TONGAN ETHNIC-SPECIFIC APPROACHES TO FAMILY RESTORATION

SCHOLARSHIP RESEARCH REPORT

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INTRODUCTION
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The overall aim of the Kainga Tu’umalie (Prosperous families) faith-based research project reported here, was to identify how Tongan indigenous cultural – faith approaches can mitigate the rampant effects of violence. This involved identifying and theorising Tongan cultural concepts in relation to Fofola e fala (laying out the mat) as a basis for understanding efforts to promote family transformation and restoration after experiences of violence (Alefaio-Tugia & Havea, 2016; Ministry of Social Development 2012; The Tongan Working Group, 2012).

This scholarship research focused on Tongan ethnic-specific approaches to kainga (family) restoration and explored the Tongan indigenous concept of Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga (Laying out the mat for the families to dialogue) as used in the Affirming Works: Kainga Tu’umalie faith-based programme. More specifically, this research explored how Fofola e fala, as a metaphor, was utilised as a cultural knowledge construct to engage, impact, transform, heal and restore families in the Kainga Tu’umalie (KT) family violence prevention and intervention programme. Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga literally translates as laying out the mat so the kainga (family) can talanoa (talk, dialogue, discuss). The KT programme aims to identify ethnic-specific cultural ways of ‘knowing, being and doing’ and use these to create therapeutic approaches to family violence prevention and intervention.

The Church is integral to Pacific peoples’ wellbeing and, as a core aspect of communal life, the Church constitutes the indispensable soul of Pacific culture (Halapua, 1997). Thus, Pacific churches are identified as effective community contexts for engaging and working with Pacific communities and are potentially transformative sites for family violence prevention and intervention (Alefaio-Tugia & Havea, 2016; Capstick, Norris, Sopoaga, & Tobata, 2009; Rankine et al., 2015). This is also the belief of the Affirming Works (AW)¹ team implementing the KT programme.

The centrality and influence of the church in Tongan communities provided the opportunity to explore how faith-based strategies combined with a Tongan framework for understanding family violence can deliver a programme that will have long-term benefits for Tongan kainga and communities.

¹ Affirming Works is a social service/community enterprise that provides mentoring and educational services for Pacific people, incorporating the values of love, respect, humility and support, with a view to affecting positive change in the whole community (www.affirmingworks.org.nz/what-we-do/kainga-tuumalie-family-violence/)
Spiritual faith is a core value within Pacific cultures (Havea, 2011; Siataga, 2001; Tiatia, 2008). Intertwining spiritual faith and Tongan culture creates a potentially valuable strategy for addressing family violence and enhancing Tongan family wellbeing but it is unchartered terrain.

The fofola e fala kae talanoa e kainga metaphor is a representation of the Tongan culture, underpinned by faith-based principles, such as love, respect, humility and equality. Given the fundamental importance of spiritual faith within Pacific cultures and the scarcity of research on the impact of faith-based practices for Pacific family violence prevention and intervention, this preliminary study seeks to contribute significant Tongan indigenous cultural understandings. In doing so, this research prioritises Pasifika knowledge generation in order to deepen understandings of how Tongan families connect, engage and relate to the concept of Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga and other Tongan concepts. Through my involvement with the KT faith-based research project, my insider-researcher experience was testimony of the transformative impact of this Tongan metaphor on the kainga (families).

AFFIRMING WORKS: KAINGA TU’UMALIE PROGRAMME

The Kainga Tu’umalie programme is an Affirming Works–Church partnership project for the prevention and restoration from family violence within Tongan churches. Kainga Tu’umalie metaphorically translates as Prosperous family or prosperous souls, referring to a holistic prosperity in mind, body and spirit. The basis of the vision for the KT programme is based on Biblical text 3 John 1:2:

Beloved I pray that in all respects you may prosper and be in good health, just as your soul prospers.

