Malatest International

Young Pacific people's understandings of family violence

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Alo i ou faiva, o ou māmā na
(All the best with what you are striving to achieve in life)

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So'o le fau I le fau
(Unity is strength)

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Meitaki maata, Vinaka vaka levu, Ko rab'a Ko bati n rab'a, Fakaaue lahi, Fa'afetai tele lava, Malo 'aupito, Fakafetai lahi lele, Fakafetai lasi

Glossary

Acronym	Definition
CAN	Child abuse and neglect: Includes all forms of physical and emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect and exploitation that actually or potentially harm a child's health and development or dignity.
IFV	Intrafamilial violence: Includes all forms of abuse between family members other than IPV or abuse of children by adult family members or parents.
IPV	Intimate partner violence: A subset of family violence where the victim and perpetrator are current or former partners.
MSD	The Ministry of Social Development.

Executive summary

Background

In June 2019 MSD commissioned Malatest International (Malatest) to conduct explorative qualitative research with young Pacific people to:

- Broaden understanding about young Pacific people's identity and worldview(s)
- Explore how these understandings influence young Pacific people's perceptions of healthy family relationships and family violence.

Method

Ten ethnic-specific focus groups and strengths-based *talanoa* (conversations) were conducted with young Pacific people. 71 young Pacific people participated in the focus groups. Of these, 23 participants identified with mixed ethnicities. Participants were aged between 12 and 24 years, and either in school or tertiary education. Some were also employed. Ethics approval was granted by the MSD ethics panel on 16 August 2019. Data collection took place between 24th August and 27th September 2019.

Findings

Young Pacific people's worldviews were shaped by their Pacific identity, cultural values, beliefs and languages, and sense of belonging.

Young people are proud of being Pacific. All young people in the study were proud to identify as their specific ethnicity(ies) (e.g. Samoan, Tongan etc) and as Pacific peoples more broadly. Their culture, identity and sense of belonging were tightly enmeshed.

Young people connect to their culture and identity through their relationships. Young people felt connected to their culture and identity through relationships with family, their peers, and communities. Importance was placed on cultural values, collective wellbeing, and customary practices inherent in Pacific cultures. However, aspects of customary practices and religious beliefs were understood within two different contexts and two time periods. Some young people referred to 'traditional' practices and beliefs within the context of social, religious and political changes that occurred after Christianity and Colonisation arrived in the Pacific. Others questioned the cultural validity of traditional practices and beliefs and contextualised these within understandings that existed prior to Christianity and Colonial influences. Ultimately, different understandings about the term 'traditional' influenced whether young Pacific people viewed customary and religious practices and collective wellbeing in a positive or negative context.

Experiences of growing up in New Zealand strongly influenced Pacific young peoples' understandings, worldviews, identity and sense of belonging.

Young people are exposed to different societal experiences growing up in New Zealand: Young people's experiences of racism and discrimination from Pacific (internal) and non-Pacific (external) people negatively impacted on their sense of belonging to Pacific and New Zealand cultures and contexts. Young people generally described growing up in conflicting value-based systems and settings and being challenged with strengthening and maintaining their culture and identity in the face of racism and discrimination.

Young people embrace cultural values but experience cultural clashes: Young people connected to culture through shared Pacific values and beliefs. Many highlighted differences and value-based conflicts between Pacific and Western cultures and held conflicting views about religion and tradition.

Young people establish their identity in a different environment from their parents: Many young people had different experiences from their parents regarding educational and career pathways, parenting practices, young peoples' roles and responsibilities, and other societal features such as access to technology, social media, and youth mental health services.

Young people are aware of different types of family violence and their impacts: Family violence was defined as intimate partner violence (IPV), child abuse and neglect (CAN), physical, emotional, mental, financial and sexual abuse. Family violence was considered to negatively impact on young people's relationships with parents (creating negative, fearful and resentful relationships), attitudes towards violence (normalising abusive behaviour, inhibiting alternative forms of communication and expression), and health and wellbeing (despair and a sense of helplessness, and emotional and social withdrawal). Young people also noted family violence adversely impacted the wellbeing of the perpetrator.

Young Pacific people held mixed views about physical discipline and abuse and generally considered discipline acceptable when it was used to teach children a lesson, adequate warnings and reasoning were provided, and punishment was not excessive. They also held ambiguous views about when physical discipline became abusive, noting that it was no longer acceptable when: parents hit for no reason, a beating continued despite a child having learned their lesson, punishment was uncontrolled and motivated by anger, punishment included verbal and emotional abuse, objects were used, and/or children received physical injuries (bleeding, bruising or scarring).

Young people commonly highlighted several barriers to help-seeking: Perceived barriers to seeking help- included victim-blaming attitudes, silence and shame, upholding the cultural value of respect, self-minimisation of issues, a desire to keep families together (despite dysfunction), and a fear of and for perpetrators (fear of consequences, dependence, and a belief that violence was not intentional).

Young people viewed gender roles and societal factors as risks for family violence: Gender roles (e.g. male dominance and an abuse of power, and clashes between traditional and contemporary understandings about the role of women) and societal factors and determinants of health and wellbeing (poverty, high stress and addictive behaviours) were perceived as increasing the risk of family violence within Pacific communities.

Young people identified that effective family violence prevention could encompass and promote:

- Collective and community responsibilities
- Shared understandings and integrated responses from service providers, families and churches
- Church and ministers' roles and responsibilities (e.g. to encourage open discussions about family violence)
- Key family violence prevention and positive parenting messages and education that encourages and enables open conversations within families, enable parents and young people to understand and learn from each other, and encourage help-seeking.

Building resilience was considered one way of preventing family violence and helping young people and families to overcome and cope with adversity. Young people viewed resilience as:

- **Individual resilience, traits and experiences** such as learning from mistakes, perseverance, a strong sense of identity, confidence and self-esteem, passion, commitment and drive, supportive families and open communication with parents.
- **Family resilience, responsibility and support** where young people felt safe to talk, are valued and heard, have access to encouraging male role models, and responsive parental figures who are in equal intimate partnerships.
- **Community and societal resilience, responsibility and support** which built on and valued cultural diversity, strengths and values, provided opportunities to celebrate all Pacific cultures, encouraged open and positive communication and relationships for all, built confident young people and Pacific youth leadership, eliminated discrimination and provided equal opportunities and acceptance for all.

  The church community and religion were seen as both protective (i.e. a positive influence on respectful family relationships) and a risk (i.e. erroneous misinterpretations of Biblical texts) for family violence. Young people highlighted that churches and ministers could take an active role in encouraging church families and communities to talk openly with each other.

It is important to note that building resilient young people, families and communities is one way of preventing and responding to family violence but is unlikely to impact on the risk factors for family violence, such as poverty or young Pacific people's experiences of racism, discrimination, and microaggression.

Implications

For policy, **planning and development**: Young people identified several resources, services, and promotional activities that they considered important to family violence prevention. It is hoped that these findings are used to inform:

- The development, objectives, and deliverables for family violence strategies, programmes and research
- Cross-sector policy initiatives and approaches to enhance opportunities for young Pacific people to strengthen their cultural identity, and broaden understandings about pre-colonial and authentic traditional knowledge and resilience
- Family violence prevention initiatives and activities (for example, positive parenting messages and education that encourage open conversations, parents and young people to understand and learn from each other).

For future research: Further ethnic- and age-specific research is required to identify and contextualise young Pacific people's understandings and unique experiences relating to:

- Internal and external experiences of racism, discrimination and microaggressions, and what this means for young people who experience family violence, help seeking, practice and prevention
- Traditional culture and critical thought
- The influence of technology and social media on gendered roles and respectful boundaries
- Traditional and modern families
- The role of Pacific humour and laughter
- The use and understanding of discipline (physical and emotional)
- Inclusiveness of the perpetrator and what this means in practical terms for practice and prevention.

1. Literature scan

This section summarises national and international evidence relevant to Pacific family violence in New Zealand. This information was used to inform, contextualise and analyse this study's findings.

1.1. Pacific peoples

1.1.1. A fast-growing and defining feature of New Zealand society

Pacific peoples have lived in New Zealand for at least a century. The demand for employees from New Zealand's growing labour industries provided opportunities for Pacific peoples to migrate to New Zealand following the Second World War. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was an influx of Pacific peoples migrating to New Zealand in the hope of enhanced opportunities for employment, education, healthcare and new experiences (Anae, 2001).

This population faced challenges adapting to and establishing themselves in a new country with new social and economic environments. Historical challenges and difficulties that continue to impact on Pacific peoples' lives in New Zealand included the downturn of the New Zealand economy in the mid-1970s, being subjected to harassment throughout the "dawn raids" and "overstayers" campaigns of the late 1970s, and the restructuring of the New Zealand labour market throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s (Anae, 2001; Perese, 2009).

Despite these barriers, Pacific peoples have developed into a defining feature of New Zealand's society, and New Zealand's multicultural society is home to the largest migrant Pacific population in the world (Macpherson, Spoonley and Anae, 2001). In 2013, Pacific peoples made up 7.8% of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)[1]. They are a fast-growing population group, expected to grow on average 1.7% per annum over the next two decades – and reach a population level of approximately 530,000-650,000 people. By 2038, Pacific peoples are likely to make up 10.2% of the total New Zealand population. Population growth is likely to be a result of higher birth rates, increasing numbers of intermarriages and a youthful population structure (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

1.1.2. A collective of diverse and ethnic-specific cultures

'Pacific peoples' is a pan-ethnic term that represents a collective of populations from Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia. Other terms used interchangeably with Pacific peoples include Pacific Islander, Pasefika, Pasifika, Polynesian, PI or Islander (Anae, 2001; Bedford & Didham, 2001). The term Pacific peoples encompasses 13 ethnic-specific groups from the South Pacific. The largest groups of Pacific peoples in New Zealand identify with

[1] The Census 2018 Pacific data was limited and not used in this report.

Samoan (48.7%, 144,138 people) Cook Island Māori (20.9%, 61,839 people), Tongan (20.4%, 60,333 people) Niuean (8.1%, 23,883 people) and Fijian ethnic groups (4.9%, 14,445 people) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Interdependency, harmony and respect, family, community, spirituality and a holistic worldview of life and health are the cornerstones for many Pacific peoples (Macpherson et al., 2001). In contemporary society, these core values are upheld by both New Zealand-born and migrant populations.

While there are many similarities across ethnic-specific groups, diversity also exists (Blakely et al., 2009; Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2016). Each ethnic-specific group also has their own unique identities of culture, tradition, language, histories, values and beliefs (Anae, 1998; Blakely et al., 2009; Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2016).

1.1.3. A youthful, urban, mostly New Zealand-born and increasingly multi-ethnic identity population

Pacific peoples in New Zealand are a youthful population, with a median age of 22.1 years. In 2013, a little under half (46.1 %) were younger than 20 years old (compared with 27.4 % for the total NZ population), and 54.9 % were younger than 25 years old. More Pacific peoples were aged under 15 years (35.7%) in comparison to Māori (33.8%), Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (25.5%), Asian (20.6%) and European (19.6%) peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

In 2013, most Pacific peoples (93%) lived in the North Island with two-thirds (66%) residing in Auckland and 12% in Wellington. Only 7% of Pacific peoples lived in the South Island (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Many Pacific peoples were also born in New Zealand (62.3%) and many identified with more than one ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). One-quarter of Pacific peoples across New Zealand identified with another ethnic group (24%) and 13.2% identified with three or more major ethnic groups (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2016). High proportions of Pacific peoples (30.3% of children) also identified with Māori and in 2009, 12.2% of Māori children also identified as Pacific (Ministry of Health, 2009).

> *This is very different from the Pacific demographics of the 1950s and 60s where most Pacific people were born in the Pacific Islands. This changing dynamic creates a broad set of perspectives and experiences that will impact on the characteristics of the Pacific community in New Zealand now and into the future (NZIER, 2016).*

Early Pacific migrants settled in concentrated areas of Aotearoa with other like-minded migrants with a central 'national identity'. In contrast, the construct of identity for New Zealand-born generations is influenced by different social and economic circumstances and exposure to different cultures and 'others':

> *These have allowed, and indeed encouraged them to question the cultures and identities that served their parents' and grandparents' generations. (Macpherson, 2001).*

1.1.4. A religious and bilingual population

In 2013, 79% of Pacific peoples said they were affiliated with at least one religion, compared to 48.9% percent of the total New Zealand population. Catholic was the most common religious affiliation (52,035), followed by Presbyterian, Congregational and Reformed (44,733), and Methodist (33,675). The proportion of Pacific peoples who said they had no religion increased from 12% in 2001 to 14% in 2006, and 21% in 2013. Higher proportions of Cook Islands Māori (30.7%) and Niueans (29.7%) said they were not affiliated with a religion (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2016; Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

The importance of religion and spirituality among Pacific adults is also evident among Pacific young people. Pacific students in the Youth 2012 survey were four times more likely than New Zealand European students to report that their spiritual beliefs were important to them. The proportion of Pacific students who attend a place of worship and said spiritual beliefs were 'very important' to them had increased between 2007 and 2012 (Clark et al., 2013; Helu et al., 2009; Mila-Schaaf et al., 2008). Many young Pacific families are moving from traditional to Pentecostal churches (Ministry of Pacific Peoples, 2018).

There have been steady declines in the number of people who speak the Cook Islands Māori, Niuean and Tokelauan languages in comparison to the Samoan, Tongan, Fijian and Tuvaluan languages (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The Ministry for Pacific Peoples noted:

> *There is a high correlation between those who attend church and who speak a Pacific language (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2016).*

The Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau are New Zealand realm countries with automatic New Zealand citizenship and unrestricted rights of entry and settlement (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). These populations who have resided in New Zealand longer than other Pacific groups are experiencing concerning levels of language loss.

For young Pacific people, the Youth 2000 surveys show that from 2001 and 2012, there was an increase in the proportion of Pacific youth[2] who could understand and speak their Pacific language – these were mostly Tongan and Samoan students (Clark et al., 2013; Mila-Schaaf et al., 2008).

1.1.5. A population impacted by inequitable health, employment and education outcomes

Pacific peoples aspire to lead full and active lives in New Zealand but on average they remain socio-economically disadvantaged, marginalised, and over-represented in a range of adverse health, wellbeing, employment, education and other outcomes.

Income: Pacific people's average weekly incomes are 34% lower than the national average (NZIER, 2013). In 2015, Pacific peoples' median weekly income was $767 compared with $880 for the total population (NZIER, 2016).

[2] Of the Tongan, Cook Island, Samoan and Niuean students.

Health: Pacific peoples in New Zealand experience poorer health outcomes than other New Zealanders across a number of health and disability indicators. Pacific peoples exhibit a lower life expectancy than other ethnic groups, excluding Māori, and social and economic factors are known to contribute significantly to their relatively poorer health status. In short, Pacific peoples die younger and have higher rates of non-communicable diseases (NCDs) such as cardiovascular diseases, cancer, respiratory diseases and diabetes than non-Pacific populations. Factors contributing to the high rates of NCDs among Pacific peoples is high tobacco use, physical inactivity, harmful use of alcohol and unhealthy diets. Pacific children have higher rates of hospitalisation for acute and chronic respiratory and infectious diseases than any other group in New Zealand (Pacific perspectives, 2019).

Mental health: The Youth 2012 study (Fa'alili-Fidow et al., 2016) identified that Pacific young people experienced high levels of depression, high prevalence of self-harm and suicide attempts and increased exposure to family violence and sexual violence:

- 17% of young Pacific females and 9% of males had significant depressive symptoms
- 32% of females and 21% of males had deliberately self-harmed
- 12% of females and 4% males had attempted suicide in the last year.

