



# Pacific pathways to the prevention of sexual violence

Full report

Pacific Health  
School of Population Health  
University of Auckland

## COVER IMAGES

Pictured in alphabetical order in English.

**Cook Islands** (top): The fifteen stars represent the 15 islands that make up the entire Cook Islands. The tipani (frangipani) signifies beauty throughout the islands. The water represents life and purity, symbolising the importance of this project. The design is by Thomas Peyroux.

**Fiji:** Fijian masi (tapa) serves as “the Path of the God”. It provides access for the god/chief and signifies his sovereignty with the pre-eminent feminine valuable (iyau) in Fiji. It is the highest product of female labour and a principal product of ceremonial exchange (solevu). The chief’s accession is mediated by the object that saliently signifies women (Sahlins, 1985).

**Niue:** The katoua is a representation of the full length spear used in pre-colonial Niue warfare. For contemporary Niue, it is a metaphor and icon underpinning a variety of societal, political, social, academic and cultural understandings. It stands for strength, resilience, dependability, perseverance and courage. In 1994, this katoua was crafted by the well-known tufuga/expert Misa Kulatea of Hakupu-Atua of Niue, gifted by the Aoga Tokoluga ha Niue to Tu Tagaloa Trust.

**Samoa:** Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Efi wrote,

*“...A culture that cannot speak to the heart and soul will die” (2000)*

In formal rituals of encounter, whether these gatherings are to initiate, strengthen or re-establish the boundaries of vā relationships between people, between people and their divinities, or with their environments, siapo (tapa) is one traditional element used in the practice of presentation and reciprocity to honour human connections. Siapo also has functional purposes in people’s daily lives. The image of the siapo mamanu is presented here as a medium – one which together with tatau – pe’a and malu (male and female tattoo) has already captured the imagination of Samoan young people living in New Zealand. What enduring message can the siapo provide from within fa’aSamoa? The siapo mamanu uses symbols from

cosmos, marine, and physical environments, which have meanings attached to Samoa’s origins and the interconnectedness of all living things. What endures in the fa’asamoa are encounters of mutual respect for self and others. Siapo mamanu and the many other sacred manifestations of Samoan rituals of encounter ‘rise to the fullness of their dignity’ when the messages that they carry speak to the Samoan heart and soul.

**Tokelau:** A Tokelau tuluma, containers used by fishermen or travellers to hold precious tools or cargo, is pictured on mother-of-pearl. This shell was formerly rare, difficult to get and therefore treasured. It was used as a sign of union at weddings. The groom’s uncles, on behalf of the extended family, presented the mother-of-pearl shell to the new bride as a symbol of welcome, acceptance and belonging to the new family. Like the shell, the bride was deemed to be a precious and rare jewel to be treasured and loved. Tuluma are made of wood so they float if they fall into the water; this means they can be recovered and the contents stay safe and dry. Reproduced with the permission of the designer, Mose Viliamu.

**Tonga:** The fine mat signifies culture and tradition. The tattered portion of the fine mat illustrates what sexual violence does to the va. The next process involves fixing the tear with the same strands of fine mat, weaving the life back in the family and society. This signifies the continuance of values and traditions and the same va.

**Background:** The moonlit pathway represents the uncharted waters that remain to be navigated to prevent sexual violence among Pacific peoples.

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By

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## PRECAUTIONARY NOTE

This report includes sexually explicit language and open discussion of taboo topics that may distress some Pacific people. The authors suggest careful and sensitive facilitation of Pacific community discussion about this report.

## DISCLAIMERS

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Kia Orana i te aroa maata o to tatou Atua ko Iesu Mesia. Ki te Atua Torutai, kia akatapuaia ma te akapapaia ia Tona Ingoa – Amene. E reo akameitaki teia kia kotou tei riro ei tauturu maata i roto i te akapapaanga o teia koianga tuatua. Kia kotou e te pupu akateretere, te au taunga no nga tuanga i roto i to tatou pae Kuki Arani i Aotearoa nei e tae ua atu kia kotou tei akatuera mai i ngakau ma te oora mai ki iaku ta kotou i kite i runga i teia tumutapura – kia akameitaki ia te Atua no kotou. Ei taopenga, kia Marina, Tuangane e taku anau – Adem, Katrina e TeAriki, kia akameitaki

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### FIJI

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### NIUE

**Pefi Kingi** is a daughter of Niue who has worked extensively locally, regionally and nationally for Pacific communities in various fields.

Oue tulutulou mo e tuku atu e tau manatau fakaauae ki a lautolu ne lagomatai mai ke he matagahua nei mo e gahua ke he faahi nei ma e tau matakainaga Niue - Dr Colin Tukuitonga; Halo Asekona; Maliaga Erick; Hon O'Love Jacobsen; Mokaina Ngaro; Senior Sgt. Tony Kose; Carol Kose; Lagiola Jacobsen; Kili Jefferson; Luisa Falanitule; Jenny Rankine; Tutagaloa Tutose Tuhipa; Malua GR Siakimotu; Limaono F Kingi; TAMM Kingi-Falako.

### SAMOA

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#### TOKELAU

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Ultimately this report is dedicated to God; the One who desires to bless by liberating all of us who are

held captive, oppressed, are impoverished or spiritually blind, to one day proclaim God's favour.

In loving memory we acknowledge the sudden passing of one of the participants in 2009, whose parting words were: "Those are our stories...may the seed fall on fertile soil so that we may comprehend the customs of Tokelau in light of the issues brought about.... that it may be blessed and prosper until we meet again."

#### TONGA

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#### PALAGI

**Jenny Rankine** is an independent social researcher, writer and graphic designer who has had a continuing interest in violence issues since she worked in Auckland Rape Crisis from 1981 to 1984.

Thanks to Mike for all your support, to all the women who have struggled to put sexual violence onto the public policy agenda, and to those who have told their stories of abuse so that others might be safer.

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

In March 2009 the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs commissioned the School of Population Health at the University of Auckland to undertake a research project entitled Pacific Pathways to Sexual Violence Prevention Research, to provide further insight into the development of sexual violence prevention strategies for Pacific communities in New Zealand. This project was initiated due to the gap in empirical evidence on sexual violence prevention among Pacific communities. The Request For Proposals called for a strengths-based approach.

This qualitative research project was conducted among seven Pacific ethnic communities in Aotearoa - Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu - to identify sexual violence prevention strategies for these communities. The project aimed to:

- Discuss ethnic-specific Pacific views of sexual violence, including protective and risk factors;
- Analyse the extent to which traditional Pacific cultural sexual violence prevention methods have been upheld or have broken down within the New Zealand context;
- Examine Pacific cultural sexual violence prevention approaches that could be further developed by the sexual violence workforce in New Zealand;
- Determine the feasibility and appropriateness of traditional Pacific cultural sexual violence prevention approaches in New Zealand Pacific contexts;
- Extract positive messages and useful points for prevention, intervention and post-intervention; and,
- Provide recommendations for further developing Pacific pathways for sexual violence prevention.

As well as this full report, this project has produced an 24-page overview for policy makers and service providers. The ethnic-specific sec-

tions of this report have also been published in seven separate reports for these communities. These reports are available online at [www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/soph/depts/pacifichealth/publications\\_author.aspx](http://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/soph/depts/pacifichealth/publications_author.aspx)

## 1.2 CONTEXT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1.2.1 SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Sexual violence is a worldwide problem that includes unacceptable rates of child sexual abuse, rape in relationships, and other forms of sexual assault. It is predominantly, but not exclusively, carried out by men against women and children and is surrounded by normative attitudes, beliefs and standards that are widely taken for granted (Davis et al, 2006).

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, 2003) estimates that one in five women worldwide have experienced rape or attempted rape in their lifetime, and one in three have been beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused, usually by a family member or someone known to them.

