

*Langa ngāue ‘a e kau faiako Akoteu Tonga nofo ‘i Aotearoa.*  
Tongan early childhood education: Building success from the  
teachers’ perspectives.

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**Attestation of Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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## **Ethical Approval**

*In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), ethics approval was finally granted on 21<sup>st</sup> of October 2010 by AUTEC with reference number 10/157.*

## Abstract

This study contributes to the theorising of Tongan language and culture by exploring the notion of *langa ngāue* in an attempt to deconstruct colonised thinking and demarginalise Tongan people from colonial ways of knowing and thinking. *Langa ngāue* is the new context that we Tongan people are now recreating. The importance of *ngāue* is illustrated metaphorically by its position in the centre of the *taumafa kava* circle surrounded by all chiefs and nobles in their social orders in the King's presence. Conceptually this reflects how *ngāue* is central to *anga faka-Tonga* and to building a strong Tongan sense of identity. Tongan early childhood teachers who are involved in this study believed that *langa ngāue* should be based on the 'core values' that are important to Tongan people. While the Government in the form of ERO (Education Review Officers) focuses on the *products* of success as recorded in the official documents, they may not be able to 'see' the 'success' that made the journey worthwhile, because they do not perceive that it is the values, people and the interdependent relationships with the entire cosmos binding them together which constitute the real 'success' within these Tongan ECE centres in Aotearoa. These successes are seldom acknowledged by 'outsiders', because they do not 'see' the significance of values and culture and the difficulties of maintaining these in a new country. This study is distinctive because it examines the *langa ngāue* of the *kau faiako Tonga* and their efforts to establish a degree of control over Tongan curriculum and pedagogy in Aotearoa. No study of this kind has previously been written.

## CHAPTER 1: Fakanofonofo - Introduction

*‘Taka tu’u mai, ko e ngāue ke fakatū’uta<sup>1</sup>*

*(Orders for an assessment of the ngāue or gifts to ensure its excellence and worthiness fit for a King in a royal taumafa kava ceremony)*

### 1.0 Introduction

Tongan early childhood education (ECE) traditionally begins from the *‘api* (home) where one belongs to a *fāmili* (family), that belongs to a *kāinga* (kinship/extended family), linked to a *ha’a* (tribe) that belongs to a *kolo tupu’anga* (village) which belongs to a *nōpele* (chief/noble) that is governed by a *Tu’i* (King) that belongs to the *fonua* Tonga, the land, seas and the entire cosmos, surrounded by the biggest and deepest ocean in the world called the Pacific Ocean. *Kakai Tonga* (Tongan people) value hierarchical nature; multiple layers of relationships; genealogies and ancestral knowledge; collective living with the vision of maintaining the Tongan language and culture. This thesis is a product of knowledge, hard work, perseverance, determinations of the Tongan early childhood teachers who paved the way, building success in Tongan ECE in Aotearoa with the vision of maintaining a strong sense of identity.

Their collective efforts are reflected in the way the Tongan ECE teachers come together to build success within their communities, a process which involves a number of key organisations in Aotearoa. *Langa ngāue* is facilitated by a number of different organisations which include the Tongan community, Tongan early childhood centres and the Ministry of Education for funding. I will focus on *langa ngāue* on the context of Tongan early childhood centres as it is still under-developed in terms of goals, aims and

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*Taka tu’u mai koe ngāue ke fakatū’uta* – is an initial angī (leading instruction) that starts off the actual formal royal kava ceremony led by the *matāpule* Motu’apuaka who sits at the left hand side of the King of Tonga. This particular instruction commands the men who have been allocated the task of the *kau ngāue* to come forth and check the contents of the ngāue or gifts to ensure its excellence and worthiness, fit for a Tongan royal kava ceremony known as. If it is not up to the quality expected then it is their task to remove, reposition, rearrange what is out of place before they call out “KUO LAVA” meaning that everything is now ready and they then proceed to their seat before the ceremony can continue.

strategies as compared to the Ministry of Education's managerial philosophy where goals .etc. are very well developed. Therefore the *kau faiako Tonga he ngaahi Akoteu Tonga 'i Aotearoa* or the Tongan early childhood educators and their journeys are the focus of my research.

This research study is designed to explore the journeys of Tongan ECE teachers on how they have come to establish *Akoteu Tonga* (Tongan ECE centres) in Aotearoa using Tongan conceptual thinking of *ngāue*. This study is distinctive because it examines the *langa ngāue* of the *kau faiako Tonga* and their efforts to establish a degree of control of Tongan curriculum and pedagogy in Aotearoa.

In this chapter I begin by talking about my personal journey, introduce my research topic, talk about the significances of the study and outline the structure of my thesis. The chapter ends with a summary of the research.

### **1.1 He 'ikai ngalo hoku tupu'anga - Personal Journey**

Born in the village of Ha'akio on the island of Vava'u, the second largest island of Tonga to Meleane and Siosifa Pau'uvala, the second eldest daughter of four. My parents were both high school teachers of the organisation called *Siasi Uesiliana* also known as the (Tongan) Free Wesleyan church governed high schools. The annual conference for *Siasi Uesiliana* is held in June of every year and there is a list called the *fehikitaki* (literally refers to moving from one place to another) during the conference (later on announced on the radio and daily newspapers) stating the positions and place of work for all the employees under the umbrella of the *Siasi Uesiliana* throughout the whole of Tonga. The church schools of the *Siasi Uesiliana* rely heavily on foreign aid and church members' donations every year for staff wages and operating costs. The nature of this particular job meant that we could not really develop an attachment to any one place because we could be called to go to another school in another island and there was no

guarantee of a stable place of employment. There is an obligation for the employees to follow the *fehikitaki* to move to other schools (Uesiliana schools only) located anywhere in Tonga with the perception that it is a call from God or *ko e ui mei he 'Otua*. What I noticed is that in this profession materialistic things were not valued as much because there was no room to travel with a lot of belongings because it would cost money. My parents were teachers for over twenty years with passion and perseverance for education in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand (NZ). For the first 16 years of my life I experienced the hard work, sacrifices, struggles, efforts, commitments, passion and perseverance of teachers from all walks of life before migrating here to NZ for 'better' education. When we reached the last year of high school, my parents made the decision to move to NZ in order for us children to have opportunities for further and 'better education'. The road towards academic achievements has always been the desired path that my parents believe that we should take to ensure a stable future.

Moving to NZ to pursue further education was the ideal solution because the perception is that in order to be successful one must be able to speak English. Many Tongan parents travel to NZ to search for a better life not only for themselves but more for their children. The assumption is that the education is far better here than in the islands because for many years, education in Tonga and some of the Pacific islands has focused on learning about the western education model. Manu'atu (2000a, p. 1) agrees that the perception is that the teachers are well equipped and 'qualified' in NZ to teach the curriculum because they are "fluent and competent in the English language, and there are more and better teaching resources than in Tongan schools". Arriving at what was assumed 'better' was another challenging phase. The school system, teachers and the culture were not familiar and the struggles continued, as the thought of going to school was no longer fun and meaningful, and this continued throughout my entire educational

journey in NZ. I finally felt like my education really started in 2008 when for the first time I took a paper in my postgraduate studies titled Pasifika research methodologies. My position is that I am a *fefine tu'a* (female commoner) who is married to a *tangata Tonga* (male commoner) from Ha'ano with two young children. My educational experiences in Tonga and NZ have all played a major role in shaping my perceptions. I was brought up in Vava'u by my maternal grandparents until the age of five, then we stayed in various schools and places in Tonga, attended kindergarten in Vava'u, then Government Primary School of Fanga 'o Pilolevu, Queen Salote College and later Tupou High School, and then I attended 3 tertiary institutions while at the same time working in the ECE field in NZ. So my perceptions may differ from other Tongans due to my different upbringing, experiences and educational backgrounds.

## **1.2 Introducing *Langa Ngāue 'a e kau faiako Akoteu Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa***

The term *langa* as a verb in the Tongan language is defined by Churchward (1959) as “build; to build up (*langa hake*) or assist in the progress of (.e.g. our country, ‘*hotau fonua*’)” (p.281). The term *ngāue* can be a noun or verb which means work, improvement, responsibility or it can also refer to workplace. To translate *langa ngāue* into English according to Churchward does not quite capture the true meaning of the concept. *Langa ngāue* literally refers to building up ‘work’ or work that improves the country. The concept of *langa ngāue* is a new *talanoa* (talk), talked about by Tongan migrants who have left Tonga and settled in overseas countries for different reasons, meaning support for their own communities in the new country. It offers hope to Tongan people attempting to build ongoing success in Tongan ECE, contributing to education in Aotearoa. However this study explores the perspectives of the *kau faiako Akoteu Tonga* (Tongan ECE teachers) on building success. These *faiako Akoteu Tonga* are migrants with years of ECE experiences and made a mark in the field of ECE in Aotearoa.

### ***1.3 Langa ngāue in Tongan ECE context***

The notion of *langa ngāue* has a tendency to demarginalise Tongan people, primarily because it is a Tongan way of explaining behaviours rather than the ‘colonised’ explanation of Tongan reaction to change. In the Tongan early childhood context most of the centres heavily rely on Government funding (Mara, 1998), and therefore must follow Government policies and regulations in order to meet Government expectations. Tensions between Government requirements and *langa ngāue* offer a means of emancipation because it acknowledges the work and responsibility of the Tongan community and their contribution to education in Aotearoa.

For a number of years Pacific peoples have been highly misrepresented and often researched from a deficit perspective (Tu’itahi, 2005; Vaioleti, 2006; Kalavite, 2010). Pacific (or Pasifiki, Pasifika, Pacifica) refers to the people of Samoa, Niue, Tokelau, Fiji, Cook Islands and Tonga which can be problematic. According to Manu’atu (2000a), the lumping of the six ethnic groups into one group as Pacific is problematic and denies the uniqueness and the diversity of cultural values within the Pacific. Within this label of ‘Pacific’, with no specific language but English therefore ‘disregard’ the six languages of these cultural groups. However in this thesis, I wish to use the term Pacific to describe these six nations but acknowledge the uniqueness in these cultures’ relationships between these nations with the indigenous peoples of NZ which is the Maori people.

The Pacific peoples in NZ are labelled as ‘failures’ and ‘underachievers’, which is a generalisation that some of the children live with growing up in NZ. Therefore this particular perception becomes a reality for these children before they had a chance to create their own realities which is shared by indigenous peoples around the world (Smith, 1999). This view is also shared by MacIntosh (2001, p.153) by saying that:



*For too many of our people, low levels of educational achievement, unemployment, illness, poor mental health, poverty and prison life is what being a Maori or a Pacific Island person is all about.*

For Maori, Bishop (2003, p.222) says that “within education, theorists tend to identify ‘cultural deficiency’ explanations for the non-participation by Maori in education.” Most of these theorists that Bishop (2003) mentioned, label Maori people as ‘deprived, disadvantaged and inadequate’ and believes that these assumptions are only made by those theorists who are not linked with or accounted for Maori therefore can make assumptions about Maori people. At the same time Tu’itahi (2005) says that there are disadvantages when the focus lies on the deficits of Tongans and other Pacific peoples because that would contribute to how they will be perceived in general even though that is not the case. If our children grow up and hear about how the Pacific peoples are portrayed through research, media and in the community, it becomes ‘truth’ and their ‘reality’ before having the chance to decide their own realities. The author made a decision that the research would not be based on the deficits of Tongan people but on their success stories.

Konai Helu Thaman (2011, p.2) interpreted ‘*kato ‘i he loto kato*’ (a basket within a basket) (a phrase once used by the late king Tupou 1V) to describe education as: -

*...the knowledge, skills and values that we learn as a result of our various educational journeys, are stored, interpreted and shared within a wider, all embracing cultural context which we are part of and which we define for ourselves.*

Along with Konai Helu Thaman, this research acknowledges the importance of these ‘various educational journeys’ by Tongan early childhood teachers who are migrants living in Aotearoa within the broader context of education. In this thesis I wanted to voice the perspectives of Tongan early childhood teachers and highlight their contribution in building success to early childhood education in Aotearoa. The intention was to take a positive stance and counteract the problem. Smith (1999) identifies, that indigenous cultures and worldviews have been victimised, over represented, misjudged, and looked down upon in academic and popular discourses.

### **1.3 The significance of the study**

The outcomes of the research may assist Tongan ECE teachers in the *langa ngāue* and ongoing construction of early childhood education in Aotearoa/NZ by Tongans for Tongans. It may also help others like the Government and the Ministry of Education in understanding how Tongan ECE teachers' practise in some of their centres and possibly assist in designing appropriate pedagogy and curriculum for the Tongan ECE centres in NZ. The wider community will also benefit from the results of the research, in so far as it can be used as an incentive for other communities to shift their focus from the negative to something positive. This research could also be of great interest to the Government and especially the policy makers of ECE in Aotearoa to ensure that they take Tongan views into consideration.

### **1.4 Thesis structure and chapter outline**

Chapter 1 presents the author of this thesis and her personal journey, draws on some of the rich oral history and inheritance of Tonga, and briefly describes the early childhood education (ECE) sector in Tonga/Pacific and Aotearoa. I introduce the research topic.

Chapter 2 presents the study context explaining what *langa ngāue* means; the context and reasons for wanting to do this research; and identify the limitations of this study.

Chapter 3 will review literature written about the Tongan ECE system, characteristics, practises and problems in the Pacific /Tonga and in the NZ context. ECE literature is explored in order to show what ECE means in the Pacific, /Tonga, and in the NZ context.

Chapter 4 will identify the research methodologies used in this thesis to carry out research in the field and will explain how the research took place. The researcher examines her experiences in the field and how these experiences contribute to the perceptions of data collected.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 present the *talanoa* results of my participants under key themes and issues discovered in this research. The *talanoa* results will represent the views of the *kau faiako Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa* or Tongan ECE teachers in Aotearoa. These arguments are placed in the context of the literature and will revisit key themes in understanding the effects of early childhood education by Tongans for Tongans. The Tongan worldview of *langa ngāue* will be explored first then chapter 6 will focus on putting *langa ngāue* into practise in the context of Tongan ECE in Aotearoa.

Chapter 7 presents an overall conclusion to sum up the journey during this thesis experience. The researcher will also provide her own recommendations for further research in the field of Early Childhood Education by Tongans for Tongans living in Aotearoa.

### **1.5 Summary**

In this initial chapter I have discussed my personal journey, and how my own socialisation plays a role in this present study. I have also introduced the topic which is the *langa ngāue 'a e kau faiako Akoteu Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa*, discussed the significance of this study and provided an overview of this study.

The next chapter will draw from the Tongan language and culture to explore the concept of *ngāue* through the indigenous ritual of *taumafa kava* (Tongan royal kava ceremony) as an example. The theorising of the concept of *ngāue* is explored in order to understand the Tongan ways of practise and thinking in this context.

## CHAPTER 2: Exploring a Tongan conceptual thinking of *Ngāue*

*Takatu'u mai, ko e ngāue ke huohua'i<sup>2</sup>*

*(Next order is an ancient gesture for the ngāue to be checked for any hidden weapons allowing pigs and kava plants to be lifted up for inspections)*

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the concept of *ngāue* particularly within the taumafa kava ritual because it is foundational to understanding *langa ngāue* by Tongan ECE teachers within the Tonga culture. *Ngāue* is the term given to explain all of the gifts presented inside the *taumafa kava* circle which includes *kava* plants, sugar canes, pigs, 'umu baskets (food baked in an underground oven), sugar canes, fine mats and tapa cloth. *Ngāue* is an everyday living concept that is always present in the homes of the Tongan people whether it is *toutai* (fishing), *tōkanga* (plantations), *falehanga* (women's working shed), *ako* (education). These main aspects of the Tongan everyday living are acknowledged as *ngāue* within the Tongan culture.

Today *ngāue* as a concept evolves as social and cultural changes have influenced and transformed its meaning. The notion of *langa ngāue* is used for a number of reasons which include providing solutions to address social, economic and political issues within Tongan community in Aotearoa. To identify *ngāue* and understand it from a Tongan perspective, it is necessary to talk about the Tongan stratification of "class". Tongan culture is described in the lived experiences of Tongan people and how they live; it is in the relationships or *tauhi vā* between the collective because they see each other not in the eyes of the individual but through the collective living of *kāinga*

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<sup>2</sup> Conceptually this order in an ancient gesture for the *ngāue* to be checked for any underlying assumptions and hidden meanings that might put the society at risk. Therefore I have used the Tongan worldview of *ngāue* to ensure that there are no hidden meanings and motives towards this study. This *langa ngāue* is to empower and enrich Tongan people living in Aotearoa.

(kinship, extended family); it is the *fonua* (land) that connects people to their lands and the entire cosmos.

## 2.1 Tongan Social Structure

In the early 10<sup>th</sup> century the creation of the first Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu (King of Tonga) was tracked back to 'Ilaheva (mortal woman) who descended from a chiefly line in Niuatoputapu<sup>3</sup> and a Tangaloa God named Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a who liked 'Ilaheva and climbed down on a *toa* tree from the sky. When 'Aho'eitu was growing up he kept on asking his mother to tell him where his father was, and finally his mother told him that his father was one of the gods living in the sky. 'Aho'eitu as a grown young man wanted to find his father therefore his mother showed him the *toa* tree so he followed his mother's instructions, climbed up, and, was reunited with his father and half-brothers. Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a was so delighted to see his son that he took him to see his house to meet his half-brothers. However the half-brothers were jealous of 'Aho'eitu so they tore him in pieces and ate him, except for his head which was thrown inside a group of *hoi* plants which have since become poisonous. When Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a found out what had happened he put 'Aho'eitu's head in a big *kumete* (kava bowl) and then forced his other sons to vomit his body parts into the *kumete* and then covered it with *nonufiafia* (a Tongan medicinal plant). Everyone had to guard the *kumete* until 'Aho'eitu was found alive again. Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a then punished his elder sons: he chose 'Aho'eitu to become king of Tonga and they would become his servants<sup>4</sup> upon their return to earth.

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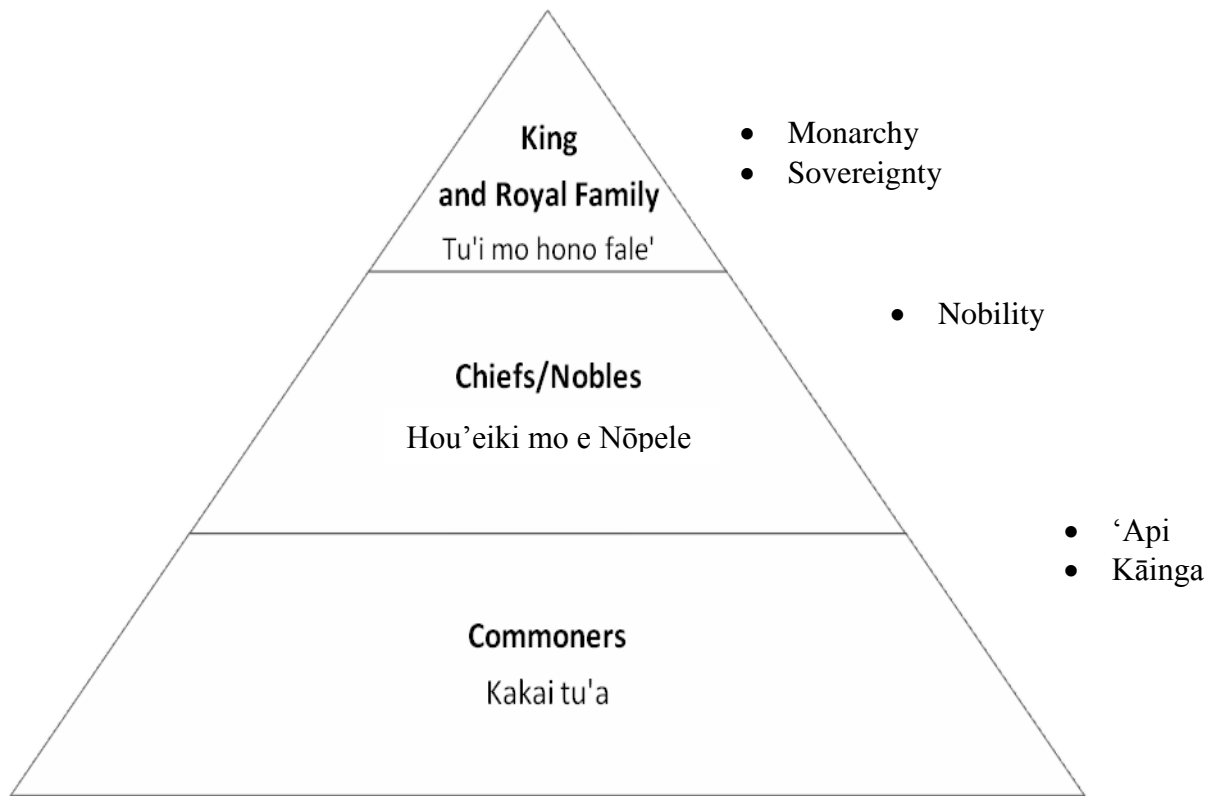
<sup>3</sup> Niuatoputapu means 'sacred islands' which is one of the islands or groups of islands in the Tongan Islands in the Pacific Ocean near the border of Samoa.

<sup>4</sup> Upon their return to earth the Kings' brothers would be called the "**Tu'ifaleua**" meaning the king's second house because they are no longer king but have a duty to serve the King for the rest of their lives. For example the last king was George Tupou the fourth and his brother Tu'ipelehake and his family were named the "Tu'ifaleua" carrying out the same duties that 'Aho'eitu's brothers did.

The story of ‘Aho’eitu, the first Tu’i Tonga portrays a direct linkage of our ancestors to the current monarchy, long before Christianity arrived in Tonga. This is an example of how history was documented through the genealogical connections, the stratifications of different classes and foundational values that make up the Tongan culture. Conceptually this story is support that the living is connected to the non-living and that mortal people were connected to the skies and the Gods.

The social structure of the *nofo faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of living) is hierarchical and has multiple layers. The social ranking system in Tonga has the *Tu’i mo hono fale* (King and his household/royal family) ranking at the top, next high ranking group includes the chiefs and nobles and then the *kakai tu’a* (commoners) ranking at the bottom of the social class in Tonga. In this hierarchical structure, genealogy plays a major part because it determines where your role or place is within society. Refer to figure 1 for an overview of Tonga’s social ranking system in a broad sense.

**Figure 1: Tongan Social Hierarchy**



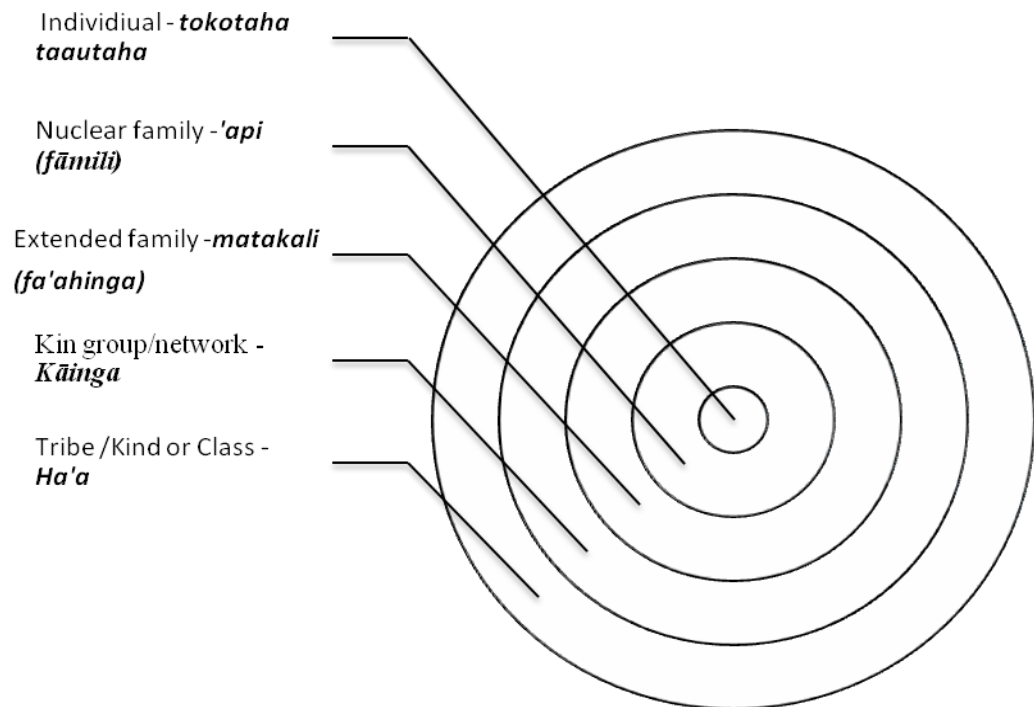
The customary Tongan family or *nofo 'a kāinga* (kin group) have their own multiple layers of complex and hierarchical relationships. An example of one of the important status in the *nofo 'a kāinga* is the superior position of a *fahu*. The principle of *fahu* is that the sister of the brother (or paternal sister) has superiority over the brother. This entitlement of *fahu* could only be inherited by birth. For example, in Tongan ceremonies such as funerals, weddings or birthdays, the best *koloa* are presented to the *fahu*.

However, for a funeral the *fahu* sits at a special place that only they can occupy which is the front of the 'ulu (head) of the deceased person, which indicates prestige and position of power within the family. However a position of power during these Tongan ceremonies require a leader to make the decisions and make calls on Tongan protocols of *tauhi vā* and that is the 'ulumotu'a which can only be taken by a male from the highest/eldest paternal line in the extended family. 'Ulu is an important notion that

signifies positions of superiority within the *nofo 'a kāinga*. The 'ulu or the head is considered a sacred part of the body in relation to the Tongan culture because it is traditionally *tapu* (taboo) for children to touch their father's 'ulu, or eat their leftovers. At the same time, father's role holds a superiority rank within the *fāmili* (nuclear family) but is considered inferior within the *nofo 'a kāinga* because his position is considered inferior to the *fahu*. The *fahu* is the only person who is able to touch the 'ulu that includes an important ritual of *kosi 'ulu* (cutting of the hair). This ritual of *kosi 'ulu* often takes place during funerals where the *fahu* is given the privilege of cutting the brother's children's hair (and those who are positioned inferior to the deceased) and is rewarded with *koloa* and money. However as the idea of hairdressers and salons was introduced in Tonga (and when people migrate to overseas countries), people start to use the salons and hairdressers allowing other people and not the *fahu* to conduct *kosi 'ulu*, devaluing this Tongan ritual of *kosi 'ulu* (haircutting). A good indication of how the western influences cause fragmentation of cultural values for Tongan people who are deeply immersed in their own Tongan language and culture. Refer to figure 2 below for an outline of the *nofo faka-Tonga* within the kin group.