Employment:

- In 2015, the percentage of Pacific adults in the labour force who were unemployed (11.8%) was higher than all other ethnic groups in New Zealand at 5.7% (MBIE, 2015). In 2019 the Pacific unemployment rate had reduced to 8% (MBIE, 2019).
- Pacific peoples (17.1%) continue to have a higher NEET (not in education, employment or training) rate than Europeans (9.2%) and Asians (8.1%) in New Zealand but lower than Māori (21.1%) in the first quarter of 2016 (MPP, 2016).

Education:

- The percentage of school leavers with NCEA level 2 or equivalent increased from 68.2% in 2013 to 71.9% in 2014, higher than Māori but lower than all other ethnic groups (MPP, 2016)
- Fewer Pacific school leavers achieve university entrance (20.4%) compared to 38.4% of total leavers (NZIER, 2016)
- Between 1991 and 2014 the percentage of Pacific peoples with a bachelor qualification or higher increased from 1% to 8%**.** This was significantly lower than the total New Zealand population (20%) in 2014 (NZIER, 2016). Between 2008 and 2014, the percentage of Pacific students who completed tertiary studies within five years of starting a qualification increased from 60% to 67.4% (MPP, 2016).

1.2. Pacific family violence prevalence

Family violence is a broad term that encompasses IPV, CAN, intrafamilial violence (IFV), adult sexual assault, and other forms of elder, parental, physical, sexual, psychological, emotional, and financial abuse (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2017).

Within a Pacific context, family violence is also defined as violations of *tapu* (forbidden and divine sacredness) of victims, perpetrators and their families. Violence *"threatens family stability and shatters and tears down all that holds the family together"* (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

The Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu conceptual frameworks (Ministry for Social Development, 2012a-h) identified that violence was neither acceptable nor an inherent behaviour within Pacific cultures. Concerningly, family violence research has identified Pacific peoples as being twice as likely than the total New Zealand population to have committed a serious crime against a family member (Pasefika Proud, 2016).

1.2.1. The rates of Pacific intimate partner violence are high

IPV is mostly male violence against female partners and is an international public health concern with significant impacts. (Heard et al., 2018; Fanslow et al., 2010; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2016).

IPV research has identified Pacific peoples as:

- Being more likely to report having experienced IPV in the past 12-months, compared to all other ethnic groups except Māori: Pacific (9%) compared with Māori (14%), European/Other (4%) and Asian (3%) (Fanslow et al., 2010).
- Having a high lifetime prevalence of IPV amongst the 18-64 age groups: Pacific (32%), Māori (57%), European/Other (34%) and Asian (12%) (Fanslow et al., 2010).
- Being victims of severe IPV (Gao et al, 2012), despite under-reporting by Pacific women.

1.2.2. The rates of Pacific child abuse and neglect are high

Family violence research has identified that:

- Pacific children are 4.8 times more likely than the total New Zealand population to die from child abuse or neglect, and twice as likely to be physically punished as New Zealand European children (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014)
- Pacific adults are 5.3 times more likely to be the offenders of a CAN death than adults of other ethnic groups (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014). Pacific children have high rates of hospitalisation (24%) comparable with Māori (28%), and higher than rates for European/other ethnic groups (12%) and Asian (5%) children due to assault, neglect and maltreatment (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014).

- Pacific students are three times more likely than New Zealand European students to report witnessing adults hit children in their homes (Fa'alili-Fidow et al., 2016)
- Child sexual abuse (CSA) is higher among Māori and Pacific populations compared to New Zealand European (Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle and Perese, 2007). In 2012, 22% of Pacific students reported experiencing sexual abuse or coercion compared with 12% of New Zealand European students (Fa'alili-Fidow et al., 2016).

1.3. Family violence impacts

1.3.1. Impacts on adults

Pacific family violence is a violation of wellbeing and a disruption to the balance and harmony of relationships. This disconnects victims and perpetrators from the continuum of wellbeing and transgresses the *tapu* (Ministry of Social Development, 2012a-2012h).

Pacific and generic literature highlights that family violence can cause direct[3] and indirect[4] physical and mental health impacts, that are cumulative over time (Fanslow, 2005; Garcia-Moreno, Guedes, & Knerr, 2012; Kahui & Snively, 2014; World Health Organization (WHO) London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010).

Family violence can lead to a greater risk of:

- Mental health consequences: post-traumatic stress disorder and depression (World Health Organization (WHO) London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010).
- Sexual and reproductive health issues[5] (Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Champion & Shain, 1998; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2012; Gazmaraian et al., 1995).
- The development of chronic diseases such as cancer, heart disease and chronic lung disease, because of the association between family violence and addictive and other behavioural risk factors[6] (Fanslow, 2005).

1.3.2. Impacts on children and young people

Pacific children who have been exposed to family violence can be the most affected and traumatised family members (Koloto, 2003). The impacts for children include a higher risk

[3] For example, injuries to the back, neck, brain and/or central nervous system, bruises and welts, fractured bones and teeth, sight and hearing damage.
[4] For example, long term chronic health issues such as gastrointestinal, cardiovascular, reproductive, musculoskeletal, and nervous system conditions.
[5] For example, unintended and unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, abortion and unsafe abortion, pregnancy complications, urinary tract infections, and sexual dysfunction.
[6] For example, smoking, alcohol abuse and physical inactivity.

for a wide range of emotional and behavioural problems[7]. Pacific young people exposed to family violence are at higher risk of:

- **Poor mental health outcomes**: they are more likely to display aggression, lash out at others, attempt suicide, and have a greater risk of becoming victims and perpetrators of future violence (Hand et al., 2002; Superu, 2015b). Poor mental health problems are likely compounded with the under-utilisation of mental health and addiction services by Pacific people (Va'afusuaga McRobie, 2016).
- **Addictive behaviour**: abusing drugs and alcohol, and involvement with gangs (Pasefika Proud, 2016a). Family violence, among other factors, increases the risk of violent youth offending. Pacific and Māori youth are disproportionately overrepresented in New Zealand in violent offending. (Ioane, Lambie, & Percival, 2016).
- **Adverse physical health outcomes**: Exposed Pacific youth are significantly more likely to visit GPs for injury or illness (Schluter, Tautolo, & Paterson, 2011).
- **Poor education and employment outcomes**: Generic family violence research highlights that young people exposed have higher rates of delinquency, lower educational achievement, and lower annual earnings across the lifespan (Fanslow, 2005).

Pacific children may also suffer physical or verbal abuse when attempting to intervene and protect their mother from abuse (Koloto, 2003). The Hamilton Abuse Intervention Project (HAIPP) (1994) found children witnessing IPV tried to stop the violence towards their mother by yelling or screaming, and some had run to tell neighbours, or contacted the police (Maxwell, 1994). It was common for female victims to report their children developing a sense of hatred or dislike towards their fathers as a result of IPV (Sharma, 2005).

1.4. Factors influencing family violence

There are numerous protective and risk factors for family violence that exist across multiple domains - family/whānau, social connections, health, psychosocial and cognition, knowledge and skills (Fanslow, 2005; Fulu, Warner, Miedema, & Jewkes, 2013; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2017; Superu, 2015a; Vanuatu Women's Centre, 2011) (see Appendix 1 for a summary of generic protective and risk factors).

Protective factors include family cohesion, emotional bonds, and effective communication and coping strategies. Resilience is the process of adaptation in the face of adversity: *"A dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity"*

[7] For example, anxiety, depression, poor school performance, low self-esteem, conduct disorder, fear of being alone and nightmares.

(Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000) by drawing on protective factors (Superu, 2015a). Family resilience specifically refers to a family's ability to draw on protective factors and resources from individual family members to adapt to risk and adversity (Superu, 2015a).

Risk factors include mental health, low educational outcomes, addictive behaviours (e.g. heavy drinking and problem gambling), childhood exposure to family violence, and a range of individual, relationship and community factors. While these risk factors are not unique to any cultural group, it is evident that Pacific peoples in New Zealand are over-represented in a number of these areas. It is important to note evidence that augments that while resilience is one way of preventing family violence this does not minimise the need to reduce family violence risks and stressors such as poverty, unemployment and racism (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016).

'Cultural factors' is another key domain that encompasses both protective and risk factors. The Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu conceptual frameworks noted violence was a response by different ethnic-specific cultures to alienation and disempowerment and/or a breakdown in family values and unity. The frameworks also generally emphasised that Pacific individuals are inextricably linked to their families - relational arrangements with others, and collective wellbeing is prioritised (Ministry of Social Development, 2012a-h).

1.4.1. Cultural elements that protect families from risk and increase resilience

Protective cultural factors include:

The way a family operates: The Pacific definition of family denotes both immediate and extended family members and, in many instances, community and village connections. For example, in a Samoan context, Meleisea and Schoeffel (1998) provide an historical perspective on how important *aiga* (family) is to *fa'aSamoa* (the Samoan way of life) and describe this system as kinship in all its dimensions (i.e. the nuclear family, the extended family, the descent group, blood relatives, relatives by marriage and adopted relatives). These authors also depict how much Samoan tradition revolves around the '*aiga* and historically how every member played a part in contributing to the welfare of the group (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998). The '*aiga* is described as that which provides love, offers support, nurtures cohesiveness, and encourages reciprocity and service to one another (Anae, 2001; Graves & Graves, 1985; Mageo, 1998; Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998; Mulitalo-Lauta, 2000; Tupuola, 1998). For many Samoan people, '*aiga* and the obligations associated with belonging to one are all important.

Within the context of family violence, evidence identifies that family cohesion, belief systems, and coping strategies are important processes in dealing with adversity (Families Commission, 2014; McCubbin et al., 1997; Ministry for Women, 2015). Family cohesion refers to the bond between members. Stronger family bonds are linked to greater resilience, and are created by spending time on routines and traditions within the family (McCubbin et al., 1997). Stronger emotional bonds between family members increase the ability of the family to recover from challenges to wellbeing (Mackay, 2003) - since family is

at the core of Pacific frameworks, this is an important protective factor (Stewart-Withers & Scheyvens, 2010).

Family belief systems: Which include values, beliefs, and religious or spiritual participation such as church attendance. This relates to the cultural factors which increase resilience – families who subscribe to protective cultural beliefs and norms have increased resilience. Belief systems were identified as one of the key areas contributing to resilience for Māori and Pacific families (Kalil, 2003).

Coping strategies including good communication and problem-solving skills: Communication was also identified as a key protective factor for Māori and Pacific families (Kalil, 2003). This included involving children in decision making, or turning to family for help during tough situations. Drawing on extended family for support was noted as a protective factor in a study of Pacific single mothers (Stewart-Withers & Scheyvens, 2010). Drawing on family and community support decreased the use of negative disciplinary techniques such as smacking, ignoring or shouting (Lawrence & Smith, 2009).

Other family-related resilience factors which reduce the impact of family violence where it is present for children include a good relationship with their non-abusive parent, having other social supports available, and having positive sibling and peer relationships (Superu, 2015b). The desire to be a good role model as a parent can also act as a protective factor, as Pacific men in one study reported this as a motivator to change their behaviour (Baker, 2013).

Cultural identity, belonging, values and beliefs: Cultural factors are protective where they include strong understandings about aspects of authentic traditional[8] culture such as reciprocity, respect, genealogy, observance of tapu relationships, language and belonging, and the preservation of relational arrangements, social (secular) and spiritual (sacred) connections (Ministry of Social Development, 2012a-h). The value placed on these concepts across ethnic-specific cultures is premised on protecting and strengthening the wellbeing of individuals, families and the wider collective. These concepts are also ultimately underpinned by the preservation of relationships (secular and spiritual; individual and collective. For example, the Samoan term *va tapuia* can be translated simply as *the sacred space between individuals* (Tamasese, Peteru & Waldegrave, 1997; Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave & Bush, 2005; McRobbie, 2010; Amituanai-Toloa, 2007) which is inclusive of relationships between all things living and dead (Percival, et al., 2010).

Relational arrangements and the covenants of *va/va fealoaloa'i/va tapuia* are pivotal in defining the Samoan notion of personhood and wellbeing. Shore (1982) illustrates these relational arrangements within a popular Samoan saying *"teu le va"* (take care of the relationship) that describes a focus on relationships and the contextual grounding of experience, rather than a focus on the individual. In situations where a relationship has

[8] Pre-missionary and pre-colonial contact in the Pacific - See section 4.1.

been violated, restoration of wellbeing and balance may be expressed by a family meeting, a formal apology (o le fa'atoesega), or a ceremony of forgiveness by an individual and their family/village (ifoga) (Macpherson, 2005; Ministry of Health, 2008).

In line with these views, other Pacific authors have noted that wellbeing within a Pacific worldview is understood as achieving balance between the spiritual, social and physical elements of life. For example, balance is maintained through actions and values that prioritise and nurture relationships (tausi le va) with others, God and environment. An inability to find balance is thought to result in negative consequences such as family violence (Du Plessis & Fairburn-Dunlop, 2009; Fairburn-Dunlop, Savali & Puni, 2016). The importance placed on one's family name is held with pride since it is considered symbolic of one's *aiga*, genealogy, sense of belonging, historical and spiritual connections, and status. Avoiding shame and dishonour within families is described by MacPherson and MacPherson (1987) within the Samoan saying '*e sili le ma nai lo le oti':* death is better than shame.

1.4.2. The preservation of relationships and protective cultural factors is conflicted by risk factors such as beliefs about intimate partner relationships

The importance placed on the connection, preservation and balance of relationships for many Pacific peoples is conflicted by several risk factors that are associated with IPV such as:

Contemporary cultural attitudes towards masculinity within intimate partner relationships: Pacific cultures may uphold what are perceived as traditional gender roles that position the husband as the head of the family who must "control" his wife (Hand et al., 2002). While these gender roles may also be considered "traditional" among Western and other cultures, it is important to note that for Pacific peoples they are a likely consequence of post-missionary and colonial contact rather than authentic traditional culture. For example, Meleisea (1978) noted that Samoan history was divided by early colonisers into two eras: 'the time of darkness' (before Christianity) and 'the time of enlightenment' (post-Christianity). During the so called 'time of darkness' Samoans held strong spiritual beliefs (Hempenstall, 2004; Meleisea, 1995; Turner, 1884) contrary to early Western beliefs that Samoan people were 'Godless' (Turner, 1884). The arrival of the London Missionary Society in 1830 and subsequent other Christian denominations and colonial sects eventually led to the eradication of what were described as 'heathen' acts, behaviours and beliefs. Societal changes resulted, such as a shift from the extended family to nuclear family structures and the elimination and replacement of many social, political and religious structures, behaviours and practices. The use of Biblical texts (for example, 'spare the rod- spoil the child') were introduced and on Western philosophies and the morality standards of English middle-class ideals were established and enforced.

These changes undermined authentic, traditional and protective covenants such as the *feagaiga* (the brother-sister relationship) to depict the role of women as subservient to men (Gilson, 1970; Meleisea, 1978; Meleisea et al., 1987; Pitt, 1970; Wilkes, 1845).

Pacific women interviewed in Free From Abuse (Hand et al., 2002) described their husbands as *"needing to show her who was boss"* through violent discipline to uphold his image as head of the family. The cultural view of this discipline may not label it as abuse, as some Pacific peoples consider abuse to be more extreme (Cowley-Malcolm, et al., 2009; Pita, 2018). Psychological abuse such as extremely controlling behaviour also may not be labelled as abuse as there may be a cultural expectation that this will happen (Hand et al., 2002).