It is difficult to ascertain the prevalence of sexual violence in New Zealand because it is a stigmatised issue that is widely under-recognised and under-reported, and because rates vary widely according to the definitions and methodologies used. The 2001 New Zealand National Survey of Crime Victims (Ministry of Justice, 2003) identified that:

- 20 percent of women across all age groups had experienced sexual interference or assault at some time in their life with a higher rate for young women;
- Women experienced sexual assault significantly more than men;
- The majority of perpetrators were known to the victims;

- The majority of offenders were male; and
- Victims usually experienced sexual assault more than once.

One New Zealand study, which interviewed randomly selected women from Auckland and Waikato who had ever been partnered, found that 33 percent of Auckland women and 39 percent of Waikato women had experienced physical and/or sexual violence at least once from an intimate partner (Fanslow & Robinson, 2004). A much smaller proportion (9 percent and 12 percent respectively) reported sexual violence from non-partners. In addition, 42 percent of the women who had experienced moderate or severe physical violence from a partner had also experienced sexual violence.

## 1.2.2 SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NEW ZEALAND PACIFIC COMMUNITIES

Pacific definitions take as their starting point the state of wellbeing. For a Pacific person, wellbeing exists when their relationships with their environment, their God and other people are in a state of mental, physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual balance (for example, Capstick et al, 2009; Taufe'ulunguaki, 2004).

Violation against other people, and in particular family members, is viewed as a significant breach of these sacred relationships and thus of wellbeing.

Violation against other people, and in particular family members, is viewed as a significant breach of these sacred relationships and thus of wellbeing.

Where violence breaches relationships, most Pacific communities will try to re-establish the disrupted relationships and restore balance. Punitive measures are considered only within the context of the holistic healing of the network of relationships affected by the breaches.

Research in New Zealand and the Pacific found that young people of different Pacific ethnicities experienced markedly different rates of unwanted sexual touching (Helu et al, 2009; Lippe et al, 2008; Paterson et al, 2007).

The national Youth '07 survey found that 13 percent of Pacific female secondary students and 6 percent of Pacific male students had experienced one or more episodes of unwanted sexual

behaviour from another person in the last 12 months. Of those, 27% said the abuse was severe and more than half had not told anyone.

The 2001 New Zealand National Survey of Crime Victims found that 23 percent of Pacific women had experienced family and intimate partner violence, and 12 percent had experienced violence from "other people well known to them" (Ministry of Justice, 2003).

Two studies concluded that intimate partner violence was common in Pacific communities (Paterson et al, 2007; Lievore et al, 2007), and one found that low household income and mothers with low levels of formal education were associated with intimate partner violence and victimisation in New Zealand Pacific households.

Pacific women in New Zealand may not recognise rape in marriage or other sexual violence experiences as a crime and therefore may not tell anyone, contributing to under-reporting among Pacific peoples (Ministry of Justice, 2008; McPhillips et al, 2002).

## 1.2.3 PROTECTIVE FACTORS

The literature review identified the strong respect inherent in the brother-sister relationship as a protective factor, which applied also to opposite gender cousins and foster children (for example, Tuimaleali'ifano in Huffer and So'o, 2000, p172; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Helu, 1993 & 1995).

In Fiji the relationship was marked by avoidance between a sister and her brothers, and the prohibition of direct speech, body contact and sexual references (Sahlins, 2004). In Samoa there is no covenant more binding or sacred (Tuimaleali'ifano in Huffer and So'o, 2000, p172). The word feagaiga refers to the status of the sister and to the covenant between sister and brother.

The respect inherent in the relationship included a prohibition on sexual talk, jokes or sexual content in media such as films where brothers and sisters were present (Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu, 2002).

This relationship had as its focus the treasured and protected status of sisters, and by extension, of women generally (for example, Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu, 2002). In



Tuvalu, tuagaene (sisters) must not be provoked or embarrassed, as it is forbidden to spill the tears of a tuagaene.

Traditionally, Fijian women embodied divine reproductive powers, as a daughter or sister made a new family line. In Samoa, as child bearers women were seen as sharing divinity with the gods (Tui Atua, 2007).

In Samoa this relationship formed the basis of relationship between the genders. In Tonga, the relationship was described as the bedrock of *anga faka-Tonga*, the Tongan way (James, 1990). The relationship also extends to opposite-sex relationships between generations, such as uncles and nieces. In Tuvalu communities the mother's brother is *tuaatina*, expected to help their nieces and nephews as needed regardless of hardship to him.

The literature review also identified the concept of *va tapuia*, the sacred and spiritual relational space between people, as a protective factor in Samoa (Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 2003).

The review found strong condemnation of incest in the seven Pacific communities, although this had at times been circumvented by high-ranking men or to keep land in families (for example, Tui Atua, 2009a; Smith, 1983; Herda, 2007). In Samoa, incestuous relationships would incur the parents' curse, *mala'aumatuā*, on the couple; or where force was used by the male, on the male offender.

Literature identified that the parent bodies of many Pacific Christian denominations had adopted policies to reduce opportunities for sexual violence, but that this was not necessarily the case for some smaller, stand-alone Pacific congregations.

A 2006 World Health Organisation and IPSCAN report on child sexual abuse and other maltreatment of children found very little systematic research on protective factors. However, there is evidence that social cohesion and living in strong, supported communities reduce the risk of violence even when other risk factors are present.

The report found common factors which appear to support resilience:

- Secure attachment of the child to adult family members.

- High levels of parental care during childhood.
- Lack of association with delinquent or substance-abusing peers.
- A warm and supportive relationship with a non-offending parent.
- A lack of abuse-related stress.

One African study indicated that higher income levels for adult women may be protective against sexual violence (Brown et al, 2006).

## 1.2.4 RISK FACTORS

Major studies have identified shared risk factors for different kinds of violence, showing the importance of addressing violence holistically, rather than focusing on one type of violence in isolation (Harvey et al, 2007; WHO, 2006; Tomison & Poole, 2000).

Major studies have identified shared risk factors for different kinds of violence, showing the importance of addressing violence holistically, rather than focusing on one type of violence in isolation

They also show the importance of ongoing whole-society prevention programmes that support those within particular communities. Evidence suggests that sexual and intimate partner violence and child maltreatment are more likely to occur in societies with:

- Cultural norms that support male dominance over women and rigid gender roles.
- Cultural norms that support and accept violence.
- Health, education and social policies that maintain or create inequities between groups and lead to poor living standards (WHO, 2006; Ministry of Justice, 2004).

Some Samoan and Tokelauan perpetrators in an evaluation of the It's Not OK campaign said the man is the *pule* (authority). They perceived family violence as discipline or the rightful exercise of this authority (Families Commission, n.d.). Hand et al (2002) said the responsibility of fathers to their families has sometimes been interpreted as having ultimate power and control over them.

Parents in several Pacific cultures expect unquestioning obedience of their children (for example, Vini, 2003), which can be a risk factor in cases of incest.

Women with low incomes are more likely to experience sexual violence (O'Donnel et al, 2002; Crouch et al, 2000). The WHO (2006) and 2004 Ministry of Justice studies also identified inadequate or overcrowded housing, unemployment, poverty and a mobile population as risk factors for domestic violence and child maltreatment.

Other studies identified gambling as a risk factor for intimate partner violence (Muelleman et al, 2002; Tui'tahi et al, 2004; Problem Gambling Foundation of NZ, 2010).

## Traditional proverbs, comedy and bedtime stories can use culturally-specific metaphors to convey strong messages about sexual violence

Due to discrimination and unequal access to resources, all these risk factors are common in Pacific communities in Aotearoa.

As perpetrators usually commit sexual violence multiple times, access to prevention and treatment programmes is important. One-third of providers of community-based sexual violence support services have acknowledged gaps in their provision for Pacific peoples (Mossman et al, 2009).

Home visiting programmes have been shown in Aotearoa and overseas to help reduce violence against children and partners (Turner, 2006; CDC, 2003). Pacific perpetrators and Pacific families at risk need to be included in these programmes and services.