**Figure 2: Nofo 'a Kāinga/ Stratifications of Kin Group**



The hierarchical nature of the Tongan society is that the ranking system determines what and how *tauhi vā* (maintaining reciprocal relationships) is maintained through the *kāinga* or social relations. Manu'atu (2000a) contends that Tongan people in NZ continue to make social, political, economic and strong cultural connections with their Tongan heritage. The point is that the *nofo faka-Tonga* is multi layered and hierarchical which reflects the nature of the Tongan people and how they view the world. *Ngāue* is predetermined by the hierarchical rank within the *nofo 'a kāinga* or the kinship group. Every individual is ranked from birth, a rank which is determined in the context of *kāinga* (kinship/family) and it can either be a position of superiority or inferiority. Johannson-Fua (2009) describes rank as one of the key concepts in traditional leadership which leads to understanding the nature of relationships within Tongan groups. Therefore a person's *ngāue* is the work and responsibility that are appropriate to

that person, determined by that person's rank within that person's family and kinship hierarchy.

The author will use the *taumafa kava* as a *pou tuliki* (foundation) throughout this research to understand Tongan world views. It is through this *fakanofonofo* that I state my position in this research, is that I am a *fefine tu'a* (commoner woman) and it is this viewpoint that underpins my understanding and meaning making throughout this research.

## **2.2 Taumafa kava ritual**

*Taumafa kava* is an indigenous kava ceremony where the King of Tonga is present and is an ancient Tongan protocol that originated during the reign of the first King of Tonga or *Tu'i Tonga*. In the context of formal Tonga kava ceremonies known as *taumafa kava*, the presentation of the *ngāue* holds a central place. The rank of the person celebrated by the *taumafa kava* determines the magnitude of the *ngāue* that the family and kin group should prepare. The late Professor Futa Helu (cited in Shumway 1999) advised that “the *taumafa kava* is the centrepiece of our culture and ritual system”.

In the beginning of a *taumafa kava* (royal kava ceremony) the initial protocol is *fakanofonofo* might be understood in English as the seating arrangements or the ushering where each position is labelled with the names on it, or people are ushered to the right seats to sit during an occasion. However the protocol of *fakanofonofo* within the Tongan culture doesn't require labels to indicate where you sit or position yourself in the *taumafa kava* because they know their place. It is clear through the hierarchy and stratifications of classes where your place is in the circle. Refer to *figure 3* for a general overview of the royal circle of *taumafa kava* extracted from Siasi Uesiliana Tau'atāina 'o Tonga (2005).

Figure 3: Taumafa Kava Circle

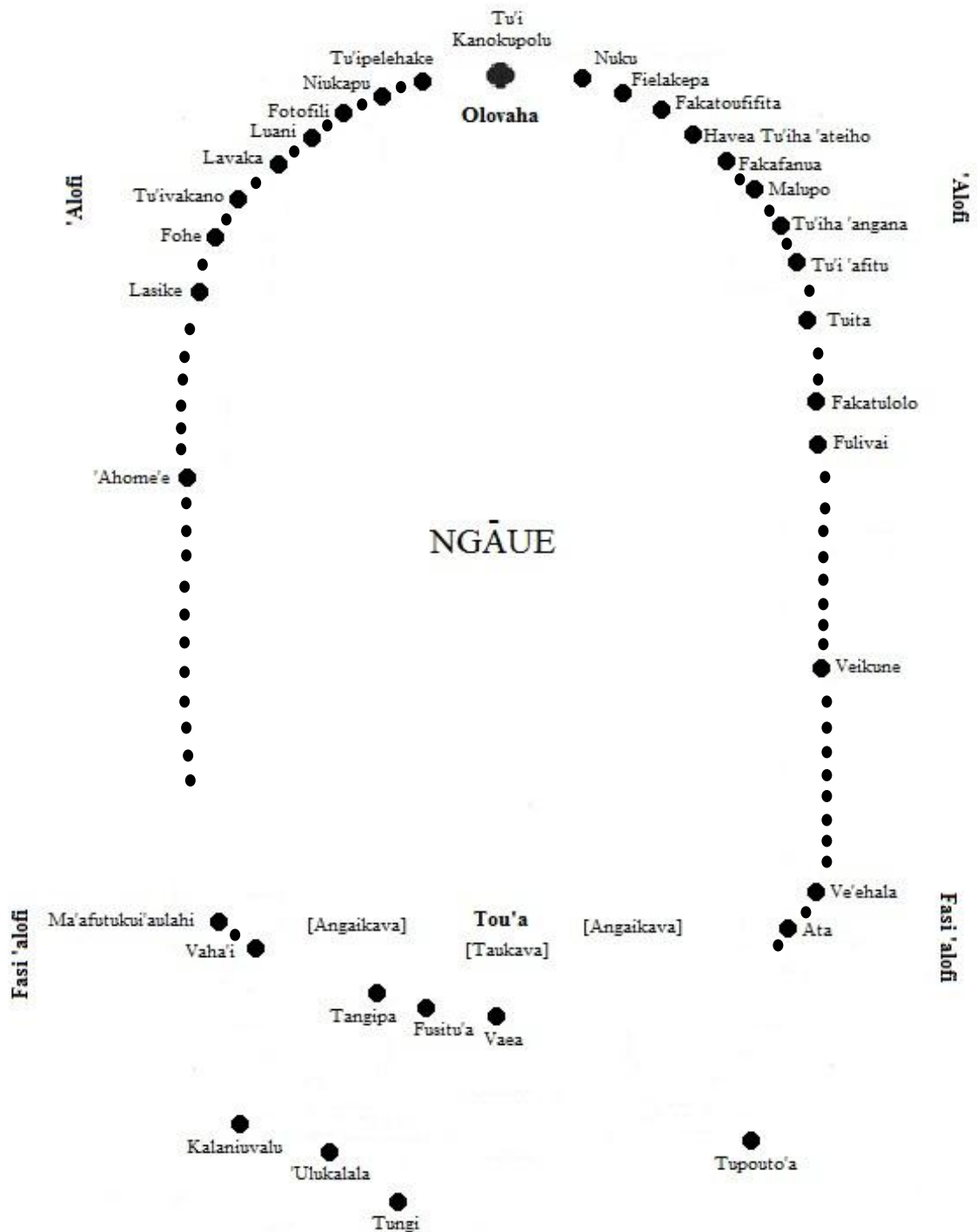


Figure3: Adapted from - *Ko e kava mo e ngaahi koloa faka-Tonga* by 'Ofisi Ako'o e Siasi Uesiliana

Tau'atāina 'o Tonga (2005, p.7), Nuku'alofa, Tonga.

The positions in the *taumafa kava* circle are taken only by those who are genealogically title holders: who are not there for themselves but there on behalf of their obligations reflected in the Tongan motto "*ko e 'Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofi'a*" meaning that God

and Tonga (*land and people*) are my inheritance. Each position comes with a story that is real and lived, that weaves the connections and the relationships between Tongan people and their ancestors, King, chiefs, nobles, villages, *kāinga* (kinship/extended family) and the *fonua* (land and peoples). And crucially stands as a verification of some of the embedded values that make Tongan people unique. Tongan peoples are represented by the nobles and *matāpule* inside the *taumafa kava* circle which signifies how the Tongan society is organised. It is not about who they are as individuals but their role in a collective. The *taumafa kava* circle is a true representation of what make up the Tongan culture. It exhibits the importance of one's *tupu'anga* (genealogy), *fakahokohoko* (social order) and the classification of *fatongia* (obligations/responsibilities) that each position represents.

During the process of the *kau ngāue* (people who are in charge of preparing and arranging of presentations) arranging and assembling of the *ngāue* inside the circle in their right places. Motu'apuaka starts acknowledging all of the *ngāue* brought into the circle followed by a chorus of acknowledgements from the rest of the *matāpule*. Once everything is in place and that the *kau ngāue* are seated then the King make an entrance into the *taumafa kava* circle taking his seat which is known as the *Olovaha* which is situated at the top of the circle facing the *to'ua* (person preparing the kava at the kumete) who is seated behind the kumete. During this time no one is allowed to get up and walk around inside the circle. The concept of *napangapangamālie* then is when Motu'apuaka feels that it is time to officially proceed with the *ouau 'o e fakafeta'i* (rituals of acknowledgments) because everything is quiet and settled have taken their places in the circle and all the *ngāue* have been acknowledged by the two *matāpule* when harmony is reached. All of the *ngāue* will be acknowledged by Motu'apuaka followed by Lauaki during the *taumafa kava* ceremony.

Once everyone is *fakanofonofo* or seated in their rightful places the King's *matāpule* (talking chiefs) Motu'apuaka<sup>5</sup> calls out "*Takatu'u mai ko e ngāue ke fakatū'uta*", orders for an inspection of the *ngāue* for its merit, quality and worthiness of each of the item inside the kava circle. People who are delegated to perform this duty are also called *kau ngāue*, and their main job is to ensure that the *ngāue* presentations are in their proper places before the reigning Tongan King makes his way to the *taumafa kava*. They count how many kava plants or pigs (etc) are presented inside the kava circle by calling out "*lau e ngāue*" and the *matāpule* answer back on a very prolonged note on the last syllable while counting the *ngāue*. For example, they will touch the back of one kava plant and say – 'tahaaaaa' (which means one kava plant), then the *matāpule* answers back in a stylised tone '*fakafeta'i eeeeeee to kavaaaa*'. *Fakafeta'i* is the honorific word of thank you, which is used to acknowledge the process of planting kava plants. For the acknowledgment given to the pigs' presentation is '*fakafeta'i e fanga puaka*'. For all of the *ngāue* presentations included inside the circle will receive a chorus of acknowledgements from the *matāpule* in the circle of *taumafa kava*. Not to mention that on the other hand the *ngāue* presentations ought to be worthy of this acknowledgement.

In addition, "*tauhi e ngāue ke malu*" is a phrase that is used during the kava ceremony by the *matāpule* as an instruction to make sure the gifts presented inside the kava circle are kept safe for the entitled owner (based on the hierarchy of kinship) whom they name during the ceremony. Towards the closing of the *taumafa kava* the *matāpule* calls out *fakafeta'i e ngāue*, acknowledging gratitude towards the gifts that people have contributed towards the special occasion.

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<sup>5</sup> Motu'apuaka is the King's talking chief during investiture of titles, weddings.etc except for funerals then the role of the chief in charge of the taumafa kava will be referred to Lauaki. These two are the two chiefly *matāpule* that are always taking charge during the taumafa kava.

### 2.3 *Ngāue* exploration of a Tongan identity

In the Tongan culture, *ngāue* is often used to describe someone who is *ma‘u me‘a* (rich). If a person is declared *ma‘u me‘a* within the *nofo faka-Tonga* it is because *ko e tokotaha ngāue*, which means that their wealth is due to the fact that they have one if not the biggest *ngoue* or plantation in the village, and not because of how much money they have. *Ngāue* equates to *ngoue* in this sense when it refers to Tongan peoples and their *fatongia* or duties and obligations to their families and *fonua* (country). For Tongan people, *ngoue* is so important within the Tongan culture that it is reflected in the makeup of the Tongan months which are named according to how the *ngoue* (plantations of different kinds of food) is planted.

The *koloa‘ia* (wealth) and *ma‘u me‘a* is perceived differently within the *nofo faka-Tonga* in this context because the focus lies on the actual process that enabled people to achieve that acknowledgement within the community. In ancient times, the main source of food that the *kakai Tonga* (Tongan peoples) relied on was from the *ngoue* which was grown in the *‘api ‘uta*. *‘Api* refers to home and *‘uta* is the *bush* or *inland*. The notion of *‘api* in this sense extended from literally the place that the family lives inside the *kolo* (village) which is always known as *‘api kolo*. The piece of land where the *ngoue* (plantation) is planted and nurtured for the consumption of the *kāinga* is known as *‘api ‘uta*. The connection is that *‘api ‘uta* creates food and products that would enhance and help maintain the *vā* relations between the *kāinga* within the *‘api kolo*. Due to the hierarchical nature of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life), *ngāue* contributes to how Tongan peoples *maintain tauhi vā* (maintaining relationships). One of the important rituals involved in this particular *ngāue* of Tongan men is the offering of the *polopolo* (first harvest) where the first harvesting of the *ngoue* is presented to the King and the royal family, high chiefs and nobles, and then the consideration of *fahu* within the kinship. This ritual illustrates a culture that is closely knitted, strongly rooted with

cultural values. Kaeppler's (1999) perspective on *ngāue* and the distinction of what men and women roles are within the *nofo faka-Tonga*:

*The ngāue of the men regenerates people physically, while the koloa of women regenerates people culturally. Both are necessary, and together they regenerate and reproduce society. (p.171)*

However *ngāue* is more than 'regenerating' Tongan peoples because *ngāue* in this sense reaffirm the relationships of Tongan peoples and the entire cosmos. To 'regenerate' people is to revive people from something that were once broken perhaps fragmented but I don't think that is the case here, instead it could be the very opposite of that. The *ngāue* of the Tongans has shifted from the use of the *kāinga* (extended family) and the family to enhance cultural values such as *tauhi vaha'a* to a more westernised way of looking at *ngāue*. With the influence of globalisation, *kakai Tonga* are engaged in *ngoue* (as part of the *ngāue* process) nowadays for economical gains such as exporting harvests to overseas countries and also used to sell in the markets. The *ngāue* perception has shifted now leaning more towards gaining money and to a lesser extent on how to maintain important cultural values within the *anga faka-Tonga*. The point here is that *ngāue* is not just a physical activity but instead existed to empower cultural values and not devalue its contributions to how *kakai Tonga* maintain their strong sense of identity.

### **2.3.1 Koloa**

I have already discussed the value of *ngāue* regarding Tongan men within the context of 'api but because this research is based on the work of eight Tongan strong women who are now working in the field of ECE in Aotearoa it is only appropriate that I talk about *ngāue 'a fafine Tonga* and their contributions to maintaining important cultural values in the *nofo faka-Tonga*. To highlight the *ngāue 'a fafine Tonga* it is important to talk about *koloa* because their *ngāue* generates cultural values.

During *taumafa kava* ceremony it is important to highlight that *fafine Tonga* play an important part in this indigenous ceremonial of *taumafa kava*. Their role is to showcase

the best *koloa* that culturally represent what is best about the Tongan culture and worthy of the King. These presentations often display the best *fala* (in different types and layers), *ngatu* (tapa) and other cultural mats that appropriate for the occasion. For the mats presentation the *matāpule* says '*fakafeta'i e lālānga*' which means thank you for the weaving. If there is tapa cloth involved in the presentation, the *matāpule* says '*fakafeta'i e' koka'anga*' which acknowledges those who were involved in making tapa.

In cultural ceremonies, the presentation of *koloa* (Tongan valuables/treasures) stands as a verification of the fundamental values that make up a strong Tongan identity. For cultural functions such as *fai'aho* (birthday), *mali* (wedding), *putu* (funeral), the presentations of appropriate *koloa* including mats of different kinds signify the prestige and rank of those who are entitled to receiving them. *Koloa* presentations offered during these special occasions are only for those who are genealogically entitled to receive them. Tongan people continue to practise this important ritual in cultural functions overseas. Lātū (2009, p.17) had this to say about the underpinnings of *koloa*: -

*The intangible koloa are the invisible qualities which we cannot see and touch but are underlying cultural values and behaviours such as 'ofa (compassion), faka'apa'apa (respect), feveitokai'aki (reciprocity), tauhi vaha'a (caring and maintaining inter-personal relations), and fakama'uma'u (restraint behavior).*

*Koloa* is reciprocal to *ngāue* because they both complement each other (Kaepler, 1999). *Ngāue* in general is the work of *tangata Tonga* generated from *tōkanga* (plantation/bush), *toutai* (ocean/fishing) and *fa'a* (animals/farming) which reflects how powerful they are within the *nofo faka - Tonga*. *Koloa* which are the aim of *fafine Tonga* demonstrate cultural values which are important to Tongan identity. In a similar way as producing cultural value through setting up *akoteu Tonga* by Tongans for Tongans in Aotearoa. However the difference is between these two concepts of *koloa* and *ngāue* needs to show that *ngāue* can be presented to equals but *koloa* will only be presented to those who are genealogically entitled to it (Kaepler, 1971). Therefore our



*koloa* can only be transparent through living our language and culture and pass on to the next generations through the ongoing construction of our Tongan ECE centers in Aotearoa. In that way we won't lose the *koloa* that the next generation deserve to have control of.

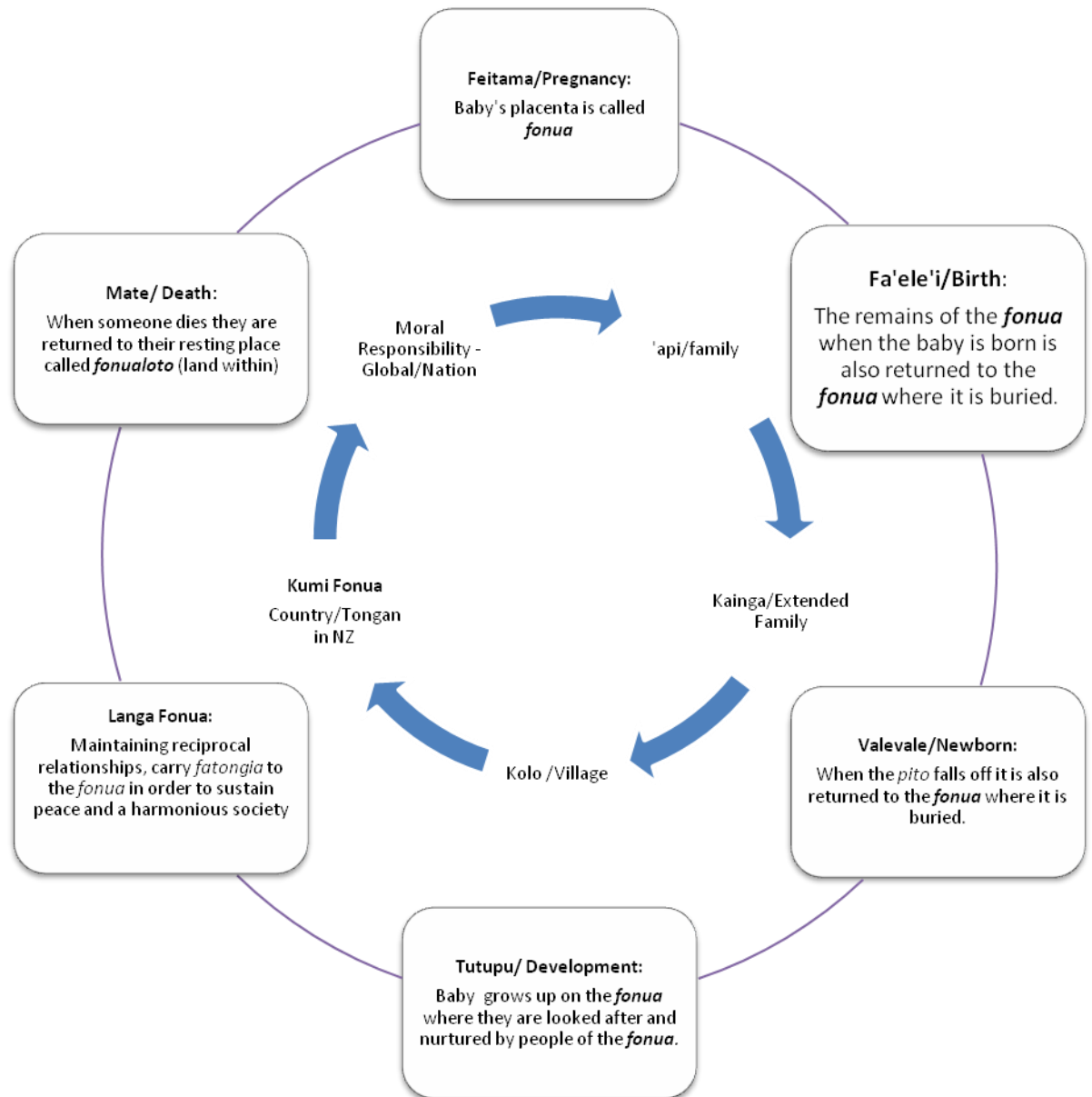
## **2.4 Fonua Concept**

*Fonua* is an important concept in the Tongan culture that refers to the land, peoples, the seas and the skies, and the interdependent relationships that bind them together (Mahina, 1992; Taufe'ulungaki, 2004; Ka'ili, 2005; Tu'itahi, 2005; Manu'atu, 2005). This concept can also be found in other Pacific countries such as Samoa, Fiji, Vanuatu, Cook Islands and Maori (NZ). Taufe'ulungaki (2004) refers to the *fonua* concept to define 'health and well being' of Pacific community. Taufe'ulungaki (2004, p.3) observed that the *fonua* concept can be used to understand the health and well being of Pacific peoples as communities but not as individuals "which is an interpretation that is consistent with the Pacific's holistic worldviews". Tu'itahi (2005) also added to the importance of the *fonua* concept

*...is the interdependent relationship among peoples and between people and the environment. The ultimate purpose of this relationship and exchange between the environment and humanity is to maintain harmony in sustainable ways.*  
(p.12)

Manu'atu (2005) and Ka'ili (2005) talked about the importance of *fonua* within the natural life cycle of people which begins from birth, throughout life until they reach death. There are certain aspects of the Tongan culture that shows the relational concept of *fonua*. The construct of Tongan thinking is inherent in the *fonua* life cycle which details below in figure 4.

**Figure 4: Fonua life cycle**



The concept of *fonua* has several underpinnings that reflect the holistic worldview that link people physically, emotionally and spiritually to the entire cosmos. It also show a connection of time to human where future relates to present, past and even spiritually in the world of the unknown. As Mahina (2005, para .32 cited in Tu'utahi, 2005) notes:

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

An example is the concept of *langa fonua* that reflects in the ongoing construction of ECE by Tongans for Tongans in Aotearoa. This process involves building up success

holistically starting from the micro level of the *'api* to the macro level of the *fonua* as a nation. Building a good foundation for the Tongan children to ensure that they will be able to contribute successfully to the educational outcomes of NZ's education system. This *langa fonua* contribute to the well being of the *fonua* as a whole. In order to strengthen the process of *langa fonua* we must look at the importance of *tauhi vā* (maintaining reciprocal relationships) within the Tongan society. Other examples are *'ofa fonua* denotes the love of country and people on the *fonua*; *kumi fonua* talks about the process of finding new land to call home which is related to Tongans migrating to NZ to stay; *tauhi fonua* talks about nurturance, sustenances of relationships with the people and the entire ecology to ensure their well being. In order to uphold the important relationships on the *fonua*, we must look at *tauhi vā* in detail.

#### **2.4.1 *Tauhi Vā: Maintain reciprocal relationships***

The concept of *tauhi vā* plays a significant role in the Tongan culture and the identity of Tongan people. The word *tauhi* refers to “maintaining, looking after, tending, or to keep or adhere” (Churchward, 1959, p. 463). Definition found on the word *vā* refers to “distance between, distance apart, feeling, and relationship towards each other” (Churchward, 1959, p. 528). Ka’ili (2005) added by saying that *vā* is the social or relational space connecting people; it suggests that the Tongan notion of space places more emphasis on the spaces that link and join people together. An in-depth understanding of *vā* refers to the space between two or parties and their inter- personal (Tu’itahi, 2005). *Tauhi vā* literally refers to maintaining and looking after reciprocal relationships connecting spaces between people genealogically or among groups who are related to one another in various ways (Thaman, 2003; Ka’ili, 2005; Vaioleti, 2011). Although to maintain such harmonious relationships there are certain behavioural expectations involved and the persons involved in the relationships must know their *fatongia* roles and act accordingly. Behavioural expectations such as establishing

reciprocal relationships such as *‘ofa* (love), *faka ‘apa ‘apa* (respect) and *fetokoni ‘aki* (helping one another). The practise of *tauhi vā* promotes the ultimate purpose of peaceful and harmonious relationships within the collective.

In relation to the education of Tongan children in Aotearoa; *tauhi vā* is inclusive of their learning and development. The concept of *tauhi vā* is one of the core values that underpins cultural identity and sense of belonging of Tongan people. *Tauhi vā* is nurtured from birth and it can either through formal or informal practises within the home and in the community. The birth of a child or a baby is one of the most significant occasions in the lives of Tongan people. When a baby is born then you realised the importance of *tauhi vā* and the roles and responsibilities each member of the family and the *kāinga* (extended family) plays. The father’s side always have the obligation of naming the child especially if it is the first child, and both the maternal side and the paternal side have certain obligations in raising the child. These *fatongia* (obligations) are practised as a way of reaffirming and reinforcing their *vā* or relationships.

The learning about *tauhi vā* continues in the everyday living of the *‘api*, then the schools, church and other contexts in the community. Cultural values of *‘ulungaanga* (behaviour) places significant emphasis on *tauhi vā*. At the *Akoteu Tonga* the practise of *‘ulungaanga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of behaving) is one of the major components in the learning and development of Tongan children. *‘Ulungaanga* is how the child relates to the other children and also to the ECE teachers as well. *‘Ulungaanga* defines our relationships and enhances the collective rather than individual. Therefore *tauhi vā* is about the ultimate relationships amongst the people, it focuses on the collective. And collective living and working together means children must learn the *‘ulungaanga* and know their position in which they stand from so that they can relate and work with other children.