Si’i ‘ofa’anga, ‘oku ou hufia ko e ke ke tu’umalie ‘i he me’a kotoa pe, kae’uma’a ke mo’ui lelei, ‘o hange ko e tu’umalie ‘a ho laumalie. (Tongan translation)

The KT programme drew on Tongan indigenous cultural knowledge interwoven within the Christian faith narrative to engage Tongan families and create a holistic therapeutic environment steeped in Tongan indigenised cultural-spiritual faith.

Fundamental to the programme are KT retreats where families talanoa with each other in a safe environment. During the kainga retreats, sessions involve: biblical narrative, introducing family violence, locating their (Tongan) place in the world, and challenging them to reflect on the dreams of their forefathers and their own hopes for the future. On the final day of the retreat, a church service is led by the church leader of the congregation followed by kainga sharing their experiences.

A more detailed description of what is involved in the KT retreats is provided in Appendix A.
DATA COLLECTION

Four Tongan churches in Auckland participated in the KT programme from July 2015 to October 2016. Talanoa with Tongan matua, enablers, vision bearers and faith leaders were undertaken during the KT retreats. In addition, through my cultural-participatory immersion role in the research, my observations and reflections during the KT retreats were incorporated as a second layer of analysis in the talanoa. Participants involved Tongan faith leaders from the respective churches: Seventh-day Adventist (Siasi ‘Ahofitu), Catholic (Katolika), Methodist (Metotisi) and Pentecostal (Penitekosi). Overall, seven Tongan community and faith leaders participated in talanoa for this research. Formal talanoa interviews were conducted with four faith leaders when initial connections were made during the church retreats and then followed up by phone calls for the face-to-face talanoa interviews in a space that suited them. Three informal talanoa were conducted at the retreats around the meal table and in the dining area during the break times from the retreat sessions.

The talanoa process was vital given the context and the aims and objectives of this study. Central to this Pasifika approach is its embeddedness in maintaining good relationships or va (sacred space) between kainga, communities and individuals (Halapua, 2003). It is an approach underpinned by core Pacific cultural values including respect, humility and reciprocity (Halapua, 2003; Morrison & Vaioleti, 2008). Linked to the talanoa process was my role of ‘cultural-participatory immersion’ (Alefaio-Tugia & Havea, 2016).

As the researcher, I fully participated, listened, observed, appreciated and reflected on the activities at the retreats. Cultural participation and immersion in the retreats was central to not only understanding the application of the model of Fofola e fala, but also crucial to my engagement with church ministers and faith leaders. This process involved actively participating in collective prayer, sharing one’s history, family, lineage and life-challenges in both informal and formal settings. Cultural-participatory immersion enabled me to confidently approach the faith leaders to engage in talanoa.

Another aspect that contributed to my effective engagement in talanoa with the seven participants was my being an ‘insider’ as a Tongan woman who can speak the language, a daughter of a Faifekau (Church minister) and a wife of a Tongan community and faith leader. Being an insider-researcher also afforded me with cultural insights to uphold, such as being respectful of cultural protocols, and therefore being mindful of clothing, manner of speech and the appropriate approach to undertake with church and faith leaders.

DATA ANALYSIS

Four of the talanoa interviews with faith leaders were digitally recorded, transcribed in the Tongan language and then translated into English. The three informal talanoa were transcribed as key bullet points. The translated scripts and key points were analysed through repeated and reflective readings to identify key themes and concepts.
RESULTS
The results are presented in two main parts. The Tongan indigenous knowledge that was revealed through the talanoa is presented first, followed by the Tongan themes and concepts examined with the faith leaders. Three themes are discussed: Fa’utaha, Koe Kolo Malu mo e Kolo Hufanga and Koe Makatu’unga Mo’ui mo e Malohi

**Tongan Indigenous Knowledge**

*Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga* is the Tongan metaphor that has been adopted and applied in the KT programme and becomes a faith-based cultural model. It is a model that Tongan individuals and kainga can connect, engage and relate to because it was developed from the indigenous cultural worldview of anga Fakatonga (Tongan culture). The fala, or mat, symbolises the kainga, safety and equal ground. The strands (feunu) that are weaved to make the fala signify the four pillars of the Tongan culture which are: Faka’apa’apa (respect), angafakatokilalo/loto to (humility), tauhi vaha’a/va (cultivating healthy relationships), and mamahi’i me’a (loyalty/passion) (The Tongan Working Group, 2012).