### 1.2.5 PREVENTION

Minority ethnic communities often have to deal with fragmented health promotion and welfare services (Hand et al, 2002). Instead, these researchers proposed that an integrated, holistic Respect for Life package be developed for Pacific communities, combining mental and physical health, disability, violence, safety and alcohol and drug rehabilitation.

Research indicates that mass media campaigns are effective at building awareness of violence issues, but not in creating behaviour change and thus preventing violence; to do this they need to be accompanied by more direct community-based interventions (Harvey et al, 2007; Rheingold et al, 2007).

However, the evaluation of the Breaking the Cycle campaign from 1995 to 1997 found that Pacific peoples reported the highest incidence of actual behaviour change (Hall & Stannard, 1997).

The evaluation of the It's Not OK campaign found that becoming a good role model for their children was the most effective motivator for Pacific men who beat their partners (Families Commission, n.d.).

To prevent child sexual abuse, UNICEF et al (2006) recommended that Pacific countries –

- Promote open discussion and community dialogue on child sexual abuse and exploitation to combat the silence around these issues.
- Strengthen the protective capacities of families and communities.
- Mobilise relevant sectors in campaigns against child sexual abuse and exploitation.
- Alleviate poverty and create education and employment opportunities for children and youth (p. 122).

Capstick et al (2009) review recommended that culturally sensitive health interventions in the Pacific should take into account -

- Concepts pertaining to the communal, relational aspects of health.
- Possible conceptual differences between Western and indigenous conditions, and between Western and indigenous solutions.
- Relevance of local factors such as education and traditions.
- Communicator prestige.
- Alignment with community health promotion systems, such as fono or church meetings.
- Emphasis on oral or visual, as opposed to written material.

Meleisea & Meleisea (2006) said that public attitudes of denial or misapprehension of effective modes of child discipline underlie much of the vulnerability of girls to violence in the Pacific. They recommended –

- Public education campaigns targeting the clergy and church organisations, school teachers and law-makers, law enforcement agencies and parents.
- Community-based prevention programmes, including parenting-skills training, and education in child development and in non-violent and non-abusive methods of child discipline.

- Promotion of non-violence as a cultural value using existing community institutions, structures and linkages.
- Meaningful consultation with children and young people, particularly girl children, to plan and implement strategies to address violence and discrimination against the girl child (p. 29).

Research has overwhelmingly identified churches as the major potential site of sexual and other violence prevention in Pacific communities (for example, Capstick et al, 2009; Cribb, 2007; Dabby & Poore, 2007; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2007).

Pacific peoples have made repeated calls for violence prevention initiatives that recognised separate Pacific cultures (for example, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2007; Paterson et al, 2007).

Traditional proverbs, comedy and bedtime stories can use culturally-specific metaphors to convey strong messages about sexual violence (Gravitas, 2005; McPhillips et al, 2002).

A Tongan community campaign against domestic violence in Sydney in 1997 provided a successful example of an ethnic-specific, community mobilisation approach (Moore et al, 2002).

The evaluation found that after the campaign, Sydney Tongans had greater knowledge of the impacts of domestic violence on women and an increased recognition of domestic violence as a crime rather than a domestic issue.

The evaluation indicates that Pacific communities prefer a focus on healthy and respectful relationships, peaceful and harmonious families, and strong social ownership of the issue.

The campaign used community representatives to design and develop culturally and linguistically appropriate campaign materials. These presented peace and harmony in the family as a challenge to domestic violence.

The campaign included items on community radio, advertisements and articles in ethnic newspapers, community forums, billboards and the composition of original songs for the Tongan Song Festival. These songs continue to be played on community radio and the sacred songs developed in the campaign added to the musical repertoire of Tongan churches across the state.

Other prevention strategies that show promise for Pacific communities include:

- Bystander and male peer approaches (eg: Potter et al, 2008; Casey & Lindhorst, 2009)
- Sports-based approaches such as the Australian Purple Armband Games (Dimitrov, 2008)
- Music and video for youth (The Next, n.d)
- The transformative model (Second Maori Taskforce on Whanau Violence, 2004).

## 1.3 METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this project built on the Health Research Council guidelines for Pacific research, actively involving Pacific peoples as researchers, advisors and stakeholders (HRC, 2005). The methodology also recognised that each Pacific society has its own framework of knowledge that is formulated within its own paradigm of general truths and principles (Arae et al., 2001).

### 1.3.1 RESEARCH METHODS

The project steering group included researchers from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan and Tuvalu communities in Aotearoa, with University of Auckland personnel. They brought bilingual spoken and written skills and extensive cultural knowledge and networks to the project. An advisory group of community experts was convened to support the steering group.

This is the first research project to take a strength-based approach to the prevention of sexual violence in Pacific communities.

Each ethnic research leader undertook a literature review of research in their own language and specific to their own ethnic group. Other team members reviewed research about more than one Pacific population and about sexual violence prevention in Western countries.

One focus group was used for the eight Niuean female participants; all other interviews were one-on-one. Ethnic-specific methodologies were used for all interviews. Interviewers were selected for previous research experience, bilingual ability, status within their communities and because they were highly skilled in dealing with the cultural intricacies and sensitivities surrounding the topic.

A protocol of information and referral agencies was developed for those participants who disclosed sexual violence. Ethical approval was granted by the University of Auckland Human participants ethics committee.

A total of 78 participants were interviewed from Cook Islands (5), Fijian (12), Niue (13), Samoan (9), Tongan (12), Tokelauan (17) and Tuvaluan (10) communities. How participants were selected varied depending on the researcher. Participants included health professionals, church ministers, older people, youth, parents, family and community leaders, people who worked in the area of sexual and family violence, victims of sexual violence and people born in New Zealand and the islands.

Young participants were included in the Samoan, Tokelau, Tongan and Tuvalu groups; Cook Islands participants were all over 30 and Niue and Fijian participants over 40.

Open-ended questions were asked to elicit knowledge of sexual violence, perceptions and experiences of protective, causal and risk factors of sexual violence, specific words and concepts about sexual violence, and prevention activities. General inductive analysis was used to identify themes.

### 1.3.2 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

This was the first study on this issue for most of the communities involved, and the first to involve seven ethnic communities on the issue of sexual violence. For many of the participants, the research interview was the first time they had ever discussed this issue.

Many gave the example of the unwanted attentions of men who crawl at night to a woman's house with sexual malintent - motoro, tolopo, moetolo or moetotolo.

Rather than the deficit model that has been common in studies about Pacific health and violence issues (Robson & Reid, 2001), this is the first research project to take a strength-based approach to the prevention of sexual violence in Pacific communities. As such, it has identified a range of protective factors against sexual violence that are absent from the dominant culture.

It provides a glimpse of Pacific cultural diversity as well as commonalities. It was carried out by researchers who are senior or respected in their communities, making interviews on such a sensitive topic more comfortable for participants, and dissemination of the results easier and likely to be more widespread.

This study describes some of the beliefs, values and perceptions in seven Pacific cultures about sexual violence prevention, but does not attempt to generalise the findings to these Pacific populations. The study touches the surface of the complex Pacific protocols and concepts about this issue and begins the process of naming and dialogue about a taboo subject. It offers a major challenge to things considered precious in Pacific communities.

Tight timeframes for the project, combined with the need to translate at least part of most interviews into English, limited the number of participants who could be interviewed. It also limited full consultation with the advisory group.

The voices of Pacific perpetrators were not sought, and there were relatively few young participants.

## 1.4 FINDINGS

### 1.4.1 PACIFIC PERCEPTIONS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The ethnic literature reviews and participant comments reinforced an emphasis on wellbeing as a state of balance, and on sexual violence as a major spiritual and physical breach of this balance.

For example, the Niue researcher summarised the ideal state of wellbeing to be when people complement their Tagaloa (supreme God), takatakaiaga (environment), fakafetuiaga (fellowship) and matakainga (related people). Tokelauan people consider themselves part of the interconnected spiritual and natural worlds, and use systems such as inati, sharing, which take care of the most vulnerable.