Therefore concept of tauhi vā needs to start as early in ECE. It is important that Tongan children learn the principles of *tauhi vā* through its practise in the the settings of *Akoteu Tonga*. Starting at the early childhood they learn the notions of *faka 'apa 'apa*, *fevahevahe 'aki* (sharing), *ngāue fakataha* (working together), *fetokoni 'aki* (helping one another), and *'ofa* (love and compassion). These are the basic starting points of learning about the concept of *tauhi vā*; it is a continuation from what the children learn at their homes, and at the church. Emphasis on the contexts of the homes, the school, church, and in the community can be understood by reference to the ecological theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979). His theory looks at the system of relationships between the multiple layers of contexts. Claireborne & Drewery (2010, p.20) pointed out that the Bronfenbrenner's theory emphasis lies on the "influences of society and culture on the child's development makes the important point that development is always grounded in a particular society at a particular time in history." For example a child grows up in the *'api* where they are nurtured with Tongan values and beliefs that are maintained through *tauhi vā*; these values learned through their 'lived' experiences from the context of *'api* and they take this to their ECE and school settings. These particular learning that the child learn at home should also be incorporated in their formal learning in order to make it 'meaningful' leaning. The pedagogies and curriculums should include the context that the child comes from by designing culturally appropriate programs. This also linked to the Government and policy makers to ensure that they recognise the social capital and not just the 'economics'. That will ensure *langa fonua* with positive educational outcomes that will contribute to the whole nation.

The ECE curriculum Te Whaariki (Ministry of Education, 1996) also advocates the importance of relationships. One of the foundation principles of Te Whaariki states that "children learn through responsive and reciprocal relationships with people, places, and things" (p. 43). The main focuses of these relationships are communication; providing

‘scaffolding’ for the children’s endeavours; and opportunities for social interaction with adults and other children. For Tongan ECE ‘reciprocal relationships’ may not be the equivalent of the Māori and other Pacific cultures mentioned in the Te Whaariki. There are layers of relationships that only Tongans would do and understand. What I am trying to say is that even though it is an advantage to refer to Te Whaariki as a reference in ECE, some of the principles does not match the ‘substance’ that each culture represents and in this case, Tongan culture. Tongan culture is described in the lived experiences of Tongan people and how they live; it is in the relationships or *tauhi vā* that upholds the Tongan social structure. Because of that, Konai Helu Thaman (2006, p.149) says that “this is not to deny the importance of the individual; rather it is to emphasise the fact that relationships define persons as well as communities.” These points contribute to an understanding of the context in which Tongan children should learn and will be presented more in details from a Tongan perspective of *ako*, *poto* and *‘ilo* in the next section.

## 2.5 Summary

In this chapter i explored the use of *ngāue* in the context of the *taumafa kava* ritual. The concept of *ngāue* reflects the hierarchical nature of the social structure that holds people together and contributes a strong sense of Tongan identity encapsulating what is ‘real’ for Tongan people. What is significant to point out is that *ngāue* and *koloa* go together at all times. One cannot function without the other. The distinction between the roles of *tangata Tonga* and *fefine Tonga* is clearly defined within the Tongan culture. The physical *ngāue* of the *tangata Tonga* is to maintain the well being of the family and the *fonua*. He holds the position of ‘*ulu* (head) of the family. There are rituals associated with the offering of the products of *ngāue* that are vital to the ‘knowing’ of one’s positions within the *nofo* ‘*a kāinga*. The *ngāue* of the *fefine Tonga* ensure that the best of the Tongan culture is represented in the form of *lālānga* of *fala* (mats of all sorts) and

*koka'anga* of *ngatu* (or *tapa*). This is what Tongan people treasure as *koloa*. Tongan people continue to practise this value in NZ where Tongan teachers who are mothers, use their cultural aspirations to build Tongan ECE in NZ.

*Ngāue* metaphorically illustrate significance in the way it is positioned within the *taumafa kava*. *Ngāue* include *kava plants, sugar canes, 'umu baskets, and pigs (etc)* which recognize that the *ngāue* comes from the *fonua*. *Ngāue* is connected to the *fonua*. Therefore *langa ngāue* is *langa fonua*. The relational attributes of the concepts within the Tongan language represent the construct in Tongan thinking and being. The concept of *fonua* has several underpinnings that reflect the holistic worldview that link people physically, emotionally and spiritually to the entire cosmos. It also show a connection of time to human where future relates to present, past and even spiritually in the world of the unknown.

The next chapter will look at reviewing the literatures for this study.

## CHAPTER 3: Review of the Literature

*Takatu'u mai, ko e ngāue ke lau<sup>6</sup>*

*(Motu'apuaka orders for the ngāue to be counted for its order and significance in quality rather than what its worth in quantity.)*

### 3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature on Tongan and the Pacific peoples in the context of ECE in Aotearoa. This section includes vital references to how *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of life) is essential to maintaining a Tongan identity in NZ. I also wanted to acknowledge some of the important values in the Tongan culture that have been written in the literature by Tongan scholars in the field of research. These Tongan values are listed as: *Ako*, *'ilo and poto*; *fatafata māfana*; and *Tangata kakato*. I also draw from my own knowledge of the Tongan language and culture to support some of the ideas that I feel that are important to be acknowledged due to lack of written literature in this field. This section is important to this research because it is evident to how *langa fonua* is realised and practised in Tongan ECE. The last part of this chapter talks about the Western influence on Tongan education where education inequality continues to become a problem.

There are a number of research studies (within the Tongan context) carried out on the success stories of students in tertiary institutions in NZ (Kalavite, 2010); families and *kāinga* context (Tu'itahi, 2005; MacIntyre, 2008; Lātū, 2009). However, this study is distinctive as no specific study on building success from the teacher's perspectives within Tongan ECE has been done. Therefore this review of the literature contributes to how this research was structured.

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There are certain rituals accompanying the actual *lau* (counting) of the *ngāue*. This particular order reflects how I needed to critically look at the literature available to acknowledge my Tongan language and culture. I wanted to ensure that the literatures used were worthy of what I was trying to say about *langa ngāue*.



### **3.2 Pacific peoples in New Zealand**

For a number of years Pacific peoples have been highly misrepresented and often researched from a deficit perspective (Tu’itahi, 2005; Kalavite, 2010; Vaioleti, 2011). Pacific (or Pasifiki, Pasifika, Pacifica) refers to the people from the six nations in the Pacific which is Samoa, Niue, Tokelau, Fiji, Cook Islands and Tonga which can be problematic. According to Manu’atu (2000a), the lumping of the six ethnic groups into one group as Pacific is problematic and denies the uniqueness and the diversity of cultural values of each Pacific nations. Within this label of ‘Pacific’, with no specific language but English therefore ‘erase’ the six languages of these cultural groups. However in this thesis, I wish to use the term Pacific to describe these six nations but acknowledge the uniqueness in the cultures’ relationships between these nations with the indigenous peoples of NZ which is the Māori people.

Pacific communities in Aotearoa face a number of problems: they are in the lowest socioeconomic group; with low wage rates; high unemployment figures; poor housing; bad nutrition; poor health outcomes and low education status in academic achievements that is, in completed qualification and certification rates (MacIntosh, 2001; Taufe’ulungaki, 2004; Vaioleti, 2006). Despite the number of research projects on Pacific peoples, only slight improvements are reflected in health and education outcomes for Pacific peoples (Vaioleti, 2006). Government initiatives designed to remedy the situation show the considerable concerns for some of the Pacific communities. Many of the issues according to Taufe’ulungaki (2004) are signs of a fragmented community which is at risk of losing their strong sense of identity and the opportunity to preserve and maintain the cultures and values. “The perspective of the colonized, this incorporation inevitably involved the erosion of existing communities as

they experienced the deepening impact of capitalism and alien cultural values” (Duara, 2004, p.4).

At the same time that Pacific communities have grappled with these issues, they have also aspired to maintain Pacific home languages and devised ways of maintaining cultural identity, which for the Tongan community is all important (Mara, 1998). Language maintenance strategies play a major role in this attempt to maintain eventual identity. Due to the ‘near death’ of Maori language, Bishop (2003, p.222) contends that the inclusion of indigenous Maori languages and practises in the field of education/ in schooling contexts will address the ongoing historical and power imbalances because of “the dominance of Pākehā knowledge codes and the monoculturalism and monolingualism attendant upon a long history of assimilationist education.”

One model that Pacific communities have followed is the use of Maori *nga kohanga reo* model (1982) to enable Pacific ECE services to play a role in language maintenance. *Akoteu Tonga* or Tongan ECE centres, based on the kohanga reo model, are intended to deliver their programmes in their own language (Meade, Puhipuhi, & Foster-Chen, (2003)). There were seventy three licensed Pacific Education and Care Centres in 2003. Most of the ECE services were Samoan owned. Eight centres were Tongan owned (Statistics NZ, 1996). The Tongan early childhood services are mostly led by volunteers and elders with strong visions of maintaining the Tongan language and culture. Many Tongans believe that without their language they lose their culture and their sense of identity. This belief implies that the language should be a feature of children’s upbringing and socialisation to maintain *anga faka-Tonga* or the Tongan way, a belief consistent with the views of Lev Vygotsky (MacIntyre, 2008; Vaiolleti, 2011). According to Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev and Miller (2003, p. 2), Vygotsky’s theory opposes the individualistic approach and instead supports:

*....the importance of sociocultural forces in shaping the situation of a child's development and learning and points to the crucial role played by parents, teachers, peers, and the community in defining the types of interaction occurring between children and their environment.*

Vygotsky's perspective valued the role of people surrounding the child and what they contribute in support of the child's development (Drewery & Bird, 2000). Vygotsky's idea of 'co-construction' aligns with the Tongan view of *ngāue fakataha* (collective/working together) to achieve the betterment of the community and Tongan society as a whole. For instance, in the Tongan community the process of *lālānga* (weaving) is a collective process or activity which is often referred to as *tou ngāue*, where the men in the community help grow the *lou'akau* (pandanus trees) and women assist in cutting the *lou'akau*, younger kids join in the preparation of the *lou'akau* by rolling and spreading them out in the sun to dry, and then the women use the *lou'akau* to weave together to make a beautiful *fala* (mat) that is used for cultural activities such as weddings, funerals, birthdays. The cultural and educational values of *lālānga* weave together learning and knowledge in a meaningful context so that the children can understand at a variety of levels, from the very limited skills to the wider social context. Kalavite (2010, p.112) suggests that Tongan students' learning in tertiary institutions is a process of "constructing and co-constructing knowledge within their socio-cultural context where they position themselves in multiple realities."

### **3.3 Anga faka-Tonga: Tongan identity**

*Anga faka-Tonga* is central to defining Tongan identity with the values and behaviours that make up the Tongan culture (Morton, 1996). The *anga faka-Tonga* is commonly lived by Tongans in their everyday life which defines their identity and makes up the Tongan culture. Tongan people have lived and practised those beliefs and values most of their lives and these practises have become a part of the Tongan person.

However Morton Lee (2003) fears that ‘*anga faka-Tonga*’ (Tongan way) is disappearing and therefore the younger Tongan generations in overseas countries are at risk of losing their cultural identities. This is a common belief that most Tongans living overseas share as they assimilate into the dominant culture of the new countries. However Manu’atu (2000b) observes that teachers with strong cultural identities are more likely to contextualise new concepts that are ‘*māfana*’ (heartfelt, internal) and ‘*mālie*’ (meaningful) and improve competencies in their teaching. The process of assimilation therefore can be resisted by teachers confident in their own identity and cultural knowledge.

A conflict arises for teachers between the need for strong Tongan identity and the requirements of official education authorities (Thaman, 2006). This tension can be seen in the recent Government funding cuts to Pacific language education resources supporting teacher’s stance on the importance of Pacific languages. For most Tongan ECE centres, the teachers are often the ones who are required to implement educational changes in the curriculum and assessments, whether it fits with *anga faka-Tonga* or not. Bishop (2003) explains from a Māori perspective how mainstream contexts deny the “authenticity of Maori experiences and voice, through control over curriculum and pedagogy, and by means of control over the dominant images and metaphors” (p.234). So for Tongans in Aotearoa, the control of curriculum and pedagogy are essential in determining the images and metaphors of how Tongans explain ourselves to others. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) agrees that

*the organisation of school knowledge, the hidden curriculum and the representation of difference in texts and school practises all contain discourses which have serious implications for indigenous students as well as for other minority ethnic groups. (p.11)*

Konai Helu Thaman (2003) says that we should not advocate for something just because our education and jobs are entirely dependent on it. This is difficult to practise because

most Tongan early childhood centres in Aotearoa are owned and funded by the Government through the Ministry of Education. Teacher's jobs and income might be jeopardised if they openly oppose Ministry policies. Diane Mara (2005, p.2) advocates that:

*Any external support should encourage us to have increasing ownership and autonomy as far as possible, so that our own cultural paradigms and beliefs find expression in our own pedagogies, approaches to assessment, and evaluation.*

In addition, this issue was earlier highlighted by Mara (1998) examining the difficulties that Pacific Island early childhood centres face during the licensing and chartering process. Based on the Education Review Office (ERO) report mentioned in Mara's research, almost one third of the Pacific Island early childhood centres were revisited with discretionary reviews time frame. Mara believed that it was due to the newness of the whole review process and to the lack of experience of Pacific operators setting up and running a centre as compared to operators/people in mainstream early childhood services. There was also a concern that Pacific island communities did not understand the language of the regulations and requirements and they needed more translations to ensure a clearer understanding of the regulations and rules. However, what if they do understand the language of regulations and choose not to abide by it due to the conflict of cultural capitals within the two contexts? The Pacific Island communities have diverse languages and cultures which can often influence the priorities of care towards the imposed rules and regulations. Despite this, Tongan migrants still persist in building new centres to ensure a strong sense of belonging in Aotearoa because the more Tongan centres that are built, the more that Tongans feel as though they belong here.

Tongan migrants use *ako* (education) to construct new communities or homes that becomes the new '*api* or home in Aotearoa, NZ. This notion of '*api* is now extending (from what used to be called '*api* or homes in Tonga) as we seek to find what is the equivalence for a Tongan living in Aotearoa. We extend ourselves through *ako* or

education, reconceptualising our existence in NZ. In the future, the hope is that *talanoa ako* or educational talk will develop into what draws us together as Tongan people and act as a solid foundation for the Tongan community. This form of dialogue will create a new *ngāue* using *ako* or education as a point of reference. The task of this thesis is to develop a conceptual framework that draws attention not merely to the generally accepted importance of economics but to the social, cultural and political relationships in this particular group.

### 3.3.2 *Ako, 'ilo and poto*

The concept of *ako* is valuable to have in order to seek *'ilo* (knowledge). *Poto* is when the knowledge is put into good practise where the collective can benefit from it. *Ako*, *'ilo*, and *poto* are inseparable: they always go together. Some may perceive *poto* for the qualifications gained from universities and other insititutions. In the Tongan context *poto* is not all about the qualifications instead it is about how that *'ilo* is practised to maintain the *tauhi vā* and sustain a harmonious society. Taufe'ulungaki (2004, p.25) stated clearly "that knowledge is not expected to be achieved for its own sake but only if it is worthwhile and benefits others". Examples of other words like *loto poto* denote a good heart or intelligence in a holistic manner; *mata poto* (being alert) means being insightful and skilful in handling certain *fatongia* (duties/obligations) in the collective; *'atamai poto* refers to an intellectual mind or clever thinking; and *anga poto* denotes a respectable and acceptable way to behave in front of people. We also have people that are *poto'i ngāue* which refers to people who have special expertise in what they do but do not hold any qualifications. Some gained the knowledge from generations to generations and through active participation with the environment and with the people of the land. The use of *poto'i faiva* pertains to highly valued experts in performing cultural rituals and Tongan dances; *poto'i lalanga* is (reflected in how the *fala* (Tongan

mats) are expertly woven) refers to someone who is skilful in weaving; there is *poto 'i toutai* this refers to someone whose expertise is fishing; *poto 'i ngoue* refers to someone skilful in the plantation. Examples of the use of *poto 'i* (expertise/s) that Tongan teachers at the Akoteu Tonga aspire to (among others) are *poto 'i lea* (refers to a child who speaks fluently in the Tongan language for her age); *poto 'i talanoa* (refers to a child who show expertise in talking, storytelling and conversing confidently in the Tongan language); *poto 'i faiva* (children know how to perform the Tongan dances and rituals) and *poto 'i ngāue* (refers to children who are smart and wise in everything that they do).

*Ako* therefore in the Tongan context is not all about the qualification received from formal institutions. More of the education has now shifted from the in-formal to the formal way of education which was first introduced by the missionaries and later by colonial Government. Thaman (1995, pg1-2) defines education as an “introduction to worthwhile learning, and distinguished among formal, non- formal and informal education and schooling as worthwhile learning that is organised and institutionalised”. Taufe’ulungaki (2002) also agrees that *ako* in the Pacific traditional setting is understood to be ‘worthwhile learning’ because it included the important cultural values and practical skills for survival within the communities. Younger generations were instructed by the *mātu’a* (older) generations on specific cultural knowledge and skills of acceptable behaviours, as well as in the practical skills needed for survival and in the continuation of the culture (Cummins, 1977 cited in Thaman, 2005). Thaman (2005) also agreed that the Tongan traditional form of education helped enhanced communal roles and maintain the important cultural values within the social hierarchy and the environment.

Timote Vaiioleti (2011) in his doctoral thesis talked about the important values that his mother instilled in him when he was growing up which included learning about how to apply the skills of *ako* at the present time : -

*Ako is about seeking 'ilo which is relevant to living in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century but must include the best of the past which is necessary for us to live a meaningful life together with dignity. Using 'ilo in a way that will benefit everyone and our surroundings is poto. Poto then will be the ultimate proof of good ako. (p.51)*

### **3.3.3 Fatafata Māfana**

The Tongan concept of *māfana*<sup>7</sup> is experienced inwardly when one is filled with joy, gratitude, contentment and happiness. There is no English word equivalent for *māfana* literally this idea of *māfana* encapsulate the wholeness in the Tongan thinking and the complexities that it brings, despite holding different meanings described in three aspects that are normally linked to *tangata kakato*. When a baby is born, Tongan elders (including parents and from the *kāinga*) constantly advise young mothers to *fua ki ho fatafata ke māfana* meaning to comfort a baby is to hold them close to your chest where the heart is because that is the place that generates *māfana*, feeling of warmth to a baby to stop them from crying or feeling sad. I interpret *māfana* in this sense as a feeling of connectedness which ties the emotional feelings flowing between the baby and the mother (and other caregivers/family members). The development and the well being of the Tongan child start from when they were born, from an early age they can identify *māfana*, knowing that *māfana* is what gives them a feeling of love, peace and harmony that will ensure their ideal state of well being and sense of belonging. The point is that for a Tongan child to have a sense of belonging in ECE centers there has to be a link between the home setting and the ECE setting. The link clearly must be reflected in the designing of the program that is meaningful for the child, inclusive of *māfana* through the language and culture that is familiar to the child.

Manu'atu (2000a) talked about the notion of *mālie* and *māfana* as pedagogical possibilities for Tongan secondary students in NZ. She also talked about '*mālie* in *faiva*

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<sup>7</sup>. Churchward (1959, p.311) defines *māfana* as "warm (inwardly, subjectively); warm, such as warms us (of country, time, day, etc.); (of water) pleasantly warm, - between *māmāfana* and *mafana*; (of a room) pleasantly warm, cosy; (of the mind) fervent, enthusiastic, cp. *Loto māfana*; (of love) warm, heart-felt. Also friendly, cordial.



“as a concept that constitutes a notion of success and achievement” (Manu’atu, 2000a, p.21). Manu’atu emphasized the importance of drawing from Tongan pedagogical ideas such as the notion of *mālie* in *faiva* to help make sense of the relationships that are constructed and co-constructed by Tongan people.

### **3.3.4 Tangata Kakato**

*Tangata Kakato* literally refers to a whole, total or complete person. This philosophy of *tangata kakato* is often incorporated into church governed high schools in Tonga which have contributed to the Tongan way of thinking since Christianity was introduced in Tonga. Because there was no formal schooling in Tonga, when the missionaries arrived in Tonga they established schools in Tonga to educate people mainly about their Christian values and philosophies, to ensure that people adopted Christianity. The influence of western thinking and concepts introduced by the missionaries included their interpretations of Descartes (1641) dualism, the split between mind and body. In my view *tangata kakato* can be problematic in the sense that it is a western thinking that was translated into the Tongan language and it does not represent Tongan indigenous values implicit in their world view.

Koloto (2006) talks about *tangata kakato* from a Tongan perspective that:

*There are three main aspects of development emphasised in the concept of tangata kakato: mo’ui fakasino (body or physical well being) mo’ui faka’atamai (mind or intellectual well being), mo’ui fakalaumālie (soul or spiritual well being). Inherent in this thinking about development is the belief that the individual is born to perform certain fatongia (responsibility, duties or obligation) and to become ‘aonga (useful) to their family (family), siasi (church), and fonua (country). (p. 62)*

Koloto’s take on *tangata kakato* is that each three aspects must reach a state of well being *fakasino*, *faka’atamai*, and *fakalaumālie* in human development. This view aligns with other indigenous cultures such as Māori, Macfarlane ( 2000, p.40) explains that “Māori holistic view of the world is often described as the state where body, mind, and spirit are not separate entities, but are interlinked to capture the concept of ‘wholeness’

”. Tongan people are not fragmented to be talked about in terms of their physical attributes of success instead of the physical and spiritual factors. For example when I talk about having *māfana*, it literally doesn’t separate the person into separate entities but instead it talks about the holistic view of *māfana*. Because to be *māfana* is in every part of the body spritiually, physically and mentally and it is not referring to one aspect of the body. Therefore *tangata kakato* should not be split up in three aspects because they are not fragmented to begin with.

### **3.4 Western influence on Tongan education**

A common view among Tongan migrants is that education is far better in NZ than in Tonga, the NZ teachers are: more qualified and well equipped to teach the curriculum; more competent and fluent in the English language; better resourced than in Tonga (Manu’atu, 2000a). The disadvantages of the Tongan homeland are usually given as the primary reason for migration from the Tongan homeland. However it also shows a particular mind set of the Tonga migrant. Those first migrants were coming from a land of deprivation to the land of milk and honey.

By contrast, the experience of migrants is not usually in line with their expectations. Inevitably this education implies changing the way the child thinks. Bagnall (2005) explains that it is accepted that western educational systems have usually failed to respond to the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Konai Helu Thaman (2003, p.5) advocates that there is a:

*...need to interrogate the images and the representations that we have inherited or are creating. This is important because we often see the ideas we have inherited from the academy as natural and inevitable and we accept them as “truths,” incorporating them into the way in which we organize and manage ourselves, our work, and our lives. (p.5)*

#### **3.4.1 Education inequality**

The NZ curriculum in the schools dictates what should be learnt and how students should be taught; these shape the perspectives of life of the students. However, the

curriculum is 'eurocentric' because it does not share Tongan values, and is often inimical to them, results in alienating the Tongan students from their cultural beliefs and values. Thaman (2011) talks about how education tends to 'alienate' the important cultural knowledge and beliefs of students from the Pacific. Thaman advocates that formal education should be closely aligned to the cultural values taught in the home. There is also a concern that the teachers are not able to bridge the gap between their western type education with their own cultural values. Devine (2000) says that it saddens her to know that:

*...it is the students themselves, in a world focused on norms and efficiency who pose the biggest threat to the ability of teachers to 'deliver the curriculum', that is, to conform and perform. (p.412)*

Tongan students in Aotearoa have an ongoing struggle because their culture and languages are not included in their mainstream education. However the success of those aligned with the mainstream culture is used as an ideal model to impose expectations on other minority cultures to follow, while the perception that 'one size fits all' remains in place. Vaiioleti (2011, p.78) agrees that:

*Those who are already well off economically, and whose knowledge and values are aligned culturally to the mainstream curriculum, will be able to cope better with the school system, while those already culturally, socially and economically disadvantaged will be further marginalised. (p.78)*

The Ministry of Education (1996) emphasized the importance of creating equitable outcomes for learning for each child no matter what their gender, age, ethnicity and background are. However institutions and individuals around the world state their commitments to diversity and equity, positions of power remains in the hands of socially dominant, ethnically determined male groups (Shapiro & Leigh, 2007). We must look at the power relations within our organisations, the Government and the dominant group to start making some practical changes rather than just merely talking about it. Hixson (1991, as cited in Zeichner, 1992) contends that it is important to acknowledge diversity and equity in an organisation and programs that should reflect

the makeup of the students and their academic staff. He also emphasized that the cycle of education inequality is continuous. The mainstream culture continues to maintain the status quo by forming alternative schools (or classes) to cater to those who are not 'up to' the mainstream standard. Vaioleti (2011, p.74) concurs that this often "results in the continuing exclusion of non-dominant culture members from successes in education." Mainstream institutions ought to cater for minority students, without violating their values, and secondly, it is important that children from alternative education should be welcome back into mainstream institutions, at any point.

### **3.5 Summary**

I have talked about how some of literatures show that the Pacific communities in Aotearoa face a number of problems: they are in the lowest socioeconomic group with poor health outcomes and low academic achievements. Therefore some of the Pacific communities responded with their aspirations to maintain Pacific home languages and devised ways of maintaining cultural identity. This is why *langa ngāue* is all important for the Tongan community, to maintain a strong Tongan identity through the use of the Tongan language and culture within the Tongan ECE. The beliefs, values, language and culture of Tongan people were not left behind in Tonga, but carried with them when Tongans migrated to Aotearoa.

The underpinnings of having *fatafata māfana* through this meaningful learning will ensure the well being and sense of belonging of the child in Tongan ECE settings. Also *tangata kakato* concept is talked about in a holistic manner where it is not divided into 3 aspects of physical, mental and spiritual. Because I believe that they should not be split up as all three aspects are connected physically, mentally and spiritually. However the western influence on Tongan education may be at risk with *anga faka-Tonga*. In the next chapter I will discuss the *talanoa* research methodology employed for this study.

