New Zealand" having "multiple meanings and interpretations, which implies that traditional forms of social sanctioning can be interpreted differently" (p. 119). The tension faced by New Zealand born Tongans and diasporic communities alike, "is defined through a complementary duality of categories, oscillating between a fixed construction of ethnicity/blood and a more interpretable idea of behaviour/performance" (Gavin, 2017, in Taylor & Lee, 2017, p. 122 – 123). The author also echoes notions of 'being' and 'doing' which were introduced earlier in this discussion but with different meanings. 'Being' implies "an Indigenous connection to place, often described in terms of blood", and 'doing', as "the performance of this descent, through behaviour, attitude and the putting into action of cultural knowledge" (Gavin, 2017, in Taylor & Lee, 2017, p. 128). This tension is inevitable in the search for identity, particularly with the navigation of dual culture, because of the intersecting discourses encountered in living between cultures (Gavin, 2017, in Taylor & Lee, 2017). Melelose's argument around Tongan traditions being translated within the setting of Aotearoa are also supported in the fact that 'home' is a subjective concept and can take on multiple environments. More often than not, New Zealand born Tongans opt for both homes – their diasporic home because of birth-right, and their ancestral home, which both yield equal but different kinds forms of security and belonging (Gavin, 2017, in Taylor & Lee, 2017, p. 130).

The hope that lies in tauhi va

This part of the voyage is where solace is found in the water. There is a complete stillness on the waves – a glimmer of hope infused with the excitement of new possibility. This hope is found in tauhi va and the adjustable forms it is now taking in the lives of New Zealand born Tongans.

According to Haig-Brown (2010), "an originary culture is only ever imagined in its re-creation in the current context" (p. 931). It has been mentioned throughout the thesis that notions like tauhi va are what sociologists pin a lot of hope on for the future. In a comparative analysis on Indigenous teachings and settler texts, Rutherford (2022) elevates the former because of the "fundamentally more robust sense of agency" in its discourse (p. 169). Additionally, within Indigenous discourses, there is clear credence given to impulses like "respect, reciprocity, kinship, and relationality" (Rutherford, 2022, p. 170); impulses that when assembled find their expression in tauhi va. As the title of this section of the chapter denotes, there is great hope that lies within tauhi va.

The Samoan equivalent is known simply as 'va', but its meaning as presented by prolific writer Albert Wendt (1996) also adequately fits and encompasses the Tongan meaning of tauhi va.

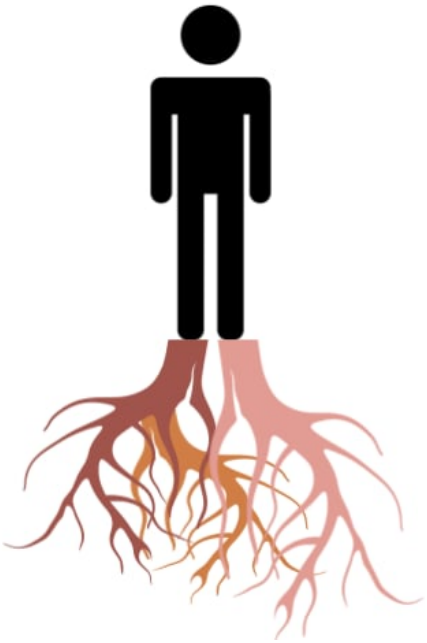
> "Va is the space between, the between-ness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space giving meaning to things" (Wendt, 1996, p. 42).

The hope that is found in tauhi va stems from what Anae (2019) in Teariki & Leau (2023) describes as "the view of the self and the relationship between self and others features the person not as separate from the social and environmental context, but as more connected and less differentiated from them" (p. 139). In order to understand tauhi va, it is fundamental to determine that the notion of space is about connecting, rather than separating (Teariki & Leau, 2023). Thus, tauhi va is a beacon of hope for cohorts like New Zealand born Tongans because within the Oceanic sphere, "everything is boundless relationships" (Teariki & Leau, 2023, p. 143). All these notions point to the hope that lies in tauhi va and are echoed by participants in their current application of the concept within Western settings like Aotearoa.

The stillness of the water, of the extensive journey that tauhi va has taken, means that there is beauty to be discovered in the expectant potential for New Zealand born Tongans in their wayfinding of tauhi va.

In the final segment of the interviews, a question was posed to all participants on whether they would opt for Picture A or Picture B. This was to shed light on whether tauhi va acts as an overarching parasol with which the individual is subjugated under, or whether the individual wields the power to determine tauhi va's application. Three out of five participants opted for Picture A, while one participant voted that the individual has autonomy over tauhi va.