*Fofola e fala* creates the space and empowers every member of the kainga to talanoa openly and honestly about their personal struggles, including the key issue of family violence. One of the faith leaders referred to this cultural framework as the great equaliser where it is understood that on the ‘fala’ or mat everyone is equal.

If you think of the concept of *Fofola e* … like everyone’s the same. You know whether you’re the victim or you’re the perpetrator, you’re the same on the mat. Whether you’re the contractor or the participant, whether you’re the church leader or the member, everyone is the same on the fala.

*(Tongan faith leader)*

In the utilisation of this metaphor, there is no hierarchical social structure or status, there is no partiality and everyone has a voice, including children. This is profound given Tonga has one of the most stratified social structures.

Therefore, one of the most significant findings of this research was the ‘freedom of voice’ that families gained from *Fofola e fala* especially when it was intertwined with the faith narrative and message of hope through salvation in Jesus Christ. Grace, redemption, healing and restoration are core Christian values that are embodied within this cultural framework. There is still the respect for the sister–brother relationship, respect for your elders and respect for your parents but on the fala everyone is the same.

**Exploring Tongan Concepts with Faith Leaders**

Three themes emerged from the analysis of talanoa with Tongan faith leaders. Firstly, *Fofola e fala* as a ‘uniting concept’ or ‘Fa’utaha’ as translated in the Tongan language. The second theme was the concept of Fofola e fala signifying a place of safety or ‘Kolo malu’, also as a place of refuge or ‘Kolo hufanga’. The third theme is the notion of *Fofola e fala* as a ‘powerful and living platform’ (Ko e makatu’unga mo’ui mo e malohi) that provides a sense of identity and being alive that elevates people to new levels.

**Fa’utaha**

The theme of *Fofola e fala* as a ‘uniting concept’ or Fa’utaha is a Tongan metaphorical concept that explains the impact of *Fofola e fala*. The literal translation of Fa’utaha is unity, togetherness, a strong sense of harmony and being in balance as a collective. Fa’utaha is a concept that unites relationships, meaning it applies to husband–wife, parents–children, and across broader family relationships.

Fa’utaha conveys the ‘essence’ of *Fofola e fala* and explains the depth of impact that *Fofola e fala* creates — building strong relationships through quality time and family time.
For me it was significant learning about the importance of quality time, a time to ‘Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e famili’ (family) at home, a time of prayer and devotion, a time of sharing (talatalanoa), of bringing each member’s voice to the family circle.

I rejoice in this as this is the proper forum for constructing and nurturing of the Tongan family and no wonder why our ancestors practised this method … for me that was the impact … reinforcing the significance of quality time of talanoa of dad, mum and the children to develop and maintain oneness and togetherness/convergence (fa’utaha) within the family structure.

(Church elder)

The application of this Tongan metaphor is quite simple: allowing families to spend time together, to start talking with each other over the meal table, over family devotion/lotu times; for couples to start having date nights and going to the movies, all contribute to having a greater sense of togetherness and unity.

Pacific peoples are communal people (Halapua, 1997) and by coming together the load is shared and each person has something to contribute:

‘E fofola e fala kae fai e talanoa … we [kainga] all have a place and a contribution. They cannot keep quiet. They must contribute.

(Church leader)

Koe Kolo Malu mo e Kolo Hufanga

The second theme was the concept of Fofola e fala signifying a place of safety or ‘Kolo malu’, also as a place of refuge or ‘Kolo hufanga’. It is this notion that it takes a whole village to raise a child. These concepts of ‘Kolo malu’ and ‘Kolo hufanga’ were consistently emphasised by the KT programme facilitator, who was also a faith and community leader. The term ‘kolo’ in the Tongan language not only refers to a place, but is also translated as a village or town. The term ‘malu’ translates as safety or security, and the concept of ‘hufanga’ translates as refuge or sanctuary.