Many Pacific participants described sexual violence as sexual contact forced or coerced on a person against their will. When talking about sexual violence in their home countries, many

gave the example of the unwanted attentions of men who crawl at night to a woman's house with sexual malintent - motoro (Cook Islands), tolopo (Niue), moetolo (Samoan) or moetotolo (Tokelau).

Participants overwhelmingly described sexual violence as done by men to women or girls, with only one Cook Islands participant mentioning boys as victims and none describing women as perpetrators.

Many participants said that sexual violence was in conflict with Pacific values and belief systems. For example, one participant said that perpetrators did not realise that sexual violence was viewed as shameful and ugly in Samoan culture.

Some participants recognised that for some men, sexual violence and exerting control over women was part of demonstrating masculinity. A Tuvalu participant said that sexual violence could be opportunistic behaviour by bosses, family and community members whose roles gave them power over others.

Participants' perceptions of a husband's entitlement to his wife's obedience varied, with Cook Island and Samoan participants arguing that a husband's insistence that an unwilling wife have sex with him was sexual violence.

Sexual violence was strongly identified as an issue involving the families of victims and perpetrators, and their communities. This contrasted to the individualistic approach of the Power and Control Wheel (Crichton-Hill, 2001).

Participants' comments about the sacred status of women, the respect inherent in the sister-brother relationship, and family punishment for perpetrators also did not fit this model's assumptions about universal objectification of women or male ability to use force without significant punishment.

## 1.4.2 UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

Respect and love were two primary values identified by participants in all seven ethnic groups. For example, Tui Atua (2009b) said that fa'aSamoa (the Samoan way of life) is based on alofa (love). If it is not based on alofa, then it is not fa'aSamoa.

Aro'a (love) was described as a major pillar within Cook Islands society; a lack of reciprocal caring was unbecoming in a Cook Island Maori person. Similarly, Tongan research participants identified the importance of (feveitokai'aki (reciprocal respect), fetokoni'aki (helping each other), faka'apa'apa (acknowledging respect) and anga fakatokilalo (humility).

**Common protective factors include the brother sister relationship; spending quality time instilling values with children; the protected status of women; social disapproval and collective punishment of offenders; and safe connections to supportive church communities.**

Research participants across most ethnic groups described the roles of men and women in traditional Pacific societies as being separate and complementary. In Tuvalu it was expected that men were to protect and honour their sisters. Indigenous Samoan society promoted the virtues of women as special and different but in harmony with men.

Fijians traditionally perceived that women embodied divine reproductive powers and therefore played an important role. In Tokelau, brothers were viewed as guardians, protectors and providers, while sisters were the stable rock, nurturers and allocators (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996).

Ethnic-specific protective values and cultural concepts identified by research participants and the literature are listed in the appendix.

## 1.4.3 TRADITIONAL PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Participants identified several significant common protective factors against sexual violence that are premised on these cultural understandings and values.

These factors include the brother sister relationship; spending quality time instilling values with children; the protected status of women; social disapproval and collective punishment of offenders; and safe connections to supportive church communities.

### BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Participants described the brother-sister relationship as the most significant protective factor in all

seven cultures. Samoan participants' perspectives are contextualised within the feagaiga covenant, which underpins relationships between Samoan people.

The covenant prescribes language and behaviour between brother and sister, close cousins and relatives of opposite gender, as well as other children raised as part of the family.

These extensive relational arrangements were also noted by Fijian, Tokelau, and Tuvalu participants. Tokelau participants said that the relationship provides the basis of wider social respect and valuing of women; one described the relationship as sacred.

“...if you understand what va means, you do your best not to do violence.”

Tongan participants described the brother-sister relationship within the cultural value of faka'ap'apa (respect), requiring stringent physical avoidance and interactional indirectness.

A Fijian participant described the related cultural practice of mata ne veiganeni (sacred relationship), which restricts conversation between brother and sister and provides boundaries for other female-male relationships.

These participants also described the respect and restrictions of this relationship applying to opposite-sex relationships between generations, such as uncles and nieces. Many participants said that upholding the value of respect in relationships was essential to prevent sexual violence.

Niue participants recounted sisters and brothers sleeping in different quarters as a traditional protective practice of this relationship.

## THE PROTECTED STATUS OF WOMEN

Many participants identified girls and women as precious and protected. In Niue, the women's focus groups said that girls and women were fakataputapu, not allowed to be harmed. In Tokelau, one participant expressed the Tokelau perception of people as animals and women as manu hā, the sacred animal.

## SOCIAL DISAPPROVAL AND COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT OF OFFENDERS

Social sanctions such as family shaming and punishment of perpetrators were identified by

Fijian, Niue, Samoan and Tokelauan participants as deterrents to men thinking of sexual violence. For example, one Niue participant said that the names of tolopo (men who crept in the night with sexual malintent) were written on the lapa uli (blackboard) in front of the police station in Niue in the 1950s and 60s.

In Tokelau, the actions of a man who crawled uninvited to a woman in the night were seen to reflect on his whole family, and the family of the woman was responsible for his punishment. Physical punishment, banning perpetrators from their own family or shaming them publicly were also mentioned and were possible deterrents.

Niue participants mentioned the curse of the village or elders was mentioned as a powerful punishment for sexual offending, and a Samoan participant mala'aumatua, the curse of the family elders, and mala'aunu'ua, the curse of village leaders as having a similar effect.

## PARENTAL TIME WITH CHILDREN INSTILLING VALUES

Participants in all groups said that parents spending quality time with children, educating them about their culture, was a major protective factor. For example, one Tongan participant wanted to see the revival of kaliloa, where children rest their heads on their mother's arm while the mother tells stories about history, legends, values and expected behaviours in the family. A Tokelauan participant noted that the older generation held a great deal of wisdom but often there was not the opportunity to share this with children.

A Niue participant said it was important to model behaviour to children from a young age to ensure that the family environment was positive. Many participants suggested that prevention efforts should begin with parents, and that community education could support parents and families to prevent sexual violence.

## SAFE CONNECTIONS TO SUPPORTIVE CHURCH COMMUNITIES

Churches were identified as both preventive and supportive of sexual violence. All ethnic-specific analyses identified the church as having the potential to play a leading role in preventing sexual violence in Pacific communities.

Several participants also commented on how Christian principles and Biblical teachings could be viewed as protective factors against sexual violence. Tongan participants emphasised the important role that Christian religion, the Bible and prayers played in preventing sexual violence.

Fijian participants stated that Fijian and Christian values were complementary. A Niuean participant believed that the Bible taught the Niuean people about keeping family relationships safe.

Some participants said that Christianity had had a significant impact on cultural views of sexuality and premarital virginity. Samoan missionaries and later religious ministers were given fa'afeagaiga status (literally, to be like the sister) to embed missionaries (and subsequently the Christian faith) into Samoa's social structure.

However, there are ethnic-specific differences in church affiliation and attendance. For example, one in five Cook Islands people do not affiliate with any religion and two-thirds of Cook Islands secondary students do not attend church regularly (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a).

The church was also viewed as a setting for delivering community education and prevention to Pacific communities in New Zealand. Fijian participants talked of how in the New Zealand context the traditional village has evolved into the "church village", holding on to a defined structure, a sense of purpose and a defined pathway as guided through the Bible.

Tuvaluan participants stated that the church should not only address spiritual issues but also issues which had a social, physical, mental and psychological impact on people. Samoan participants supported church Ministers drawing on the expertise within their congregation to help deal with issues of sexual violence in the church.

## OTHER PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Cook Islands, Niue and particularly Tongan participants, mentioned pre-marital virginity in young women as a traditional protective factor. For Tongan communities, this cultural practice is an important symbol of unavailability and being "off limits" for sexual advances from potential suitors.