Melelose presented an entirely new option which greatly embraces tauhi va in the forms it is taking within contemporary New Zealand society for Tongans born in Aotearoa. Instead of it being a comparative exploration whereby tauhi va or the individual are more comprehensive than the other, Melelose motioned that the two work in tandem – an equal exchange where tauhi va acts as the roots that allow the individual to function. A visual depiction of Melelose's notion would look something like this:



This chapter took a necessary return to Hau'ofa's theme of New Zealand born Tongans asserting themselves as members of the vast, grand Ocean. Through the metaphor of a vaka (canoe) on its journey through the Ocean, three phases of a voyage were used to map tauhi va

within the lives of New Zealand born Tongans. These three stages are: the New Zealand born Tongan experience; the tensions inherent in being Tongan in a society characterised by Western individualism; and the hope that now lies in the Indigenous concept of tauhi va.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

"It is time to create things for ourselves, to create established standards of excellence that match those of our ancestors" (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 160).

Given the quote above, Hau'ofa would likely agree that there is an incomparable richness in Indigenous mechanisms like tauhi va. This thesis has unpacked that richness, by bringing the experience of dual culture for Tongans born in Aotearoa New Zealand, and their performance of tauhi va in contemporary society, to the fore. In understanding this navigation, the aim of this thesis was to shed light on the endless questions circulating the minds of second-generation Tongan migrants whereby the constant switch between two cultures leaves an inevitable paradox to puzzle out.

The introductory chapter discussed tauhi va as a unique Tongan concept by which anga fakatonga (the Tongan way of living) is enacted, even by those in the diaspora. This brought about a tension given the fact that cynicism within Western thought still presides, and New Zealand born Tongans must find ways of navigating the performance of tauhi va within the margins of cynical Western individualism. Thus, the power of Indigenous ways of being and doing was highlighted, and the experience of New Zealand born Tongans proved to be multifaceted and was influenced by a range of factors including parental guidance and expectation.

The second chapter established a necessary contextualisation of New Zealand born Tongans whereby Hau'ofa's lens of Oceania was introduced – an essential foothold to begin the thesis. These notions exemplified the depth of cultural identity for those who were birthed from the vast, grand Ocean, and for who Indigenous concepts like tauhi va are intrinsic. This idea of Tongans and Pasifika peoples more generally as 'of the Ocean' or as Tangata Moana, is in stark contrast with Western attempts at minimising Pasifika identity and locking us away as 'islanders', frozen in time amid the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. The chapter also introduced tauhi va as a sociospatial concept; a definition championed by Ka'ili (2005) to describe the unavoidable space between relationships that needs to be nurtured in order to uphold tauhi va.

The third chapter centred on the methods used to conduct the study. As this was a study on Tongans born in Aotearoa New Zealand, selecting an Indigenous form of methodology was

fundamental. Given the nature of what was to be explored, talanoa in the form of interviews was chosen as this allowed for the application of various Tongan mechanisms such as faka'apa'apa (respect), anga lelei (tolerant, generous, kind, helpful) and mateuteu (well prepared, professional) to be platformed. Talanoa also fulfilled the ethical component of the project. Other elements to the chapter included discussion on the recruitment process, questions planned for the talanoa sessions, and ethics.

The structure for the fourth chapter paralleled the art of weaving, whereby different strands came together to produce a whole, in this case, the notion that 'tauhi va, just is'. Queen Salote and her pronouncement of tauhi va as one of the four golden pillars of Tongan culture, oral culture, and tauhi va as a cultural norm opened the chapter and gave context to participant findings that followed. Some of the key themes explored from participants were the experience of existing as a New Zealand born Tongan within a non-Tongan society, and the tension between having to adhere to, or choose between, two contrasting cultures.

Stuart Hall's notion of 'hybridisation' was introduced in the fifth chapter of this thesis titled 'Tauhi va, it changes'. This particular chapter focused on how tauhi va contains mechanisms that allow it to alter and adapt to changing circumstances. This is hugely significant for second generation Tongan migrants wanting to retain key elements of their cultural identity amid disparate Western societies including Aotearoa New Zealand. This very notion was magnified in participant responses. A key aspect of the discussion concentrated on whether tauhi va, as a mechanism, directs individual lifestyles, or whether individuals have their own autonomy over tauhi va.

The sixth chapter, as it says in the title, returned to the lens of Oceania. While the two chapters that preceded the sixth contained thorough discussion on participant experiences with the application of tauhi va within Aotearoa New Zealand, this particular chapter recentred participants within the Oceanic identity that Hau'ofa suggests we all possess. The most extraordinary discovery in this chapter was that there is great hope to be found in tauhi va. This hope, as one of the participants noted, is where the individual and tauhi va work in tandem. Ultimately, participant stories and experiences proved that Indigenous concepts like tauhi va can exist, and currently have life within predominantly Western spaces like Aotearoa New Zealand.