As evidenced by the following quote, Fofola e fala provided a safe haven and a sanctuary for a daughter to be transparent and honest about her feelings towards her father’s discipline practices. This metaphorical model also had the reciprocal effect of allowing a father, who is also a church leader, to humbly acknowledge his need to be more open to the voices of his children. Fofola e fala helped to transform mindsets and cultural strongholds.

Over the various talanoa, I was surprised when my daughter shared [on how he applied corporal punishment] because that has never happened before. They did what they were told and had to keep quiet. You see that was the type of leadership and control that I practised because I didn’t want to be challenged on what I know. … Afterwards when I sat down, I thought this is the sort of thing that I should have encouraged and practised at home because there has never been a time when I listened to their voices. I’m sure they were longing to voice their opinions but couldn’t.

(Church leader)

As a symbol of a place of security, this Tongan conceptual framework connected with a father to realise the need to review his priorities concerning his family, and encourage talanoa and better communication among family members, especially for the father to listen to the voices of his kainga (family).

It’s the communication; it might be an ancient thing but it’s how it’s implemented. For example, learning to listen to the children when they speak to you. The programme (Kainga Tu’umalie) has taught me the importance of communicating with my wife and family about the important issues of life; to talk about our relationship and how we can improve our family and when my wife shares my shortfall that I have the humility to receive it. … After the programme I shared with my wife. I’m not saying that we are now perfect. We still have our conflicts but there is a recognition that we need to work together to build our family, that I need to listen to my wife and children’s voices, that our family needs to be solid before we can be effective in what we have been called to do. I have to humble myself and like the verse which says “If my people would humble themselves and turn from their wicked ways then I will hear…” That is what I have learned; that I need to communicate better with my children.

(Church leader)
Fofola e fala as a representation of ‘Kolo malu’ and ‘Kolo hufanga’ engaged faith leaders and parents to reassess and to re-apply the core values of ‘ofa (love) and faka’apa’apa (respect), and to take stock of whether this was modelled in their relationships with their spouse.

I believe that there were two additional lessons that I learned from the Kainga Tu’umalie programme. Firstly, the quality of love (‘ofa), and secondly, living a life of respect (faka’apa’apa). From my own perspective, if I practise love and respect at home, I sincerely believe that I will be incapable of behaving badly or doing anything to harm or offend my wife and my children. And putting aside the love that we were taught and experienced growing up in Tonga, I am talking about the love that only comes from God, which is far greater than anything else. When we have this Godly love, there is also the outflow of forgiveness (fakamolemole), patience (anga kataki) and meekness/gentleness (angavaivai). The wonderful thing is that I observe this happening amongst the … families. In the way that the couples are relating to each other (tauhi va), there is evidence of love, of mutual helpfulness/reciprocity (fetokoni’aki) and there is respect from the menfolk to their wives. I believe that these are the two qualities that I have learned and have applied in my own life in relation to my family and it’s working, it’s working very well.

(Church leader)

Koe Makatu’unga Mo’ui mo e Malohi

The third theme is the notion of Fofola e fala as a ‘powerful and living platform’ that provides a sense of identity and being alive that elevates people to new levels. A faith leader explained it this way:

“Fofola e fala … is a powerful instrument … it’s an identity. This is who we are; that we trust one another, we love one another, we feel for one another; so it’s a living tradition.”

(Church leader)

Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga was not only depicted as a platform where there was trust, love and emotional connectedness, but this church leader also described it as analogous to the church community. There’s a strong sense that in isolation there is helplessness and futility but as part of the kainga and the church community there is a sense of being alive with a strong sense of hope and purpose:

It’s just like church. When you go to church on Sunday it becomes alive. … The sense of church is a reality, so we feel that the church is alive because we are there, you are there and I am there. So the Fofola e fala … is almost like the family rises, the family lives here. You know, it’s just spark[ed] me off on another thing about the church becoming alive when it gathers: “When two or three are gathered, I am in you …” (Biblical text found in Matthew 18:20). That sense comes true and the family to fofola e fala, … you know its identity is identified, it’s transparent. We see the identity of what we call famili [family] or kainga … so in that way it’s a very powerful platform and it is a living platform.