Beliefs about roles and rights within intimate partnerships: Fanslow et al., (2010) found Pacific women in New Zealand were more tolerant of a range of issues that are closely linked with violence against women. In comparison to other ethnic groups, Pacific women were:

- More likely to agree that:
    - it was important for a man to show his wife who is the boss
    - a good wife obeys her husband even if she disagrees
    - a man has a good reason to hit his wife if she is unfaithful
- Less likely to agree that a woman should choose her own friends even if her husband disapproves.
- More likely to agree that "family problems should only be discussed with people in the family"
- Less likely to agree that "if a man mistreats his wife, others outside the family should intervene".

Hand et al., (2002) also noted that many Pacific women considered violence within relationships as normal and could not easily define violence or justify a woman leaving her relationship because of IPV experiences (sexual abuse and/or physical violence). The Ministry for Women (2015) highlighted that a normalised culture of IPV, particularly among men and boys, is a significant risk factor for family violence (Ministry for Women, 2015).

Family violence research with indigenous populations has also identified that cultural attitudes and acceptance toward masculinity (male dominance, honour, and toughness), traditional general roles and exposure to violence against women by young boys are linked with an increased likelihood of men physically and sexually abusing women (Baker, 2013; Hann & Trewartha, 2015). It has also been noted that young men around the world are conflicted in conforming to their cultural and gendered role expectations that associate masculinity with physical, sexual and economic power and an acknowledgement of the need to engage in relationships based on mutual respect, care and commitment (Gevers et al. 2013; Mulawa, Kajula and Maman 2018).

Heard et al., (2019) highlighted that many young Samoan people had ambiguous views about the acceptability of violence in intimate partner relationships. While IPV was considered an aberration, many also thought it was acceptable for a husband to hit or punish his wife if she disrespected him, and noted actions that women could take to avoid being hit by their partners, such as *"she should have text him"* (Heard et al., 2019).

Spirituality and religious (mis)interpretations of Biblical texts: Spirituality was another cultural protective factor. Having faith in God and involvement in a church or community can act as protective factors, possibly in part through greater community involvement and connectedness (McCubbin, McCubbin, Thompson, Han, & Allen, 1997; Families Commission, 2014; Ministry for Women, 2015).

In contrast, the Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu Pacific conceptual frameworks (Ministry of Social Development, 2012) and Ministry for Women (2015) allude to religion and the misinterpretations of Biblical texts, the fusion of cultural and religious beliefs, and perceived inaction by the church toward family violence prevention as risk factors for family violence.

In line with these views, Ah Siu-Maliko (2016) highlights how the Bible has often been used to justify gender inequalities and violence against women and children. For example, English missionaries in Samoa and Tonga taught and spoke about the Bible, with emphasis on the Old Testament, God as the patriarch, and the importance of a patriarchal society and system.

Missionary influence also continued to shape Samoans' interpretations of the Bible, reinforced power imbalances between men and women and the dominance of men over women. Ah Siu-Maliko (2016) describes how Biblical interpretations of the Old Testament scripture have been taken out of context and misinterpreted such as:

- Genesis 2: 4-3:24, it is argued that 'out of man, woman was taken' means that women are inferior to men and must submit to their control.
- 1 Corinthians 11: 2-6 'the head of every man is Christ; the head of a woman is her husband' has been interpreted literally (Ah Siu-Maliko, 2016).

Attitudes towards disciplining children: Differing perceptions among Pacific families about the constitution of and differentiation between child discipline and violence have been identified as potential risk factors for family violence.

Hand et al., (2002) noted that childhood physical discipline is common within many Pacific families. Many parents believed that hitting a child to correct their behaviour was a sign of love. This is reflected in the Samoan saying 'O lo'u alofa ia te oe lea e alai ona fasi oe' which translates as 'I'm hitting you because I love you' (Hand et al., 2002). McLaren (2010) noted higher levels of tolerance and acceptance among Pacific, Māori and other ethnic groups (compared with New Zealand Europeans), that it was acceptable to smack a child if they were in danger (e.g. running on to a busy road) or behaving aggressively (e.g. hitting another child or an adult).

Duituturaga (1988) described how the distinction between violence and discipline within Pacific parenting was dependent on motive, context and consequence. For example, parental disciplinary behaviour may only be considered violent and unacceptable if their intent is to cause injury and/or such acts result in serious injuries (such as broken bones and cuts). Behaviour intended to discipline children that resulted in minor bruising was

considered acceptable (Cowley-Malcolm et al., 2009). The Ministry for Women (2015) emphasised that any form of violence (whether condoned as disciplinary or not) limits opportunities for children to develop skills for peaceful resolution and increases the risk of family violence in adulthood.

Generational and societal differences: Evidence suggests that intergenerational differences between migrant and New Zealand born Pacific peoples may result in conflicting and diverse worldviews.

Schoeffel et al., (1996) and Kavapalu (1993) highlighted how many Pacific parents born in the Pacific Islands hold a common belief that a child's love is shown through obedience, consideration of the collective and wider family, the show of respect and honour to elders and practice of approved forms of behaviour. Other common signs of respect included deference to elders, serving elders' food first, the provision of choice portions, giving up one's seat if an elder enters the room/vehicle, obeying requests without question, consulting with them on family matters and asking them for advice (Pearson, 1992). Childhood was often referred to as a time of stewardship and service towards their parents and elders (Schoeffel-Meleisea, 1995).

Many of these parents were afraid that raising their children in New Zealand may expose them to bad influences such as getting into the 'wrong crowds' at school or that their children would be influenced by a palagi (European) way of life (Schoeffel et al., 1996; Savai'i, 2018). Kavapalu (1993) noted that Tongan research participants described palagi children as being badly behaved, disrespectful, disobedient, and without care for their parents. Schoeffel (1970) highlighted that Samoan research participants viewed palagi children as being too independent, with a lot more freedom to self-indulge and do as they please. The Samoan expression *"fia palagi"* ("wanting to be like a European") is used reprovingly to correct self-focused behaviour in children and teenagers.

In contrast, Tiatia-Seath (1998) described from the perspective of Pacific young people growing up in New Zealand how many feel 'caught between cultures' and conflicted by the differences between traditional Pacific values, behaviours and practices (where they are expected to accept, obey and defer to their elders expectations and requests) and Palagi (European) cultural values (where they are encouraged to question and challenge the norm). The differences between these value systems are aptly summarised below by Waldegrave et al. (2003).

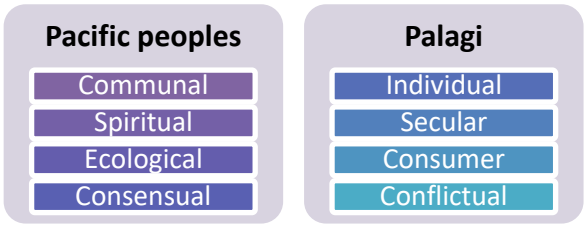

Figure 1: Pacific and Palagi values

Waldegrave et al. (2003) noted that this summary could also include competitive values for Palagi versus collaborative values for Pacific peoples. The challenges Pacific young peoples' face in making sense of themselves and their understanding of the world are likely to be influenced by these conflicting value-systems.

Within the context of family violence, the limited literature available suggests there are intergenerational differences and value-based conflicts in how parents and children view discipline and violence. Hand et al., (2002) described how many Pacific parents viewed a mother giving her child a "hiding" as a form of discipline and love, while young people saw it as a form of hate and abuse (Hand et al., 2002).

Childhood exposure to family violence: Across the board, adults who were subjected to physical abuse in childhood are at higher risk of becoming victims and perpetrators of family violence as adults (Noble, Pereira and Saune, 2011).

Witnessing family violence as a boy can be related to men's perpetration of family violence. Pacific family violence research showed that men who experienced childhood physical abuse were four times more likely to be perpetrators of IPV (Schluter, Tautolo & Paterson, 2011) and the level of violence was severe (Paterson et al., 2008). Many female victims of IPV come from homes where they witnessed domestic violence between their parents (Payne & Gainey, 2009; Whitfield et al., 2003).

Silence and shame: Hand et al., (2002) noted that although family violence had become a normal part of life for some Pacific people, it generally was not a topic that was openly talked about in families or communities. More recently, a study commissioned by the Ministry for Women (2015) described a culture of silence among Pacific peoples where violent threats and behaviours are ignored or "swept under the rug".

This culture of silence is considered a significant risk factor for family violence which perpetuates the acceptance of abuse within families. The Samoa Family Health and Safety Study (2006) concluded that the main reason victims did not seek help from legal and social services was because they saw physical abuse as normal and the behaviour and impacts minimised. Other reasons that prevented help seeking as identified within Pacific and generic research included:

- **A sense of shame for victims who do not want others to know about their family matters:** Discussing family matters with an outsider, even one wishing to help, might be almost impossible because of shame (Beaulaurier, Seff, Newman & Dunlop, 2006).

  I have never received any help, it's like I didn't want anyone to know that I was going through that situation. (Pacific mother – victim of family violence in Sharma, 2005)

  Pacific children may also be taught to hide and/or lie about their realities. Toevai (2017) highlighted how some parents may tell children not to disclose information about violence within the family, and coach them to respond to questions from others, such as police officers.

O se faafikauli foi ua aoai le kamaikiki e makua ile pepelo, a fesili iai se leoleo poo sesi lava ua iloa e le kamaikiki le ikuaiga kali e kali ai. (SVSG – professional)

Another issue is that parents have taught children how to lie, so when police or someone else asks the child about what has happened, the child knows exactly the kind of answer to give. (English translation)

- **Fear of being physically beaten if found out by the perpetrator:** Physical violence was used as a threat. Victims of abuse were more fearful of the physical repercussions than the emotional and psychological effects of abuse (Pita, 2018).
- **Financial dependence on the perpetrator:** Pita (2018) and Sharma (2005) stated that victims of (sexual) abuse were afraid to seek help due to worries about financial instability given that their husbands/partners were the main income providers. This fear was heightened when they had dependents i.e. children. Victims also felt obligated to protect the social status and wellbeing of their family.
- **A sense of helplessness:** A study of young adults and their perspectives of family violence revealed that there were non-disclosures of family violence occurring because the majority of these young adults believed that "no one could do anything" or they "did not think that it was wrong" (Naughton, O'Donnell & Muldoon, 2018).
- **A fear for child safety:** For some women who are victims of family violence, their priorities were not necessarily for their own safety. As mothers, one of their priorities is to avoid the disruption that might follow after police intervention. The needs of the children are a priority and hence they avoid the intervention of the police (Pita, 2018).

  It was not reported because it was between husband and wife. No one directed me to the law that it could've been reported. I mean how would they deal with the rape case in a marriage. Even now I'm not sure if I would because of my children – having their father behind bars would not be good for my children. (Pacific mother – victim of family violence in Sharma, 2005)
- **The bystander effect and not wanting to interfere in other's personal matters:** In Toevai (2017), health professionals from the Samoan Victim Support Group in Samoa who support victims of violence and abuse elude to the ignorance in situations where people know they should speak up, but they choose not to. They turn a blind eye because they do not want to be interfering in others' personal matters.

  The people in the village and family know what they should do, but they are ashamed and too embarrassed to speak up. They know exactly what they should do, but they don't... that is another reason why children have learnt what to do, and they end up contacting us or just turning up to our door. (SVSG health professional)

The limited literature available about Pacific young peoples' perspectives of family violence protective and risk factors (Gevers et al. 2013; Heard et al. 2019; Mulawa, Kajula and Maman 2018) suggests:

- Young Pacific females are less tolerant of male dominance within relationships compared with Pacific adults
- Young Pacific males struggle with adhering to cultural/colonised understandings and expectations about dominant masculinity.

1.5. Overview - What the evidence says to inform this research[9]

The impacts of family violence are traumatic, intergenerational, interconnected, and broad. Adverse impacts have the potential to lead to a downward spiral and adverse life outcomes.

Young Pacific people are demographically different than their parents. The profile of Pacific young people reflects that of Pacific adults in many ways. However, more young people identify with multiple ethnicities, live in a more diverse and technologically driven world and are moving from traditional churches to Pentecostal congregations in comparison to their parents. Evidence suggests that as a result young Pacific people have different experiences and worldviews to that of their parents.

Literature about Pacific young peoples and family violence is sparse and therefore understandings of family violence from a Pacific youth perspective are inadequate.

Research informed directly by Pacific young people is needed to broaden understandings about resilience and family violence to address the high prevalence of Pacific family violence.

[9] See Appendix 2 for a summary of key messages from the literature scan.

2. Method

This section describes the method used to gather and analyse information for this research. It also highlights the strengths and limitations of the research approach.

2.1. Literature scan

A scan of national and international evidence relevant to Pacific family violence was conducted to contextualise the research aims, analyses, and findings. Method and key search terms: Ppublications from Scopus, Google Scholar, JSTOR, Journal of family violence, Pacific Health Dialog and the New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse were searched using the following search terms:

- Family violence
- Family resilience; resilience
- Family violence risk factors; and protective factors
- Family violence and Pacific; Pasifika; Pasefika
- Family violence, minority; indigenous youth
- Family violence and youth; young people.

A full list of titles and/or abstracts was obtained from the search. Full text publications were accessed electronically. Sparse evidence about young people and family violence meant the family violence literature accessed was predominantly based on adult populations.

2.2. Ethnic-specific focus groups

Ethnic-specific focus groups were conducted with Pacific young people[10] in Auckland and Wellington[11] (Table 1). Each ethnic-specific group has their own unique identities of culture, tradition, language, histories, values and beliefs. Ethnic-specific focus groups provided an opportunity to examine common and inconsistent findings within and across ethnic groups.

[10] This aligned with the Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu conceptual frameworks' emphasis on ethnic-specific understandings and cultural underpinnings.

[11] Auckland was the primary location for most focus groups because two-thirds of Pacific peoples reside in this region. Wellington was also been selected because it is home to the second largest population of Pacific peoples and the highest proportion of people who identify with Tokelauan ethnicity.

Table 1: Ethnic-specific focus groups

Region	Type of focus group	Number of focus groups
Auckland	Samoan	2
	Cook Islands	1
	Tongan	1
	Fijian	1
	Niuean	2*
	Tuvaluan	1
	Kiribati	1
Wellington	Tokelauan	1

*Due to a small number of participants attending the first focus group, an additional focus group was arranged.

Participant recruitment: Pacific young people aged between 12 and 24 years were recruited through purposive sampling and snowballing. The research team engaged with Pacific NGOs, churches, MSD Pasefika Proud contacts and professional and personal networks, to promote the research and recruit potential participants. There was ongoing engagement with community contacts who expressed interest in recruiting potential participants for ethnic specific groups. These key contacts shared the participant information sheets and consent forms with the young people in their networks inviting them to participate. They also shared the information sheets and consent forms for parents/guardians of young people ages 12-15 years which stated that parental consent was required for their participation. A date and venue for the focus group was arranged that was suitable for the young people.

Participant consent: Consent forms were discussed and completed for participants aged 16 years or older before the focus group. Parental consent and participant assent were obtained for all participants aged 12-15 years old. If a child provided assent but a parent did not provide consent, the child was not able to participate.

Participant profile[12]: The groups included young people who identified with multiple ethnicities. All focus groups included a higher proportion of participants at the older end of the 12-24 age range. The depth of introspective *talanoa* and discussion within focus groups required a high level of critical thought about cultural practices, behaviours, contexts and strength in identity and experience which may have been challenging for younger participants.

[12] See Appendix 4 for the table summarising the profile of participants for each focus group.

2.3. Analysis

A general inductive approach informed by Pacific research methodologies was used to guide the analysis of qualitative data. Thematic analysis was conducted to develop a coding framework and identify emergent themes, clusters, and categories within and across ethnic-specific focus groups.