Two participants spoke of the 'umu tuvai virginity ceremony (food and fine mat presentation to the bride's family from the groom's family) in

appreciation of the fulfilment of their duty of care (fatongia).

Modest clothing for women was also mentioned as protective by Fijian and Tongan participants.

Samoan and Tongan participants said that va, sacred relationships, underpinned the brother-sister covenant and a knowledge of va was protective in itself.

One matai said: "...if you understand what va means, you do your best not to do violence."

One Tongan participant said "Veitapui is sacred va or space. The sacred va between the brother and sister, extend to male and female cousins to ensure distance and maintain absolute no sexually suggestive context".

The use of vairakau Māori (traditional healing practices) by one Cook Islands family suggested that traditional healing processes could be investigated for ways of dealing with jealousy, sexual obsession and other motivators of sexual violence.

Many participants identified girls and women as precious and protected.

## 1.4.4 RISK FACTORS

This study set out to find culturally protective factors, but there are risks in some cultural practices. Participants identified major risk factors for sexual violence, some of which were the absence of protective factors. These include a focus on blaming the victim rather than the perpetrator of sexual violence; the erosion of the traditional brother-sister relationships; male dominance and concepts of masculinity that condone sexual violence; parental absence and church inaction.

### SILENCE, SHAME AND VICTIM BLAME

Many participants viewed sex and sexual violence as prohibited, forbidden or restricted for discussion. One participant said that the arrival of the missionaries to the Cook Islands changed cultural practice from open discussion of issues such as sexual violence to keeping them hidden.

While the public shame of revealed sexual offending was a protective factor, Cook Island, Fijian, Niue, Samoan and Tokelau participants stressed

the stigma and shame for the family if a member had been sexually violated; the effect often was to force girls and women to be silent, or to blame them for being raped. The reputation of her family or the perpetrator was often treated as more important than safety and support for her.

Participants were ambivalent about the role of the church in relation to sexual violence. Some identified it as protective, while others also perceived the church as a current or potential barrier to prevention of sexual violence.

A Fijian participant stated that victims would rarely speak up about sexual violence and that it mainly came to light when a pregnancy or injury resulted, or when her peers told the victim's parents. A Cook Islands participant who had counselled victims of incest said that the victims did not talk about what had happened with their families, because they believed that their families would not listen to them and would blame them.

Some participants talked about recent incidents where sexual violence had been covered up to protect perpetrators of status in the village or community, or family members. One Niue participant said that where victims of sexual violence were shipped overseas to conceal a pregnancy, it was the violated child who was penalised by this removal from their family, and not the parent or perpetrator.

Participants also identified other factors used to silence people who had experienced sexual violence and to keep the violence hidden. A Fijian participant said that wives who had been forced to have sex by their husbands remained silent to protect the families from breaking up.

### **EROSION OR LOSS OF PROTECTIVE VALUES**

Several participants stated that when covenants that protect relational spaces were breached, the covenant relationship between brother and sister was no longer protective. Tuvalu participants said that the bond between brother and sister had become weaker in New Zealand.

Tongan literature indicated that the practice of sister-brother *faka'apa'apa* (respect) was no longer practiced among the most Westernised expatriate Tongans; however, for other Tongans living overseas it was idealised in an increasingly conservative way (Lee, 2003).

A Fijian participant gave as an example of this erosion of traditional relationships that uncles and nieces could drink alcohol together in New Zealand; and a Tuvaluan participant gave the same example about brother and sister cousins.

A unique factor for Samoan communities identified in the research review is a perceived conflict or confusion between the sister's *feagaiga* status and the status of ministers as *fa'afeagaiga*, like the sister, particularly within the Samoan Congregational Church.

Fijian and other participants viewed the erosion of protective values as a result of migration to New Zealand, but also as a trend in their home countries.

### **MALE DOMINANCE OR LACK OF RESPECT FOR WOMEN**

Participants in Cook Islands, Niue, Samoan, Tokelau and Tuvalu communities said that for young men, masculinity was often defined by their number of sexual conquests.

They also perceived sexual violence as a consequence of men viewing women as sexual objects; taking revenge on women; or abusing traditional positions of authority. Cook Island and Samoan participants spoke about men who believed they had the right to demand sex from their wives.

### **PARENTAL ABSENCE**

While quality parental time with children was seen as protective, several Cook Islands, Samoan, Tokelauan and Tuvaluan participants said that low rates of pay and the need to earn enough money meant that parents often worked long hours and were not able to spend that time with their children, or to supervise them adequately. These participants saw this as a significant risk factor.

### **CHURCH INACTION OR PROTECTION OF PERPETRATORS**

Participants were ambivalent about the role of the church in relation to sexual violence. Some identified it as protective, described in 4.3.5, while others also perceived the church as a current or potential barrier to prevention of sexual violence.



Tokelauan participants commented that the reluctance of the church to talk about sexual violence perpetuated the problem. One Cook Islands participant said that the arrival of the missionaries changed the cultural practice of open discussion of such issues to one that kept them hidden.

Some participants also mentioned the abuse of power by Ministers and leaders in the church against members of the congregation or their own families. A Niuean participant stated that there have been some cases where persons in church leadership had misused their positions to abuse a woman, leaving her emotionally distraught and unable to speak out against her Minister.

Samoan participants said that in many cases the Minister had the final word on the running of the church and its policies, and that new approaches were needed to deal with this issue.

Participants supported greater transparency and accountability around church systems and structures to prevent sexual violence occurring within the church context. Several recommended screening theological students, and incorporating training on sexual violence prevention and intervention into theological curricula.

There was some strong criticism of the church's avoidance or lack of clear direction around the issue of sexual violence. Samoan participants suggested the application of a contextualised Christian theology to help address attitudes and the current silence from the church on issues relating to sexual violence.

Many participants said that Ministers who were in positions of power should lead by example. A Fijian participant commented that before Ministers preached from the pulpit they should ensure that their own family was in order and living out Christian values.

Some Samoan participants strongly advocated for Ministers to set an example by working actively to eliminate sexual violence from the community and to create a church environment free from sexual violence. A Niuean participant said that Ministers known to have committed a sexual assault should be automatically removed from their position of leadership and prohibited from attending that church.

## OTHER RISK FACTORS

Participants identified other risk factors, including:

- Living in overcrowded housing arrangements, mentioned by Niue, Tokelauan and Tuvaluan participants.
- Alcohol and drug use, mentioned by Fijian, Niue, Samoan and Tokelauan participants. However, several Niue women said perpetrators knew what they were doing and this was an excuse.
- Three Tongan participants said that immodest clothing could lead to sexual thoughts for bystanders; however, they did not condone violence or describe clothing as an incitement to violence.
- A lack of support and services for Pacific perpetrators.

## 1.4.5 IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND WESTERN INFLUENCE

Migration to New Zealand has had a mixed effect on traditional Pacific protective factors. Some Cook Islands and Niue participants said that the New Zealand environment provided more support for victims of incest and for discussion of sexual violence generally.

Several participants described the loss of respect inherent in the avoidance behaviours of the brother-sister relationship, and its affect on other relationships such as that between uncles and nieces.

However, participants perceived the main impacts of migration on cultural practices to be negative.

They pointed to the weakening of links with kin, villages and indigenous cultural practices, as well as low socio-economic status, as contributing to the undermining of protective factors. A major impact of migration was the weakening of traditional cultural values, although some participants said that Westernisation was changing cultural practices in their home villages as well.

One Fijian participant said that young people want to show off and not be seen as a girl or boy from the village. A Pukapukan participant described the traditional celebration of a girl's menarche and the wale tamawine and tamatane (girls' and boys' houses).

Now, he said, "we have lost all that" and "it's

individual lives”. One Tokelau participant said the bonds of responsibility to other family members were being undermined. One Tongan participant said that some young Tongans were ashamed of traditional Tongan dress and of speaking Tongan in public.