## CHAPTER 4: Research Methodology

*Takatu'u mai – tauhi 'a e mu'aki 'o e kava'... 'o ngaohi ke holo.*<sup>8</sup>  
(Motu'apuaka orders for the chosen kava plant to be prepared ritually by the kau ngāue to ensure it is ready for drinking, worthy of the King and everyone involved in the kava circle)

### 4.1 Introduction

The *Talanoa* concept is one of the most culturally appropriate research approaches for Tonga (Vaiioleti, 2006; Prescott, 2009; Tu'itahi, 2005) and there is a similar concept for Samoa, Fiji and other Pacific island nations (Otsuka, 2005). *Talanoa* is a Tongan concept that is lived and used in a normal daily Tongan household. This method of *talanoa* was considered appropriate to use in this study because as Lātū (2010) explains *talanoa* is *koloa* (treasure) to Tongan people. Fundamentally, *talanoa* describes a process or methods that validates Tongan protocols and uphold important values through *ako* (education), *'ilo* (knowledge) within the Tongan culture. Taufe'ulungaki (2004, p.23) agrees that:

*...in addition to cultural values, each culture has its own beliefs about knowledge, which are linked to the key values of the culture and these, in turn, influence the way knowledge is created, validated, transmitted and used.*

Using the qualitative approach of *talanoa* the author draws from the wealth of Tongan indigenous knowledge through *talanoa* with the Tongan early childhood teachers in the area of South Auckland as the participants for this research. This chapter discusses the methodology and the design employed for this research.

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<sup>8</sup> Conceptually *talanoa* methodology was used for this study to ensure that it is authentic and fit to be used in a Tongan context where the King is present. To address the King, appropriate Tongan royal language or *lea faka Tu'i* has to be practised where he is addressed with clear indication of power, authority and status in the Kingdom of Tonga. The nobles and chiefs have their own language that is used during the *talanoa* which is known as *lea faka-hou'eiki*. The commoners will employ *talanoa* through the normal Tongan language. This hierarchical nature of *talanoa* reflects the respect and the values that uphold this very important structure within Tongan society. *Talanoa* is recommended for this context because it is flexible and it can be contextualised to fit the audience or the people involved.

## 4.2 Theoretical Framework – Founa Fakakaukau

Pacific research is greatly influenced by western ideas and modernist paradigms. This can be seen apparent in the way we frame our research projects to fit prescribed procedures required by the dominant culture and people in power. From an indigenous perspective, Smith (1999) describes research ‘through imperial eyes’ as an assumption that Western ideas are superior and the only way to make sense of reality. Most indigenous researchers share similar experiences when researching into epistemological issues that move outside the boundaries of modernist paradigms (Stewart, 2007; Smith, 1999). Therefore the use of appropriate research methodologies for indigenous peoples such as the Pacific peoples is essential (Otsuka, 2005; Vaioloti, 2006). Consequently this research project will employ *talanoa* as its methodology. While *talanoa* methodology is special and distinctive in its own right, it aligns with other worldwide traditional and post-modernist approaches in the field of indigenous, feminists and post colonial research. There is room to consider alternative worldviews that might not have been allowed by ‘modernist’ positions for a variation from universal truth like ‘*talanoa*’. The commonality lies in the notion of ‘other’ as Linda Smith (2006) discusses research ethics in the indigenous and marginalised communities include building, maintaining and fostering reciprocal relationships; value collective living as humans living in a community over individuals. Tongan peoples’ lives are hierarchically interwoven and entwined in the strong *tauhi vā* (reciprocal relationships), *faka‘apa‘apa* (respect), *‘ofa* (love and affection). Stewart (2007, p.8) states that:-

*These traditions share an historical origin that includes a critical examination of how the notion of the ‘other’ in research reproduces the existing disparities in societal power of the historically-researched group, as a basis for emergence.*

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) describes research as a complex activity which happens in a set of political and social conditions. Within this political and social environment some groups have more power and authority than others which influences how research

is legitimized. Fiona Cram (2006, p.31) agrees that research is about power that generates 'legitimate knowledge' to maintain those who are in power.

From experience Pacific peoples in Aotearoa NZ have been over researched from a deficit perspective and have endured years of 'disempowering research' consequently still lack social and economic developments in their health and education (Vaioleti, 2006). Why continue to push for answers when they are already preconceived and prescribed before the research starts. De Souza (2004, p.472) says that "it is important to analyse not just the content of the knowledge that is produced through research, but also the process in which research is conceived, produced and justified as knowledge." Underneath what may seem to be an innocent process for some of the Pacific peoples hide the real intentions of what the research is to portray through dominant expectations and interpretations. There is a significant mismatch of outcomes when research is applied through western worldviews to Pacific ways of knowing and values. Vaioleti (2006) says that Pacific peoples have unique worldviews and epistemologies therefore cannot use the same conventional research methodologies to identify solutions and issues because it may not work. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) revealed some of the ongoing issues that indigenous communities deal with by raising some of these critical questions: -

*Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated? (p.10)*

To date *talanoa* has been predominantly used as a research methodology in the Education discipline by Tongan academics such as Manu'atu (2000a), Vaioleti (2006), and Prescott (2009) among others. For the Tongan community, research must *fou he anga faka-Tonga* (go through the Tongan way) to ensure the research is reliable and accurate (Prescott, 2009; Vaioleti; 2006). The flexible nature of *talanoa* draws the researcher and the participant closer; that provides opportunities to investigate, query,

probe, search, explain and re-align (Vaiotele, 2006). Halapua (2008) agrees that the emphasis in *talanoa* lies in the power of the art of listening because *talanoa* makes sure that voices are heard, respected and celebrated. A further example of the use of *talanoa* is *pōtalanoa* which means having *talanoa* into the night which either can be informal or formal. Lātū (2009, p.74) also affirms that:-

*Teaching and learning history through talanoa, informs the children of their culture. Talanoa helps to preserve history and maintain Tongan beliefs, values, language and culture. Talanoa opens the minds of children to learn by recognising the meaning behind a talanoa.*

*Talanoa* is one of the Tongan most indigenous practises that has lasted a number of generations and is still in practise in the Tongan language and culture. *Talanoa* was used by our forefathers and foremothers in the olden days ritually to record, store, transfer important cultural values and knowledges to the next generations. The Tongan culture is considered orally rich, transmitted through the use of *talanoa*. Since *talanoa* was used by Tongan people in precolonial times before coming in contact with the West, there is no other ‘authentic’ practise that could bring ‘justice’ to the Tongan culture. *Talanoa* is subsequently considered a *koloa tukufakaholo* (treasure-handed down from generation to generations) within the Tongan culture, not only an indigenous methodology but ‘legitimate’ to practise within this particular research.

#### **4.3 Research Context**

According to Statistics NZ (2010), overall there are 132 Pacific language and services centres, 51 of those centres were centers dedicated to one cultural group in which only the appropriate Pacific language was used (immersion). The biggest total ‘immersion’<sup>9</sup> group is Samoan who has 31 total immersion centers, and then there are 16 Tongan centres, 2 which used Cook Island Maori and 3 using Niuean language. Most of these

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<sup>9</sup> Immersion is when the ECE center is dedicated to one cultural group in which only the appropriate Pacific language was used.



services are found in the Auckland Region. The number of Pacific Islands licensed early childhood centres in NZ has dropped from a total of 93 in 2006 to only 51 in 2010.

The Tongan early childhood centers were crucial to the research. This research used 8 centres out of the sixteen Tongan immersion centres in Auckland. Six out of the eight centers are church operated ECE centers not including two community operated centers. The Tongan Early Childhood Association (TECA) is an association that represent the Tongan early childhood centres in NZ. Most of the Tongan teachers are members of this organisation including all of the participants in this study. TECA is clearly a milestone in the attempt to *langa ngāue in Aotearoa* by *kau faiako Akoteu Tonga* living in Aotearoa.

#### **4.4 Participants – Fofola e fala kae fai e alea**

The eight participants used for this research were chosen from the area of South Auckland. Participants were selected based on the experiences and qualifications that they had acquired throughout their various educational journeys in Aotearoa particularly in the Auckland area. All have obtained degrees specialising in ECE and have become registered teachers. These participants were all females that hold leadership roles in the eight different centres that they work in and no study had been previously carried out on the successes of Tongan early childhood teachers working in Aotearoa. These eight Tongan ECE teachers were highly responsible for starting the ECE *akoteu Tonga* where they still practise.

The acknowledgement of Tongan protocols such as *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *fakatōkilalo* (humility), *'ofa* (love), *toka'i* (considerate) throughout the *talanoa* contribute to the richness of the experience and data. Each *talanoa* session was recorded on tape and varied between one hour and two hours. *Talanoa* was encouraged in such a way that the researcher and the participant were able to have time to think about what is expected of

the study. Each participant had time to participate freely and talk about anything that related to their opinions and perspectives on the raised topics.

The participants made a decision that the *talanoa* would be carried out in the Tongan language and the experience was so meaningfully *faka-māfana* (warm inward feeling/heartfelt) that tears were shared by both parties in all of the eight *talanoa* sessions.

#### **4.5 Data collection – Tānaki Fakakaukau**

In the Tongan culture it is appropriate to hold a *talanoa* with your family or loved ones inside your house, a process which is known as *fofola e fala kae fai e alea* (discussions on the mat). The point is that it is always an appropriate time to *talanoa* ‘on the mat’ about the important things in life. Therefore a one to one *talanoa* method was used at the eight *akoteu Tonga* where the participants call their second ‘*api*’.

The participants felt it was vital that we carried out the *talanoa* at the very place that they have worked so hard to establish. At the heart of their *langa ngāue* were the *akoteu Tonga*, verifies the hard work that they have done to establish these eight centers. *Talanoa* allowed a more personal atmosphere where the participants felt comfortable and confident which enabled the researcher and the participants to capture deep accounts of their experiences and accomplishments because it is relevant to the Tongan context. *Talanoa* is an ordinary, everyday activity that the participants can relate to, thus ensuring a smooth transition of the *talanoa* data to this study on a personal and authentic level.

*Talanoa* in its original form is an unguided discussion, tensions arises in the research process because the expectations of the University are that the discussions be relevant to the student’s research topic. A compromise has to be reached. Consequently I developed some themes for discussions. In the event this did not cause a problem because the

participant understood so clearly what my interests were that I did not prompt them. The *talanoa* was guided by the topics laid out in Appendix E.

#### **4.5.1 Transcription of Data – *Fakatahataha'i 'o e 'ilo***

The transcript from the *talanoa* was prepared by the author in the Tongan language. Each transcript was typed, played and read many times before determining what themes would be used and extracted for this study. The common themes emerged from the *talanoa* data were divided into categories; because the *talanoa* was carried out in the Tongan language it was appropriate not to translate it into English before dividing it into themes because it would lose some of the nuances and meanings in the data. (Tamasese, Peteru, Waldergrave & Bush 2005). Therefore the data was divided into general themes and only then were the quotes used in this study translated. The point is that the use of English language would diverge the meanings of indigenous linguistic requirements that comes with the interdependent view of the land and people (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008). These themes, which came out of the *talanoa* materials, were then used to organise the knowledge and ideas raised by the participants in this research. Therefore I have included the Tongan version of the *talanoa* before it was interpreted into English allowing the readers to make their own interpretations of the data. Relevant quotes are used when needed to illustrate the contributions made during the *talanoa*.

#### **4.5.2 Data Analysis – *Fakaloloto'i e ngaahi fakakaukau***

To determine the themes in this research, I used a manual system to pick up on the common themes raised by the *talanoa*. Due to the complexity of the *heliaki* (metaphors) within the Tongan language used by the participants, other, more technical methods would be inappropriate. *Talanoa* is presented and analysed in chapter 5 and 6 where the main themes are identified.

It is also important to note that these *talanoa* exchanges are interpreted and analysed on the cultural basis of my upbringing in Vava'u by my grandparents drawing also on all of my education from kindergarten to high school in Tongatapu. Other Tongans have different forms of socialisation in their lives so they may hold different views on the material in this study and I am acknowledging that.

#### **4.6 Possible Limitations**

There could only be limitations if the *talanoa* methodology might be viewed with suspicions by people who are not familiar with Tongan (or Pasifika) indigenous culture. Compared to Western methodologies that are already well established readers may find this 'emerging' methodology of *talanoa* not 'justified' in the field of research. *Talanoa* is less objective and more subjective than conventional research methodologies in the sense that it is about the 'people' who are involved in the experience. However, there is a considerable body of work based on Pacific ways of knowing which can be regarded as having established '*talanoa*' as an appropriate and productive methodology to use in Pacific contexts, and particularly in Tongan research.

The other important aspect of *talanoa* is that the results derived from *talanoa* may change due to place and time and it takes a skilful researcher to understand what and why this is. This stems from the underpinnings that *talanoa* brings because it is not just about getting the 'data' but it is more about the relationships and the holistic view held by people attached to the value of *fonua* .

Time for the *talanoa* sessions took longer than most interview sessions within a western research paradigm, and that can be considered as a limitation. However within the Tongan context, time is not everything because time can somewhat wait for Tongan people. For example, often when there is a scheduled function planned for twelve

o'clock during the day, it never starts on time. It only starts when literally everyone<sup>10</sup> arrives: even if that is two hours later, that is when the function starts. The relational worldview of the Tongan people means that there is no use starting a function when all the people that matter the most are not there. When it comes to research, having more time to *talanoa* with the participants conveys certain Tongan values that signify *toka'i* (showing respect towards the researcher) and *fakamaatoato* (taking this research seriously) which can be counted as a positive input for the researcher.

The epistemology of research is concern with the 'philosophy of knowing' which worries me when I think about what counts as 'knowledge' and what doesn't in research. *Talanoa* as a methodology emancipates the eight Tongan participants from the rather rigid structure of western methodologies way of research. There are no 'Yes' and 'No' answers provided because there are layers of 'knowing' that ought to be talked about in order to really understand their holistic worldviews. The knowledge shared is not for the purpose of an individual but about the whole collective and how it connects to the *fonua*, and the whole entire cosmos. And for that there is no limitation, no fragmentation of our cultural beliefs and values.

Therefore I recommend that the *talanoa* methodology should be discussed and explored at the interface between Pacific research and 'western' or non-Pacific research, in order to come up with ways to get 'outside' researchers to take notice of the 'alternative' worldviews which are becoming more recognised, both among research participants and in research methodology.

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<sup>10</sup> Only a Tongan would know when to start a Tongan function when they look at the number of guests whether all of the representatives from the main family lines, public figures, church ministers and when they see that most have attended and for a Tongan who is in charge of the function will know when to start.

#### 4.7 Research ethics

Ethics in a broader sense refers to what is right and wrong, which is used as a guideline to ensure that people are behaving the 'right' way (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1996). To determine what is ethical and unethical is highly dependent on the researcher and the context where the research is based. Although Tonga is categorised with other Pacific countries, Tonga is unique and has multiple layers of hierarchical relationships that are not found in the other Pacific countries therefore using the same ethical standards does not always 'fit' in with how Tongan people perceive research ethics. Cultural awareness requires knowing yourself, in the context of the communal and in this case, the Tongan and ECE community (Manu'atu, 2006). Smith's (2006, p.10) view on indigenous research ethics reflected on how: -

*.....ethics is at a very basic level about establishing, maintaining, nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships; not just among people as individuals, but with people as individuals, as collectives, as members of communities and with humans who live in and with other entities in the environment. (p.10)*

I used Smith's (1999) take on researching with 'humility' for this current study. The age differences between the author and the participants only stand to emphasise how much *fakatōkilalo* (humility), *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *'ofa* was required for the *talanoa*. These women are held in very high regard and prestige in the Tongan community for the hard work that they have contributed to building the success of Tongan ECE in Aotearoa. Therefore the use of Tongan protocols and values were used to ensure that I was carrying out the research 'ethically' with regard to my position as a Tongan researcher.

*In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), the final ethics approval was finally granted on 21<sup>st</sup> of October 2010 by AUTEC with reference number 10/157.*

#### 4.8: Summary

Overall I was humbled by the experience and the opportunity to *talanoa* with these *faiako Akoteu Tonga*. It became my responsibility to ensure that the participants are protected from physical or psychological harm that may occur during the course of the research (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1996). The participants of this research are people of full Tongan ethnicity that are now living in Aotearoa so huge considerations of the *anga faka-Tonga* was provided to ensure that participants felt *lata* (sense of belonging) and that they are *toka 'i* (respected) throughout the course of the *talanoa*. Fundamentally, *talanoa* describes a process or methods that validates Tongan protocols and uphold important values through *ako* (education), and *'ilo* (knowledge) within the Tongan culture.

In the next chapter I will present the first half of my findings and analysis on Tongan worldview of *langa ngāue*.

## CHAPTER 5: Tongan worldview of *Langa Ngāue*

*“Fakafeta’i, mou taka tu’u mai, tauhi ‘a e kava’ mo e ngāue’ ki tu’a pea tauhi ke malu”<sup>11</sup>  
(Motu’apuaka orders for the kava and the ‘gifts’ or ‘products’ presented at the kava circle to be taken outside kava circle and make sure that they are stored safely until claimed.)*

### Introduction

This chapter draws from the participants’ perspectives and values about *langa ngāue* in Aotearoa through their journeys towards successful achievements in ECE. The collected data from the *talanoa* were divided into themes identified during the current study. The richness of the teacher’s lived experiences was captured in the shared emotional exchange of tears and laughter during the *talanoa*. In this study I was able to witness the *mālie* and *māfana*, feel the passion, taste the tears shared by the participants. Smith (2006, p.8) explains that research is “about the potential to see the trees but not the forest, to underplay the need for rigour and integrity as a researcher.” Like Smith, this chapter attempts to reveal the ‘potentials’ to understand how Tongan people do the things they do which is our ‘rigour’, given that Tongan people have holistic worldviews which are not about the fragmentations of the forest, but the values that make the forest stand strong and tall against all odds.

This chapter will start with the Tongan teachers’ perspectives on building success in Tongan ECE discussing what constitute the *loto* of these hard working teachers *loto’i ngāue*, *ngāue faka-‘Otua*, *ngāue ‘ofa*, *mamahi’i ngāue*, *ngāue ‘a fafine Tonga faka-fa’ee*.

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<sup>11</sup> This order of *tauhi e ngāue ke malu* – is appropriate conceptually for this study because the views and knowledge of teachers ought to be represented in a way that ensures empowerment and positive nation building or *langa fonua*. *Tauhi ke malu* will ensure that the knowledge is protected from being misrepresented. It is not about the ‘economics’ but the social and the relationships that bind them together with the entire cosmos.



### 5.1 *Loto'i ngāue*: Work from within

The eight participants reflected on the motivations behind their decisions to become ECE teachers in Aotearoa because none of the participants were involved in teaching ECE in Tonga. The concept of *loto'i ngāue* theme, identified during the collating of data, underpins the values that formulate the success stories in their endeavour towards *langa ngāue* in Aotearoa. *Loto*, referring to the heart or the souls, literally means that their *ngāue* (work/practise) is generated from the heart. This means that their practise is rooted in the very hearts and souls of these Tongan ECE teachers. They defined how this *loto'i ngāue* contributes to their success stories through their *ngāue*. When these teachers migrated from Tonga, materially they brought nothing but the *koloa* (Tongan treasure) stored inside their *loto* (heart/soul). This is the very thing that they draw from to use in their practise in the *akoteu Tonga*. This is reflected in the motto of the Free Wesleyan Church schools in Tonga – '*ko Tonga mo'unga ki he loto*' which describes the mountains situated in the heart of the Tongans: since there are no mountains in Tonga, they can only be found in the hearts of the Tongan people as most of the participants described:-

*T.8.Ko e Tonga' 'oku mo'unga pe ki hono loto', 'oku fakataataa e loto e Tonga' ki ha mo'unga 'oku ikai lava ke holoki, 'a ia ko e mo'unga pē ki loto pea ko e fakatātā ki he anga 'o e loto 'o e kakai Tonga pea kapau 'oku masiva ka 'oku ma'u me'a pē 'a e Tonga ia hono loto.*

**Interpretation:** *There is an old Tongan saying that the mountain of Tonga is situated in the heart of a Tongan which cannot be demolished or destroyed by anyone (or anything). Tongan people are considered rich in terms of what lies in the heart and not by the materialistic things they possess.*

*T.4 pea na'a ku ma'u e me'a koia ko e Tonga ko e mo'unga ki he loto, 'ikai lava ha taha ia 'o break e me'a koia pea 'e lava pē e me'a kotoa.*

**Interpretation:** *My heart can be compared to what Tongans say - that the mountain of Tonga lies in the heart with the underlying values of resilience and perseverance.*

This view is also consistent with the desire to maintain the Tongan language and culture which supports this idea of the mountain situating the heart of a Tonga.

*T6: Ko e Tonga mo'unga ki he loto' ko hoto loto ke hangee ha fu'u mo'unga. Kapau te tau loto 'aki 'ete ngāue 'e lelei pē. Ko e fu'u loto ke hangee ha fu'u mo'unga pea tau 'ohake ai 'etau fānau' i he'etau lea mo e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga pea 'oku na 'alu fakataha.*

**Interpretation:** *The mountain of Tonga is situated in the heart, therefore the heart ought to be like a mountain in the sense that you put your heart and everything into what you do so you can succeed. Also means to raise up our children with the Tongan cultural values and the Tongan language.*

Of more relevance, one participant reflected on the way she recruited her staff. She made a point in the way she approaches recruitment in her centre. She advised that she doesn't believe in putting out advertisements on newspapers or radios because it doesn't particularly work for *akoteu Tonga*.

*T.8: ....ko e fili 'eku 'uu kau ngāue 'oku 'ikai ke u fili au ia ha tu'unga fakaako pē qualifications ka 'oku fili ia 'e au he loto. Kotoa e kau ngāue na'a nau volunteer kātoa pē pea 'oku te tala pe ia 'e kita he 'uluaki uike 'a e to'onga ngāue 'oku ne fai' pea ko e taimi 'ni kuo nau 'osi ma'u mata'itohi kātoa.*

**Interpretation:** *...when i recruit my staff I don't select them based on their qualifications because that could be achieved on a later date. I tend to look at the loto or the heart of the person. I could pick out who will be my staff by how they practise in the first week and in the way they carry themselves. Most of my staff started as volunteer workers with no qualifications but have now gained their degrees.*

It was important that the participants acknowledged how their strong sense of spirituality contributes to driving *loto'i ngāue* that empowered them in their current profession. The *loto'i ngāue* is inseparable from the spiritual connectedness that the participants felt towards their *langa ngāue* which will be discussed in the next section.

### **5.1.1 Ngāue 'oku faka-'Otua: It is God's calling**

Majority of the participants (7 out of 8) felt that their *loto'i ngāue* are connected to their spiritual beliefs and played a major role in why they chose to become ECE teachers in Aotearoa. The participants' main motivation behind their practise lie in the strong sense of belief in their spiritual affiliations, encapsulating the strong connections that formulate the participants' commitment to their *langa ngāue*, knowing that they can rely on their spiritual beliefs for inner strength and skills to help them throughout their journeys. Some of the participants strongly reflected on their experiences:

T.1: ....tui fakapapau na'e ui ki ai 'e he 'Eiki pea failelei'i leva 'o 'ikai toe veiveiua pea 'i he 'etau tui mo e falala he ko e taimi ko eni kuo taimi ke te malōlō kae fakafeta'i ma'u pē ki he 'Eiki he 'ene 'omai e ivi makehe kiate au ke fai 'aki e fatongia.

**Interpretation:** I strongly believe, without a doubt that it was the Lord's calling, who has given me the strength to carry out my duties and obligations despite approaching retirement age....

T.3:...he 'oku ou tui lahi ko e ui mo e fokotu'utu'u pē eni 'a e 'Eiki ke u afe mai neongo 'eku fou mai he faingata'a lahi 'aupito 'auptio he field ko eni 'o e ECE hangee ko e ngāue mo e fānau. Ka 'oku 'i ai ha 'ilo pea ke tau fevahevahe'aki pea 'oku faka-'Otua ia pea ko e ngaahi ui ia mei 'olunga pea 'oku ou tui leva 'oku ne 'omai e fiemālie.

**Interpretation:** I truly believe that it is God's calling that made me become an ECE teacher despite going through heaps of challenges working with children. I believe that God has provided us with the knowledge therefore we should share it knowing that this calling awards a feeling of inner peace.

This view reinforced that God's calling generate an inner feeling of commitment and loyalty to the profession they have been called to do as ECE teachers.

T.7: 'Oku ui au 'e he 'Eiki pea kuo pau leva ke li'aki e me'a kotoa na'a ku fai' kau ha'u pe au 'osi 'ilo pē ia 'e au 'e 'i ai e ngaahi faingata'a.

**Interpretation:** Because I believe that God called me to do this job I therefore disregard everything else despite going through hard times.

T.8 Ko e ngāue ko eni na'e 'ikai ke te fili ki ai ka na'e ui kita ki ai pea 'oku fai 'aki ia hoto loto kotoa i he taimi kotoa pē, fai e ngāue 'aki hoto loto pea ko e fa'ahinga loto ia koia' ke tau ma'u.

**Interpretation:** This is not my ideal kind of a job but I know that this is God's calling so I always do the best that I can with all my heart which is one of the qualities to have when you are in this profession.

This view of Tongan migrants living in Aotearoa with strong religious beliefs are consistent with the findings of some of the research academics such as Tu'itahi (2005), MacIntyre (2008), Lātū (2009), Kalavite (2010) and Vaiioleti (2011). The church plays a major role in maintaining Tongan language and culture in NZ. Tagoilelagi-Leota, McNaughton, MacDonald, & Farry (2005, p.477) say that "Pacific churches, regardless of the denomination, play a significant role and perhaps an increasingly significant role in sustaining children's L1 literacy and language development." And most of the early childhood centres are operated by churches in Auckland. Ferani Ete (1993) cited in (Coxon et al, (2002)) emphasized the importance of church for the establishment of

many of the Pacific language centres to be carried out in their own language and culture. Tongan migrants used the church to help settle in NZ and get some directions on how to make sense of their new environment due to their limited abilities in the English language and culture (MacIntyre, 2008).