2.4. Ethical approval

In June 2019, an ethics application for the research was developed and submitted for review by the MSD:

- Internal R&E reviewer and team manager
- Information Privacy & Sharing team
- Information Security team
- Ethics panel (a member of the research team also teleconferenced in to the Ethics panel meeting on 31 July 2019).

Ethics approval for the study was given by the MSD ethics panel on 16 August 2019.

2.5. Strengths and limitations

Ethnic-specific focus groups (inclusive of small and large Pacific nations) provided all young participants with a platform to voice/share their opinions. This was particularly beneficial considering the voice of smaller Pacific nations is often neglected in Pacific research projects.

The qualitative research methodology allowed the research team to gain insights into the complex nature of culture, identity, wellbeing, resilience and family violence from young Pacific people's perspectives. Discussions in the focus groups explored how young people, saw, experienced, and construed aspects of their world in relation to resilience and family violence.

The research team's approach to engaging with young Pacific people created a safe space for them to actively participate in focus group discussions.

> *If this conversation wasn't with an Islander, we wouldn't be speaking as much, we'd be more shut off but [with an] islander we feel more comfortable speaking out about it. So, I think it would be the same for high school students or just for anyone going through it to have someone there that's another brown face…you might not know them, but you feel like there's that connection. (Fijian group)*

The synergistic nature of focus group discussions enabled young people to build on each other's insights in ways that would be less possible in individual interviews. Focus groups

also provoked rationalisation and explicit reasoning and helped to unpack more nuanced understandings of different points of discussion.

In reading the report it is important to consider:

- Data collection was between 24th August and 27th September 2019. The research examined a broad and sensitive topic within a tight timeframe and limited budget – The evidence accessible within these limitations to contextualise dominant themes is from a Samoan perspective
- Young people in the focus groups could only reflect on their personal experiences, so the scope of discussions about resilience and family violence was limited to what they had experienced or observed
- Purposive and snowball recruitment meant that many participants in each ethnic specific group already knew each other (this was almost impossible to avoid for smaller Pacific nations), had similar backgrounds and/or experiences growing up
- Although the findings in this report cannot be generalised, they provide new in-depth insights about a small proportion of ethnic-specific young Pacific people that broaden a limited evidence base and can be used to inform future research directions.

3. Findings

3.1. Young Pacific people's worldviews

This section broadens understandings about young Pacific people's worldviews and how aspects of their culture, identity, and sense of belonging shape how they see make sense of the world.

3.1.1. Pacific pride

All young people were overwhelmingly proud to identify as their specific ethnicity(ies) (e.g. Samoan, Tongan etc) and Pacific peoples more broadly. For many the confidence to express this only surfaced in their teenage years. Some described how they expressed their pride through the revival of ethnic-specific traditional practices and tattooing, collective celebration of Pacific sporting teams and events, and for those from smaller Pacific nations through connecting with others in non-ethnic-specific settings.

> *Seeing things like with Tongan tattoos the revival of traditional Tongan tattoos and seeing that there are a few people in Auckland that are trying to bring that back because it was something that we did do, that does make me hopeful around traditional Tongan culture. (Tongan, Participant 2)*

Many participants were proud that young people were:

- Positively representing their countries and making an impact on the national and international world stage: *The MMT (Mate Ma'a Tonga rugby league team) are doing really well in the rugby league scene to give back to the homeland… (Tongan, Participant 6)*
- Giving back to their parents and families: for many this referred to family members in New Zealand, although for some it also included aiga living in the Pacific Islands. *No matter what you do and how far you get… you're always wanting to help out with [our families back home in the Islands] … (Fijian, Participant 1)*
- Taking a stand on climate change: *Some of the youth standing up to the politicians about climate change. (Tongan, Participant 2)*
- Achieving in the sporting, workforce and education sectors: *[Pacific people] have proper jobs now, before when Samoans came to New Zealand they were below and they'll be called certain names, now I look around a lot of them are business owners, they're more independent. (Samoan, Participant 4)*
- Leading and contributing toward improving the health and wellbeing Pacific peoples in New Zealand: *Being able to educate our families and our communities about things that they don't have access to…For example, rheumatic fever, diabetes and loan sharks…I see that as the power that us young people have in being able to not only be the sheep but be the shepherds in our families. (Tongan, Participant 5)*

Young people from larger Pacific nations valued the recognition and opportunity to showcase their culture within New Zealand society through ethnic-specific language weeks,

events, and festivals. Fijian-born young people noted how these events gave them a sense of comfort and home. Young people from Tuvalu and Kiribati valued increasing recognition of their cultures and that more people were aware of and contributing to the prevention of climate change. They also noted young people were becoming more aware of their culture through music.

> *[Young people are] making a stand for climate change. [Tuvalu] has a lot more voice now, a lot more people speaking out about their climate change …We need to work together, so that's a good thing for Pacific peoples, we're standing up for things that matter. (Tuvaluan, Participant 1)*

3.1.2. Pacific identity

All young people described their ethnic-specific culture as critical to their identity and sense of self growing up in New Zealand. Belonging to an ethnic group provided an immediate connection with others.

> *For me [being Samoan] means everything…It's who you truly are, your identity, who you define yourself [as]. It's not something that you choose, you were born with it. (Samoan, Participant 12)*

> *[We are a] people kind of culture, we value people. People are the main thing. If you see Kiribati people and even if you don't know them, you smile at them and say "Hi". (Kiribati, Participant 4)*

Participation in ethnic-specific practices (dancing, cooking, and other customary practices) provided opportunities for young people to strengthen their identity, express their cultural points of difference, connect with others from their ethnic group, and immerse themselves in learning more about their culture and communities.

> *When we perform that's when we get together. The only time we can be together is when we dance. Some of us are not related to each other but our community brings us together. (Kiribati, Participant 7)*

> *I like doing the Siva Samoa and some of our traditions like being able to cook Samoan food as well, it makes you who you are. (Samoan, Participant 9)*

Many young people also noted a connection and sense of belonging to both their own and other Pacific cultures. For those schooled in Western-dominated environments, connection with other Pacific students provided a sense of familiarity, comfort and belonging.

> *When I [was] year 9, [everyone would] sit with each other and you feel really left out because they're all together. It wasn't until I found the other Islander girls that I felt, "Okay, sweet". (Fijian, Participant 1)*

Others schooled in ethnically diverse environments valued opportunities to learn from different Pacific cultures. However, students from smaller Pacific nations noted a lack of awareness within schools about their culture and were proactive in educating others.

> *Our school is so diverse, we go off each other's cultures and we learn, which is really great. We have the word respect [as a school value] and you can see Māori, Samoans, Tokelauans [come together]. (Tokelauan, Participant 1)*

3.1.3. Pacific cultural values, beliefs and languages

Young people commonly described a strong connection to their culture through shared Pacific values and beliefs that enhanced respectful relationships. All ethnic-specific young people highlighted the need to keep their culture(s) alive. Importance was placed on ensuring cultural values continued to be passed on, and future generations were grounded in their culture and identity.

> *[Our Samoan culture] is important. When you grow up in a traditional Samoan family, you get taught…the values of being a Samoan, the fa'aSamoa way of doing things…you get taught about respect, family is everything…you pass it down to the next generation. (Samoan, Participant 12)*

3.1.3.1. Respect

Respect was the most common Pacific value young people noted as strongly influencing their worldview and understandings, behaviour and interactions with others. Respect was generally described as being shown through acts of service to elders, the use of appropriate language, attire, and behaviour.

> *[As a young person] we do a lot of feau (chores), you have to wear your ie lavalava (sarong) and when adults eat, you bring an 'apa (hand wash bowl)…When you walk in front of somebody you must say tulou (excuse me/bow your head) it's a sign of respect. (Samoan, Participant 4)*

Tongan young people noted that respect was about having clear boundaries between males and females. The traditional view of male and female separation influenced their views on respect.

> *My grandma holds [respect] dearly…It's weird if we're watching TV in the same room [with my brothers] …You wear certain clothes in front of them. My grandma's kids lived in different houses. My grandad built another house for the boys outside and the young women stayed inside. (Tongan, Participant 1)*

Samoan young people strongly believed that the respect shown to adults did not have to be reciprocated. Young people across most ethnic groups also viewed adults as having authority that should not be questioned or challenged.

> *We get taught growing up to respect our mum and dad. What they say is final… [If you question it]] you're scared they'll say 'Who are you to question me like that?' (Fijian, Participant 2)*

3.1.3.2. Religion and spirituality

Religion and spirituality were important influences on young people's culture and identity. Religion was considered to provide valuable teachings about the importance of God, relationships, boundaries, and respect.

> *You're brought up knowing that there's a God and to put him first in everything, and your family first. (Fijian, Participant 1)*

> *Religion plays a big role in being Samoan because it teaches us the value of respect…you know the vā between you and [others]…we're not allowed to cross that line. (Samoan, Participant 5)*

Interestingly, many young people also provided contrasting viewpoints about tradition and religion. For example, one young person commented that cultural traditions were rooted in Biblical teachings. This young person's comment suggested an understanding of traditional culture based on post-Christianity contact and teachings since the missionaries introduced the bible to Pacific nations.

> *Church is important within our culture. Our cultural traditions are rooted in Biblical teachings. (Tongan, Participant 3)*

In contrast, another participant highlighted that spirituality and spiritual connections with the land and sea rather than religion existed before missionaries arrived on the shores of the Pacific.

> *Spirituality is very much part of our culture, not only religiously but also indigenously through our spirituality and what connects us to the land, the sea. (Cook Islander, Participant 1)*

3.1.3.3. Language

Most young people shared the importance of language as a connection to culture. Pacific young people across the groups who were bilingual noted that:

- Understanding and speaking their language connected them with their culture: *If we don't [speak our language] then people think 'oh you're New Zealand -born' and that we don't know the culture. (Tokelauan, Participant 7)*
- Speaking in Pacific languages showed respect and reflected well on how their parents raised them: *We have formal language, and a way to speak with a Minister, there are different ways of speaking…It's rude to speak English in Kiribati. (Kiribati, Participant 1)*
- Loss of language was equivalent to a loss of self/connection, sad and embarrassing: *…Some [people] do not understand or speak, that's very sad, and embarrassing. (Kiribati, Participant 8)*
- Language retention was critical for current and future generations: *Retaining our language is important. We have Fijian classes. (Fijian, Participant 5)*

Young people from the Cook Islands and Kiribati were alarmed by the extent of language loss among their people in New Zealand. Many young people from all ethnic-groups noted that the reasons for language loss included not being raised in a traditional and/or Pacific speaking home and growing up in a western-dominated and English-speaking society. Ultimately, many bilingual young people saw language loss as being equivalent to a loss of culture.

In contrast, young non-bilingual Pacific people also placed value on speaking a Pacific language but did not consider their language loss as equivalent to a loss of self or culture. Many noted a strong sense of pride and connection with their culture irrespective of language, through cultural dance, songs and socialising/engaging within their families and communities.

I'm proud to belong to something so amazing, I love the language even though I cannot speak it, I love our people, our people love to dance, sing and make a fool of ourselves that's just who we are as Cook Island people. We love to eat and celebrate. (Cook Islander, Participant 1)

3.1.4. Belonging

3.1.4.1. Strong relationships and connections with families and communities

All young people highlighted the importance and strong influence of their families on their identity, wellbeing, and sense of belonging. Reference to families included immediate and extended family members as well as others with whom they had close relationships.

Family matters a lot being a young Pacific Islander…. Connection to people who love us and finding where we belong. (Cook Islander, Participant 4)

It's not just your immediate family, it's extended family. Sometimes it's not even blood related. It happens a lot in the Islands where you're brought up with people you're not related to, but they become your family. It's the same here. (Tuvaluan, Participant 5)

3.1.4.2. Collective wellbeing

Being a part of a cohesive and collective community was commonly noted by all ethnic-specific groups, illustrating the importance of collective relationships, strengths and wellbeing for young people.

We are collective, we are not selfish…We like working together even though at times we butt heads. (Cook Islander, Participant 5)

Tuvalu and Kiribati young people noted being a part of a strong community where cultural grounding and knowledge, traditional learnings, practices and values were maintained.

I feel like the Tuvaluan community is strong, they do a lot of activities where they're surrounded by each other and maintain their culture and their upbringing. They're real proud to be Tuvaluan. [It's not] a large community, but [it is] strong. (Tuvaluan, Participant 4)

Connection is important, being in our community we're exposed to our traditions and our customs, like how to treat older people. (Kiribati, Participant 2)

Many young people saw themselves as representatives of their family and their individual achievements as accolades for the collective.

Being a Pacific Islander, you represent your family, your mum and dad. In [the fa'aSamoa] if you do something good or bad the first thing that they ask is 'whose daughter is that, whose son is that' so what you do matters. (Samoan, Participant 1)

[I want] to be successful and achieve my dreams, because if I don't, Kiribati will stay down there because you're not achieving the dream. If you become a doctor, it's a Kiribati doctor. (Kiribati, Participant 8)

Young people also discussed the benefits and positive aspects of belonging to a collective through customary practices, provincial connections and reciprocal arrangements such as

fa'alavelave[13]. These aspects of different Pacific cultures were considered a way of supporting and strengthening individual, family and collective wellbeing.

> *Fijians have this thing called Tauvu…where your [province] is paired with another province, you are automatically family. No matter where you are in the world…They'll say, "Come to my house and stay as long as you like" … [It] is still ingrained in Fijian culture and society. (Fijian, Participant 3)*

> *When there is a fa'alavelave…people come together to help out. They come and support you, so when they have a fa'alavelave, you go and support them…It keeps the family together. (Samoan, Participant 1)*

Interestingly, Samoan young people discussed changes to the customary practice of *fa'alavelave* in today's society. Some noted that while financial contributions were traditionally expected, for some '*modern*' families in New Zealand this was now considered a choice.

> *Nowadays we have the traditional fa'aSamoa way and a modern fa'aSamoa way. Modern people would say "we don't have to do that" and then [in] traditional Samoan families you have no choice, you must contribute. (Samoan, Participant 14)*

Others highlighted that increased financial contributions, expectations and pressure were now associated with *fa'alavelave*, which undermined the intent of the traditional practice and essence of collective wellbeing.

> *Fa'alavelave practises have changed and are now driven for praise, not how it was historically. Back then gifting $50 or an ie toga (fine mat) [was enough] but nowadays you take a grand because it's not enough. (Samoan, Participant 7)*

> *People now look at what you bring…financial hardship exists…the children suffer. (Samoan, Participant 5)*

This sense of pressure noted by Samoan young people was reiterated by young Cook Island people who noted that while belonging to a collective provided benefit and a shared sense of responsibility, pressures existed for individuals to contribute to multiple collective responsibilities to avoid shame being brought on their family.

> *There are many Cook Island culture expectations to meet such as financial obligations in churches, families, weddings, funerals. It's almost bringing shame to your family if you don't show up to things. But I also want to live my own life, but not stray away from my culture. (Cook Islander, Participant 3)*

The previous and following quotes also exemplify a common theme among some young people that understandings about pre-Christian/Colonial traditional practices which once existed to benefit the collective had now been lost and misconstrued.

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[13] *Fa'alavelave* refers to a traditional system of ceremonial exchange (Meleisea et al., 1987) inclusive of large-scale family events (e.g. weddings, funerals etc) whereby homage is paid through gifting. *Fa'alavelave* includes both formal and informal systems of exchange (O'Meara, 1990).