(Church leader)

The identity of the kainga was revealed; a sense of validation of a person’s value, worth and belonging, the sense of being part of the kainga, of gathering together and hence the freedom to contribute and to speak.

Fofola e fala provided Tongans with an identity, shared values and beliefs, and a living tradition, which was demonstrated in the increasing popularity of family reunions and more recently village reunions in diaspora. This Tongan framework and its utilisation were expanding into different contexts and to a larger scale, breaking down dividing walls not only within and across families but also amongst the churches:

It’s reflected in the growth of family reunions. I think there is a hunger for it [Fofola e fala], there is an active hunger, not only for family reunions (fakafamili) but also village reunions (fakakolo). … There is a hunger for this … and it crosses borders, the dividing walls (ngaahi ‘a vahevahe) that we build among the churches (lotu) … the village reunions remove those barriers, those restrictions (fakangatangata).

(Church leader)

Another faith leader also reinforced this idea of Fofola e fala being a living document where people apply it in their lives.
However, he also emphasised the need to document it and endorse it as a Tongan strength-based approach that is culturally resilient, resulting in a greater sense of connectedness to values, sense of belonging and mentoring:

So I think that fofola e fala … has become a living document like a word made flesh. It’s not just kind of like a concept that’s sitting around collecting dust; that’s you know, access online. People are actually applying it to their lives and approaching it. … You know people talk about it but no one ever wrote it down, no one ever endorsed it, no one ever gave it, allowed us to use it, our own ethnic communities. So just reinforce that strengthening it, allows it to be once again Tongan-owned and you know it’s a real strength-based approach … I call it cultural resiliency, so where it helps families and cultural communities become resilient using their cultural, their own cultural protocols and proverbs so all that connectedness to values and sense of belonging and mentoring.

(Faith leader)

The notion that on the ‘fala’ there is no difference in status, that everyone is equal – allows the open exchange of ideas and solutions to key issues. The challenge is presented for Pacific communities to realise the potential of embedded indigenous approaches to healing and restoration given the lack of resources. The key role of spiritual faith in the healing and restoration process was also presented:

And so, you know when we come to those retreats and we facilitate those sessions we are actually all the same. And we are all designing solutions to our problems from our families, how we can minister to one another through peer support, through community relationships. But most importantly, we can be patient with ourselves to grow, because I then think, there are few and far between practitioners and resources, and so does that mean that our communities continue to stay broken or they start to develop ways, you know, to come up with [and] find ways to heal themselves. So faith brings healing ay, through prayer, through worship, through you now recognising that there’s a higher being. That God can bring healing and He just did that through the cross and did it through a man that was a carpenter’s son. Yeah, I just think that we just have like professionalised pain and family violence, and we’ve like really removed it from our communities and they can begin to heal themselves, if they have been given a good place and space to heal.

(Faith leader)
CONCLUSIONS
More significantly, the findings highlight the ‘freedom of voice’ that families possess as a result of the merging of Fofola e fala with the faith narrative. This intertwining, which is customary for Tongan churches, provides a context for transformative change.

This research has also identified three concepts that highlight the impact of Fofola e fala and explain the strong connectedness and engagement of Tongan kainga to this cultural framework.

Fofola e fala is depicted as a uniting concept (Fa’utaha), as a place of safety and refuge (Kolo malu and Kolo hufanga) and as a powerful and living platform (Makatu’unga mo’ui mo e malohi), providing a sense of identity and belonging.

The centrality of spiritual faith within Pacific cultures suggests the significance and potential of the findings of this research and the need to conduct further research exploring faith-based strategies for addressing the issue of family violence.