What appears to be of great substance is the *koloa* that draws Tongan people to still belong to a church. Even though the idea of God is acknowledged as *Ta'ehaamai* or the unseen that doesn't trouble the way these strong Tongan women perceive the role of their spiritual beliefs in their practise. The children at these eight centres have bible verses, hymns, prayers and bible stories shared at the centre and the parents are very happy because they don't have the time to teach some of these aspects of the Tongan culture to their children.

#### **5.1.2 Ngāue 'Ofa – It's not about the money**

Majority of the participants expressed that their *langa ngāue* were not money driven and felt that it was important that the other teachers know about it. *Ngāue 'ofa* refers to someone who is doing work out of 'ofa or love. Conceptually, this notion of 'ofa is clear in the context of the Tongan community where it does not relate to materialistic things including money. Among *kakai Tonga* (Tongan people), to be regarded as *ngāue 'ofa* means that they are volunteer workers since they don't get paid for what they do. In this case *ngāue 'ofa* equates to unpaid work but driven by 'ofa, so implies intangible values that are more rewarding. In this context, we are recreating the concept *ngāue 'ofa* through the practises of starting ECE through volunteering work then later many of the volunteers have been hired to become ECE teachers – a process apparent in all of the participants' *talanoa*. The commitment and passion invested in their practises reflect people who are strongly embedded in their own language and culture. Participants had these words to express how the educational value of *ngāue 'ofa* is driven: -

*T.2: Kapau na'a ku fakakaukau pehee ko e kumi pa'anga na'a ku 'osi li'aki 'e au 'eku ngāue' ka na'e mahu'inga'ia kiate au neongo ne 'ikai te u fakakaukau pehē kimu'a 'o pehē ko 'eku ngāue ko e ui eni 'e he 'Eiki kia kita pea ko e taleniti eni na'e omai 'e he 'Eiki —...ko e taleniti eni na'e 'omai 'e he 'Otua' keu ngāue'i...*

**Interpretation:** *This job wasn't about the money because if it was I would have left my job ages ago instead I truly believe that it was God's calling for me to do this job and I want to honour that call through my practise and make use of my talent that he gave me....*

*T. 7 Kiate au ka ha'u pē ha faiako lelei ia, te ne ongo'i pē 'e ia 'oku ne loto mo tali e ngāue e ha'u pē faiako ia ko ia tatau pē vahe pe ko ha tu'utu'uni 'a e komiti pule' te ne mahino'i pē ia 'e ia 'a e 'uhinga 'oku fai e me'a kotoa ko ia'. 'Osi teuteu e faiako 'oku ne loto 'aki, he ko e taimi ni 'oku ngāue pa'anga pē e kakai ia pea 'oku hoko e fanga ki'i 'apiako ko e fanga ki'i pisinisi.*

**Interpretation:** *In my view, a good teacher is someone who is prepared to understand the decisions offered by the Management committee and should not be driven by money in their profession. However nowadays, the ECE centres have become businesses where people are only interested in money.*

All of the participants have been at the same centre since they started ECE. The value of *ngāue* 'ofa generate an inner strength that sees these teachers through hard times during their journeys.

### **5.1.3 Mamahi'i Ngāue – Strong commitment and dedication to Tongan ECE**

Maintaining Tongan language and culture is all important to the *kakai Tonga* living in Aotearoa. It was vital that the language and culture of the *kakai Tonga* be included in their learning to ensure 'worthwhile learning' (Thaman, 1995). The participants described the 'culture shock' that they went through and how what they had witnessed with regards to the education of Tongan children living in Aotearoa did not match their expectations. The Tongan participants had this to say about their own beliefs:

*T.5: Na'a ku tui ki he 'ohake mei lalo 'a e fanga ki'i tamaiki 'a e lea mo e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga kenau 'ilo, he'e lelei ange ke nau 'ilo 'a e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga pea mahino vave ai 'a e ngaahi me'a faka-Tonga 'oku tonu ke 'ave kia nautolu*

**Interpretation:** *It was my belief that our children should be raised up with the Tongan language and culture so that our Tongan cultural activities are clearer and more understandable to our young ones here in NZ.*

*T.6: Ko hono tokangaekina e longa'i fānau ki he ako'i e lea faka-Tonga, 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga fakafonua. Sai'ia au he taumu'a 'etau lea ke nau lea faka-Tonga.*

**Interpretation:** *The maintenance of our Tongan language and culture and stay true to what is really Tongan to ensure a Tongan strong sense of identity.*

One participant remembered the motivation that drove her to become an ECE teacher which arose when she visited a primary school in Otara while doing relieving work. She was really concerned about the progress of some of the Tongan students who did not really understand the language or the curriculum because of the gap between their home setting and the school setting in Aotearoa. She had these words to say:

*T. 8 'Oku ongo'i 'oku neglect 'a e fānau Tonga he taimi te nau oo atu ai ki he primary school 'a e kau pālāngi', pea na'a ku faka'amu ke 'oua te nau 'alu o feel out of place 'i ai. Pea kapau 'e 'ikai ke nau feel confident 'i he kamata te nau kamata kovi pea te nau kovi pehē ai pe, he 'e 'osi e māhina ia pea toki recover mai e fānau, 'a e ni'ihī pe ia.*

**Interpretation:** *I felt that the Tongan children are neglected when attending mainstream primary school (new entrants class) and do feel out of place (not understanding the language and curriculum) which raise my concerns because if our children have a bad start in life then it would affect them for the rest of their lives. And that is why I am working in the field of ECE to help our young children.*

Such feeling of a mother wanting no harm, to protect their *fānau* and to ensure that they achieve in Aotearoa played a fundamental role in the *lānga ngāue* of these Tongan participants who are all mothers.

- **Ngāue faka fa'ee – Role as a mother**

As a Tongan mother in Aotearoa, your children or *fānau* are always a high priority within the *nofo* 'a *kāinga* (extended family/clan). These Tongan participants expressed how crucial it was that they find a profession that would accommodate their family's needs and provide them with a sense of well being. The *ngāue* of the *fafine Tonga* endorse important cultural values that become *koloa* to Tongan people. The same cultural values brought from the home land of Tonga are now recreated in the context of Aotearoa, as *fafine Tonga* continue to maintain the cultural values through Tongan ECE in Aotearoa. With these values expressed:

*T.1 Na'e 'uhinga lahi pē ko e 'i ai hoku foha pea u kau atu ki he kulupu na'e fokotu'utu'u 'enau ki'i kulupu ako 'a ia na'e fakahoko 'i he holo homau siasi.*

**Interpretation:** *One of the main reasons for being in this profession was that I gave birth to my son and started my involvement with the group that started the school in our church*

T.2 ....ko ho'o alu ko e 'o faiako' te ke ma 'u ha faingamālie tatau mo e fānau' ko e tutuku 'a e fānau te ke 'i 'api mo e fānau', pea teke 'alu fakataha mo e fānau' he pongipongi' pea tuku mai' 'oku mou foki fakataha ki 'api mo e fānau.

**Interpretation:** *When you become a teacher you will have the opportunity of going to school with your children and return home with them when they finish school.*

The profession had to suit what their family situations were. The nature of being a Tongan ECE teacher was not driven by an individual need. It is always about what is best for the family and being in this profession also reinforce their roles as mother figures in the family.

T.5 Pea u fakakaukau ki he ako ko eni ke ngāue mo e kauleka pea ko e kamata 'anga lelei pē ia 'a 'ete 'alu fakataha mo 'ete fānau ki he ako pea tupunga ai ke u fakakaukau ke u kamata he ECE, pea teu ha'u pē he 'aho mo foki fakataha pē he po'uli mo 'eku fānau ki 'api he na'a ku tokotaha pē pea 'oua e 'i ai ha taimi tenau fakatokanga'i 'oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha taha 'i api ko e me'a ia na'a ku fakapapau'i ke mau foki fakataha ki 'api pea mau 'aa fakataha pē o teuteu 'o 'alu fakataha.

**Interpretation:** *I thought about working with children in ECE because that would work for me, being the only parent I needed to find a job that would allow me to leave and return with my children at the same time from school. I never wanted them to feel neglected if I wasn't there at home to look after them so I made sure I chose this profession so we could all wake up, get ready and leave the house together.*

T.6 Ko e ngāue ia 'a 'aku ka ko e taumu'a 'eku sai'ia pe au ia ai' he ko e 'uhinga' ko hoku fanga ki'i mokopuna' he na'e 'ikai ha 'aku tamaiki iiki ia 'a 'aku.

**Interpretation:** *I liked this kind of a job because I had grandchildren that I needed to take care of (my children were all grownups at the time).*

However none of these participants taught ECE in Tonga until they moved to NZ. Only three of the participants had previous teaching experiences in Tonga or had been raised up in a family that had teachers. One participant added that this profession would have been the last job she would take because of:

T: 2 ...pea u sio he ako' he 'ulungaanga 'o e fānau' pea taimi foki ko ia ne 'ikai 'i ai ha ako pehe'ni ia 'i Tonga pea u pehē ai ko e last job ia te u fai – 'a e faiako'.

*Interpretation: ...I saw how children behave at schools here in NZ and at the time there were no Tongan ECE centres operating.*

While it is important to have *loto'i ngāue* that is comprised of strong sense of values that make up a successful Tongan ECE teacher in Aotearoa, it is vital to talk about how *tauhi vā* contributes to *langa ngāue* of Tongan ECE.

## **5.2 Tauhi Vā: Maintaining reciprocal relationships.**

Success in this study is defined in the Tongan context by the experience of the Tongan ECE teachers and not about the economic or the materialistic values that they might be valued for. Success in this study is defined as *mo'ui 'aonga* in the sense that each and everyone are able to fulfil their *fatongia* (obligations) to their *fāмили* (kinship), *siasi* (church/God) and the *fonua*. Vaioleti (2010, p.6) a Tongan scholar passionately describes his aspirations and *fatongia* to his people through the church that had important ancestral connections which he stated “they also afford me privileged opportunities” that was useful for his research and “physically and emotionally and are cultural identity markers for me as a Tongan man.” Konai Helu-Thaman (2008) talks about how *vā* is really about ‘honouring’ and taking care of the relationships that involve people in different contexts. This section will talk about the *poupou* or the support system and *fatongia* that these participants have in different contexts.

### **5.2.1 Poupou: Support System**

The findings suggested that the interdependent relationships nature of *tauhi vā* between participants and their family and friends contribute towards the process of building success. The strong support system reflects people who are strongly embedded in the values of *tauhi vā* aiming for the betterment of the Tongan community in Aotearoa. It is a reaffirmation of the fact that groups who are strongly rooted in their own cultures, values, and beliefs systems, who enjoy reciprocal relationships and the mutual support of families, and social institutions such as churches, tend to develop and achieve well-



being and health (Taufe'ulungaki, 2004). The participants recalled the important role that their spouse played during the course of their studies:

*T.1 Na'e tokoni hoku hoa kiate au 'o 'ikai featungia'i au ke ta'ofi he 'eku 'alu 'o fai 'eku ako' pea mo e ngaahi taimi na'a ku 'alu ai ki he laipeli' he weekend pea na'e 'ikai ke nau hanga 'o ta'ofi au mei he 'eku feinga ke fakakakato 'eku feinga na'e fai.*

**Interpretation:** *My husband supported me throughout my studies and never held me back from taking time out to go do my studies at the library in the weekends.*

*T.3: Na'e tokoni lahi hoku husepaniti 'i he fakaloto lahi ke u 'alu 'o toe fai e ako ki he ECE. Na'a ku i he ngāue'anga kehe 'aki ki he 'eku manako ki he fānau ko e me'a ia na'a ku tali ai ke u toe hoko atu o ako ki he ECE. Ko hoku husepaniti' na'e poupou lelei kiate au 'o nofo ia he fānau....*

**Interpretation:** *My husband really supported me and encouraged me to pursue my studies for a qualification in ECE while he stayed at home with our children. I was involved in another career but my love for children helped me to start in the ECE field.*

Some of the participants talked about how their family were involved not just physically but emotionally and spiritually. One of the main reasons that contribute to someone succeeding in education is that they are never alone in their journeys. There are other people behind the success who are collectively consistently carrying out *fatongia* (duties and responsibilities) and *tauhi vā* so one can concentrate on achieving their studies. These participants reflected accordingly: -

*T.2: 'Uluaki ta'u na'a ku huu ai 'o ako' na'e hiki leva 'eku fānau 'o ako he ako pē ofi he 'api 'eku ongo mātu'a' pea ko naua leva na'e tokanga'i nautolu. ....ka na'e 'ikai kinaua he 'ikai lava 'o fakahoko 'eku ako pea kau 'ena 'i heni' he poupou lahi ki he feinga ko e na'e fai'.*

**Interpretation:** *My children enrolled in a primary school near my parents' house in the first year of my studies. My parents looked after my children while I was at University doing my studies (being a single parent), I would not have achieved my qualifications without the support of my parents.*

Despite having personal troubles and difficulties at home, that didn't stop their families from supporting them through every aspect of their lives:

*T.4: ....na'a ku tokotaha pē pea mate hoku mali' pea na'a ku sio leva ki he 'eku fānau' - 'ikai ha taha ke poupou mai ko 'eku ki'i fānau pē pea na'e sacrifice lahi e me'a kotoa fakataha mo 'eku fānau ki he tokoni'i hono taife'i 'eku assignment.*

**Interpretation:** *I was a single parent because my husband passed away. I knew that I had to do this for my children and they supported me throughout my studies and lent a hand in typing my assignments.*

T.5: *Na 'e tokoni lahi mai e fāmili he 'ave 'eku kau leka ki he ako'.*

**Interpretation:** *My family helped with dropping and picking up my children from school.*

Family members were emotionally involved seeing the struggles these teachers went through trying to achieve their educational goals.

T.7: *'Io, pou pou kakato pē 'a e fāmili' .Fiefia pē he 'oku na'a fa'a faka'ofa'ia pē he sio ki hoku ta'u' mo 'eku 'aa he po'uli' mo e fa'a fai e lautohi' mo e assignment' hangee ko ē 'oku nau faka'ofa'ia nautolu 'iate au' ka kou talaange pe kia nautolu kuo pau pē ke pehee.*

**Interpretation:** *My whole family supported me during my studies. They were happy for me but sometimes felt sorry for me for staying up late to do my reading and my assignments. I told them that it is alright because it is something that needs to be done in order to achieve success at the end.*

All of the participants went through their studies not alone because there were a lot of people who were behind them supporting them to succeed in their studies. It is about the *vā* or the relationships that uphold the Tongan structure of *nofo faka-Tonga*. However I noticed that the support system gave the participants strength and motivations to succeed in their studies. Konai Helu Thaman (1994) says that the purpose of *ako* was to gain *'ilo* and become *poto* in order to fulfil their *fatongia* duties and obligations to their *kāinga* and communities. Despite going through their studies they did not forget about their role and their *fatongia* towards the *fonua* (land/people) and the interconnected relationships that bind them together which is discussed in the next section.

### **5.2.2 Fatongia: Fulfilling duties and obligations**

In the Tongan culture, *fatongia* (responsibilities/ obligations/ duties) is an extension of *ngāue* and is central to *nofo 'a kāinga* (kinship/extended family) because it affirms ones' positions within *kāinga*, the *tofi'a* (village/people), and the *fonua*. *Fatongia* is fundamental in *tauhi vā* or maintaining relationships with the members of the *kāinga* because it is strengthens the relationships that connect people together. 'Ana

Taufe'ulungaki (2004) says that *fatongia* is often perceived by Western cultures as a 'source of oppression' which creates a sense of inequality for women and others in the Tongan culture; culturally insensitive lacking understanding of the underpinning and values that make up the Tongan culture. All of the participants agreed that their *fatongia* were alien to an education system that is designed and structured for the prevailing culture and is not culturally sensitive to what each had gone through. Some of the views are reflected below: -

*T.1: ....he 'oku taimi e me'a kotoa he ko e fa'ee au mo e uaifi ki hoku husepaniti', pea toe kau he ngaahi me'a 'a e siasi' – pea ko e toki 'osi e ta'u e 2 mo e konga he feinga ako' pea toki kamata faingofua mai e ngaahi me'a na'e fai ki ai e ako'.*

**Interpretation:** Time was an issue because of my multiple duties and obligations as a wife, mother, and a member of my church. It took me over two years to start getting used to what my education was all about.

*T.3: Pea taimi tatau pē e ako' toe 'i ai pē mo e fānau 'a ia ko e me'a na'e hoko' ko e struggle lahi 'aupito 'a e feinga'i e qualifications. Kae kehe kuo lalahi e fānau he taimi ni pea toe foki atu he ta'u 'ni 'o fai e ako he ko e fatongia heni ko e supervisor, toe lii mai mo e ako' he na'e 'i ai pē e taimi na'a ku faka'amu ke u tukuange ko e 'uhinga ne lahi e fatongia pea mo e toe 'omi e ngaahi fatongia mei he siasi', ko e fakamālō ko e faka'osi'osi e ta'u' kou tui lahi ko 'ete fakapapau'i pē ko hoto ui - ha tafa'aki mo te commit ki ai 'e 'ikai faingata'a ia.*

**Interpretation:** My children were very young when i started my studies for a qualification in ECE and our family struggled a lot then but now they have all grown up. However I am going back this year to complete my degree and I am still struggling with all of my duties and obligations to my church, work.etc. but I am happy because I know that this is God's calling, so anything is possible.

Some teachers felt that they had too many duties and obligations and felt that it was overwhelming trying to attend to them while studying.

*T.7: 'Uluaki pe na'e fu'u lahi e ngaahi fatongia na'e 'omai kiate au', tukukehe ange 'a 'api ko e kui mo e fa'ee au he nofo fakafāмили mo e fatongia he siasi....*

**Interpretation:** I had too many duties and obligations from church and outside my role as a mother and wife in my family home that was demanding of my time....

*T.8 Pea neongo 'a e lahi ae ngaahi fatongia' na'e tokoni lahi 'eku fānau ki he fakahoko 'a hoku ngaahi fatongia 'e ni'ihī kae lava ke u fakahoko 'eku ako' pehee foki ki hoku husepaniti.*

**Interpretation:** My husband and children helped with my duties and obligations so I could have time to do my studies.

*Kakai Tonga* benefit from *tauhi vā* and communal support of the collective. The best of the Tongan culture is displayed when people engage in *langa ngāue* collectively. The fragmentation of Tongan values that occur in institutions often the cause of alternative outcomes that are outside the realm of what ‘success’ is in mainstream contexts. Education should always be for the betterment of the peoples and should not become the cause of the fragmentations of values and beliefs. Vaioleti (2011, p.188) agrees that “without fatongia, the collective, the kāinga, fānau or other organisational structure which Pacific people build their relational support system around may collapse”. In the next section I will talk about the *langa fonua* from the Tongan participants’ perspectives.

### **5.3 Langa Fonua: Process of building success**

As part of the *langa ngāue* in Aotearoa, all of the participants were required to undertake studies to achieve qualifications to be able to practise as ECE teachers and equally important licensing the centres they have helped to construct. However the journey was not easy because there was hardly anyone before them to help them during their studies. The participants have not been involved in education since they were at school in Tonga, sometimes long before migrating to NZ. To obtain a qualification to practise in NZ meant that further studies were to be taken at universities which all of the participants found to be challenging. The environment was new and therefore most of these participants advised that it took a while to get over the newness of the whole process of the formal education that they were getting themselves into. Perspectives were: -

*T.2: Kiate au he taimi ko ia ko e me‘a fakafo‘ituitui pē ia na‘e ‘ikai ha me‘a ia e pehē ke ‘i ai ha me‘a ke fe‘atungia’i lahi ko e me‘a ko e fo‘ou ‘ete ako he fonua muli talu ‘eku ako he 1974 ki he 1994*

**Interpretation:** *At the time, the challenges were individually faced by us students but to me it was the newness of the foreign land and its system because the last time I was at school was in 1974 (twenty years) till 1994.*

*T.3: Na'a ku ha'u mei Tonga he 1988 he 'eku leave fakaneesi mei Tonga... 'o toki huu 'o ako he 1998 kae hoko lōua mo e ngāue ke tokoni ki he fāmili langalanga na'a mau fai he fonua ko eni.*

**Interpretation:** *In 1988 I migrated from Tonga while on a holiday leave from my nursing job in Tonga.....then in 1998 I studied towards a qualification in the field of ECE in Aotearoa and worked part time to make ends meet.*

The challenges of returning back to studies in NZ were far more complicated than what it appeared to be.

*T.6: Ko e fuoloa ta'u e ako pea 'ikai ha mahino fēfē ia he toe foki ko eni ki he ako'.*

**Interpretation:** *It had been too long since I was at school that I found very confusing when I went back to study,*

*T.8: Na'e 'ova he ta'u ia 'e hongofulu tupu nai 'a e taimi na'a ku ako faka muimui ai 'i Tonga', i he ki'i course correspondence pē i he USP.*

**Interpretation:** *It has been over ten years approximately since the last time I studied which was on a correspondence course at the USP (University of South Pacific branch in Tonga).*

All of the participants felt that the way the courses were run did not make the journey any easier for them to achieve a qualification. It was very tough because their language and culture were not included in their training so that their formal studies at Universities became a struggle throughout. These participants reflected on their experiences during their studies and the challenges they faced. These views reinforced the alien curriculum that proved to be a struggle for these participants during their studies:

*T.1: Pea ko e tautefito ki he lea', mo e founa e ako' pea kumi e ngaahi me'a ke fai ki ai ha reference.*

**Interpretation:** *It was mainly the language, the study curriculum and finding sources for referencing (assignments.etc).*

*T.2: pea fu'u fuolua 'ete mavahe mei lokiako pea fo'ou e fa'ahinga founa ko eni 'oku ngāue'aki 'i heni o pau ke te fa'u presentation mo e 'esei fakapālangi mo e 'u me'a pehee.*

**Interpretation:** *I have been away from the class room for far too long and found the way they structure the curriculum including PowerPoint presentations and writing essays in English very new and challenging to me.*

Teachers had to draw deep from their *loto* (heart) in order to overcome difficulties in achieving their educational goals because they feel marginalised, not having their Native language involved in their formal education.

*T.4: Na'e 'i ai pē e ni'ihī na'e fu'u sai 'enau English mei Tonga pea 'ikai te nau faingataa'ia ai. Pau pē ke sacrifice kita kae lava fai e ako'. Ko au' na'a ku fu'u faingataa'ia ai ko e 'ikai sai 'eku English' pea kou pehee pē kapau na'e sai e English na'e faingofua 'eku ako. Neongo 'ene mamafa' mo e 'ikai ke sai English ka na'a ku ma 'u e loto' (heart).*

*Interpretation: There were some people that came from Tonga with very good English so they weren't struggling as hard as me. However I had to sacrifice myself in order to complete my studies in the sense that my English wasn't very good which did not help me very much with my education. I was struggling very much because my English was not good but I only overcame this challenge because I had the heart to complete the studies.*

*T.5: Ko e ako na'e faingata'a 'aupito he na 'aku fepaki mo e fai e assignment he fonua ni mo e lautohi' he na'e fai e ako 'i Tonga kae 'ikai fu'u fēfē fau ko e ako tohi mo e me'a ko eni' kuo 'omai e fu'u tohi ke oo 'o lau, faingataa'ia he fa'u assignment he taimi lahi.*

*Interpretation: I struggled with my education very much because we were given books to take home and read in English, bearing in mind that my educational background in Tonga was not very good and writing up assignments was very hard for me.*

This view supports having an appropriate curriculum designed for Tongan ECE teachers to ensure meaningful learning is generated and provide better educational outcomes for Tongan teachers.

*T.6: Ko e lea na'e hoko ia ko e barrier he na'e saiangē 'eku written he 'eku verbal...kapau na'e 'i ai ha training faka – Tonga na'e toe lelei ange 'a e ola 'o e ako! 'Oku ou tui pau au ki ai he 'oku 'i ai pē e ngaahi me'a 'oku te loto ke fakamatala'i ke a'u ki he me'a 'oku te mahino'i mo ilo'i' pea 'oku 'ikai lava he 'e lea fakapapālangi ia 'o faka a'u ki ai. Pea kapau na'e i ai ha training 'i he lea faka-Tonga' 'e ma'olunga 'aupito hono ola'.*

*Interpretation: My language became a barrier in my studies because my written skills were better than my verbal skill when it comes to the English language. If the training was conducted in the Tongan language I think the results would be more successful. I truly believe that because there are certain aspects that you cannot explain in the English language but you could only do that in the Tongan language. If there was training carried out in the Tongan language the results will be much higher.*

*T.8: Ko e ako' na'e fakahoko he lea fakapālangi' pea 'ikai ke fu'u sai e lea', manatu ko e ako ko ē na'a ku fai' na'e fai ia 'i Tonga pea na'e kehekehe lahi 'aupito ia mei he founa ako 'a e fonua ni.*

**Interpretation:** *My education here was carried out in the English language and my English wasn't very good because my education in Tonga is way different to how it is carried out here in NZ.*

Despite the challenges faced during their studies, these participants were determined to achieve their goals. All the participants had envisioned what would happen when they gain qualifications; would guarantee their centres to be licensed based on the MoE requirements, become better teachers in Aotearoa, and also become role models to their *fānau* and also benefit their *kāinga*. The following discussions showed that:

*T.1: Na 'a ku sio mai pē ki he apiako 'ni he na 'a ku supervisor heni.*

**Interpretation:** *I envisioned my centre because I was the supervisor there.*

*T: 4: Na 'a ku sio loloa pē ki he 'apiako.*

**Interpretation:** *I was always looking ahead for my centre.*

*T.8: Na 'e tokoni lahi 'aupito e ako' ia, 'oku te ongo'i 'oku te confident 'i he me 'a kotoa pē hangee ko e anga 'a e tupu 'a e fānau', human development pea mo e lao hono fakalele 'aki e ako'. Aonga lahi ki he provide quality he practise, me 'a lahi 'a e lao oe fonua' pea mo e fetu'utaki ki he IRD, hangee ko e fetaulaki mo e mātu'a', fa'u mo e komiti pule mo e ngaahi me 'a ke tokoni 'i kita hono fakahoko 'eku ngāue.*

**Interpretation:** *My education enabled me to gain self-confidence in this field of ECE, such as human development and also learnt about the regulations of how to operate a centre. It was also useful that I learnt about the quality practises but the main things were the NZ regulations and laws; how to deal with Inland Revenue Department (IRD), parents partnerships, how to setup a management committee and everything that helped with my practises at the centre.*

However the strong connection of the *fonua* of these Tongan teachers' origin brings hope to the process of building success in the new *fonua* that they have migrated to. The new *fonua* bring the realisation that there is a need to recreate our sense of identity in Aotearoa. These responses from the participants are strong reflections of people who are strongly rooted in their own cultural values drawing from their *loto* where Tonga, the *fonua* is always present:

*T.1: Na 'a ku fakapapau 'i ke u loto lahi, kuo pau ke u lava 'i he ko 'eku taumu'a' kapau teu fai ha me 'a kuo pau pē ke lava, teu 'alu ki 'api ke fai ha me 'a pea 'ikai lava e fatongia 'i 'api ka ko e loto 'aki ko e na 'e fai 'aki e ako'.*

**Interpretation:** *I was determined to persevere with my studies because my philosophy is that once I start something it must be completed even when I go*

*home and attend to my other duties and responsibilities, I never give up on my studies.*

The following comment reinforced the perservarance and the commitment that T4 *used* to overcome the obstacles during her studies.