A lot of that tradition has been lost in translation down the line…that falls on our grandparents and parents for not teaching us. (Cook Islander, Participant 7)

Our traditional culture, I am sad because of what's lost. In [fakaTonga] what has trickled down isn't accurate. I have been questioning our traditional Gods before Christianity came, 'who did we worship and how did we pray, what sort of faith system did we have'…I can't find anything. My parents [and] grandparents don't know. (Tongan, Participant 2)

3.1.4.3. Differences for smaller Pacific Island nations

Young people from smaller Pacific nations identified a range of factors that influenced their sense of place and belonging within New Zealand. Many commonly noted belonging to a minority within a minority. Fijian young people described that the common perception of Fijians as '*happy people*' was a way of connecting with others.

A cool thing being Fijian is being that token, there's not a lot [of Fijians] … so when people find out you're Fijian...they're like, "Oh!" Fijians are known as happy people. So straight away there's that connection because of your culture. (Fijian, Participant 3)

In contrast, Kiribati young people highlighted a general lack of understanding, awareness and recognition, and representation of their land and people that contributed to feeling isolated within school settings, and misinformed stereotyping and inference that land loss was equivalent to cultural loss.

There's not many of us…It was pretty lonely growing up as a young Kiribati boy. (Kiribati, Participant 11)

[Friends] are like, how much time do you have left? Are you guys going to sink too…Just because it's sinking, it doesn't mean we're sinking too'. (Kiribati, Participant 7)

Many young people from smaller Island nations felt that larger Pacific nations were privileged by being recognised and acknowledged in school curriculum and events. Despite this, Kiribati young people noted a strong commitment to educating others about their culture.

When you go into schools, they usually have programmes for Tongan or Samoan students but there's nothing for Kiribati students. (Kiribati, Participant 10).

My friends ask why we dance like robots. I get offended. We're symbolising birds. It's because schools don't really educate on our culture, so we have to educate them. (Kiribati, Participant 3)

3.1.5. Overview

Young Pacific people's worldviews were informed and shaped by their:

- Pacific identity
- Pacific cultural values, beliefs and languages
- Sense of belonging.

Young people are proud of being Pacific: All young people were overwhelmingly proud to identify as ethnic-specific (e.g. Samoan, Tongan etc) and as Pacific peoples. Their culture, identity, and sense of belonging were tightly enmeshed. Identifying with Pacific culture and

identity was an important part of belonging to a wider Pacific community which provided a sense of familiarity, support and belonging in western-dominated settings. Although, those from smaller Island nations noted limited awareness and recognition of their people and land (particularly the impacts of climate change on their culture and sense of belonging).

Young people connect to their culture and identity through their relationships: Family, belonging to a collective and collective wellbeing were pivotal to young people's identity, wellbeing and sense of belonging.

- **Family:** Young people's views about family and the importance they placed on belonging to one support findings from Pacific research and literature that family denotes both immediate and extended family members and, in many instances, community and village connections.
- **Collective wellbeing:** The value young people also placed on relationships and collective wellbeing aligns with and can be contextualised within literature highlighting the priority Pacific peoples generally place on protecting and strengthening the wellbeing of individuals, families and the wider collective.

  Within the collective context, young people viewed individual gains, accolades and achievements as familial and collective gains (and vice-versa).
- **Traditional customary practices:** Some young Pacific people considered adhering to traditional customary practices as a way of supporting collective wellbeing but noted the increasing frequency of events as well as increased financial expectations and pressure associated with these. For example, Samoan young people's views about *fa'alavelave* are contextualised within literature on how this traditional customary practice evolved[14] from exchanges of '*ie toga* and food to money and other European goods such as tinned food and cash (McDonald, 1974; Pitt, 1970). Samoan literature also describes how *fa'alavelave* became a means to exchange goods for money, and to transform goods into status, thereby leading to increased financial expectations and pressure placed on individuals and families to conform (Meleisea & Schoeffel, 1998; O'Meara, 1990; Pitt, 1970; Pitt & MacPherson, 1974).

  Overall, some young people only referred to *fa'alavelave* and tradition in its evolved state (exchanges of European goods and money) that was considered burdensome on families, while others noted that this undermined the intent of traditional practice (gifting customary treasures and food to support collectives). Evidently two different contexts, periods and understandings of tradition (pre- and post-Colonial influence) were referred to which impacted on whether young people saw customary practices and collective wellbeing in a positive or negative context.

[14] Following Colonial and Christian contact between the 19th and 20th centuries.

3.2. Growing up in New Zealand – unique experiences for young Pacific people

This section explores young Pacific people's experiences growing up in New Zealand that have a strong influence on their understandings, worldviews, and identities as Pacific people.

Young people generally highlighted differences between Pacific and non-Pacific cultures, large and small Pacific nations, young Pacific people and their elders which impacted on their understandings, worldviews and identity as Pacific and growing up in New Zealand.

3.2.1. Racism, discrimination and microaggressions

All young people commonly described experiences of racism, discrimination and microaggressions from within Pacific (internal) and non-Pacific (external) communities and settings.

> *We're judgemental – towards each other and towards non-Pacific Islanders. (Cook Islander, Participant 6)*

These experiences were described as having a major influence on their cultural identity, wellbeing and how they see the world and are aptly summarised by Anae (2001) below:

I am Samoan – but not a Samoan
To my 'aiga [family] in Samoa, I am a Palagi
I am a New Zealander – but not a New Zealander
To New Zealanders, I am a bloody coconut, at worst,
A Pacific Islander, at best,
To my Samoan parents, I am their child.

Internal racism and discrimination: Young people across all groups highlighted experiences of racism and discrimination from other ethnic-specific and Pacific groups. Internal racism included the common use of derogatory terms by Pacific peoples such as 'Plastic Islander', 'fia palagi' and 'FOB' which negatively impacted on some young people and made them feel inferior.

- Plastic Islander: This term was used in reference to someone who could not speak/understand the language, understand or actively participate in cultural customs and traditions. Some young people felt excluded from their ethnic groups because they could not speak their language and were *mocked* for attempting to speak their Pacific language. These experiences strongly impacted on their confidence to continue trying and embrace new opportunities to learn their language.

  I don't speak the language, so I feel left out in some ways. (Cook Islander, Participant 5)

  Others described that their limited ability to speak and understand their language made them feel less Pacific.

  I feel so plastic when I go to family things because I can't really speak it as much as others can. I know those other things [roles and responsibilities, being respectful] but if I don't know the language, I still feel less Tokelauan. (Tokelauan, Participant 5)

- Fia palagi: This term was used in reference to someone who people perceived as 'wanting to be/act like a white person'. Speaking English in a Pacific setting was seen as a deliberate act of disconnecting and deviating from being Pacific.

  It's rude to speak English in Kiribati, because they'll laugh at you or think that you're trying to be fia palagi. (Kiribati, Participant 5)

  Sounding like a white person is fia palagi man. (Samoan, Participant 5)

- FOB: Some young people referred to the term FOB (fresh off the boat), as someone who comes from the Pacific Islands with limited English skills and limited exposure to a western way of life and culture.

  …A lot of the time I wouldn't speak Tuvaluan because…the New Zealand born Tuvaluans would laugh if you fob out… (Tuvaluan, Participant 5)

Some young people from smaller Island nations also highlighted a sense of superiority and ignorance among some people from larger Pacific nations and being made to *feel inferior* because of small population sizes and in some cases, climate change impacts.

> *Sometimes you're compared to other big Pacific islands, like Samoa. A Samoan boy said, 'Oh you're Tokelauan, that doesn't matter because you're going to sink soon'. It made me angry. He said, 'we're Samoan, there's more of us so we're better than you'. (Tokelauan, Participant 5)*

External racism and discrimination: Young people across all groups experienced interpersonal racism and described being made to feel *inferior* to other ethnic groups in New Zealand. Many noted that they were subjected to overtly racist comments such as *Are you Fijian? because [you're] not black* and highlighted different forms of overt and subtle/covert racism (i.e. racial microaggressions) that they experienced and perceived all young Pacific peoples were generally exposed to.

Overt racism included:

- Negative stereotypes and media portrayal of Pacific peoples**:** *Some people when they know that you're an Islander that just look down on you. [They think] you're stupid and you can't achieve what white people can achieve and do. (Tokelauan, Participant 8)*
- One's cultural identity being questioned because their behaviour and appearance did not fit the stereotype: *I'm half European, half Samoan I get the 'oh you don't look Samoan, oh you don't look white, oh but you don't act Samoan'. Like what does a Samoan act like? Like you don't act brown, what does that even mean? (Samoan, Participant 15)*
- Unconscious racism and people purposefully avoiding contact: *I was walking in the city and these [non-Pacific people] were coming towards me and they crossed the street as soon as they saw me…[they] probably thought [I was] a thug. (Cook Islands, Participant 1)*

Racial microaggressions included:

- Subtle racial profiling: *I've been profiled for looking like an Islander. I went to the Nike store and automatically this lady looked at me in like I was going to steal. (Niuean, Participant 3)*
- Being overlooked, and missing out on opportunities: *The only time I get offered scholarships is when they're targeted towards Pacific…am I not good enough for other scholarships? It's cool that they have them but at the same time, why wouldn't you approach me for something that's for everyone? (Fijian, Participant 2)*
- Low expectations for Pacific peoples: *It was cool to see that we had people looking out for Pacific students [but] it sucked to just have people say, "You're doing well for a Pacific Islander." (Fijian, Participant 3)*

Internalised racism: Many young people described ways they had internalised racism. For example:

- Suppression of ethnic and cultural identity: Some young people highlighted that they suppressed their ethnic and cultural identity as children. It was not until their adolescent years that they became more comfortable, proud and confident to identify with their Pacific and ethnic-specific cultural identity. *Growing up…I never liked telling people I was Kiribati because then I'd have to explain…but now when I'm meeting knew people...I'm kind of excited when they ask, 'where are you from?'…I'm happy to explain what I know about Kiribati. (Kiribati, Participant 2)*
- Internal identity conflicts and clashes: Many young people felt pressured to assimilate to western New Zealand culture to fit in, be accepted, and not be an *outsider.* Tongan young people discussed the pressure of balancing cultural values within a western dominated setting. *I went to a Palagi high school, it was weird for different reasons. You feel your culture is in conflict with what you're expected to do in a certain environment…We had to deal with bringing your culture to school so that you can use it but not get mocked for it and feel like an outsider (Tongan, Participant 5)*
- Changed behaviours to feel accepted: Young people across Fijian, Niuean and Samoan groups shared their experiences of needing to put on their 'white voice' to sound *posh, professional* and *not be looked down on*. [*We try] and sound same as a New Zealand person because you don't want them looking down on you…I have a white voice that I put on. (Samoan, Participant 4)*
- Low self-esteem *[Not being encouraged to go for mainstream scholarships] has a bigger effect than they think on us…You're like, they'll never look at me…They'll probably just look past my paper because of what I am. (Fijian, Participant 3)*
- Self-doubt *It can be stereotypes; we're so used to being called the brown person or short person. You doubt yourself because of it… (Kiribati, Participant 6)*
- Lack of confidence and communication with others *You back [away] from asking questions because others will [say] "oh look it's the Samoan person asking the question because they don't understand" ...when a white person asks it's just normal, it's okay. (Samoan, Participant 6)*

One young person noted their aspiration to be treated and viewed as a white person because they saw this as being associated with privilege and having the *nice things in life*.

My hope and dream is to live in a white neighbourhood. I don't want to live next to a drug house or a party house where they are opening the garage blasting their music all dressed in blue. My hope is to be looked at as a white person. I think it comes easier sometimes. I want my neighbours to be good Kiwi, who recycle properly [and] bake on a Sunday. (Cook Islander, Participant 2)

While aspiring to improve their livelihood and circumstances reflected the hopes and dreams of their migrant ancestors and/or parents and grandparents, it may also reflect aspirations to assimilate which can infer a loss of one's sense of Pacific-ness, identity and belonging.

3.2.2. An unequal playing field and lack of privilege

Many young people thought that growing up in New Zealand as a Pacific person meant they had to work twice as hard to succeed and be recognised.

You have to work twice as hard for something that everyone else gets…You feel like you deserve the same chance as everyone, but we don't…that's frustrating. (Fijian, Participant 1)

The common perception of having to *work twice as hard* may be contextualised within the importance young Pacific people placed on collective wellbeing (see section 4.3.2). In this light, young people have dual responsibilities and accountabilities in the Western education/professional world and to their families and communities. It is important to recognise that these worlds can often be completely at odds and a young person's ability to negotiate dual contexts impacts on how they see and behave in these worlds. As described in the quote below, another way of looking at the notion of having to '*work twice as hard*' is to overcome negative stereotypes about not being good enough and having low aspirations.

There was a lady searching for a job and immediately this man asked her if she wanted to be hired as a cleaner. Like wow do you think all Islanders want to be cleaners, I think that's a huge thing that people think…that [they] like to clean up. (Tokelauan, Participant 6)

3.2.3. Generational differences

3.2.3.1. Education and career opportunities

Young Pacific people generally noted and understood that migrant Pacific peoples arrived in New Zealand with the hopes and dreams of providing their children and future generations with opportunities for employment, education, health care and new experiences.

Our parents and grandparents moved here because they thought about us even before we existed. (Tongan, Participant 1)

However, young people also highlighted generational differences in understandings about career and workforce options within specific sectors and fields, noting that young people were more aware of multiple career pathways.

Our young generations have different viewpoints than our elders…[because] we're in the modern world right now…[they] want us to be doctors, nurses but they don't know there are more

branches…like tourism, they think flight attendant, but you can work at the airport, travel around the world. (Kiribati, Participant 9)

Young people also commonly noted that parents and families had high, ill-informed, rigid and limited educational and workforce expectations for them. This was considered a pressure for young people that could result in avoidance, a sense of hopelessness and/or adverse behaviours.

…[Parents] have the vision of you being a doctor. They don't listen to what you want to be, if you wanted to be something else or follow your dreams, they'll [say] "that's not happening". (Kiribati, Participant 11)

It's real pressuring. It's stopped me from doing a lot of things… It's too much to handle...Pressure comes from family and our parents [but] you also want to make your family look good. (Tokelauan, Participant 5)

3.2.3.2. Cultural and gender-role expectations

Parenting practices: All young people acknowledged that many parents raised their children the way they were raised but noted that strict parenting practices and expectations had not changed despite a changing and modern environment – an environment that some young people were eager to embrace but felt restricted in doing so.

They should allow us to embrace being young and a part of this new generation, because the future is evolving, and we don't want to live back in the old days. (Niuean, Participant 3)

Some young people also acknowledged there were stricter rules and regulations for girls compared with boys. It was emphasised that while this view could be understood within the context of parents protecting their daughters, it could also be (mis)perceived by non-Pacific people as controlling behaviour and forbidding daughters to *live their lives.*

…Our parents are traditional; the girls are looked after much more than the boys. Boys are freer. There's not much freedom for girls. (Kiribati, Participant 10)

Interestingly, Samoan young people highlighted differences between what they believed to be *traditional* and *modern* families noting *traditional* child-rearing practices as being stricter than *modern* practices.

Some families are strict, and some are not…The modern ways and traditional ways. (Samoan, Participant 13)

Traditional roles: Many young people also described feeling conflicted and challenged around conforming to traditional roles, responsibilities, and behaviours expected of Pacific children (where they are expected to accept, obey, defer to their elders and look after the wellbeing of the collective) and growing up in a western-dominated society (which encouraged open dialogue and criticism and where silence may be misinterpreted as a lack of confidence and capability).