Several participants described the loss of respect inherent in the avoidance behaviours of the brother-sister relationship, and its affect on other relationships such as that between uncles and nieces.

Two participants spoke of young people finding out the meaning of their relationship with extended family only at funerals or occasional gatherings with wider family. Participants spoke of community initiatives to retain their language, songs and customs. Other impacts of migration not already mentioned included:

Young people’s suggestions for prevention included providing help for young men to talk with young women; prevention programmes at school starting at primary level; programmes using male role models for young men; and groups to discuss such issues in churches.

Older people from all ethnic groups expressed many concerns about young people in their communities. Several participants talked about the difficulty of maintaining cultural values and beliefs within New Zealand society and trying to teach them to their children.

Two Tongan participants mentioned the importance of maintaining the language and a sense of identity to support positive behavioural practices by children. Both language and identity were viewed as conduits to strengthening communication and *va* (relationships) between parents and children.

## Pacific producers and performers of contemporary music and music video genres popular with Pacific young people should be involved in any violence prevention campaigns.

- Families becoming isolated and disconnected.
- Easy access to pornography and sexualised images of women through television, cell phones, DVDs and the Internet.
- Easier access to alcohol and drugs.
- Changes to community norms of modest clothing and dress.

While research noted that children are discouraged from questioning their parents, one Samoan participant suggested that as part of resolution and healing, children must be encouraged to ask questions of their parents.

One Samoan young participant believed that parents were trying their best to talk to their children about acceptable behaviour and sex, but that they needed help.

Some participants reported objectifying attitudes towards women, particularly among Pacific young men in New Zealand.

### 1.4.6 PACIFIC YOUNG PEOPLE

Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan and Tuvaluan young people expressed a range of viewpoints about sexual violence. One young Tokelau man said that night crawlers to the open houses in villages on the islands were common, and abuse was covered up. He also said that the church ignored the issue. One Tuvalu man said that the opportunistic abuse of power by those with authority was common.

Some Samoan young women perceived that said men rape because they were not able to talk with girls or get a girlfriend, and strongly disapproved of these perpetrators. They saw sexualised television images as merely an excuse and put responsibility for the violence squarely onto the perpetrators. They also noted that there was nowhere for young Pacific perpetrators to go for help.

Local Pacific and Māori hip hop lyrics and culture have already expressed concerns about sexual violence and included positive messages about breaking cycles of violence and abuse (The Next, n.d). Pacific producers and performers of contemporary music and music video genres popular with Pacific young people should be involved in any violence prevention campaigns.

## 1.5 IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Overall, participants supported the reinforcement or re-establishment of traditional concepts relationships that prevent sexual violence, and strongly encouraging family and community discussion about the issue. Gender-specific work-

shops and discussion were a common suggestion for church and other settings.

The research also indicates that key prevention messages and campaigns need to be targeted, given the differing rates of indigenous language use, church attendance and affiliation, and intermarriage among Pacific ethnicities in New Zealand (Mila-Schaaf et al, 2008; Statistics New Zealand, 2002a-g).

Results support funding of dedicated ethnic-specific violence prevention programmes in Pacific communities.

Implications resulting from this research project are considered in five categories:

- Policy development
- Service planning and delivery
- Pacific communities
- Workforce development
- Research and evaluation.

## 1.5.1 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The research suggests that policymakers:

- Take a strategic, whole-of-society, intersectorial and integrated approach to sexual violence prevention. This will require government agencies to co-ordinate their services better and support those families at greater risk of sexual violence.
- Reduce poverty, unemployment and societal inequalities, especially for women and children, as this will help reduce the incidence of sexual violence for Pacific peoples.
- Treat violence prevention in an holistic way that combines initiatives against all kinds of violence with other related issues.
- Take a strengths-based approach that includes Pacific resilience and protective factors.
- Provide accessible and appropriate housing options for Pacific families who need immediate housing to escape violent situations.
- Fund and enable targeted approaches for Pacific communities, as one-size-fits-all approaches will not produce the best results for Pacific peoples. Ethnic-specific approaches and differences between New Zealand-born and Island-born perspectives should be considered

as part of policy development and resource allocation.

- Reduce access to alcohol, drugs and gambling.

## 1.5.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR SERVICE PLANNING AND DELIVERY

The research suggests that those working with Pacific families and communities:

- Incorporate Pacific protective practices such as brother-sister and male-female respect into school and community anti-violence education programmes.
- Increase awareness of, and access to support services for Pacific people at risk of committing a sexually violent act, and for Pacific people who are victims of sexual violence. Support services need to be culturally responsive and viewed as safe and confidential by Pacific peoples.
- Ensure Pacific families at risk are included in flexible home visiting that focus on violence among other issues in the first two years of children's lives.
- Resource ethnic-specific and gender-based programmes that encourage Pacific communities themselves to dialogue about the best ways to prevent sexual violence and deliver their own solutions.
- Make available youth-specific and gender-based programmes that support parents and caregivers to keep their children safe.
- Support culturally appropriate parenting skills training for Pacific parents and caregivers that emphasises non-violent methods of child discipline.
- Recognise that churches may provide an effective setting for the delivery of community awareness-raising programmes and community action about sexual violence.
- Support the increased use of Pacific media in anti-violence programmes with an emphasis on ethnic-specific radio programmes.
- Resource health promotion and media activities that have a long-term commitment, are

*Reducing poverty, unemployment and societal inequalities, especially for women and children, will have an impact on reducing the incidence of sexual violence for Pacific peoples.*

nationally co-ordinated and are accompanied by more direct interventions among Pacific communities.

## PREVENTION MESSAGES

The research and participant comments suggest that prevention messages for each major ethnic community could be designed and developed by separate male and female working groups from these communities. This would ensure that key messages are culturally and linguistically accurate and that campaign materials are provided in the first language using culturally specific expressions.

In Samoan communities campaigns could include discussion about the feagaiga status of sisters and the fa'afeagaiga status of ministers.

Campaigns could reinforce understanding of sacred relational space, as was highlighted by Samoan and Tongan participants.

Niue women identified the fono practice, usually applied to protect land, as one that could be adapted for issues of violence.

Prevention messages could include culturally specific forms such as proverbs, metaphors, humour and stories, as well as appropriate common and formal language, to convey strong messages against sexual violence. Messages need to be delivered by credible and respected spokespeople or role models from their own ethnic background and local community, who have no history of violence.

Prevention messages for Pacific young people could be developed by young people themselves and delivered in formats most appropriate to them. It would also be productive to bring church ministers together to discuss prevention messages from theological perspectives (for example, that forced sex in marriage is unacceptable).

The research indicates that a starting point for prevention messages could include:

- A focus on healthy and balanced relationships rather than perpetrators and victims.
- Violence is not an expression of love.
- Treat all women the way you treat your sister.
- Family violence is a collective responsibility. Relationships between parents and children and siblings are sacred.
- Our children are precious, let's keep them safe.

- Respect sacred relational space.
- Family and parental violence is unacceptable, although it might be considered by some to be culturally appropriate.
- Community examination of practices that condone violence and discourage victims from seeking help outside the family.
- Forced sex in marriage is unacceptable.
- Male violence has harmful effects on partners and children, and help available if men want to change.
- Real men are non-violent and are respectful of others.

## 1.5.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR PACIFIC COMMUNITIES

Sexual violence prevention in Pacific communities needs to:

- Empower and equip Pacific community leaders to be role models and advocates for eliminating the acceptability of violence within Pacific families and communities.
- Increase opportunities for ethnic-specific dialogue about ways to prevent sexual violence, and the determinants of sexual violence.
- Encourage and equip parents to talk with their children about preventing sexual violence. This action should support parents to enhance their children's sense of belonging, connection to a support system and cultural identity as important factors in increasing child and adolescent resilience.
- Undermine cultural norms that accept violence as part of child discipline and treatment of women.
- Encourage churches and religious organisations to be more pro-active in eliminating sexual violence against women and children.
- Ensure that the curricula of religious training institutions include information about violence against women and children and best practice guidelines to:
  - a) Identify and deal with cases of violence.
  - b) Make their parish a safe place by introducing protocols to prevent sexual or other violence from occurring in religious or church settings.
  - c) Screen candidates for ministry for a history of violence or sexual abuse.
- Support women's leadership in religious organisations.
- Provide opportunities for increasing com-

munity awareness of victim's rights, support services available for victims, legal obligations, reporting sexual abuse and New Zealand law relating to domestic violence.