The results of this research have deepened our understandings of how Tongan families connect, engage and relate to the indigenous concept of Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga.
Tongan ethnic-specific approaches to family restoration

REFERENCES
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APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

KAINGA TU’UMALIE RETREAT

The Kainga Tu’umalie retreat is a fundamental dimension of the KT initiative, as the time of solace away from stress and the pressures of everyday life provides families with new opportunities to engage with each other in a safe environment. Moreover, the faith-based sessions delivered through Tongan indigenous cultural protocols provide families with an impetus for transformation. During the Kainga retreat, sessions involve:

- **Biblical narrative**: Families are reminded of God’s good purposes for His creation of humankind – to prosper and to multiply.

- **Introduce family violence**: The effect of violence on health, education, church, culture, community and the future. Through biblical narrative, families are challenged to talanoa about the impact and the outcomes of violence upon their lives. Families are introduced to this session through the Tongan indigenous metaphor ‘Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga’. This metaphor of ‘laying out the mat’ provides a safe and confidential space for each family member to speak freely and openly. After the kainga talanoa (family discussions), each family is invited to provide feedback to the rest of the group. Through the collective group talanoa, vibrant discussions are shared. It is a very raw, vulnerable and highly emotional talanoa where tears are shed for parental conviction of weaknesses and acknowledgement of areas for improvement and change. There are tears of joy, worship and gratefulness for being part of the experience as well as laughter, joy and even singing of hymns of praise and worship. The whole family participates and sometimes the children lead when providing the feedback.

- **Locating our place in the world**: In our Tongan context, in NZ and within our community/church and kainga. Our roles and who God says we are are versus Spirit of poverty. This session reinforces God’s heart and the value of His creation of humankind as opposed to the poverty mindset that tends to prevail because of experiences working in low-paid and low-skilled jobs; and the stereotypes and discrimination associated with the Dawn Raids era.

- **Dreams from our forefathers, hope for migrations**: Challenge to dream. Linked to the theme of the ‘spirit of poverty’ where families are encouraged, through biblical narrative and personal testimonies of the dreams of their forefathers, to follow their dreams of a ‘better life’ for their Kainga. The concept of a ‘prosperous soul’ is introduced reminding families that there is a way out of the poverty mindset; that God’s purpose for them is to prosper, not just materially but most importantly, holistically in mind, body and spirit.

DEVELOPMENT OF KAINGA TU’UMALIE PLANS

- **Challenges/Limits**: What does the world say? Families are encouraged and challenged to consider some key themes that could be limiting them from achieving their dreams and aspirations. For example: poverty, hardship, bitterness, and deferred hope.

- **Church service led by the church leader of the congregation**: This is a special time of worship on the final day of the retreat where there is a strong sense of pride amongst the families in having their church leader leading the Sunday morning worship.
Kainga Tu’umalie closing circle (Opportunities for Kainga to share): A wonderful time of reflection and transparent sharing of personal experiences of the retreat by each member of the family. Whole families are often very emotional and parents often shed tears in acknowledgement of their own weaknesses and areas to improve. This process helps families identify the areas that they needed to work on as a family.

As part of the retreat programme, important times are meals and breaks, which allow families to share, and encourage and be encouraged by one another, thus giving them the assurance that they are not alone in the inevitable trials and tribulations of the journey of life. Altogether these significant areas for development of families introduced throughout the Kainga Tu’umalie retreat sessions have a deep and enduring impact. The highly skilled AW faith-based team competently facilitate the sessions connecting Biblical narrative through the Tongan indigenous metaphor ‘Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e Kainga’ with the aim of healing and restoring families from the effects of family violence. This transformative effect of the Kainga Tu’umalie retreat is illustrated through Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1. KAINGA TU’UMALIE RETREAT TRANSFORMATIVE EFFECT (ALEFAIO-TUGIA & HAVEA, 2016)**
Pasefika Proud embodies a vision of strong and vibrant Pacific children, young people and their families. Wellbeing for Pacific families occurs when all aspects of the individual and collective are in balance, co-existing with environments, kinship and support systems while recognising mana and tapu. Pacific cultures are strengths that can be used positively to promote and enhance resilience within Pacific families.

Pasefika Proud mobilises Pacific individuals, families and communities to take responsibility for the issues they are facing, find the solutions and take leadership in implementing them.

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