In the home elders speak, young people can speak but there's humility and knowing your space to speak. At school this is seen as a lack of confidence… you're seen as dumb. (Tongan, Participant 5)

Within a family setting, young people noted that they did not fully express their points of view and opinions to avoid being seen as disrespectful toward their parents.

> *When we're just trying to share our point of view [to our mum or dad] and they won't listen… [they see it as] we're talking back to them. (Kiribati, Participant 9)*

Some felt that this form of respect hindered open communication between parents and their children. Others felt their opinions would not be heard regardless of whether they expressed them or not.

> *I think that's where we fall out as young Pacific Islanders, knowing that because we value respect between ourselves and our elders, it's a block because you can't express what you want to your mum or dad. (Samoan, Participant 3)*

The quote below reiterated these latter points and highlighted young people's descriptions of how a Pacific child or young person will be seen and in most cases treated as a minor by their parents and families regardless of age.

> *[My mum says] 'Despite you being educated and have money, you are still a kid'…. The youth voice is limited. I'm 23 [but] I must be respectful; I can't bring 100% my experiences to the table because [it's] disrespectful. (Tongan, Participant 3)*

3.2.3.3. Access to technology

Young people generally noted that access to technology differentiated them from their parents' generation. Some described social media and technology as addictive behaviour that was prioritised over other forms of traditional learning.

> *They're more addicted to social media and technology…And into the social life rather than learning how to weave baskets…The younger generation is limited with language and traditional teachings; they're slowly becoming more modern. (Kiribati, Participant 7)*

Access to social media was also noted as exposing young Pacific people to cyberbullying, catfishing and other adverse behaviours. Tongan young people noted that shared access to social media activity and information for both males and females had the potential to blur the lines of gender-based values and respect.

> *Now we have technology, we're all seeing the same thing, I don't sit in the same room watching things with my brother. But now there is diversity, so are we still going to uphold that respect? (Tongan, Participant 1)*

3.2.3.4. Environmental and societal experiences

Growing up in New Zealand for some young Pacific people increased their exposure to:

- Gangs, drugs and alcohol: *Gangs, Young Pacific people doing drugs within and outside of school. (Cook Islander, Participant 5)*
- Crime: *Shootings in our local areas and it's our Pacific kids – no good. (Samoan, Participant 14)*
- A high cost of living and financial hardship: *The prices in Auckland are garbage. We're paying too much for necessities that you can buy at a cheaper price. (Niuean, Participant 4)*

- Poor health outcomes: *We are very unhealthy…. A lot of diabetes. (Samoan, Participant 15)*

All ethnic groups noted the important issues of youth suicide and mental health for young Pacific people in New Zealand today. Many suggested a lack of communication and silence about issues within families as contributing factors.

> *Pacific youth have the highest rates of suicide… [it's because the] the generations today don't talk...They hold it in until they can't do anything about it. (Samoan, Participant 6)*

3.2.4. Overview

Young people are exposed to discrimination, internalised racism and different societal experiences growing up in New Zealand: Experiences for Pacific young people growing up in New Zealand strongly influenced their understandings, worldviews and identity as Pacific people. Young people generally described growing up in conflicting value-based systems and settings and being challenged with strengthening and maintaining their culture and identity in the face of internalised racism and discrimination.

Young people embrace cultural values but experience cultural clashes:

- **Respect:** Young Pacific people were commonly connected to culture through shared Pacific values and beliefs. Importance was placed on ensuring cultural values were upheld and passed on to future generations. Respect was a common and fundamental value for all young people which influenced their behaviour and interactions with others. Respect was generally shown through deference and acts of service to elders, the use of appropriate language, attire, and actions and aligned with literature describing how children show honour and respect.
- **Religion and spirituality:** Religion and spirituality strongly influenced young Pacific people's understandings and worldviews about God, relationships, boundaries and respect. Contrasting views were expressed about the interface between religion and tradition. These views can be contextualised within understandings about the societal and cultural changes that occurred across the Pacific Islands following the arrival of Christianity and Colonisation.
- **Cultural clashes:** Young people were conflicted with the differences between their cultural values, behaviours and practices (where they are expected to accept, obey and defer to their elders' expectations and requests) and Western values (where they are encouraged to question and challenge the norm). These views may be contextualised within what Tiatia-Seath's (1998) descriptions of how many Pacific young people feel 'caught between cultures' and conflicted by the differences between traditional Pacific values, behaviours and practices and Palagi (European) cultural values.

Young people establish their identity in a different environment from their parents: As evidenced in the literature, young Pacific people are establishing their identity in a social and economic world that differs to that which their parents and/or grandparents forged

their identities (MacPherson, Spoonley and Anae, 2001). This study adds to this evidence base and highlights that growing up in a different environment has influenced young Pacific people's understandings, worldviews, and identity as Pacific people.

Generational differences in exposure to technology and social media (cyberbullying, catfishing), societal experiences (gangs, drugs, alcohol, crime, financial hardship and poor health), youth suicide and differential levels of privilege were noted as influencing and differentiating young people's worldviews from their parents.

A common perception was that in comparison to their parents, young people had different understandings, expectations, and views on educational and career opportunities, parenting practices, and young peoples' roles and responsibilities.

While the notion of the 'migrant dream' was acknowledged as providing opportunities for young people, many noted a lack of awareness among parents compared to the growing awareness among young people about alternative career pathway options in different fields.

Utumapu (1992) noted that the education and career aspirations for many Pacific migrants were at the time considered most beneficial for future generations and included becoming doctors, lawyers or teachers. Young people considered restrictive parental insights and expectations such as these as a pressure for some young people that could result in avoidance, a sense of hopelessness and/or adverse behaviours.

3.3. Young Pacific people's understandings of family violence

This section explores how young Pacific people's worldviews influence their understandings about family violence, the impacts of family violence, attitudes toward family violence and help seeking, and family violence risk factors.

3.3.1. Types of family violence

Young people from all ethnic-specific groups generally considered that family violence included IPV, CAN, physical, emotional and mental abuse. Samoan young people also considered financial abuse a form of family violence and those from Tonga, Samoa and Niue noted sexual abuse.

Most young Pacific people understood that IPV was mostly men's violence against women. However, Niuean and Cook Island young people commonly noted that violence against males also occurred within their communities but to a lesser extent and was unlikely to be reported because it was considered *shameful* and contradicted the macho role of men in society.

> *[There have been] a few experiences where husbands are beaten by their wives. It's not talked about because 'you're not a man' it's quite emasculating. In the Pacific culture you want to be seen as the tough man. (Cook Islander, Participant 6)*

3.3.2. Family violence was normalised behaviour

All Pacific young people voiced concerns that IPV was an issue within families and communities, which had become normalised and needed to end.

> *Family violence is so normal. Sometimes people aren't ashamed…I've been in a house where my mates' parents have like full on arguments. (Fijian, Participant 4)*

Almost all young people considered physically disciplining children as a common and normalised behaviour within Pacific families. Many shared they were physically disciplined by their parents as a result of disobedience or wrongdoing. For some this included the use of objects (e.g., a vacuum stick, kettle cord, salu (broom stick), belt, plank of wood, metal hangars etc).

> *In some other cultures it may not be okay but in Pacific cultures that's how we deal with it... I guess for some of us that's the way we were bought up (Tongan, Participant 4)*

They provided mixed views about whether physical punishment was an acceptable form of discipline and held ambiguous perspectives about the point at which physical discipline became abuse and whether, like IPV, needed to stop. It is likely that the ambiguity among young people was influenced by the fact that differences between discipline and abuse were subjective and open to different interpretations.

> *My idea of discipline could be different to your idea of discipline and that makes it hard to draw the line between discipline and abuse. (Tongan, Participant 6)*

Many young people noted a distinction between what they perceived as 'Pacific' and 'Western' forms of discipline and described the latter as involving non-physical methods such as 'time out'.

> *In a Samoan family…mum and dad can smack you...In New Zealand that's called child abuse, whereas in Samoa that's normal, that's respect/discipline. In New Zealand they use their words, timeout…They use other methods of disciplining your child, not hitting. (Samoan, Participant 4)*

3.3.2.1. Physical discipline that is acceptable

Although a few young people did not think any form of physical discipline was acceptable - *Discipline and abuse are the same thing. (Kiribati, Participant 5)* – most commonly considered this behaviour acceptable when:

- Parents provided adequate warnings and the reason for hitting was clear for both parent and child: *You think it through before you hit them, you know the purpose and why you're hitting them. (Kiribati, Participant 4)*
- It was purposed to teach the child a lesson: *For me I don't see [discipline] as violence, it is to teach a lesson. (Tokelauan, Participant 7)*
- It was non-excessive and a *smack* rather than a *beating: Discipline is a subtle slap. (Niuean, Participant 4)*

As highlighted in the last point, smacking was commonly considered an acceptable form of discipline, but beatings and hidings were not. However, young people also noted there was a fine line between these forms of discipline which could easily be crossed.

> *I'm against the anti-smacking law. Sometimes your kid does need a [smack], but there is a fine line between smacking and beating your child...That's what's wrong…Some families think it's okay to give your child a black eye. (Samoan, Participant 8)*

Many young people who shared their experiences of being physically punished considered it an effective means of discipline, while others considered verbal discipline more effective.

> *I'd prefer to be [smacked] as a kid instead of just words… As kids you don't process stuff until you get hit. (Fijian, Participant 1)*

Fijian and Tuvaluan young people added that verbal discipline was not acceptable if it resulted in negative emotional impacts on children. In this light, verbal discipline was viewed as being more 'hurtful' than physical punishment.

> *You may not think that you're being abusive, but I always find that words hurt way more than actions. (Fijian, Participant 2)*

3.3.2.2. Discipline that is abuse (not acceptable)

Many young people thought Pacific adults commonly understood that physical discipline was a parents' way of showing love for their children.

> *In the Cook Island culture, we wouldn't really call it violence, it's called discipline towards children. It's how they show their love. (Cook Islander, Participant 3)*

Young people in general did not agree that this behaviour was an act of love especially if physical discipline became abusive.

> *That's what I don't get within our Samoan families after they hit you. They say 'daughter I did it because I love you'… I'm thinking you love me and you just beat me us? I've experienced that with my dad, like after he hits us then he says 'ua la na ou fasia outou o lo'u alofa ia outou' I'm [hitting you] out of love and it makes me angry…That's not love. (Samoan, Participant 12)*

The majority of young people noted that physical discipline was not acceptable and became abusive when:

- Parents hit for no reason: *[It's abuse] when you get a hiding for no reason. (Cook Islander, Participant 4)*
- Parents continued to beat a child despite them having learned their lesson: *If you continue to discipline your kid even though they know they've done something wrong and they're trying to fix it then it's gone over the line. (Fijian, Participant 3)*
- It was out of anger and uncontrolled: *You lash out and can't control it. (Kiribati, Participant 1)*
- It included verbal and emotional abuse: *As we've grown up, our parents are chilled and kick back now. They verbally discipline and verbally abuse us, sometimes it's very ugly words. (Samoan, Participant 11)*

- Objects were used: *If you're using something like a wooden spoon or a vacuum stick then that is no longer discipline…that is abuse. (Samoan, Participant 2)*
- Children received physical injuries, bleeding, bruising or scarring: [*It's abuse when there are] bruises and injuries, when you start bleeding, hand marks, stick marks. (Kiribati, Participant 5)*

Abuse for a few young people also included having absent and disengaged parents and feeling neglected.

> *Even parents not being present. That's violence... It can take a big toll on kids if they're there, but they don't want to be... It's like they don't care. (Fijian, Participant 5)*

3.3.3. Impacts of family violence on young Pacific people

Young Pacific people generally noted that ongoing exposure to violence within the home (e.g. IPV and/or physical discipline) had and could negatively impact on young people's:

Relationships with parents and family:

- Creating negative and fearful relationships between young people and their parents: *Parents threaten their children [with beatings] just to scare them. (Kiribati, Participant 11)*
- Influencing resentment and rebellion against parents: *When you're hit you are [angry] and you want to do something back to your parents….You don't want to listen to them. (Samoan, Participant 1)*

Behaviour and attitudes toward violence:

- Normalising family violence and a generational cycle of abusive behaviour: *For a child, if they see their parents arguing, they see their parents fighting or something, that could take a bigger toll on them….They look at violence as being okay. (Fijian, Participant 3)*
- Inhibiting the use of non-violent behaviour and alternative forms of communication and expression: *[Children] feel limited [to use] words to communicate…. People who have been smacked will think that using their hands or violence is [the only] way to express their feelings. (Samoan, Participant 8)*

Health and wellbeing:

- Influencing disempowerment and a sense of despair and helplessness to change things: *If you're a kid and experience your parents fighting and your Dad [hitting] you can't really stop them. (Kiribati, Participant 9)*
- Teaching adverse coping strategies such as taking anger out on others or withdrawing emotionally and socially from others: *You can't hit your parents back, so you look for something to release your anger out on. (Cook Islander, Participant 7)*

Kiribati young people also highlighted that family violence could negatively impact on the wellbeing of the perpetrator, noting they were likely to be frowned upon and socially excluded from their communities and places of belonging.

If people know you're violent to your [spouse], people will not interact with you, they'll think of you differently. It will be hard to socialise because of what they've heard and seen. It's unhealthy for the person themselves. (Kiribati, Participant 6)

This young Pacific person's view and inclusiveness of the perpetrator being impacted by family violence aligned with the cultural underpinnings of the Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu conceptual frameworks which noted that violence within the family is a violation of relationships that disrupts the wellbeing and harmony of all individuals within the family.

3.3.4. Attitudes toward family violence and help seeking

Young people discussed reasons why people exposed to family violence might not seek help:

- **Culture of silence:** Many Pacific young people perceived there was a culture of silence within Pacific families which was noted as a major risk factor for family violence and not seeking help. All groups shared that silence perpetuated the cycle of abuse and families generally *did not talk about [violence]…If it happens, they don't say sorry [they just forget it]. (Kiribati, Participant 3)*
- **Avoid bringing shame and embarrassment to the family:** Some groups shared that they were taught from a young age how inappropriate it would be for them to say or do anything that may bring shame or embarrassment to the family.

  Behind closed doors adults say 'you're going to bring our family down, and bring our family to shame if you speak up, so don't say anything'… It [becomes] a pattern, you won't say anything at all if you get abused. (Samoan, Participant 15)
- **Avoid being disrespectful:** Young people commonly noted being taught not to interfere or speak against their elders; this included speaking up about family violence. They considered the Pacific youth voice on matters relating to family violence *limited.*

  When [violence happens], it doesn't help when families don't talk about it… I was always told 'You don't say anything'. (Fijian, Participant 1)
- **Maintain privacy and mask an unhappy family:** Privacy was considered important for Pacific families. Young people shared that putting on *big smiles* prevented others from interfering in private family matters.

  Being silent and privacy is a big thing with Islanders. You don't want people to know what's going on in your family… we're really good at putting on big smiles. (Fijian, Participant 3)
- **Keep families together:** Some young people believed that sometimes parents stayed together in unhappy and dysfunctional relationships in the false belief that it would be in the best interests of their children.

  Some parents hide their emotions because of the kids, they're only together because of the kids...They think it's better for the children but it's not. (Samoan, Participant 16)
- **Victim-blaming:** Some young people across the groups described that women who are often victims of IPV can be perceived as being at fault. Victim-blaming and

gender-role attitudes and beliefs were considered reasons why Pacific women do not speak up or seek support.