As Hau'ofa (1994) asserts, the time is now for groups like New Zealand born Tongans to follow their ancestors in instituting new standards of excellence through Oceanic instruments like tauhi va. This thesis spotlights the prospect of an Oceanic epistemology. In a changing world, fraught with the anxieties and uncertainties associated with climate crisis, and with an increasingly dire economic situation, Indigenous concepts such as tauhi va provide us with all the certainty we need. They furnish us with the collective tools that we need to push back against the cynicism and individualism that is preventing Western societies from being able to adequately address the myriad challenges of the twenty-first century. Through these concepts, Indigenous people including New Zealand born Tongans can help to illuminate important pathways forward and can take leadership roles long denied them through the legacies of racism and colonisation. The shadows of contemporary Western society ought to follow the torch of Indigenous thought. For it is here, through the lives of groups like New Zealand born Tongans, that the gleams of hope for future generations have found a home.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Information Sheet for Participants

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

Malo e lelei, my name is Siutaisa Havea. I am a Massey University student majoring in Sociology and enrolled in the Master of Arts Programme. The data collection that comes from these interviews will be put toward the completion of the 176.817 Thesis.

Project Description and Invitation

The overall aim of this thesis is to accurately spotlight the experience of dual culture in New Zealand, specifically from the perspective of New Zealand born Tongans. For such a demographic, identity is something they are constantly in negotiation with because of the exposure to two cultural spaces – one that was given by birth-right, and the other passed on from their parents. In this negotiation of this cultural positionality, a Tongan concept and ultimate lens that is being used for this study is tauhi va, which is described as Ka'ili (2017) as "the sociospatial connection and space between people or things" (p. 89). Due to the Indigenous concept being generational, as a researcher, I am interested in hearing about how and if, you as a New Zealand born Tongan are navigating tauhi va.
This is an official invitation for you to participate in the research which will be in the form of interviews through the use and application of talanoa ("the exchanging of meaningful dialogue").

Participant Identification and Recruitment

As Wellington and Auckland are the two highest populated cities with New Zealand born Tongans, I will be searching for participants in these core places who fall under the category of 'young New Zealand born Tongan adult'.

The selection criteria will be based on:

- Ethnicity and birthplace (born in New Zealand to Tongan parents)
- Age (Young Adult)

The desired number of participants is 4 – 6 people so that an array of different experiences and stories is presented.

The talanoa in interviews will take place for approximately an hour.

Project Procedures

The talanoa in interviews will be based on a few premeditated questions that will be asked to initiate ongoing and extensive dialogue. The general themes will be:

- A look back when identity came into question;
- Personal accounts of navigating Tongan culture in New Zealand;
- Tauhi va in contemporary New Zealand culture

If participants agree, the interviews will be audio recorded for later analysis.

Data Management

With the consent of participants, the interviews will be recorded on a black-out camera so that it is only the audio that is chronicled. These audio recordings will exclusively be used for the final submission of the 176.817 Thesis, and nothing else.

If participants wish to view the portion of the assessment that includes their input, this will be made available to them after submission.

Before the interview process begins, each participant will be asked if they want to remain confidential and thus, go under a pseudonym.

Participant's 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 prior to the interview taking place;

- 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

Project Contacts

Researcher:

Siutaisa Havea
[redacted]
[redacted]

Main Supervisor:

Dr. Warwick Tie
w.j.tie@massey.ac.nz

Please do not hesitate to get in touch with the researcher or supervisor overseeing this project if you have any questions or queries.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee as being low risk on 22/11/2022.

Siutaisa Havea is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.
If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than Siutaisa, please contact Dr. Warwick Tie via the email listed above.

Appendix B: Consent Form for Participants

Reinventing culture: New Zealand born Tongans

Interview (Talanoa) Participant Consent Form

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

I agree not to disclose anything discussed in the interview (talanoa).

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full Name – printed: _____

Appendix C: Email template to Participants

Malo e lelei [participant's name],

Thank you for your interest in participating in the interview (talanoa) process of my thesis.

Please find attached the Information Sheet outlining the details of the interview, as well as the Consent Form that once signed will confirm your participation.

When you can, have a read through the Information Sheet and let me know if there is anything you need clarity on. Once these queries have been answered to your satisfaction, you can either fill out the consent form and send it back to me or I'll have a copy for you to sign before we commence the interview.

Look forward to hearing from you.

Malo 'aupito,

Siutaisa Havea