- Provide support for male and female peers to intervene in the case of aggressive or violent peer behaviour.
- Provide culturally appropriate mentoring and support for young Pacific men's respectful interactions with young women.
- Build new and strengthen existing relationships with coalitions and organisations that focus on providing anti-violence, health and educational supports.

## **1.5.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT**

The research indicates that all areas of the Pacific workforce related to sexual violence - policy making, service delivery, community organisation, research and evaluation - need increased capacity and capability. It suggests:

- Strategies to increase ethnic-specific Pacific services and workforce in anti-violence programmes.
- Cultural safety training for the existing anti-violence workforce to ensure Pacific families receive appropriate services.
- Particular focus on workforce development for Pacific men working with Pacific sex offenders
- Particular focus on training and upskilling of Pacific counsellors to increase the numbers who are ACC accredited.

## **1.5.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND EVALUATION**

The research supports further study exploring:

- Violence prevention action research projects in individual Pacific ethnic communities.
- An action research project evaluating pan-Pacific sport-based prevention programmes aimed at Pacific men.
- The perceptions and behaviour of Pacific young people about sexual violence.
- The perceptions and behaviour of Pacific perpetrators of sexual violence.
- Evaluation of Pacific outcomes from current sexual violence prevention programmes.

# 2 Introduction

This research on the prevention of sexual violence in Pacific communities was commissioned by the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs and implemented by the School of Population Health in the University of Auckland from March to May 2010. The RFP called for a strengths-based approach.

The Pacific Pathways project aimed to -

- Conduct qualitative research amongst seven Pacific ethnic groups enabling identification of a range of sexual prevention strategies sourced from Pacific worldviews.
- Discuss ethnic Pacific views of sexual violence; preventative and protective principles; and risk factors and barriers amongst Pacific ethnic groups.
- Analyse the extent to which these prevention methods have been supported or broken down within the New Zealand context; with due exploration of the influences of religion/ the Church, migration, resettlement realities, socio-economic factors and societal changes pertinent to sexual violence.
- Determine the feasibility, appropriateness, effectiveness of traditional Pacific cultural sexual violence prevention approaches in New Zealand Pacific contexts.
- Examining Pacific cultural sexual violence prevention approaches that could be supported or further developed by the sexual violence workforce in New Zealand.
- Extract positive messages and useful points for prevention, intervention and postvention.
- Document recommendations for further Pacific pathways for sexual violence prevention, including culturally innovative strategies, responsive models, and any other issues that result from the study.

The researchers responsible for ethnic-specific sections in this project were Reverend Robert Robati-Mani (Cook Islands), Elizabeth Powell (Fiji), Pefi Kingi (Niue), Carmel Peteru (Samoa), Reverend Linda-Teleo Hope (Tokelau), 'Eseta Finau

(Tonga), Reverend Elisala Selu (Tuvalu) and Jenny Rankine (Palagi). Each researcher had advisors providing them with additional information relevant to prevention of sexual violence in Pacific communities. Catherine Poutasi and Patricia Fifita (PhD student, University of Hawaii) provided invaluable support in developing this document.

The report has been organised to keep ethnic-specific material together as much as possible. Methodologies, literature reviews, research findings and discussion are grouped in ethnic-specific sections, followed by dominant culture models and literature review, discussion and suggestions for further action.

We use the term Pacific peoples in this document to encompass a variety of linguistically, culturally, and geographically distinct Pacific Island nations and communities. The term "Pacific peoples" acknowledges the plurality of the many Pacific nations and territories, while the term Pacific people tends to imply homogeneity. In this context, the term does not include the Māori of Aotearoa. The concept of island nations in the Pacific is a relatively recent introduction; indigenous structures of governance and government have a much longer history.

## 2.1 PACIFIC LANGUAGES AND MEANINGS

Pacific definitions take as their starting point the state of wellbeing. For a Pacific person, wellbeing exists when their relationships with their environment, their God and other people are in a state of mental, physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual balance (for example, Capstick et al, 2009; Taufe'ulunguaki, 2004). Violation against other people, and in particular family members, is viewed as a significant breach of these sacred relationships and thus of wellbeing.

Where breaches of relationships occur as a result of violence, most Pacific communities will try to re-establish the disrupted relationships and restore balance (Law Commission, 2006). Punitive measures are considered only within the context of the holistic healing of the network of relationships affected by the breaches.

Many Pacific nations do not have explicit consensus definitions of sexual violence. What is generally considered violence in Aotearoa may not be generally regarded as abusive in some Pacific societies (Hand et al, 2002).

# 3 Methodology

## 3.1 PACIFIC HEALTH RESEARCH

To conduct Pacific health research in a culturally appropriate manner requires a Pacific world-view as a reference point. Anae et al (2001) explain that in New Zealand as elsewhere, Western knowledge dominates research, including how it is approached and who it impacts.

The HRC Guidelines on Pacific Health Research (2005) state that if research is to make meaningful contributions to Pacific societies, its primary purpose must be to reclaim Pacific knowledge and values for Pacific peoples.

“Pacific research is a broad descriptor that encompasses various approaches to research. The primary role of Pacific research is to generate knowledge and understanding both about, and for, Pacific peoples. The primary role of Pacific health research is to gain knowledge and understanding that will improve the health of Pacific peoples.

Pacific research requires the active involvement of Pacific peoples (as researchers, advisors and stakeholders), and demonstrates that Pacific people are more than just the subjects of research. Pacific research will build the capacity and capability of Pacific peoples in research, and contribute to the Pacific knowledge base.

The source material for Pacific health research will most likely be derived from Pacific peoples, and from within Pacific realities - past, present and future. Pacific research design, methods and approaches, will be informed, first and foremost, from within the continuum of Pacific world-views. Pacific approaches to research will aim to be responsive to changing Pacific contexts. Pacific research will be underpinned by Pacific cultural values and beliefs, and will be conducted in accordance with Pacific ethical standards, values and aspirations” (Ibid, p. 11).

Anae et al (2001) argue that primary role of Pacific research should not only be to identify and promote a Pacific world view, but also confront the assumptions that underpin the Western structures and institutions often imposed upon and accepted by Pacific peoples. To replace the dominant structures with appropriate Pacific systems, structures and approaches, the values which underpin these Pacific structures need to be clearly identified and understood.

Each Pacific society has a framework of knowledge that is systematically gathered and formulated within a paradigm of general truths and principles. Emerging Pacific theoretical frameworks include the Tongan metaphor of Kakala (Helu-Thaman, 1999), the Samoan Fa’afaletui model (Tamasese, Peteru and Waldegrave, 1995), the Cook Islands Tivaevae model (Maua-Hodges, 2000) and the Tokelauan Te Vaka Atafaga model (Kupa, 2009).

These frameworks are based on Pacific values, and necessitate the use of methods that are most appropriate for Pacific peoples (HRC, 2005). The specificity or differences of the Pacific research context lies in the epistemological nuances of the collective responsibilities and ownership principles common in Pacific practices and values (Anae et al, 2001).



Therefore, familial and collective roles, responsibilities and ownership frame, influence and define Pacific patterns of individual and group behaviour. They also affect Pacific values, Pacific notions of time, Pacific understandings of knowledge and its value, of ownership of tangible and intangible things, of gender, class and age relations. The impact that these practices and values have on the research process makes it possible to argue for the existence of a specific Pacific research methodology (Arae et al, 2001).