If the man did something to the lady, people could be like, 'Yeah, well what did she do wrong?'….Straight away, that's the mentality that some people have. (Fijian, Participant 4)

In Kiribati, if they hear you screaming and getting a hiding, it's normal. It's basically mind your own business. They'll think she probably deserved it. (Kiribati, Participant 8)

- **Being afraid of the consequences for themselves and the perpetrator:** Young people highlighted hesitation among Pacific people to reach out for help because *people are afraid of what may happen to them* or the perpetrator. Some young people shared that they loved their parents and did not want them to get in trouble.

  We love our parents and don't want them to get in trouble and you don't want your parents to find out because then you'll get an even bigger hiding. (Tokelauan, Participant 3)

  Young people don't want to call the Police because they're [worried] 'oh my uncle is going to go jail forever'…As young people we're always thinking about the consequences. (Tongan, Participant 2)

- **Dependence on the perpetrator:** Some young people thought women might not seek help because they were emotionally and financially dependent on their spouses.

  Some wives don't call the police because they still love their partners…It's like they don't have anyone else to go. (Kiribati, Participant 11)

  They don't know what they deserve, they're too scared, they think people can change (Samoan, Participant 15)

- **A belief that violent acts were not intended to hurt:** Some young people mentioned that violence could be excused, and help-seeking avoided because families believed that the perpetrator *didn't really mean it. (Fijian, Participant 1)*

  There are some people who may love their partners so much that they don't see anything wrong with what's happening. (Samoan, Participant 16)

3.3.5. Risk factors for family violence

3.3.5.1. Gender roles

Most young people across all groups recognised males as leaders of Pacific families and communities. They described males (fathers) as authoritative and noted that violence can stem from a male abusing his role as the leader of the family, particularly if wives or partners encroached on their authority.

> *It's culturally known that the male is the head of the family, sometimes that can be toxic when the male uses that as power to do anything and abuse. (Samoan, Participant 13)*

Some young people mentioned that contemporary understandings of male and female roles within the New Zealand context contradicted traditional Pacific people's gender-roles which could cause conflicts within relationships.

When you're brought up as a male in Kiribati and you come to New Zealand you believe you're the head of the family. When you come as a young girl, you start to develop the New Zealand understanding and believe your opinions should be heard and these can clash. (Kiribati, Participant 4)

3.3.5.2. Societal influences

Young people across the groups identified some societal factors and determinants of health and wellbeing that they felt increased the risk of family violence within Pacific communities. Although these factors were not unique to Pacific peoples, it is important to note that Pacific outcomes in these areas are substantially poorer in comparison to other ethnic groups:

- Poverty: *Most cases of family violence, they're in poor circumstances. They are in poverty or have low status. If you're in a good healthy stable home I feel there is not much family violence. (Niuean, Participant 5)*
- High stress: *[When parents] have all this stress in their head and then probably the only thing that can relieve it is by taking it out on the children. (Niuean, Participant 4)*
- Addictive behaviour: *Alcohol and drugs are the big thing…because they're not in their right minds when they're doing it…but when they're sober, they see the mess they've made and regret it. (Kiribati, Participant 6)*

3.3.6. Overview

Young Pacific people are aware of different types of family violence and their impacts. Young people defined family violence as intimate partner violence, child abuse and neglect (CAN), physical, emotional, mental, financial and sexual abuse.

Family violence was considered to adversely impact on young people's relationships with parents (creating negative, fearful and resentful relationships), attitudes towards violence (normalising abusive behaviour, inhibiting alternative forms of communication and expression), and health and wellbeing (despair and a sense of helplessness, emotional and social withdrawal). Within a familial and cultural context, young people also noted family violence may adversely impact the wellbeing of the perpetrator.

Evidence identified the preservation of relationships important to many Pacific peoples were conflicted by risk factors such as: erroneous perceptions about what constituted violence, mis-informed beliefs and attitudes (about intimate relationships, dominant masculinity, traditional gender roles and responsibilities and religious (mis)interpretations of Biblical texts), intergenerational and societal differences, normalisation of violent behaviour and silence and shame (see section 1.4).

The limited literature available about Pacific young peoples' perspectives of family violence protective and risk factors suggested:

- Young Pacific females are less tolerant of male dominance within relationships compared with Pacific adults

- Young Pacific males struggle with adhering to cultural/colonised understandings and expectations about dominant masculinity.

Young Pacific people held mixed views about physical discipline and abuse: This study verified findings about Pacific young people within the literature and identified that young people held mixed views about whether physical punishment was an acceptable form of discipline or not and, ambiguous and subjective perspectives about the point at which physical discipline became abuse.

Young people's mixed views about discipline were reflected in the Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu Pacific conceptual frameworks (Ministry of Social Development, 2012a-h) and different ethnic-specific cultural understandings about child disciplinary practices.

Many young people considered physical discipline was acceptable when:

- Parents provided adequate warnings and the reason for hitting was clear for both parent and child
- It was purposed to teach the child a lesson
- It was non-excessive and a *smack* rather than a *beating*

Young people also verified the evidenced belief about parents hitting children out of love but did not agree at all with this concept if physical discipline was abusive. The point at which physical discipline was not acceptable and became abuse was when:

- Parents hit for no reason
- Parents continued to beat a child despite them having learned their lesson
- It was out of anger and uncontrolled
- It included verbal and emotional abuse
- Objects were used
- Children received physical injuries, bleeding, bruising or scarring.

Young people identified factors that inhibit help-seeking: Young Pacific people commonly highlighted several barriers to help-seeking, such as victim-blaming attitudes, silence and shame, upholding the cultural value of respect, minimising issues, a desire to keep families together (despite dysfunction), a fear of and for perpetrators (fear of consequences, dependence, and a belief that violence was not intentional).

Many of these views aligned with Pacific adult literature (Fanslow et al., 2010; Hand et al.,2002) which described Pacific women as being more likely than non-Pacific women to tolerate aspects of IPV and view such behaviours as normal and a husband's right.

Young people see gender roles and societal factors as risks for family violence: Gender roles (e.g. male dominance and an abuse of power, and clashes between traditional and contemporary understandings about the role of women) and societal factors and determinants of health and wellbeing (poverty, high stress and addictive behaviours) were perceived as increasing the risk of family violence within Pacific communities.

3.4. Young Pacific people's views on family violence prevention and resilience

This section explores how young Pacific people's worldviews influence their understandings about family violence prevention and characteristics that can help to build resilient young people, families and community to overcome and cope with adversity.

Young Pacific people identified numerous prevention strategies and saw resilience as a potentially effective form of family violence prevention and noted this in relation to individuals, families and communities/society.

3.4.1. Preventing family violence

Young people from all ethnic-specific groups generally defined family violence as the consequence of a range of accumulated stressors and erroneous beliefs about culture. Family violence prevention was considered a priority for young people, families and communities.

> *Family violence is a symptom of a range of issues, like poverty, poor quality of life, low level education and financial stresses. It reflects the environment that some of these families are in. [It] isn't inherent to the Tongan culture…It's not what we stand for and it's not what we believe in. (Tongan, Participant 2)*

All but one group of young people believed that Pacific young people had the potential to make a change. This group felt little could be done to prevent violence within their community because it was *laughed off* too often.

> *There should be a change…As more generations come, there need to be better solutions for violence and ways of preventing violence within our Pacific families and communities. But I think it comes down to us Pacific people helping each other out, ultimately. (Samoan, Participant 17)*

Many young people saw the components of effective family violence prevention as encompassing and promoting:

- Collective and community responsibility: *I think once families are exposed to violence or we know of a family that's going through it, then we all have a collective responsibility. (Tongan, Participant 4)*
- Integrated and shared understandings and responses from service providers, families and churches: *Bring everyone to the table; the services, mothers and fathers, ministers. Give them the opportunity to work collaboratively as a family because if we just focus on the one person, we're missing out on others that could benefit from the growth or improvement. (Tongan, Participant 1)*
- Key family violence prevention and positive parenting messages and education about:
    - Alterative parenting practices: *Educate our parents about discipline instead of violence. Instead of giving your kid a hiding, communicate about what [kids] could do better. (Cook Islander, Participant 6)*
    - Enabling more and open conversation for families and young people: *[We can make a difference] by making it okay to talk about. (Fijian, Participant 4)*

- Enabling parents and young people to understand, learn from and about each other and the consequences of their actions: *I think it will at least make people think about it. Especially with parents…sometimes they just don't know what they've done...so maybe educating them about how it affects us. (Fijian, Participant 2)*
- Being okay with feeling vulnerable and asking for help: *Show [our Pacific people] that it's okay to be vulnerable and say 'I'm going through this and its okay that you want to help me'. (Fijian, Participant 5)*

Young people also considered it important to engage with schools to raise awareness about family violence prevention, develop resources such as an easily accessible family violence prevention app, and increase awareness about and the number of support services available for Pacific peoples and identify key Pacific champions to promote key messages that young people can relate to and respect. Many also strongly believed that effective prevention and intervention services focused on a 'By Pacific For Pacific' approach: *[We should have] Pacific Island safe spaces where there is a free counsellor that they can talk to, for example 'by Samoans for Samoans'. (Samoan, Participant 17)*

3.4.2. Resilient young people

Young people primarily defined resilience as an individual trait *- standing up for yourself* which was shown and built through:

- Making and learning from mistakes: *I was always taught as a kid you just keep going, keep pushing, keep trying, you might fail the first time, but you don't give up. Where there's a will there's a way. (Tokelauan, Participant 6)*
- Perseverance: *Not giving up (Niuean, Fijian, Samoan)*
- A strong sense of identity, confidence and self-esteem: *Speaking your mind, being honest. Not being afraid to stay true to yourself, don't change for nobody. (Samoan, Participant 11)*
- Passion, commitment and drive: *Not letting obstacles get in your way and really having a passion to overcome challenges in your life…Have a strong mindset to push past. If challenges are big, you still won't let it get in your way, you move forward and not give up. (Niuean, Participant 4)*

Young people associated resilience with aspirations and hope. In addition to a strong commitment noted earlier to keep their culture alive, all also aspired to improving the situation for Pacific peoples in New Zealand by:

- Improving their employment and economic prospects

  I hope we don't see any of our people working in the factories. We don't want to see them experience the hardships our parents experienced…We don't want to see them working in those jobs anymore. (Kiribati, Participant 10)

- Looking after and making their parents proud of them

  I don't want to be working at McDonald's or some factory. I want to make something of myself and help my parents. (Niuean, Participant 3)

We all want our families to be comfortable, like our parents and grandparents where they don't have to work as much to support us. (Cook Islander, Participant 5)

- Changing negative stereotypes about Pacific peoples in New Zealand society

  Try to put [Pacific] out there, trying to break some of those stereotypes that we get from non-Pacific Islanders. Doing something that makes us stand out from the rest. (Samoan, Participant 14)

  Even though people look down on us because we're Islanders, we can't achieve that because you're an Islander, you're a FOB, you're brown. Just because we're brown it doesn't mean we can't achieve; people need to know that. (Kiribati, Participant 7)

- Being positive role-models for future generations.

  The youth are leading what the men are usually doing in Fiji kava ceremonies during Fijian language week… [It's a way of] Keeping [the culture] strong, passing it down the generations. (Fijian, Participant 4)

  [I want] to a set a platform…be an example for future generations (Samoan, Participant 16)

However, it is important to note that one major theme that emerged across all ethnic groups was the use of coping strategies such as humour and laughter, and masking to enhance resilience. For example, some young people considered humour among Pacific peoples as a form of resilience and a coping strategy to:

- Overcome and cope with uncomfortable or adverse situations: *We laugh about getting a hiding because we totally get it, it's funny now that we're older but not funny when you're getting the hiding. (Samoan, Participant 4)*
- Connect with others through shared pain/experiences: *It's a normal topic in schools and stuff like "Gee I got a mean hiding last night" everyone laughs about it. (Fijian, Participant 1)*

However, laughter and humour were also described as a consequence of not being able to cope and a way to:

- Normalise adverse behaviours: *It teaches the generation to laugh off stuff, it's meant to be addressed but they laugh it off because they don't know how to handle it, which creates even more mental illness. (Tuvaluan, Participant 7)*
- Avoid sensitive and difficult situations: *The mocking, it's a cultural thing the mocking for fun - we're laughing but then at the same time it's planting seeds of discouragement and everybody's laughing but it's not funny. That can lead to emotional depression. (Tuvaluan, Participant 6)*
- Hide embarrassment and shame: *Even with the mocking it's so easy for us to mock but it makes it harder for us to compliment or encourage each other. (Tuvaluan, Participant 4)*
- Minimise negative impacts: *If something goes wrong in the community, people quickly jump to think that it was a brown person. I've had the joke, like if someone stole something someone would go like, "Was that your family?" (Fijian, Participant 3)*

Masking was also considered both a form of coping and an inability to cope which referred to:

- False pretence and presentation of yourself to avoid judgement: *You put on your white voice because you want to impress someone. I feel Islanders feel the need to talk to Palagi people in the posh way, because they feel like they'll get judged if they put on their normal fob accent. (Niuean, Participant 3)*
- Hiding emotions and acting like all is well: *You pretend your fine, you think 'oh well there are other people in the world who are starving or who are way worse than me and that I should stop complaining and things'. You compare yourself and mask your problems, that can happen as a family. (Tongan, Participant 5)*
- Hiding the extent of problems and minimising issues: *Your family can hide that you are breaking down to the outside world and your parents go to church and show everyone that you are fine but you're not. (Tongan, Participant 3)*

3.4.3. Resilient families

While an individual lens was commonly used to define resilience, the priority and importance young people placed on culture, family, and collective Pacific communities provide a broader context within which resilience can be understood.

Young people described happy and healthy Pacific families as those where young people and their parents communicated positively and openly and were supportive of each other. Young people felt safe to talk about anything with their parents, and parents were calm, listened, and tried to understand their problems. Family members spent quality time together, were happy and there was a lot of laughter.

In contrast, an unhappy and unhealthy family was described as one filled with tension and sadness, where young people felt alone and unsupported, and could not express their feelings, there was financial hardship, a lack of basic necessities and exposure to adverse behaviours.