*T.4: IKUNA na'a ku sio pē ke u a'u ki he tu'unga ko e IKUNA. Pea kapau na'a ku ikuna'i e ako' he feohi mo e ako'anga mo e tamaiki poto 'oku sai 'enau English ka na'a nau nofo kinautolu ia 'o 'ikai lava'i e ako' pea 'oku ou tui pē teu lava pe ke u ikuna'i ha fa'ahinga me'a pē kapau 'e toe hoko atu 'eku ako ko eni 'oku fai'.*

**Interpretation:** *I envisioned succeeding in my studies. And by just reflecting on my journey because there were a lot of smart people with very good English unlike myself, yet they gave up on the way which made me believe that If I can do this then I know I can succeed in my studies.*

It was very important to have the values of a *loto'i Tonga* because it made T.5 stronger and determined to succeed in life including her studies.

*T.5: Na'a ku ma'u pē 'a e loto'i Tonga' pea kataki'i pe e 'uha' mo e momoko' pea mo e vivili pe neongo e 'uha mo e momoko, kumi e fakamalu ke 'alu mo e kau leka pea u 'efi mo feinga pē ke 'oua teu give up pea hoko ia ko e faka'ai'ai lahi ke hoko atu e ako ke 'osi pea peheee ki he 'eku fāfili. Na'e tokoni'i lahi pē ko e 'uhi pē na'a ku ma'u 'a e loto'i Tonga.*

**Interpretation:** *I had the values of a Tongan heart because I could endure the rain and the cold and when it did rain, I grabbed an umbrella and still went through the rain with my children, instilling values of perseverance and encouraging them not to give up easily and to apply to their studies too. It really helped because I had the determination of a Tongan heart.*

As I continued with this research, I realised that the eight participants' age varied from 45 to 65 and some were close to the retiring age. These were women who really worked hard to establish the centres that they are working in. The question is how do we transmit this commitment and passion in teaching ECE that these teachers have to the next generation? Will they have the values that these teachers had in their practises? Will they share the same *loto'i ngāue* that the older women had? Will they have the same patience, perseverance, determination, and hard working efforts or would they assimilate to the dominant culture and go with what defines success in the prevailing culture? This issue raised a lot of concern for all of the participants because they don't



want to lose something that they have started, and moreover the fear of losing the *anga faka-Tonga* is obvious.

In the next chapter I will present my findings and analysis about the perspectives of teachers on how to put *langa ngāue* into practise.

## CHAPTER 6: Putting *langa ngāue* into practise

*“Palu, pea fakatatau, pea tui hao fakama‘u”<sup>12</sup>*

*(The process of ritually mixing kava with water in a similar fashion as a seal. There are certain haka movements that are associated with this process of mixing kava that tells a story.)*

This study wanted to identify how the *langa ngāue* of these participants can benefit other Tongan ECE teachers by confronting some of the marginalising and colonizing way of thinking in Aotearoa. There are some key themes that arise from the *talanoa* provided that in order to build success in Tongan ECE these areas must be inclusive of our practise. This chapter will talk about putting *langa ngāue* into practise from the teacher’s perspectives which includes discussing governance and administration, teaching and classroom practises and learning, parents’ partnership and learning in line with Tongan ways of thoughts.

### 6.1 Governance and Administration

The eight participants hold leadership roles in their centres so they are highly involved with the governance and administration nature of their jobs. These eight participants were involved in setting up unique practises within their *akoteu Tonga* that would achieve the requirements of the MoE because this is where the funds are coming from. The centres hold different philosophies that uphold important values and beliefs however there are also prescribed outcomes from the MoE that these centres have to fit into to ensure further funding are received for the operations of these centres. Some of the participants underlined the importance of having the values of *loto lahi* (strong mindedness, determination) to enable them to support their centres’ philosophy:

*T.2: ‘Oku tonu pe ke tu’u malohi pe kita ia he ‘ete philosophy na ‘e fokotu’u pea ko e lao fo’ou ‘oku totonu ke hōhōa tatau pea kapau leva ‘oku ‘ikai ke*

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<sup>12</sup> This order of *ngāue* is a reminder that in order for the *kava* to be used in any kava ceremony, they must be mixed well with water in a ritual manner that involves haka movements of the whole body. Conceptually in order for the *langa ngāue* to happen, Tongan ECE teachers need to work together with Ministry of Education, government, Tongan community and the Tongan parents to provide a meaningful cohesive environment for our children’s *ako*.

*hōhōa tatau tonu ke te mālohi pe kita 'o tauhi pē ia 'e kita ke mahino kia kinautolu 'oku 'i ai hotau le'o he kou tui lahi au ia ki ai .*

**Interpretation:** *We should strongly stand by our own philosophy (centre) even if it doesn't fit in well with the new rules and regulations. It is important to voice our own values and beliefs so that they (MoE and Government) can try and understand where we coming from.*

*T.3: Pea kapau 'e fakafekefeka e fanga ki'i 'apiako e philosophy ke tau stick ke pukepuke 'etau Tonga' lea mo e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga' pea tau stick ki ai pea 'e 'ikai ha kuonga ia 'e mole ai 'etau lea' pea hoko 'etau ngaahi ako' ko ha feitu'u ke kamata ai e ako ki he lea'.*

**Interpretations:** *We should reinforce our centre's philosophies to ensure that we stick to our main goal which is to maintain our Tongan language and culture. Our ECE centres should be a starting place to enforce and to ensure that we never lose our Tongan language and culture in NZ.*

One participant reflected that it is significant that the centres not only believe in their philosophies but also reflect in their practise within the centres.

*T.4: 'Oku ou tui au ia kapau pē 'e mahino pē ē philosophy/taumu'a ngāue hangee ko e pukepuke e lea faka-Tonga mo e ngaahi 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga' pea 'oku totonu ke haa ia 'i he'ete ngāue ka e 'oua te tau taumu'a ke pukepuke 'etau lea'.*

*Interpretation: I believe that the centre's philosophy or mission statement should reflect the maintenance of Tongan language and culture and those values should be practised within the centre.*

The findings demonstrated that the main goal of all the participants from all eight centres included in this study was to maintain Tongan language and culture. These beliefs are clearly embedded in their philosophies and mission statements. Implicit in the importance of having the right philosophies at the centre is a collective approach towards governance of Tongan ECE which will be discussed further in the next section.

### **6.1.1 TECA - Tongan Early Childhood Association**

All of the participants advised that the TECA<sup>13</sup> (Tongan Early Childhood Association) should be able to look after the Tongan ECE centres in Aotearoa. These teachers felt that they have studied, gained qualifications and teachers registration in order to practise and do what they do best but don't want to be pulled down with also trying to operate the governance and operational side of ECE. This is a new context that Tongans are

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<sup>13</sup> TECA was initially called UTU LELEI

recreating and none of these teachers had any experiences running a school by themselves because that was never the case in Tonga. So to recreate our way of life here in Aotearoa require our *kau faiako Akoteu Tonga* not only to teach but be responsible for the operational and the longevity of these eight centres. Mara (2005) says that our Pacific ECE centres are obligated to run like a 'small business' which is vastly regulated driven because of the funding received from the Government to operate these centres. Mara (2005, p.7) also continued by saying that:

*Many of the women who began our language groups and centres did so because of their desire to pass on our Pacific languages and cultures that we had brought with us from our home island nations, not necessarily to become business managers.*

And because of that all these participants have become members of this Tongan Early Childhood Association (TECA) together with the other Tongan ECE teachers at their centres, these participants include high expectations of the role TECA should play to contribute to the Tongan ECE in Aotearoa and had these things to say:

*T.1: Faka'amu ko eni ki he palani ngāue a e TECA' ke malohi mo kaukaua 'a e ngāue 'a e kau faiako Tonga ke nau fengāue'aki fakataha.*

**Interpretation:** *I wished that TECA would reinforce their learning objectives so that the teachers will be united through their collective contributions in ECE.*

*T.3 Ko 'eku vīsone ke lava pē 'e he TECA 'o tu'u mo'unga 'etau association 'o 'i ai pē ha ngaahi kakai ke nau tokanga'i 'etau fanga ki'i ako' o hangee ko e kindy pea kou tui 'e 'ikai ke toe 'i ai ha fihi ha fanga ki'i senitaa – pay rise, appraisal .etc fanga ki'i me'a ia 'oku fa'a felekeu ai e ngaahi ako 'a e Pasifiki pea kapau te tau fā'utaha ka ko e ngaahi group of people kae piki pē he kominiuti Tonga ke nau siofi a e fanga ki'i ako Tonga' 'o siofi e funding.etc. kae ha'u kotoa pe ki ai kae toki fai ai pe hotau tokangaekina kitautolu.*

**Interpretation:** *My vision is that TECA should be able to succeed as an association that will look after all of our Tongan centres like how kindergarten associations do to their kindergarten schools. If that is the case TECA would be able to look after the administrations side of things such as our pay rise and appraisals.etc.and areas that are confusing to us Pasifika peoples. Our Tongan centres should be able to work together under the umbrella of TECA who will oversee funding and look after our best interests.*

The area of professional development (PD) was also raised by some of the participants because they felt it would be more meaningful for someone from the target group to run the PD programs to ensure better understanding:

T.2: *Hangee ko e TECA 'oku saipe 'oku 'i ai ha kulupu pehee ki 'olunga ke ne hanga o tokoni'i 'a e 'uu ako Tonga' pea kapau 'e 'i ai ha PD fai mai pe' e he kulupu TECA he 'oku 'osi ma'u pē 'etau kakai, kau faiako 'oku nau ma'u e taleniti kehekehe pea 'omai pē 'e he TECA' 'a e kakai Tonga ke fakalele ae PD faka Tonga 'e he kau Tonga' ki he Tonga'. He 'oku 'ikai ke tatau e mahino 'oku 'omai 'e he Tonga' mo e mahino ko ē 'oku 'omai 'e he pālāngi' 'o fakamatala mai he 'oku 'alu e pālāngi' kae hiki leva ia na'e fai 'a e PD he lekooti' 'osi ange ko ia' pea 'ikai fakahoko ia 'e he kau faiako' he 'oku ikai fu'u mahu'inga mālie ia 'o tatau mo e ha'u pe 'a e Tonga' 'o fakamatala mai 'a e founga 'oku totonu pea 'oku pehē'i ia pea pehe'i hono ako' pea 'e mahino ia ki he Tonga'.*

**Interpretation:** *It would be useful in the future if TECA help the Tongan ECE centres by running Professional Development (PD) programs for the Tongan centres because there are so many teachers who are qualified and experienced and capable of doing it within the association. It is more productive to have Tongans run PD programmes for Tongan ECE centres because it will be meaningful and easier to understand given the differences of contexts. However often when a non Tongan person carries out the PD programmes at our centres, we find it hard to practise what we have learnt because of the lack of understanding.*

The participants described how teacher's recruitment plays a significant role in the *akoteu Tonga* and wished that TECA will look after this as well: -

T.4 *Ko e TECA 'oku tonu ke nau tokoni mai ki he me'a ko eni' ka e lava ke sai 'ia e fānau ke ako ki he he mala'e ko eni'.*

**Interpretation:** *TECA should advocate and support our children to pursue studies in the field of ECE in Aotearoa.*

T.7 *'Uluaki 'oku tonu ke ngāue vāofi ange 'a e fanga ki 'i ako Tonga fiefia 'eku fanongo ki he TECA, tonu ke tau 'uluaki ngāue fakataha, ngāue vāofi mo fetokoni'aki 'a e ngaahi Akoteu Tonga'. For example - relievers pool ke lava he ngaahi akoteu Tonga' 'o ngāue'aki. Ko hai 'e loto lelei mo tau'ataina he fanga ki 'i akoteu Tonga ke fokotu'u ha me'a pehē pe 'e lava 'e he TECA 'o fai e me'a ko ia? 'Ai ha 'uu me'a ke tau fe'a'ahi'aki mo ako ki he ngaahi resources pe ko ha me'a ke vāofi ai e ngāue, 'ai ha ni'ihī 'oku taukei he ngāue mo e me'a ko ē 'oku nau 'ilo' 'o vahevahe mai ke ako mei ai 'a e toenga 'o e 'uu ako kehe'.*

**Interpretation:** *The first thing is for the Tongan centres to work more closely together helping each other. For instance there should be a pool of Tongan relievers available for all of the Tongan centres to use which TECA can manage. Also initiate programs to visit each other's centres to share practises and skills on resources and that will draw us closer as a community.*

The participants have also high hopes for TECA to help in the way Tongan teacher's

*lānga ngāue* in Aotearoa because clearly this holds implications for the future of

Tongan ECE. The point is that these teachers play multiple roles in the centre and it can be overwhelming at times so to get extra help in this field would make a difference. The relational attributes of Tongan people empower them to become better teachers and

overcome hurdles that may come through during their journey. The cultural values of *ngāue* will be discussed in the next section.

### 6.1.2 *Ngāue fakataha*

All of the participants felt that a collective approach to practise in ECE would be more beneficial to Tongan ECE in NZ. The underpinning of *ngāue fakataha* (working together/collectively) is *faka'apa'apa*, *'ofa* and *tauhi vā*. These are core societal values that make up a strong Tongan identity which reflects in these teachers's aspiration towards their *langa ngāue*: -

*T4: Ngāue fakataha e kau faiako hono kātoa, ngāue fakataha e pule ako mo hono tokoni pea fepoupouaki pea tali 'e he komiti ako' 'a e ngaahi me'a 'oku 'atu 'e he faiako pea ngāue fakataha e mātu'a mo e kau faiako pea nau ma'u e loto'i Tonga' mo e loto'i ngāue 'a e Tonga'.*

**Interpretation:** *It is significant that teachers, leaders, management committee members have the heart of a Tongan; work together and be able to accept each other's thoughts and ideas; strive for the betterment of the ECE services.*

*T.5 Faka'amu ke ngāue fakataha ke langa ke 'alu ke movete pea 'alu ki he kakai ke mahino kia kinautolu e anga 'etau fakalele 'etau fanga ki'i ako Tonga' pea mo e ngaahi lelei 'oku ma'u 'e he fanga ki'i kau leka lea faka-Tonga' he ko e mahino kiate au he 'oku matala ange fanga ki'i tamaiki ko ē 'oku 'alu atu mei heni' he ko e lea faka-pālangi ia 'oku vave pe 'enau ma'u ia 'e nautolu.*

**Interpretation:** *My wish is that we expand on the Tongan ECE where it is recognised everywhere and raise awareness to how important it is to operate our Tongan ECE by Tongans through the Tongan language and it reflects in the children that have moved to primary from our centre.*

Another participant described some of the areas that really need attentions in order to ensure effective leaderships in the centre:-

*T7: Ko e mapule'i lelei 'e he komiti pule' pe ko e trust pe ko e poate- ko e founa pule'i 'o e ngāue kau ai e vāhenga'; ko hai e kau faiako fefee 'oku nau loto ke fakangāue'i 'i he 'apiako mo 'enau vāhenga; ko e hā 'enau taimi ngāue; ko e hā 'a e ngaahi faingamālie 'oku 'oange ma'a nautolu pea add kātoa e me'a ko ia' 'i he founa pule'i' he 'oku mahu'inga 'aupito ia.*

**Interpretation:** *To have effective leadership through the management committees or the board of trustees (depending on the type of centre) should take these things into great considerations and they are teacher's salary; evaluate what qualities they want their teachers to have; teacher's working hours; further opportunities in professional developments, all are important part of management and governance within the centres.*

However one participant talked about how the changes of Government can influence the way the centre operates when it comes to future plans and recruitment. The current Government in NZ which is the National Government has changed the previous plans for ECE laid out by the previous Labour Government which resulted in a lot of ECE funding being cut off. Some of the centres were involved in future plans regarding their staff recruitment. However some of their plans did not go as planned because of these changes that the new Government put across which is: -

*T.3: Pea ko e toe liliu ko eni a e pule'anga' kuo to e holomui e kakai tokolahi he toe 'alu ko eni 'o ako'. Pea 'oku 'i ai e ngaahi 'apiako ia kuo nau tuku atu 'enau ngaahi qualify teachers he ko e cut ko eni 'a e funding. Pea ko e tokotaha kotoa pē 'oku 'ave ke ako kuo 'osi 'amanaki mai 'e 'i ai ha ki'i ngāue e talitali atu ki ai pea ko e tu'u he taimi ni kuo tōlalo e pa'anga' pea cut mo e ngaahi funding pea 'oku ta'epau leva ha ngāue 'e fakapapau'i ma'ae tokotaha ko ia'.*

*Interpretations: Due to the change of Government we have put aside encouraging people to go for further studies. Some of the centres can't afford the qualified teachers due to the ECE funding cuts. It is not fair because everyone that we send to study expect to have a job waiting for them but that is not the case now. There is just no guarantee that they will have a job once they finish their studies because we are not sure whether we would be able to employ them financially because of the current recession and the funding cuts.*

While the future of Governments can be a frustrating process for ECE centres because they tend to change ECE regulations and rules that have prescribed outcomes. We should not forget the reasons why these women build up the centres with no money but have an internal driven that allowed them in their journey towards building success in Tongan ECE.

## **6.2 Teaching & classroom practises and learning**

It is vital that Tongan ECE teachers practise *langa ngāue* through their teaching and classroom practises and learning. The values of these Tongan ECE teachers are linked to the way they practise in their centers. Therefore collective approaches to learning and teaching are always favoured by the children at the centre. Taufe'ulungaki (2004, p.24) advised that: -

*Communicative interactions, and teaching and learning strategies, are also consistent with people's values and belief systems. In western-style schooling, the key value of individualism drives the emphasis in classrooms on individual performance and achievement.*

### **6.2.1 ERO Problems**

Some of the participants reflected on the differences of worldviews which often create issues especially when assessed by the MoE through the Education Review Officer (ERO) office. ERO is the Government agency that conducts evaluation and reports on the practises of education and care of students in ECE and schools. While the values and beliefs of Tongan ECE centres are inconsistent with the mainstream standards, Tonganivalu (2007 cited in Thaman, 2011) advised that our Pacific children should be attending ECE centers where their cultural values, beliefs and customs are practised. These tensions are: -

- ***Mat Time: Fofola e fala kae fai e alea***

The Tongan practises of *fofola e fala kae fai e alea* or mat time were problematic for the ERO officers. According to some of the teachers, teaching the children to sit through the mat time has many underpinnings that are important to the Tongan *anga faka-Tonga*. For example it is instilling values of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *fa'a kātaki* (perservarance and patience), *fanongo* (to be able to listen), and preparing the children for future events. In this case they will be able to present themselves in a manner appropriate to the Tongan culture.

*T.1: 'I he ta'u atu' na 'e ha'u 'a e ERO ko e mat time talamai 'oku fu'u tokolahi pea fu'u lahi e mat time pea ko 'eku tali kuo pau pē ke mau ako 'i e fānau mo akonaki 'i ke 'ave kia nautolu 'enau veesi lauloto mo 'emau lea' pea kuo pau ke fai e me 'a 'oku mau tui ki ai'.*

**Interpretation:** *In our previous visit from ERO two years ago, they didn't like our mat time and the reasons were because there were too many children and it was too long. I responded to it by telling them that it is important that our Tongan children learn together about our Tongan beliefs and languages which are shown in the bible verses that these children know.*



The following comment reflects that the values and expectations of ERO can cause confusions for some of the teachers.

*T.7: Taimi ko ē 'oku lōlōa ai' talamai 'oku fu'u lōlōa ka ko e nounou' talamai ia 'oku hā mo e hā. 'Oku confuse 'aupito he taimi ko e' 'o 'ikai toe 'ilo pē ko e hā koa' e me'a ke fai' pe te te fai e me'a tonu faka-Tonga' pe ko e me'a 'oku nau fiema'u ke fai'. Taimi te tau fefusiaki ai he ko kitautolu ko e kau Tonga pea ko e kau pālangi kinautolu pea 'oku fu'u kehekehe pe.*

***Interpretation:** When the mat time is long, the ERO officers comment that it is too long and when it is short they still criticize it. This sometimes causes confusion. As teachers we often feel torn between sticking to our Tongan cultural values and doing what they expect us to do.*

This opinion was reinforced by another teacher who thought the ERO position encouraged disrespectful behaviour within the Tongan culture:

*T.8: 'I he 'etau 'ulungaanga fakafonua' 'oku 'i ai e me'a ia 'oku tau fai hangē ko 'enau fakaanga' i a e mat time ke 'oua 'e lōlōa, te nau talanoa pē ki he tamasi' i ka e tuku pē ia ke fa'iteliha pē e ki' i tamasi' i ia pe 'e fanongo mai pē 'e 'alu ia ki ha feitu'u kehe. 'I he anga 'o e nofo faka-Tonga' 'oku 'ikai ke sai ia he ko e lea ki he fānau' pea nau ta'utu 'o sio mo FANONGO mai ki he ngaahi tala mo e akonaki 'oku 'oatu'. 'Oku tau tala ko e 'ulungaanga kovi ia mo e ta'etoka' i ia kapau 'e pehee ki' i tamasi' i' i he anga faka-Tonga'. Ko e mahino ia ko e ki' i tamasi' i ta'e akonaki' i ia he'ene fa'ee' pea fakamaa' i ē mātu'a' i he anga ko ē 'a e sio he matasio' ata 'a e Tonga'.*

***Interpretation:** We were told that our mat time was too long and that children should be allowed to do what they want to do whether they want to join or leave. However within our Tongan culture, when you talk to your children they are expected to sit and listen to what you are saying to them because there are valuable underpinnings and important lessons that would help make them a better person. If you behave differently from these expectations then you are misbehaved and that you are considered disrespectful. Through the Tongan lens: such actions bring shame to their families and perceived that the mother (of those children involved) is careless for not teaching the right values to her children.*

- **Hiva: Singing Voices**

*Hiva* as a verb refers to singing and as a noun refers to a song. *Hiva* talks about two different things but are related and connected within our Tongan culture. And more examples, *faihiva* refers to a conductor and *akohiva* refers to singing practises. There is no distinctive word used to separate these two concepts which illustrate the importance of *hiva* which often reflects in the form of *ta'anga* (poetic compositions of song) and in the *haka* (movement of the body). Tongan people value the importance of *hiva* with the

style of Tongan polyphonic unaccompanied singing that reflects in the cultural practises of home and church concerning singing. Manu'atu (2000b, 77) says that "in this way, the contexts constitute the relationships that acknowledge and reaffirm the performers' and the audiences' sense of identity, self-worth and collectivity. Perhaps out of the singing has emerged the Tongan performing arts." Consequently the attitude of the ERO officers towards the loud singing encouraged in the Tongan centres caused a great deal of resentment, and a feeling that ERO did not understand Tongan culture.

*T.6: Ko e ERO na'e ha'u 'o 'a'ahi mai ki heni he 'aho 'e taha na'e 'ita mai e fefine' he hiva le'o lahi 'a e fānau' pea ne pehee 'e maumau honau kia' he hiva le'o lahi 'a e fānau ka ko e kau Tonga' ka 'ikai le'o lahi 'enau hiva' 'e 'ikai mālie ia. Ko e me'a ia 'oku tau fepaki ai he 'oku ikai ke nau mahino'i 'etau me'a faka-Tonga'.*

**Interpretation:** When ERO visited our centre in the previous visits, the lady officer who carried out the visit was angry at the very loud voices of the children when they were singing because she felt that the children were ruining their voices doing that. But with our Tongan culture, if the songs are not sung loudly with high energetic voices then it doesn't generate the feeling of māfana and mālie

- **Lens used: Matasio'ata 'a e Tonga**

The ERO have evidently made what they see as an effort to accommodate the *Akoteu Tonga* by sending in as the ERO representative a person whom they see as a 'Tongan'. But there are different degrees of being 'Tongan' and just to have Tongan ancestry does not guarantee a deep understanding of the culture. There are differences among Tongans, and the closer they are to ERO the less likely they are to be acceptable to the community. The findings of this research supported the idea that Tongan centres should use Tongan lenses in order to reveal what is 'best' and not to have prescribed what should become 'best' for them.