All young people commonly identified strong and supportive relationships and resilient families as key to building resilient young people and protecting people from the incidence and impacts of family violence. Qualities that were considered reflective of resilient and supportive families with strong relationships included:

- Open communication between parents and their children about anything: *In my family I can say what I want when I want… my brothers have always created a space for me where I can feel safe to contribute. I talk to my mum about anything…boys, sex and she will always be there. (Tongan, Participant 2)*
- Everyone feeling valued and heard: *Everyone to have voice. (Samoan, Participant 5)*
- Prioritising and acknowledging each other's needs: *Our parents do everything with us, I can talk to them about anything…Even if I'm feeling down, they will pull me out of school just to spend time with me and see if I'm okay. (Niuean, Participant 1)*

- Working together and drawing on each other's strengths to achieve shared and collective goals and dreams: *Against all odds mum and dad had 10 of us and we not only survived, we thrived. So, I'm super proud that we did pull together through limited resources, faith in God, and one way or another living out our dreams this season. (Tongan, Participant 5)*
- Prioritising unconditional love over religious and cultural conflicts to support the wellbeing of family members: *[There is] a clash between religion and our cultural value of acceptance…with the place of the fa'afāfine. Families battle 'oh my son is gay and it's against my religion but that's my son, we're going to accept him'…Families feel this conflict…but they always still accept and remain resilient. (Tongan, Participant 2)*
- Shared leadership, equal intimate partner relationships and shared-decision-making between parents: *I was bought up in an equal family and my dad was the stay at home dad. My poppa does everything for my nan…They're so equal in everything that they do. (Samoan, Participant 15)*
- Positive role-modelling: *It's to do with upbringing, if you were bought up in a family that was really understanding, accepting of each other…I think you wouldn't experience violence so much. (Samoan, Participant 12)*
- Young people learning from experiences and making resilient, positive and informed choices: *You either learn from how they raised you or you choose a different path or take the positives out of how they've taught you and run with it. You don't have to be exactly like them. (Samoan, Participant 14)*
- Empowering male role-models in families: *I have heaps of male role models, I've heard 'you can do whatever you want' and 'you're the queen of the world' so I was confident in myself. I was able to negotiate those two worlds [of being Tongan and the western world]. (Tongan, Participant 2)*
- Encouraging and responsive parents: *As simple as your parents just saying' I'm proud of you'. It's something that I've been after for years from my dad... I'd take my dad saying he's proud of me over any of the awards I've gotten. (Fijian, Participant 2)*

3.4.4. Resilient communities and society

Growing up in New Zealand and exposure to different experiences, understandings and factors impinging on one's worldview inferred a need for resilience at all levels – i.e. community and societal resilience. Young people commonly described resilient communities and societies as those who build on Pacific cultural strengths and values and:

- Provide opportunities to celebrate culture: *Like you know how Māori have Te Rau Matatini? We should have something like that for Tokelauans. (Tokelauan, Participant 1)*
- Support families and young people's dreams and aspirations to achieve: *Support from within the community [and] your family.…When people ask 'what's your why?', and for us its always, family. When you have that support from your community, that could be another reason why you want to achieve. (Fijian, Participant 1)*
- Encourage communication between people: *Verbally, you can build someone up. You can speak positivity into people instead of all the negatives. (Samoan, Participant 13)*

- Build confident young people: *We need to look at how to build confidence. (Samoan, Participant 5)*
- Build more young Pacific leaders: *[We need] to build our cultural strengths, have more young people in leadership roles. (Cook Islander, Participant 6)*
- Eliminate discrimination and provide equal opportunities and acceptance: *I have the right to be who I am. I shouldn't be singled out based on what they think I am…There shouldn't be any assumptions or discrimination against your race...We are in a different time now, different generation, we should be more accepting of each other. (Samoan, Participant 10)*

Young people across the groups believed that church communities and religion were inherent to all Pacific cultures. They had mixed perspectives about the role of the church and family violence, with many describing it as a protective factor and a small number inferring that erroneous misinterpretations of Biblical texts were a risk factor.

For example, Samoan young people discussed a strong upbringing and connection to the church and community as a protective factor because it:

- Influenced respectful relationships and communication within families: *For our family we were bought up in church and my dad being the Pastor it changed the way our family communicated; it was less smacking and more words. (Samoan, Participant 5)*
- Helped people to control and manage anger and stress: *I believe that family violence occurs in some families because they do not know the gospel and the plan for salvation. However, for families who do not partake in violence they understand this, they understand how to control their anger and stressors. They have patience. (Samoan, Participant 3)*

In contrast, a few young people erroneously believed the bible justified the use of physical discipline against children as an act of love.

> *In some areas of the bible it says if you love your child then you discipline them through smacking them. (Tongan, Participant 6)*

Young people considered that resilience within the church community could be enhanced by the church and ministers taking an active role in encouraging open dialogue and discussions within church families and communities. *Get the church involved, they [should] lead the whole initiative… Divide males and females to talk about this issue, [we need to] be part of the solution. (Tongan, Participant 3)*

Cook Islands young people noted a need for the church to recognise that keeping dysfunctional relationships together may not beneficial to anyone: *…The church find ways to keep them together when sometimes the best thing for them is to not be together. But because of Biblical values they must stay together. (Cook Islander, Participant 1)*

3.4.5. Overview

Young people see resilience as one way of preventing family violence: Within the context of family violence, young people identified that effective family violence prevention was needed which could encompass and promote:

- Collective and community responsibilities
- Integrated and shared understandings and responses from service providers, families, and churches
- Church and ministers' roles and responsibilities within the family violence context (e.g. to encourage open discussions)
- Key family violence prevention and positive parenting messages and education that encourage and enable more and open conversations within families, enable parents and young people to understand and learn from each other, and encourage help-seeking.

Building resilience was considered one way of preventing family violence and helping young people and families to overcome and cope with adversity.

Resilience was considered relevant to individuals, families and communities/society. Young Pacific people across all ethnic groups generally viewed resilience as:

An individual trait – Building resilience to achieve their aspirations and overcome adversity included making and learning from mistakes, perseverance, a strong sense of identity, confidence and self-esteem, passion, commitment and drive, supportive families and open communication with parents.

Humour and laughter were commonly noted as coping strategies often used by Pacific peoples to overcome and cope with adverse experiences and connect with others through shared pain. Conversely, humour and laughter were also noted as an inability to cope with adversity and a means of normalising adverse behaviours, avoiding sensitive and difficult situations, hiding embarrassment and shame, minimising negative impacts, and masking adverse realities.

Culture and identity challenges that young Pacific people in New Zealand experience are well evidenced, and many of these can be associated with a range of adverse outcomes including youth mental health issues, suicidal ideation, loss of cultural connection, association and identity (Anae, 1998, 1999, 2001; Helu, 2009; Manuela & Sibley, 2014; Tiatia, 1997, 2005, 2012). Exploring this further is beyond the scope of this research, but alongside the growing popularity of community programmes such as Aganu'u Fa'aSamoa101[15] and Pacific language classes[16], and online media platforms such as The Coconet TV[17] and Le Va's Atu Mai programme[18] suggests a need and a desire by Pacific young people, parents, and prospective parents to learn and understand more about their

[15] Aganu'u Fa'asamoa 101 is a Samoan cultural identity programme. Specifically designed for Samoans born/raised away from the rich cultural surroundings of Samoa. Nintey percent of the programme is taught in English, providing a unique opportunity for participants to connect with Samoan traditions and cultural practices.
[16] Provided by the Pasifika Education Centre.
[17] http://www.thecoconet.tv/ - A virtual island homeland to engage with the global Pacific village.
[18] https://www.leva.co.nz/our-work/violence-prevention/about-atu-mai

authentic traditional culture, language and practices. We contend that enhanced understandings about the protective and resilient aspects of Pacific cultures can help to strengthen cultural connections, identity and sense of belonging within both Pacific and New Zealand/Kiwi cultures.

A family responsibility and extension of strong and supportive families -

- Young people feeling safe to talk about anything with their parents
- Calm parents who listened and tried to understand a young person's problems
- Spending quality time and laughter together
- Empowering male role models
- Encouraging and responsive parents
- Equal intimate partner relationships.

A community and societal responsibility – A supportive and resilient society was described as:

- Building on cultural strengths and values
- Providing opportunities to celebrate all Pacific cultures
- Supporting families and young people to achieve their dreams and full potential
- Encouraging open and positive communication and relationships
- Building confidence young people and Pacific youth leaders
- Eliminating discrimination and providing equal opportunities and acceptance.

Young people saw the church community and religion both as protective (i.e. a positive influence on respectful family relationships) and a risk (i.e. erroneous misinterpretations of Biblical texts) for family violence. Young people highlighted an active role churches and ministers could take in encouraging church families and communities to talk openly with each other.

4. Implications

This study has broadened understandings about young people's identity and worldviews, and how these influenced their perceptions of family violence, resilient individuals, families and communities. It highlighted common and consistent findings themes across ethnic-specific groups and noted where inconsistencies emerged.

The following implications arise from the findings:

For policy, **planning and development**: Young people identified several resources, services, and promotional activities that they considered important to family violence prevention.

It is hoped that these findings are used to inform:

- The development, objectives and deliverables for family violence strategies (e.g. Pathways for Change 2019-2023), programmes (such as the Pasifika Proud - Pacific Family Violence Training Programmes) and research (such as iMSD's family violence research strategy).
- New thinking and cross-sector policy initiatives and approaches to enhance opportunities for young Pacific people to strengthen their cultural identity, and broaden understandings about pre-colonial and authentic traditional knowledge and resilience (e.g., development of Pacific history curriculum for schools, community and education programmes etc)
- Family violence prevention initiatives and activities (e.g., positive parenting messages and education that encourages and enables open conversations within families and communities, enables parents and young people to understand and learn from each other, and encourages help-seeking).

For future research: Further ethnic-specific and age-specific research is required to identify and contextualise young Pacific people's understandings and unique experiences relating to:

- Internal and external experiences of racism and discrimination and what this means for young people who experience family violence, seeking help, practice and prevention
- Traditional culture and critical thought
- Transformational change – the potential within young Pacific people
- The influence of technology and social media on gendered roles and respectful boundaries
- Pacific humour and laughter – coping or an inability to cope?
- The interface between physical discipline and abuse
- Inclusiveness of the perpetrator and what this means in pragmatic terms for practice and prevention.

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Appendix 1: Summary of generic family violence risk and protective factors

The table below provides a summary of generic protective and risk factors (Fanslow, 2005; Fulu, Warner, Miedema, & Jewkes, 2013; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2017; Superu, 2015a; Vanuatu Women's Centre, 2011).

Key domain	Protective factors	Risk factors
Family and whānau	• Family cohesion (strong emotional bonds) • Strong belief systems (values, convictions, and religious/spiritual participation) • Coping strategies (good communication, problem-solving skills, involving children in decision-making, relying on family for support) • Wide social support network • Good sibling and peer relationships • Good role modelling by parents • Two-parent household • Concrete support for parents.	• Marital conflict/instability • Poor family functioning • Friends who experience or perpetrate family violence • Controlling behaviour towards partner • Infidelity • Physical abuse in childhood can result in becoming a victim/perpetrator in adulthood • Normalisation of family violence in childhood.

Social connections	• Neighbourhood social capital
	• Socioeconomically-advantaged neighbourhood
	• Adequate housing
	• Low alcohol outlet density.
		• Poverty
		• Low income
		• Unemployment
		  ○ Economic stress
		  ○ Low social capital
		  ○ Low collective efficacy in neighbourhood
		• Isolation.

Health	• Access to health and social services.	• Heavy drinking • At-risk problem gambling • History of transactional sex.
Psychosocial and cognition	• Social and emotional competence • Secure attachment to parents • Parental self-esteem • Knowledge of parenting and child development.	• Depression, anxiety, and stress • Personality disorders.
Knowledge and skills	• High verbal IQ • Attachment to school • High parental education level.	• Low level of academic achievement.

Appendix 2: Summary of key messages from the literature scan

Pacific peoples in New Zealand

- The term Pacific peoples represents 13 ethnic-specific cultures with similar and unique traditions, languages, histories, values and beliefs.
- Pacific peoples are mostly New Zealand-born, youthful, increasingly multi-ethnic, and highly religious in comparison to the general population.
- In comparison to Pacific adults, more young people identify with multiple ethnicities and higher proportions also identify as Māori and are moving from traditional churches to Pentecostal congregations. New Zealand-born Pacific people are exposed to different social, economic and cultural influences and identities than those born in-country.

Family violence prevalence

- Violent behaviour was not inherent within traditional Pacific cultures.
- The prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Pacific families is high.
- Pacific children are more likely to be exposed to and/or die from Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) than New Zealand European children.

Family violence impacts

- The violation of relationships and boundaries for adult victims and perpetrators of family violence adversely impacts on their wellbeing, physical and mental health, and justice and economic outcomes.
- Pacific children and young people exposed to family violence, compared to those not exposed, have a higher risk of developing a range of emotional and behavioural problems (including violent offending, drug and alcohol use, gang affiliation, suicide attempts, intergenerational violence, delinquency and other adverse mental health outcomes), lower educational achievement, and lower annual earnings across the lifespan.
- The impacts of exposure to family violence for Pacific young people are likely to be exacerbated through under-utilisation of health services.

Factors influencing family violence

- Protective family violence factors include: family cohesion, emotional bonds, effective communication and coping strategies, and resilience to overcome adversity.
- Risk factors for family violence include: mental health, low educational outcomes, addictive behaviours (e.g. heavy drinking and problem gambling), childhood exposure to family violence, and a range of individual, relationship and community factors. While these risk factors are not unique to any one cultural group, it is

evident that Pacific peoples in New Zealand are over-represented in a number of areas.

'Cultural factors' encompass both protective and risk factors. Pacific family violence research highlights that:

- Cultural factors are protective where they include strong understandings about aspects of pre-Colonial traditional culture such as reciprocity, respect, genealogy, observance of tapu relationships, language and belonging, and the preservation of social (secular) and spiritual (sacred) connections.
- The preservation of relationships is conflicted by risk factors such as erroneous perceptions about what constitutes violence, beliefs and attitudes (about intimate relationships, dominant masculinity, traditional gender roles and responsibilities and religious (interpretations of Biblical texts), intergenerational and societal differences, normalised violent behaviour and silence and shame.

The limited literature available about Pacific young peoples' perspectives of family violence protective and risk factors suggests:

- Young Pacific females are less tolerant of male dominance within relationships compared with Pacific adults.
- Young Pacific males struggle with adhering to cultural/colonised understandings and expectations about dominant masculinity.

What the evidence says to inform research on young Pacific people's understandings of resilience and family violence

- The impacts of family violence are traumatic, intergenerational, interconnected, and broad. Adverse impacts have the potential to lead to a downward spiral and adverse life outcomes.
- The profile of Pacific young people reflects that of Pacific adults in many ways. However, more young people identify with multiple ethnicities and are growing up in a more diverse and technologically driven world than their parents. As a result, evidence suggests that young Pacific people have different experiences and worldviews to their parents.
- Literature about Pacific young peoples and family violence is sparse and therefore understandings of family violence from a Pacific youth perspective are inadequate.
- Research is needed to broaden understandings about resilience and family violence to address the high prevalence of Pacific family violence. Research is needed that is informed directly by Pacific young people.

Appendix 3: Summary of participant profiles

Focus group	Date	Profile
Tonga (n=10)	24 Aug	Participants were mostly female aged between 18 and 24 years. All identified as Tongan (two also identified as Niuean or Cook Island Māori). All were either employed and/or in tertiary education.
Samoa (n=11)	31 Aug	Participants were mostly female, aged between 16 and 24 years. All participants identified as Samoan. All were either employed or in high school/tertiary education.
Samoa (n=6)	31 Aug	The group consisted of both males and aged between 20 and 24 years. All participants identified as Samoan (two also identified as European or Tahitian). All were either employed and/or in tertiary education.
Fiji (n=5)	14 Sept	Participants were mostly female, aged between 16 and 22 years. Four participants identified as Fijian and one identified as Rotuman. All were in high school or tertiary education.
Cook Island (n=7)	16 Sept	Participants were mostly female, aged between 16 and 22 years. All participants identified as Cook Island (four also identified as Māori or Samoan). All were either employed or in high school.
Niue (n=5)	21 Sept	An initial focus group was conducted with two Niuean young people. Both participants were females between the ages of 12 and 18 years and identified as Niuean and Samoan. Participants were in intermediate or high school. An additional focus group was arranged and conducted on Saturday 12 October with three Niuean young people. This group consisted of two females and a male, all aged 16 years. All participants identified as Niuean and attended high school.
Kiribati (n=11)	24 Sept	Participants were mostly female, aged between 16 and 24 years. All participants identified as Kiribati (three also identified as Tuvaluan or Marshallese). All participants were either employed or in high school/tertiary education.
Tuvalu (n=8)	26 Sept	Participants were mostly female, aged between 13 and 24 years. All participants identified as Tuvaluan (one also identified as Tongan). Most participants were in either high school or tertiary education.
Tokelau (n=8)	27 Sept	Participants were mostly female, aged between 16 and 19 years. All participants identified as Tokelauan as well as Samoan, Tuvaluan or Cook Island Māori. All were in high school or tertiary education.