*T.6: Taimi te tau fefusiaki ai he ko kitautolu ko e kau Tonga pea ko e kau palangi kinautolu pea 'oku fu'u kehekehe pe.*

**Interpretation:** We are worlds apart when the values of being Tongan and palangi are compared.

*T.8: Taimi 'oku ha'u ai ae ERO' ko e matasio'ata 'oku nau tui mai' ko e matasio'ata palangi, ko e sio mai pe ia ko e lokiako faka-Tonga pea 'oku 'i ai*

*'etau ngaahi value faka-Tonga hangē ko e talanoa ki he me'a 'oku nai fai' pea fakatalanoa'i kinautolu 'oku nau tala ia 'e nautolu 'oku te hanga 'e kita ia 'o fekau'i ia ke nau fai 'a e' mo e'. Ko e 'uhi' ko e talanoa faka-Tonga mo e faka'eke'eke faka-Tonga, fefee kapau te nau 'omai ha taha Tonga Tonga 'o 'ikai ko ha TONGA pālāngi o tala ko e Tonga hili ko ia' 'oku 'ikai ke lea faka-Tonga 'o ikai ko ha TONGA IA, pea ko e ha'u ko e' 'a e Tonga Pālāngi ia 'oku matasio'ata tatau mai pe ia mo e Pālāngi, 'oku sio 'a'ana ko ia' 'oku 'ikai kehekehe ia mo e pālāngi.*

**Interpretation:** *When ERO visit us they look at us through their pālāngi (European) or mainstream lens to assess our Tongan centres yet we have our own unique Tongan values that they may not capture in those lenses. When we talanoa with the children they assume that we are adult directing the children to what they do because we use our Tongan way that we would normally carry out a talanoa with a Tongan child in a Tongan context. They say that they sent a Tongan officer to visit our centre but the person that they send is not a Tongan 'Tongan' because she can't speak the Tongan language therefore she is a Tongan 'Pālāngi' and wears the same lens as the pālāngi so there is not much difference there.*

The 'structural injustices' are those that are embedded in the system, and 'personal injustice' occurs at a personal level, for those ERO officers who are simply expressing their personal opinions in the sometimes mistaken belief that their values are identical to the national regulations. It is the sense of reality of the ERO officers which is the problem here as they try to impose their sense of reality on people who have an entirely different sense of reality. It is unlikely that ERO will be successful with its aims given the mismatch of worldviews and values. ERO might be able to offer ideas but these should always be examined and adapted to the context of the target group. Kēpa and Manu'atu (2008, p. 1802) make the point that (culturally appropriate) "learning is never incomprehensible as it is firmly connected with a person's and entire peoples' concrete existence, in their language and beliefs and a wider sense of reality."

### 6.3 Parent Partnerships

It is significant that the parents are involved in the *lānga ngāue*. The discussions with teachers suggested that the Tongan ECE teachers were conscious of the need to strengthen their partnerships with the Tongan parents:

*T.I: ....pea toe 'oatu 'e he 'ilo 'a e kau faiako' ke toe ngāue fakataha mo e mātu'a' he ko e 'oatu ha me'a ia ki he mātu'a ko e tokosi'i 'aupito pē 'a 'enau kau mai ki he ngaahi fakataha 'oku ui.*

**Interpretation:** *the other teachers need to use their knowledge and skills to work with the Tongan parents because every time we invite them to come for a meeting only a few show up.*

The teachers held a strong position on the obligation of the ECE to teach Tongan values and assumed that the parents, by putting their children into a Tongan ECE, were endorsing that position:

*T.2: Ko e mātu'a kotoa pe 'oku 'omai 'enau fānau ki 'apiako ni 'oku nau fiema'u pe' enau fānau ke lea faka-Tonga he 'oku 'osi talaange pe ki he mātu'a 'i he kamata 'anga' ko e 'apiako Tonga eni pea ko 'emau philosophy ko e pukepuke 'a e lea faka-Tonga' pea 'oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha palopalema ia 'i ai.*

**Interpretation:** *All the parents have put their children (including full Tongans and half caste children) in our centre because they want them to learn the Tongan culture and language and that is what we advise them in the very beginning. Our beliefs are reflected in our philosophy and therefore will stand by it in order to maintain the Tongan culture.*

However some of the participants reflected that the younger Tongan parents often hold opposing views when it comes to their children's learning in this context. When the children turn 3 many go to Kindergarten. Thaman (2011) says that many of the parents in ECE from Pacific Island Nations send their children to kindergarten when they turn three and four on the basis of preparing them 'better' for primary school. This causes a problem which the teachers are trying to understand:

*T.7: Ko e taimi' ni foki ia manatu 'i foki 'oku 'ikai ke tau tui tatau mo e fanga ki 'i mātu'a especially the young parents fiema'u 'enautolu 'enau fānau' ke nau lea fakapapālangi 'i he 'ataakai ko eni' 'oku ikai te nau tui nautolu ia ki he lea faka-Tonga' pea 'ave leva 'enau fānau ki he ngaahi ako mainstream.*

**Interpretation:** *Nowadays the beliefs are not always the same for everyone especially for the young parents growing up in NZ. Due to the influences of the environment where they were raised, they often advocate for their children to attend mainstream centres to learn the English language.*

The following statement from T.1 shows the self-reflection teachers engaged in an attempt to understand and accommodate this problem.

*T. 1 Ko e siasi' 'oku 'ave 'enau fānau ki he ngaahi kindergarden kehe pea 'oku tu'u ia i he lea faka-pālangi pea nau fehu'ia 'emau ngāue pea 'oatu e mahino' kae kei fehu'ia pe 'e nautolu lolotonga ko ia 'oku tau i he fonua muli 'atu pē e mahino ka e kei 'eke pe ia 'e nautolu.*

**Interpretation:** *The church (where the center is operated under) members, send their children to mainstream kindergarden (when they turn 3) and question our*

*philosophies and aspirations at our center. We always try to make them understand but in this environment our worldviews and aspirations are not enough to make them understand.*

Therefore the participants' emphasized the importance of having a connection between the ECE setting and the home setting. The support of the parents through speaking the Tongan language will assist the *fānau* in speaking and learning the language at the centres. Tonganivalu (2007 cited in Thaman, 2011) advised that our children should be attending ECE centers where their cultural values, beliefs and customs are practised. Thaman (2011, p.6) believes that "the benchmarks for ECE in the Pacific against which our educational efforts need to be assessed." The teacher's views suggested that it would be harder to speak the language if it is not supported in the home setting. These were some of the supporting comments: -

*T.3: Fakatataa 'aki pē eni 'oku 'i ai e kau leka heni 'oku nau lea faka- pālāngi 'i 'api he 'oku mau lea faka-Tonga atu 'ikai pē fai ha femahino 'aki . Ui leva e mātu 'a ke mau talanoa 'o talaange ki ai kapau leva 'oku ke fiema 'u ke lea faka-Tonga ho 'o tama' kuo pau leva ke fai e lea faka-Tonga 'i 'api ke pou pou ki he fānau pea ka 'oku 'ikai pau leva ia ke slow lahi he 'oku 'ikai hokohoko lelei. 'Oku confuse leva e fānau ai.*

**Interpretation:** *We have children at the centre who speak in English at their homes but here at the centre we only speak the Tongan language. The challenge is then for parents to make sure that they support their children's learning in the Tongan language. When we have a talanoa, we advise them to communicate with their children in the Tongan language to ensure a smooth transition between the home and the ECE setting, to avoid confusions in children.*

Both teachers and parents seem to think that language learning is an either-or Tongan or English. This study suggests that children can become bilingual with a great deal of ease, and that this has lasting cognitive advantages for them (Tagoilelagi-Leota et al., 2005; Amituanai et al., 2009). Here are some of the perspectives:

*T.5: Tonu ke ngāue fakataha e kominiuti Tonga hangee ko e ngaahi mātu 'a' pea omi mo e kau pālāngi kenau omi 'o tokoni 'i kitautolu mo fakamahino 'i kia tautolu ke tau fēngāue 'aki pē.... Ko e fanga ki 'i tamaiki 'oku nau fa 'a lea ua pea lea atu e lea kehe 'oku 'ikai fu 'u mahino kae lea fak- Tonga atu ia 'oku mahino ange ia kianaotolu.*

**Interpretation –** *The Tongan community including the Tongan parents should work together with people from the Pālāngi community in order to understand what is going on with the Tongan ECE....The children often speak and*

*understand two languages and it is obvious that they can really understand the Tongan language when you talk to them.*

*T.8 'Oku asi pe ia he 'apiako he 'oku iku pe ia ke lea fakapalangi pe e kau leka ia he 'oku mahino 'oku lea faka-Tonga he ako' 'oku mahino'i ua pea foki atu ki 'api 'oku 'ikai fai ha lea faka-Tonga ia ai pea fai ai pē ha respond faka-pālāngi pe ia , ka ko e me'a 'oku te ongo'i 'oku fakafiefia 'a e fānau 'oku nau lea faka-Tonga 'osi ange ko ia' ko 'e nau fa'ee ko e muli pē ko e tamai' 'oku hafekasi ta ko e 'oku lava pe ia..*

**Interpretation:** *It is obvious that some children here at the center could understand and respond back in the Tongan language. Especially our children here who are half caste where only the mother or father is Tongan, who can easily respond back in the Tongan language when spoken to in the Tongan language. When they go home they can respond back in the English language because that is the language used at home. I am happy because it goes to show that it is possible to be skilled at being 'bilingual' at this age.*

The contribution of Tongan parents in Aotearoa is required to ensure that the *lānga ngāue* become alive and ensure that we continue be in control of our own 'reality' to promote cohesive Tongan worldviews. Tagoilelagi-Leota et al (2005) says that there are benefits to being bilingual and bilingual students including Tongans, perform well academically in primary schools.

#### **6.4 Learning in line with Tongan way of thoughts**

It is fundamentally relevant to these centres or to these teacher-participants that the ECE children are imbued with Tongan cultural values in line with how Tongan people view the world. One participant commented on the differing views that 'Pālāngi' hold opposed to the Tongan way of thinking. Fua (2001, p.73) contends that there are: -

*..value variations which exists between the Ministry and participants. The differences in needs, motivations and relational interactions between participants and the community and the Ministry and various bodies accounted for the value variations.*

The reversals of Tongan conventions and expectations are sometimes justified and accepted but often times they are not. This situation is reflected in a view that what Tongans see as good for Tongan people might not be good for other cultures:

*T.8: 'Oku' i ai foki 'a e SAI ia 'a e kau pālāngi' 'oku 'ikai SAI ia ki he sio 'a e kau TONGA' pea 'oku 'i ai 'a e SAI ia 'a e kau TONGA' 'oku 'ikai SAI ia ki he kau Pālāngi'. Tatau pē ia mo e kau matakali kehe hangee koo Ha'amoā .etc. he 'oku fepaki ia he taimi 'e ni'ihiki he anga 'o 'etau anga faka-Tonga.*

**Interpretations:** *The Palangi's perceptions of quality do not match Tongans' perceptions of quality. There are some things that Pālangi like that Tongans dislike. And it is the same thing with the other cultures such as Samoans.etc. Because our Tongan culture is very unique.*

#### **6.4.1 Poto 'a e Tonga:**

The beliefs and views of the Tongan ECE teachers influence the way they practise.

Some of the important ideas on what has value as *poto* and should be incorporated in the *Akoteu Tonga* were put forward: -

*T.8: Pehee 'e he Tonga' 'oku ikai mahu'inga ē POTO ia kapau e 'asi mai ia 'oku 'ulungaanga kovi pea 'e pehee atu leva ia 'oku 'ikai mahu'inga ia pea 'ikai ke fe'unga ia mo e poto'. 'Oku 'ikai define pehe'i e poto ia 'e he Tonga' ...Ka 'i ai ha tamasi'i ia 'oku poto ko ha toketaa, konakona pē ia ki falelotu pea mo hono teunga' 'oku 'ikai ke lau ia 'e he TONGA, ko e poto ko e poto ia 'a e TONGA' 'oku pehē ko 'ene hā he potu kotoa pē 'oku POTO 'oku ngali POTO.*

**Interpretation:** *Tongans believe that being POTO is knowing how to behave appropriately within the Tongan culture otherwise you are not perceived to be POTO within the Tongan context. For e.g. If you are a doctor and you go to church drunk, not wearing the appropriate Tongan attire and you might be thinking your intelligent. You are considered the opposite within the Tongan culture because you are not POTO. If you were POTO you would behave according to Tongan protocols.*

An example of an important value is *fanongo* (listening).

*T.1:....Neongo 'oku 'i ai pē e poto e fānau' ka 'oku kei mahu'inga pē ke nau fanongo ki he 'enau mātu'a' he 'oku 'i ai ha kuonga ia 'e fanongo 'a e mātu'a ia ki he fānau' pea 'e faka'ofa leva ia. 'Oku 'i ai pe e taimi ke 'ilo ai 'e he fānau 'oku 'i ai ha taimi kenau fanongo ai ki he mātu'a' he 'oku 'ikai ha mātu'a te ne 'ave ha me'a kovi ki ha'a ne enau fānau.*

**Interpretation:** *While it is important to raise intellectual children it is still very important that they listen to their parents because there comes a time in the near future when the parents will listen to the kids instead. However the kids should still know that all Tongan parents want them to succeed and they would not give them something that would harm them in any way.*

*T.8: 'I he anga 'o e nofo faka-Tonga' 'oku ikai ke sai ia he ko e lea ki he fānau' pea nau ta'utu 'o sio mo FANONGO mai ki he ngaahi tala mo e akonaki 'oku 'oatu'. 'Oku tau tala ko e 'ulungaanga kovi ia mo e ta'etoka'i ia kapau e pehee k'i tamasi'i' 'i he anga faka-Tonga. Ko e mahino ia ko e ki'i tamasi'i ta'e akonaki'i ia he'ene fa'ee pea fakamaa'i e mātu'a i he anga ko ē 'a e sio he matasio'ata 'o e Tonga'.*

**Interpretation:** *In our Tongan culture there is a time when the child needs to sit and listen to the good advices and talanoa given by their parents. However if the child does not do that then they will be perceived as bad mannered, disrespectful person and when you do such a thing, you are bringing shame to your family.*

Such Tongan conventions guarantee that you maintain the values of *faka'apa'apa* and become culturally accepted within the Tongan *nofo anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan way of living). The underpinning value of *fanongo*(listening) is an indication of having *faka'apa'apa towards* your parents and other people who are older than you. Tongans in reference to this concept often use the biblical injunction (Ephesians Chapter 6: Verse 1, Tongan bible version) where it says '*faka'apa'apa ki ho'o tamai mo ho'o fa'ee kae loloa ho 'aho he kelekele*' (and in the English translation says that children will live longer if they obey their parents). It is a much older practise and moral precept, going back to the depth of Tongan history.

#### **6.4.2 Future Implications and Tongan ECE in Aotearoa**

The teachers held strong views on the future of Tongan ECE and its importance for Tongan NZers in the future. Implications for the Tongan ECE teachers who are involved in this study believed that *langa ngāue* should be based on the core values that are important to Tongan people. There is a need for ongoing recruitment of Tongan ECE teachers to work alongside these eight participants, not only to learn from them but to ensure that there will be people who will be able to continue this very important work in the future. It is no use starting this *langa ngāue* and then finds out in the future that there are no Tongan ECE teachers to replace these committed *loto'i ngāue* teachers who have been involved in building success. Children exposed to using Tongan language and culture through Tongan ECE will be assured of a better and lifelong future in their cultural context and in NZ more generally. Some of those implications include the teacher's views on what we might do in NZ to help maintain our Tongan identity and avoid the risk of losing our *koloa* of Tongan language and culture:

*T.1: Kapau te tau faka va'iva'inga leva ia ki he 'etau lea mo e 'ulungaanga' 'e faka'ofa pea 'ikai ke tau 'ilo pe 'e fefee hotau fanga mokopuna' i he kaha'u' pea mole e mahu'inga pea e faka'ofa ia ka ko hono mahu'inga' ia ke hunuki mo tōkaki ki he 'etau fānau he taimi ni pea 'oua 'e fakavaivai' i pea fai pē e*



*faka'amu ki he kaha'u . 'Oua 'e toe fakavaivai'i hono fa'u e ngaahi polokalama ko eni' ke mā'opo'opo ke tolonga ai 'etau me'a' .*

**Interpretation:** *If we don't take our Tongan language and culture seriously we will be at risk losing our Tongan identity and what will become of our grandchildren in the future? We need to seriously embed and instil the values of our Tongan language and culture into our children through the makeup of the programs to ensure that we don't lose our culture.*

Some of the teachers showed concern for Tongan ECE in the future - whether there is enough inspiration to recruit the younger generations for this all important *langa ngāue*:

*T.4: Faka'amu ke lea faka-Tonga e ngaahi akoteu Tonga kotoa pē , pea poupu' i mo e fanga ki'i to'utupu' he ko eni kuo mau 'alu ki he vaivai. 'Oku ou tui kapau 'e ma'u e loto'i ngāue ko eni he 'etau fānau' - fiu feinga'i 'etau fānau ke nau 'alu 'o ako he mala'e'ni ka e lava ke nau hoko atu 'e nautolu e ngāue' ,he ka 'ikai lava lea ke fakatolonga 'etau lea faka-Tonga' kapau 'e 'ikai 'I ai ha taha ke ne hoko atu 'etau ngāue'. Kapau 'e ma'u e ngaahi loto pehē ni ko eni 'oku mau ma'u' 'e kimautilu ko eni 'oku matu'outu'a 'e he fanga ki'i tamaiki he taimi ni pea 'e 'ikai lea ke 'i ai ha palopalema ia pea 'e 'ikai mole 'etau lea'. Kapau ko e 'osi pe 'a mautolu pea 'e fefee lea?*

**Interpretation:** *The hope is that for all the Tongan ECE centres to speak in the Tongan language and encourage our young children to go for further studies because we are not getting any younger. We need our children to replace us when we retire so that our vision still lives in maintaining our Tongan language and culture. We only hope that our youth and young children will be inspired to become ECE teachers in the future and importantly embedded with the loto'i ngāue that makes up a strong Tongan sense of identity. Then there won't be any problems because our language and culture are not at risks anymore. But what happens if there is no one to continue this important work that we are doing here in ECE?*

Tongan cultural values and beliefs system should utilise inter-generational transmission because it will ensure the Tongan language and culture is sustained and maintained. This will ensure that the language and belief system are kept intact by learning from the older teachers who are close to retirement physically but never in the *loto*.

## 6.5 Summary

During my *talanoa* with these Tongan teachers, it was clear that they had strong cultural beliefs and values which influenced their perspectives and practises. Their *langa ngāue* have strong underpinnings of Tongan cultural values and beliefs constructed with interdependent relationships which concurrently symbolises the solidarity of Tongan people. The centres hold different philosophies that uphold important values and beliefs

however there are also prescribed outcomes from the MoE that these centres have to fit into to ensure further funding are received for the operations of these centres. These teachers felt that they have studied, gained qualifications and teachers' registration in order to practise and do what they do best but don't want to be pulled down with also trying to operate the governance and operational side of ECE. Therefore they suggested that TECA (which is the Tongan Early Childhood Association) take up some of these governance and administration's responsibilities in the future.

Some of the participants also reflected on the differences of worldviews which often create issues especially when assessed by the MoE through the Education Review Officer (ERO) office. It is significant that the parents are involved in the *langa ngāue*. The discussions with teachers suggested that the Tongan ECE teachers were conscious of the need to strengthen their partnerships with the Tongan parents. Some of the important considerations concerning values such as *poto* suggested that should be incorporated in the *Akoteu Tonga*. The teachers recommend that *Akoteu Tonga* invest in values, relationships and the people rather than in the 'economics'.

Tongan ECE teachers who are involved in this study believed that *langa ngāue* should be based on the core values that are important to Tongan people. There is a need for ongoing recruitment of Tongan ECE teachers to work alongside these eight participants, not only to learn from them but to ensure that there will be people who will be able to continue this very important work in the future. The next chapter discusses my conclusions and future recommendations.

## CHAPTER 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

### *“Kava kuo heka”<sup>14</sup>*

*(When the kava is mixed and ready to serve, the server with a coconut shell cup or ipukava stoops lower holding the ipu kava over the kumete (kava bowl) where the kava liquid is wrung into the ipu kava ready for serving)*

### 7.1 Introduction

From the views of the eight Tongan ECE teachers, it was important to know that ‘success’ is transparent in their lived experiences. These successes are seldom acknowledged by ‘outsiders’, because they do not ‘see’ the significance of values and culture and the difficulties of maintaining these in a new country. Success lies in relationships, behaviours, and through ‘lived’ values rather than in the official documents. Their lived experiences are documented in the philosophies of their centres; relationships and friendships maintained during their journeys; qualifications gained; teachers they supervise; centres they lead; number of NZ born children who are able to speak and understand the Tongan language; recruitment of new teachers to study; and in joining force with other Tongan teachers and parents to encourage the importance of maintaining the Tongan language and culture in NZ. Our children must have these values embedded in their lives in order to become ‘life long learners’ and equipped to react to the ‘change’ faced in this context. Te Whāriki supports that children in ECE education “grow up as competent and confident learners and communicators, healthy in mind, body, and spirit, secure in their sense of belonging and in the knowledge that they make a valued contribution to society”. Tongan people’s sense of *fonua* and cultural belonging in Aotearoa will be strengthened by establishing more *akoteu Tonga* by

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<sup>14</sup> Kava kuo heka: this is the order given by Motu’apuaka. Once the ipu kava is filled with the kava liquid wrung with the fau strainer. Then the matāpule calls out their names and the person who is being called will clap to indicate that he is present and the server will ensure that he gets his ipu kava. This process continues until everyone received their turns in drinking their ipu kava. For this research, I feel that this is my contribution to the Tongan society and the education system in Aotearoa NZ. Every one else have their own contributions and voices to make. I accept this calling with a *fū* (clap) with the obligations and duties towards my people and the *fonua*.

Tongans for Tongans. This contribution to NZ's education system will become a success not only for the time being but in many years to come.

This thesis aimed to develop a conceptual framework that recognizes the importance of the social, cultural and political relationships in this particular group (Manu'atu & Kēpa, 2002), with less emphasis on the 'economics'. I used the notion of *langa ngāue* drawing from my own Tongan language and culture to help understand the Tongan worldviews of *ngāue*. The concept of *ngāue* was explored within the indigenous ritual of *taumafa kava* because that is where *ngāue* is clearly defined in the Tongan culture. It is vital that *ngāue* can be understood in the social context of Tongan people and the interdependent relationships through the *vā* that link people to the *fonua* and the entire cosmos. *Ngāue* signals the importance of the relational and the communal values that links not only the living with the living but also with the non-living (Manu'atu, 2005). The importance of *ngāue* is illustrated metaphorically by its position in the center of the *taumafa kava* circle surrounded by all chiefs and nobles in social orders with the King's presence.

Conceptually this reflects how *ngāue* is central to *anga faka-Tonga* and to building a strong Tongan sense of identity in Tongan rhetoric. The site where the *ngāue* is placed in a *taumafa kava* circle is a representation of solidarity, commitment and loyalty to the Tongan motto – '*Ko e 'Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofi 'a*'. In this context it is clear to see that *ngāue* comes from the *fonua*. Therefore theoretically *langa ngāue* is *langa fonua*. The endeavour to improve the *ngāue* is for the betterment of the *fonua*. This is a true illustration of how interconnected the Tongan concepts are because *langa ngāue* is both connected to and also is *langa fonua*. The process of *ngāue* results in the production of *koloa*, that empowers, enriches, recreates, and reconstructs the 'positions' of Tongan people as 'permanent residents' in this new *fonua* where they are not indigenous people. In the indigenous context, relationships between Tongan people and their land, skies

and seas demonstrate the way in which Tongans see the world. It is not a fragmented or an individualistic world. The concept of *ngāue* reflects the hierarchical nature of the social structure that holds people together and contributes a strong sense of Tongan identity encapsulating what is ‘real’ for Tongan people. What is important to note is that *ngāue* and *koloa* complements each other; one cannot function without the other.

## **7.2 Research Limitations and Possibilities**

The researcher used a small number of people to conduct this research. Eight ‘qualified’ Tongan teachers contributed to our *talanoa*. The findings of the present study cannot be used for ‘generalisation’ because of the nature of this small study; however it can be used as a reference for similar groups. I suggest the use of different age groups in the *talanoa* in order to get the perspective of the younger teachers who are NZ born and who are involved in contributing to the building success in Tongan ECE. Because this study is distinctive there were no other similar researches in the field about the perspectives of teachers in their *langa ngāue* to help guide some of our *talanoa*.

The views of these eight Tongan participants may differ from other teachers in the field of Tongan ECE due to differences in socialisation and upbringing in Tonga before migrating to NZ. The view of the researcher may well also contribute to how their views were interpreted and organised in this study. I hope that this work will assist others to explore Tongan/Pasifika groups in more detail.

### ***7.2.1 Implications for Tongan ECE***

This research may also facilitate the Government and the MoE in understanding how Tongan ECE teacher’s practise in some of their centres and possibly assist in designing appropriate pedagogy and curriculum for the Tongan ECE centres in NZ. Some of the views from the participants reflected on the differences of worldviews which often create issues, especially when assessed by the Minister of Education through the

Education Review Officer (ERO) office. More work is required in the way ERO uses the mainstream lens to assess what is not mainstream in language nests because ‘one size does not fit all’. The policies need to be changed to acknowledge the cultural values of the target group. ERO might be able to offer ideas but these should always be examined and adapted to the context of the target group. It is highly hopeful that the *langa ngāue* perspectives of these Tongan ECE teachers will better inform ERO and other Government officials during their visits to the Tongan centers, since it is the sense of reality of the ERO officers which is the problem here as they try to impose their understanding on people who have an entirely different sense of reality.

### ***7.2.2 Implications for Tongan ECE teacher’s education***

It is vital that the findings of this research can be used by especially those who are ‘policy makers’ of Aotearoa to be better informed and culturally aware of the Tongan worldviews so it could help generate meaningful experience for the *kakai Tonga nofo ‘i Aotearoa*. The knowledge, experiences and perceptions of these Tongan ECE teachers can be used as an insight to assist Teachers Education providers/policy makers in the make up of programs within the NZ institution. Equally important is that the study can also be used to influence other Pacific communities in similar studies given the similarities in their socio-economic status in NZ. This should include the programs for training of the Tongan ECE teachers in Aotearoa because it is important that ECE teachers are well equipped to deliver such concepts as *ako*, *‘ilo* and *poto* for the children which demarginalise Tongan people from their own thinking. It is also important that non Tongan teachers are exposed to learning concepts that include alternative worldviews such as Tongan worldviews, so they could be able to provide contextualised and ‘meaningful learning’ for not only Tongan children but other Pacific children that might be attending mainstream ECE centers.

### ***7.2.3 Implications of Tongan ECE***

It is significant that the parents are involved in the *langa ngāue*. The discussions with teachers suggested that the Tongan ECE teachers were conscious of the need to strengthen their partnerships with the Tongan parents. This research could also help parents understand how Tongan ECE teachers are trying to build up success in Tongan ECE. This will hopefully encourage them to send their children to the Tongan ECE centers in order to ensure that this important work in Tongan ECE lives on, given their support and contributions. More importantly the perceptions of teachers and parents can also influence the policy makers to ensure that there should be appropriate programs to support bilingual education in NZ, both for those who speak Tongan at home and for those who have English as a first language at home and then their Native language in the context of the ECE (or school) contexts. These policies should reflect the diversities of not only Tongan children but also other Pacific communities, understanding that they can do extremely well in their native language first to ensure that they succeed in learning a second language when they enter primary school.

This research would assist TECA in designing appropriate programs and upgrade their responsibilities by overseeing what the teachers had suggested that they should oversee in the future. Partnership with the work of the collective group of Tongan ECE centers is needed for the survival of *langa ngāue* within Tongan ECE. The areas suggested were governance and administration that include:

- Running appropriate professional development programs that are meaningful for the Tongan ECE centers.
- Human resources through recruitment processes, and assist in choosing Tongan teachers and relievers.

- Run registration programs that will assist new graduates in obtaining their teachers' registration certificates.

### 7.3 Aofangatuku – Closing Statement

It is apparent that we cannot rebuild and recreate our traditional Tongan society here in Aotearoa but I agree with Taufe'ulungaki (2004, p.8) that we can “reclaim a sense of community through the identification of ‘core values’ that are consistent with the rebuilding and reconstruction of relationships that promote health and well-being for all our people.” These ‘core values’ are furthermore transparent in the acknowledgements of *fakafeta'i* (honorific word for thanks) towards the *ngāue* presented in a *taumafa kava* by the King's *matāpule* (spoke person/chief). I have included some of the examples which are listed below with their translations.

<i>Fakafeta'i ē too kava!</i>	Thanks for <b>planting</b> kava!
<i>Fakafeta'i ē lālānga!</i>	Thanks for the <b>weaving</b> of mats!
<i>Fakafeta'i ē koka'anga!</i>	Thanks for the <b>making</b> of tapa!
<i>Fakafeta'i ē fanga puaka!</i>	Thanks for <b>feeding</b> the pigs!
<i>Fakafeta'i ē fei'umu Hula!</i>	Thanks for <b>preparing</b> the 'umu Hula!

These acknowledgements have great underpinnings that contribute to how Tongan people behave and think. These acknowledgements are not object oriented where the products of *ngāue* including the number of *kava* plants, mats, tapa, pigs, and baskets of 'umu inside the *taumafa kava* circle are emphasized. Instead these greetings of *fakafeta'i* appreciate the actual *process* that made these *ngāue* come to life. It is about the process rather than the product. It is about the people and the relationships. It is about the *ngāue* of the collective and their efforts that count. It is not about me but it is about 'us' as a collective. Therefore these Tongan teachers value in their practise is the actual *ngāue*. While the Government in the form of ERO may focus on the *products* of success as recorded in the official documents within these Tongan ECE centres in Aotearoa, they may not be able to 'see' the 'success' that made the journey worthwhile because they do not perceive that it is the values, people and the interdependent



relationships with the entire cosmos binding them together which are the real ‘success’. And this is where we find our meaning and how we secure our sense of belonging in Aotearoa. The *langa fonua* of Tongan ECE teachers in Aotearoa share the challenge pointed out by Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Efi (2005, p. 68) to focus on what is really important in life since “what matters in the pursuit of indigenous Pacific knowledge is that it survives – and survives because it gives us meaning and belonging. Everything else is clutter.”

***Fakafeta’i e ngāue!***

***Thank you for everything that you done for Tongan ECE!***

## Epilogue: *Fakafeta'i e ngāue*

For every *taumafa kava*, some of the men are chosen to go and look for appropriate kava plants to be *ta'aki* (dug/uproot) worthy of the occasion. Then once the kava plant is found then it is *fakalanga'i* (uplifted from the ground) so that the roots come with soil still attached to the roots. Once that is done a group of men use a special way to uproot the kava plant with its roots and soil still on it and transferred to where the *ngāue* is collected.

Since there are no kava plants that are able to grow on NZ's land, it was only appropriate that a kava plant is *ta'aki* from the plantation in Tonga to be transported from Tonga to NZ. With this thesis, I hoped that this particular thesis will contribute to the *ngāue* that are central to the Tongan language and culture. I hoped that the *ngāue* that we are carrying out in this *fonua* is still worthy of its value and integrity not only for the people but for GOD, King and country – as our motto says GOD and TONGA are my inheritance. Eric Shumway known as *Faivaola* (Tongan *matāpule* name) in 1998 made this speech on behalf of the principal of Brigham Young University (BYU) in Hawaii during the investiture title ceremony in the *taumafa kava*, which is the first time such a service has been conducted on foreign land where Tongan people are not indigenous to. Shumway [Video, 1999] says:

*There (within the cup you hold) is the fonua, country – the (titled) fatongia responsibility, and the complete trust of his majesty – his royal house and the nobility of Tonga in you. You receive (drink) it this day as both a commemoration and a confirmation (of duty) as indicated in the splendid speech we listened to a moment ago regarding your special kinship to Tonga. (Our greatest) hope is that you care for your people (in a way) worthy of your title and the (sacred) duty bestowed (upon you) on this mid-day (today).*

This speech reminded me of what my obligations are to my Tongan people. I feel that this research is not about completing my qualifications but more importantly to know that it is about the people. Therefore I have an important *fatongia* to fulfil and that includes ensuring that this research is to 'empower' my people and my *fonua*. More

importantly, I am responsible for the *koloa* that I have inherited from my ancestors and therefore I will hold on to it to the best of my abilities. I have a responsibility to pass this *koloa* to my children, and my children's children so that it still becomes a *koloa tukufakaholo* that they use and cherish in the future.

***Fakafeta'i ē ma'u koloa!!***

***Thank you for honouring me with your most valuable treasure!!***

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## Glossary of Tongan Terms

*The glossary of Tongan terms is arranged according to the Tongan alphabets. They are:*

*ako* – (teaching, learning, education )

*‘api* – ( refers to home)

*‘atamai poto* – (refers to an intellectual mind or clever thinking)

*fai ‘aho* (birthday)

*faka ‘apa ‘apa* (respect),

*fakafeta ‘i* (honorific word for thank you)

*fakafeta ‘i e lālānga* ‘ (thank you for the weaving)

*Fakafeta ‘i ē ma ‘u koloa* (thank you for giving me most valuable treasure)

*fakahokohoko* (social order)

*fakama ‘u ma ‘u* (restraint behavior).

*fakamaatoato* (taking this research seriously)

*fakanofonofa* (seated)

*fala* (mats)

*falehanga* (women’s working shed)

*fatongia* (obligations/responsibilities)

*fa ‘a* (animals/farming)

*fefine tu ‘a* (female commoner)

*fehikitaki* (moving from one place to another through the calling from the church)

*feveitokai ‘aki* (reciprocity)

*fofola e fala kae fai e alea* (discussions on the mat).

*fonua* (land and peoples).

*fonualoto* (land within)

*fou he anga faka-Tonga* (go through the Tongan way)

*haka* (movement of the body)

*kāinga* (kinship/extended family)

*kato ‘i he loto kato* (a basket within a basket)

*kau faiako Akoteu Tonga* (Tongan ECE teachers )

*kau ngāue*(people who are in charge of preparing and arranging of presentations)

*ko e ui mei langi* (calling from God)

*ko e ‘Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofi ‘a* (God and Tonga (*land and people*) is my inheritance)

*koloa tukufakaholo* (hereditary/handed down from generation to generation)

*kumete* (kava bowl)  
*lata* (sense of belonging)  
*loto lahi* (strong minded and determined)  
*ma 'u me 'a* - rich  
*mali* (wedding)  
*mata poto* (being alert/ being insightful and skilful in handling duties in the collective)  
*matāpule* (talking chiefs)  
*napangapangamālie* (refers to a state when harmony is reached during the *taumafa kava*)  
*ngatu* (tapa)  
*ngāue fakataha* (working together/collectively)  
*nofo 'a kāinga* (kin group/kinship)  
*nonufiafia* (a Tongan medicinal plant).  
*'ofa* (compassion),  
*ouau 'o e fakafeta 'i* (rituals of acknowledgements)  
*palangi* (European/ non Tongan)  
*polopolo* (first harvest)  
*pou tuliki* (foundation)  
*putu* (funeral),  
*toka 'i* (showing respect)  
*ta 'aki* (dig up/uproot)  
*ta 'anga* (poetic compositions of song)  
*Ta'ehaamai* (God as the 'unseen')  
*Tangata kakato* (whole or complete person)  
*tauhi vā* (maintaining reciprocal relationships)  
*taumafa kava* (Tongan royal kava ceremony)  
*to 'ua* (person preparing the kava at the kumete)  
*tōkanga* (plantations)  
*toutai* (sea)  
*tupu 'anga* (genealogy)  
*'umu* (food baked in an underground oven)  
*'uta* (bush or inland)

# Participant Information Sheet

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## ***Langa Ngāue ‘a e kakai Tonga nofo ‘i Aotearoa***

My name is Jeanne Pau’uvale Teisina. I am a postgraduate student who is currently enrolled in the Masters of Education degree at Auckland University of Technology and I would like to invite you to be a voluntary participant in my research. You can withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection without any disadvantage.

## ***What is the purpose of this research?***

The purpose of this research is to identify the challenges that Tongan early childhood educators face in their journey towards *langa ngāue* in Aotearoa. The findings of this research will be published in a thesis and may be used in presentations and publications within an academic or professional context.

## ***How are people chosen to be asked to be part of this research?***

I will be selecting a person from at least 6 Tongan licensed centres from Tongan early childhood centres in South Auckland. The participants will be approached through TECA (Tongan Early Childhood Association) group. The potential participants will receive a letter of invitation and a request for their consent to join the research. You have met the criteria because you have relevant experiences and skills in this area

## ***What happens in this research?***

I will contact you for a suitable time to meet for a talanoa and therefore a time and venue will be arranged for a meeting to take place. I hope that you are available to meet between June and July 2010. All talanoa sessions and meetings will be audio taped and transcribed onto a hard copy. You will be sent a copy of this to confirm. Themes from the data will form the basis of the thesis.

***What are the risks?***

There are low direct risks to the participants as they will be discussing matters of professional interest and significance. Neither the participants nor their centres or students are placed under any risks. The only risk for participants in this research is to the confidentiality of their comments and contributions to the study.

***How will my privacy be protected?***

The researcher will undertake to provide anonymity unless the participant requests otherwise. Participants will not be disadvantaged by their contributions or if they choose to withdraw from the research. Full information obtained from participants will remain confidential and be used appropriately according to the consents signed by the participants. The identity of participants is to be protected during the course of this research project unless prior consent has been obtained from each participant. Due to the nature and size of the participant population, confidentiality will be discussed and only limited confidentiality can be guaranteed.

***What are the benefits?***

This is an opportunity to contribute to your community by sharing your life experiences and the challenges that you have come across in your *langa ngāue*. This experience is aimed at making a difference in the Tongan community and can extend to other communities who are experiencing the same journey in the early childhood field.

***What are the costs of participating in this research?***

There will be no financial costs in participating in this research project. The talanoa is expected to last one hour. Morning tea refreshments and petrol vouchers will be provided for the participants depending on the time and place of the talanoa.

***What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?***

It is voluntary to participate in this research so please complete the consent form by the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 2010. You can also withdraw for any reason until the completion of data is complete (July 30) even if you have already consented to join as a participant.

You can also contact me if you need more information about this research or you could also contact my supervisor Dr Nesta Devine – Associate Professor from the School of Education with contact details listed below.

***How do I agree to participate in this research?***

If you would like to join this research as a participant please contact me either by phone or email so we could arrange to send you a consent form to sign and return.

***Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?***

Yes - you will receive a summary of the final report of this research by person or whatever suits you as a participant.

***What do I do if I have concerns about this research?***

In the first instance you can contact me otherwise you can contact my supervisor Dr. Nesta Devine about any concerns with the listed details below.

If it is concerns about the conduct of the research – AUTECH team should be contacted first. Madelinda Banda – 921 9999 ext 8044 or [Madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz)

***Who do I contact for further information about this research?***

Researcher contact details:

Jeanne Pau'uvale Teisina, Email: [jteisina@yahoo.com.au](mailto:jteisina@yahoo.com.au) or home ph: 2571997 or on mobile 0212389730

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr. Nesta Devine, ph:

AUTEC Approval Date: \_\_\_\_\_

*In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), the final ethics approval was finally granted on 21st of October 2010 by AUTEC with reference number 10/157.*

## Tohi fakamatala ma'ae kau faiako Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa

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### *Langa Ngāue 'a e kakai Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa*

Mālō e Lelei ko hoku hingoa ko Jeanne Pau'uvale Teisina pea 'oku ou lolotonga ako 'i he 'Univesiti 'o e AUT - Auckland University of Technology pea 'oku ou faka'amu pe te ke loto lelei keke kau mai 'i he fekumi faka'atamai 'oku fai'. 'E lava pe ke liliu ho loto' ke to'o ko e mei he fakatotolo ko eni 'oku fai' 'i ha fa'ahinga taimi pe 'o 'ikai uesia ko e 'i ha fa'ahinga me'a.

### *Ko e ha e taumu'a 'o e fakatotolo?*

Ko e fekumi ko eni 'oku fakahoko' ko e fifili pe ke 'ilo ki he ngaahi nānunga 'o e fononga'anga 'o e tokotaha faiako 'i he feinga ke *langa* hake 'a 'etau *ngāue* 'i Aotearoa. Ko e ngaahi fakakaukau mo e ola 'o e fekumi 'e hoko ia ko e fa'u tohi pe thesis 'a ia 'e lava pe 'o *ngāue* 'aki 'i he mala'e fakapolofesinale 'o e ako.'

### *Na'e anga fēfē hono fili'i ko e ke kau mai ki he fakatotolo 'oku fai?*

Na'e 'uhinga pe 'a hono fili'i ko e keke kau mai ki he fekumi ko eni ko e'uhi pe 'oku ke ma'u 'a e faka'ilonga lesisita faiako 'i he vāhenga Saute 'Okalani pea mo e ngaahi taukei *ngāue* 'oku fiema'u ke fakahoko 'aki e fekumi ko eni 'oku ou fifili ke ma'u . 'Oku ou fēngāue'aki foki mo e kulupu TECA ke lava 'o talanoa mo kinautolu 'oku fie kau mai ki he fakatotolo ko eni 'oku fai. 'E toki li atu ha tohi fakamatala 'o fakaikiiki atu ai 'a e fekumi ko eni 'oku fai;

***Ko e ha leva e me'a 'e hoko ki he anga 'o e fekumi ko eni 'oku fakahoko?***

Te u toki fetu'utaki atu pe ki ha taimi faingamālie ke fai ai ha talanoa pea mo ha taimi pe feitu'u ke tau fakataha ki ai 'o fakatatau pe ki ho'o faka'amu'. Ko e ngaahi talanoa kotoa pet e tau fakahoko 'e lekooti ia he tepi pea toki taipe'i, pea liliu ki he lea faka palangi kimua pea toki taipe'i ki ha tohi. Te u toki 'oatu 'e au ha tatau 'o e tohi'ni ke ke tauhi pea mo faka'ataa mai pe 'oku ke loto ki ai kae toki hoko atu hono analaiso. 'E fakataha'i leva e ngaahi faka'eke'eke mo e fakamatala kotoa pe na'e tanaki 'i he fekumi ko eni', pea fakafehoanaki kinautolu ke lava 'o ma'u ai ha ngaahi fakakaukau lalahi ke fa'u 'aki ha pepa. 'E toki taipe'i leva ia ke lava 'o fa'u ai ha tohi pe thesis report.

***'E malu'i fēfē 'a 'eku ngaahi fakamatala'?***

'Oku ngalingali pe 'e 'ikai 'e 'i ai ha fu'u uesia 'e hoko kiate ko e he ko e ngaahi fakamatala mo e talanoa te tau fakahoko', teke pule pe ki ai pea kuo pau pe teke 'uluaki fakangofua ke ngāue'aki ka 'ikai 'e 'ikai lava ia ke ngāue'aki 'i he fakatotolo 'oku fai. Lolotonga e fekumi ko eni 'e fakahoko 'e mahu'inga 'aupito ke malu'i 'a kinautolu kotoa 'e kau mai ki he fekumi 'oku fai.

***'E hoko ha fakatamaki nai kiate au lolotonga 'o e fekumi ko eni 'oku fai'***

'Oku fakamamafa'i 'i he tohi fakamatala ki he kau faiako Tonga kotoa pe 'e kau mai ki he fakatotolo ko eni' 'e tauhi ia 'i he aleapau ke malu'i 'enau totonu' pea 'oua leva ke fakae'a kitu'a e ngaahi fakamatala kotoa pe te'eki ke fakamafai'i 'e he tokotaha 'oku fai hono faka'eke'eke'. 'I he vakai ki he nānunga 'o e fakatotolo'ni mo hono lahi' 'e ngali faingata'a ke fakapapau'i 'e 'ikai 'ilo 'e ha taha 'oku ke kau mai ki he fekumi ko e eni 'oku fakahoko ka 'e lava pe ke fai pe ha'o lau ki ai .

***Ko e ha e lelei 'e ma'u mei he fekumi ko eni?***



Ko e faingamālie eni ke fai ha tokoni ki hotau kainga Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa 'oku nau fuesia 'a e fatongia mo e lakanga faiako 'i he ngaahi akoteu Tonga. Ko e fekumi ko eni 'oku ou tui 'e tokoni lahi ia ki he anga 'o 'etau *langa* ngāue 'oku fai 'i Aotearoa 'e he kakai Tonga' ma'ae kakai Tonga.

***Ko e ha e totongi ki he'ete kau 'i he fekumi ko eni?***

'Oku 'ikai ha totongi ia ko e ki'i fakamāfana pe ha ipu ti pe ko ha 'utu ka 'e toki mahino pe he taimi 'e fakahoko ai e talanoa.

***Ko e ha e faingamālie 'o kapau te ke kau mai ki he fekumi?***

'Oku 'ataa pe ke kau mai 'aki ho'o fakafonu 'a e tohi felotoi kimu'a pe he uike ua 'o Sune 'aho hongofulu 'o e 2010. Te ke lava pe 'o nofo mei he fekumi ko eni neongo kuo ke 'osi fakamo'oni ko e 'i he tohi felotoi (Siulai 30, 2010). Te ke lava pe 'o fetu'utaki mai ke tau talanoa fekau'aki mo ha toe me'a pē 'oku ke tokanga makehe ki ai fekau'aki mo e fekumi ko eni' pe ko e supavaisa Dr Nesta Devine.

***'E anga fēfē 'eku felotoi ke tali keu kau ki he fekumi ko eni?***

'O kapau leva teke tali e fakatangi 'oku fai' pea ke toki telefoni mai kiate au pe tohi mai he email 'o talamai ha founa 'e li atu ai e tohi felotoi keke fakamo'oni pea toki fakafoki mai.

***'E lava ke u 'ilo ki he ola 'o e fekumi ko eni?***

'Io – te u toki 'oatu 'a e ola 'aki 'eta talanoa pe ko e toki lī atu he meili.

***Ko e hā e me'a teu fai kapau 'oku ou ta'efiemālie ha me'a fekau'aki mo e fekumi ko eni?***

Kataki pe 'o 'uluaki fetu'utaki mai ke tau talanoa fekau'aki mo e me'a 'oku ke ta'efiemālie ki ai. Ka 'ikai pea ke ta kia Dr Nesta Devine 'a ia ko 'eku supavaisa ia mo 'ene fika 'oku 'asi pe 'i lalo.

Kapau 'oku ke ta'efiemālie ki he founa 'oku fai 'aki e fekumi pea ke fetu'utaki leva ki he fika ko eni 'oku 'asi atu. Madelinda Banda – 921 9999 ext 8044 pe email kia [Madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz)

***Ko hai teu fetu'utaki ki ai kapau 'oku toe fiema'u ha me'a ?***

Tokotaha fekumi:

Jeanne Pau'uvale Teisina,. Email: [jteisina@yahoo.com.au](mailto:jteisina@yahoo.com.au) or home ph: 2571997 or on mobile 0212389730

Supavaisa pe ko e tokotaha 'oku ne tokanga'i e fekumi ko eni:

Dr. Nesta Devine, ph:

*In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), the final ethics approval was finally granted on 21st of October 2010 by AUTEC with reference number 10/157.*

## Appendix C – Consent to participation in research

# CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

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**Title of the Project:** *Langa Ngāue* ‘a e kakai Tonga ‘i Aotearoa

**Project Supervisor:** Dr Nesta Devine – Associate Professor in the School of Education.

**Researcher:** Jeanne Pau’uvale Teisina

☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project as

dated on the Participant information sheet dated on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, 2010.

☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered

☐ I understand that the *talanoa* will be audio taped and transcribed and will be

confidential to the *talanoa* group.

☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for

this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being harm in any way.

☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof,

will be destroyed.

☐ I understand that because of the size and nature of this study, only limited

confidentiality can be guaranteed.

☐ I agree to take part in this research.

**O** I agree to the future use of the findings of this research in publications and  
☐ ☐  
presentations within an academic context. Tick one: Yes No

**O** I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research: Tick one: ☐ No ☐

Participant Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate):

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date:

*In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), the final ethics approval was finally granted on 21st of October 2010 by AUTEC with reference number 10/157.*

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

## Tohi Felotoi ma'ae kau faiako Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa.



**Taumu'a: Langa Ngāue 'a e kakai Tonga 'i Aotearoa**

**Supavaisa ki he Fakatoto: Dr Nesta Devine. Associate Professor in the School of Education.**

**Tokotaha Fakatoto: Jeanne Pau'uvala Teisina**

O Na'a ku 'osi lau mo mahino'i 'a e ngaahi fakamatala kotoa pe fekau'aki mo e fakatoto 'oku 'amanaki ke fakahoko 'a ia 'oku 'asi 'i he tohi fakamatala ma'ae kau faiako Tonga nofo 'i Aotearoa.

O 'Oku ou lave'i pe 'e malava keu fehu'I ha fa'ahinga me'a pe 'oku ou fie'ilo ki ai pea 'e lava 'o tali kotoa mo e ngaahi fehu'i ko ia'.

O 'Oku ou mahino'i lelei pe 'e lekooti mo tauhi 'a e ngaahi talanoa kotoa pe teu fai 'i he lolotonga 'o e fakatoto'ni pea 'e 'ikai ke toe faka'ilo ia ki he toenga 'o e kulupu talanoa.

O 'Oku ou lave'i pe 'e lava keu nofo mei he fakatoto'ni 'i ha fa'ahinga taimi pe pea ngofua pe ke to'o mo ha ngaahi fakamatala 'oku 'ikai keu loto ki ai' 'o 'ikai ta'ofi pe fakahala'i 'e ha taha.

O 'O kapau leva teu nofo mei he fakatoto'ni ko e ngaahi tepi mo e fakamatala kotoa pe na'e fekau'aki mo au 'e faka'auha 'o 'ikai toe ngāue'aki 'e ha taha.

O 'Oku ou tui 'e 'ikai lava 'o fakapapau'i 'e fakapuliki katoa 'a 'eku ngaahi fakamatala kotoa pe 'oku felāve'i mo e fekumi ko eni' ko e 'uhi ko e nānunga pe ia 'o e ngaahi fekumi lalahi pehe'ni.

O 'Oku ou loto lelei keu kau 'i he fekumi ko 'eni'.

O 'Oku ou loto lelei ke pulusi e ngaahi talanoa mo e fekumi ko 'eni 'I he mala'e 'o e ako 'i he kaha'u. 'Io ☐ 'Ikai. ☐

O 'Oku ou faka'amu ke 'omai ha tatau 'o e lipooti mei he fekumi ko 'eni. 'Io ☐ 'Ikai ☐

Hingoa 'o e tokotaha 'oku kau mai ki he fekumi: \_\_\_\_\_

Fakamo'oni: \_\_\_\_\_

Fetu'utaki mai pe ki he tu'asila ko 'eni: \_\_\_\_\_

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‘Aho:

*In accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC), the final ethics approval was finally granted on 21st of October 2010 by AUTEC with reference number 10/157.*

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

## Appendix E - Talanoa

# Talanoa

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### **Themes to cover during the talanoa**

- Sense of identity and the challenges to growing a sense of identity in Aotearoa
  - Language
  - Culture
  - Practise
- How can *langa ngāue* be thought and practised in the field of early childhood by Tongans for Tongans.
  - Rules/regulations
  - Professional development
  - Teacher registration
- How is the input from elders contributed to our sense of identity?
- How do we encourage a strong sense of identity?

# Talanoa

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## Ngaahi me‘a lalahi ‘e fai ki ai e talanoa

- Ko hoto tupu’anga ko e Tonga kita pea mo e anga ‘o ‘ete fekuki mo e ngaahi ta’au ‘o e fonua ko eni ko Aotearoa
  - Lea Faka-Tonga
  - Anga Faka-Tonga
  - Founa Faka-Tonga
- ‘Oku anga fēfē ho’o *lana ngāue* ‘i he ngaahi ako’anga akoteu Tonga?
  - Ngaahi lao ‘a e pule’anga mo e *potungāue* ako.
  - Ko e ha e me‘a ‘oku lelei mo taau ki he anga e fakalele
  - Lesisita faiako
- Ko e ngaahi tokoni mo e poupu ‘oku ‘omai ‘e he kau matu’otu’a ‘i hotau kominiutii ‘oku hoko ia ko e koloa ki he anga ‘o ‘etau nofo ‘a e kakai Tonga’ ‘i Aotearoa.
- ‘E anga fēfē ‘etau kei pukepuke hotau loto’i Tonga?