## **3.2 PROJECT ADVISORY GROUP**

This group was established by the researchers. Members offered information and advice, identified participants and other people to be consulted, and acted as a monitoring and accountability mechanism for the whole project. However, due to tight timeframes for the project, the advisory group was not able to be fully consulted.

Information about ethnic-specific methodologies is included in the ethnic-specific and dominant culture sections.

# 4 Ethnic-specific research and analyses



This section includes methodology, literature reviews, research findings and discussion for the seven different ethnic groups arranged by alphabetical order in English.

## 4.1 COOK ISLANDS RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

### 4.1.1 METHODOLOGY

#### INTERVIEWS

Due to the time constraints of the research project, only five interviews could be carried out. Four were done with members of the task group. There are 15 populated islands in the Cook Islands; it was impossible to get participants from different islands in the time frame.

All interviewees were over 30 years of age. Interviews were carried out by the Cook Islands leader, a bilingual 45-year-old New Zealand-born minister of religion who grew up in Rarotonga and has a detailed knowledge of Cook Islands protocol and customs. This is an important role among Cook Islands people and meant that age and gender did not create barriers in interviews, and that participants did not feel vulnerable, likely to be misunderstood or taken advantage of. All participants were known to the researcher through this role.

### 4.1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

New Zealand administered the Cook Islands from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. After independence in 1965, Cook Islands people retained rights to unrestricted entry and permanent residence in New Zealand. In 2001, 60 percent of Cook Islands people born overseas had been living in New Zealand for more than 20 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

In 2006, the 58,011 Cook Islands people made up the second largest Pacific group in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

#### MĀORI SELF

In pre-Christian times, a Māori person's spiritual and physical natures were inseparable (Makirere, 2003). The ariki (high chief) was an intermediary between gods and humankind.

“To be a Māori is to be in touch with nature, man and God, to live in harmony with all of life” (Kauraka, 2003). Johanssen (2003) identifies eight interconnected pillars of Māori personality and culture. Kitepakari (wisdom) is expressed in a widespread respect for au metua (elders). ‘Irinaki (faith and trust) was conceived as the “outrigger of the soul”, stabilising the self. ‘Akoromaki (patience) alludes to integrity, responsibility and fairness and is a common expression during times of anxiety.

Ora (life) is expressed in connection to the land and the sacred responsibilities it brings. This can be physically expressed in the burial of the afterbirth and the return of those who have died overseas to their ancestral land.

Rota'i'anga (unity) requires the understanding of protocol and good citizenship, and link-ages through genealogy, history and mythology. ‘Aka'aka (humility) is often veiled by ceremony and protocol. Noa (freedom within certain boundaries) is expressed in the related and continuing courtship practice of tomo 'are (house entry). Aro'a (love) is a major pillar. A lack of reciprocal caring is seen as unbecoming in a Māori person.

#### KEY CONCEPTS

Mana was the concentration of power in gods, spirits, individuals, rites or objects (Makirere, 2003). In individuals, it manifested in their power, strength, prestige, reputation, skill, personality, intelligence and accomplishment. It came from

Io, the supreme god though the universe and to humanity through the fort-born.

Tapu refers to spiritual prohibitions; that which is forbidden and set apart to be avoided because it is either divine or corrupt (Makirere, 2003). Tapu “prohibited families, tribes and the society from committing crimes which could destroy their relationship with the gods” (Aratangi, 1998, p. 51). Certain tapu governed relationships between married and unmarried people, and an infringement was a serious offence (Ibid). However, the most powerful men could breach this tapu with the wives of less powerful men.

Laws were viewed as sacred because it was believed that the gods would punish those who violated spiritual prohibitions.

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PEOPLE

Powerful men in early times were able to have many wives, but this was not true of commoners (Aratangi, 1998).

Incest was traditionally condemned. The punishment for the offender on Mangaia was to travel round the island, publicly announcing his crime, and seeking forgiveness (Hiroa, 1934, p. 155). People who heard them would shower them with filth and stones, and no action would be taken if they died, as they had already been condemned (Aratangi, 1998).

Sickness or death was regarded as punishment by the gods for incest and many other crimes prohibited by the society (Ibid).

Mason (2003) says that the priority of males over females was as much a feature of missionary culture as of Cook Islands culture. Women are equally acceptable as chiefs on Rarotonga, although on some outer islands male chiefs predominate.

Vini (2003) describes the relationship between parents and children on Tonga Reva as very strict and sacred, involving total respect and obedience. Parents do not talk about sex with their children, but may respond to questions; usually they will refer their children to their grandparents who know lineages and deities. Children are not allowed to be among adults when they are debating or talking.

“Incest has always been one of the greatest shames one can face in Tonga Reva. A culprit becomes non-existent, and unworthy of living” (Ibid, p. 286).

Vini says boys and girls share the same sleeping covers after the age of eight, although not brothers and sisters. Children may sometimes share a house on their own with no parental interference, which enables sexual experimentation.

Girls hope to be visited by the boys they desire and boys hope to be accepted by the girls they desire. The boys do this by *moe totoro* or *motoro*, literally “sleep crawling”, moving softly in the night to the home of the young woman or to the young women’s group without attracting the attention of family members (Ibid, p. 286).

The relationship of sister and brother is characterised by utmost respect. Brothers and sisters used to avoid sitting on or sleeping on one another’s beds, although this is no longer practised. However, currently they continue to respect each other’s privacy, show respect to each other in public, and do not talk about sex with each other (Ibid).

Incest was traditionally condemned. The punishment for the offender on Mangaia was to travel round the island, publicly announcing his crime, and seeking forgiveness.

## LANGUAGE

From the Cook Island world view, the Cook Islands language does not have a single word or phrase that reflects the English term sexual violence. However, some words convey meanings related to this term. They include (Buse & Taringa, 1995):

- Tomo poiri – enter without permission, trespass (p. 507)
- Kanga – play (as children do), lark about, play tricks, meddle or tamper with, ill-treat, misuse, spoil; damage, mischief (p. 137)
- Motoro – Sneak into a house at night to seduce or rape (Aitutaki dialect, p. 257)
- Akaori – caus. Ori. Have sex with for the first time (p. 32)
- Akaturi – caus. Turi. Copulate, commit adultery, have sex (p. 49).



## PREVENTION

The literature search did not find any large-scale studies of sexual violence or its prevalence in the Cook Islands or in New Zealand.

Punanga Tauturu (the Cook Islands Women's Centre) was established in Rarotonga by volunteers in 1991 to counter rape and domestic violence against women (Taikoko et al, 2003). It provided counsellors, legal literacy workers and advertised its phone service in newspapers, radio and television. It runs awareness sessions in schools and communities throughout the Cook Islands about the causes of violence, laws, rights of victims and services available. Punanga Tauturu has used the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre as a model and distributed some of its material.



### 4.1.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRE-CONTACT AND CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TO SEXUALITY

Two participants identified major differences between attitudes to sexuality before the arrival of missionaries and afterwards.

"They would express love in terms that are very, very intimate, very vivid...but then for a period of time we were told no...so it's all been covered up and to me this is where a lot of this kind of abuse behaviour comes through."

**Man, 49:** *[In] the past life of Pukapukans, sex is just an open subject. It's quite open. Then the arrival of the gospel came in and shut that up, and made the culture very hush hush. When you talk about those things, but usually amongst the Pukapukans...they express it in real x-rated... terms. But how they express love between people, they would express it in terms that are very, very intimate, very vivid. And that's how they used to do it, but then for a period of time we were told no...so it's all been covered up and to me this is where a lot of this kind of abuse behaviour comes through.*

*Normally in the Pukapuka traditional setting, when a girl gets her period, it's usually a time the families celebrate. All the relations would come and gather and there will be – it's a big time, it's a big day with the daughter. And she gets covered up and she...then leaves the home – she is part*

*of the girls groups. We have wale tamawine, which is the house of the girls, and the wale tamatane, which is for the boys.*

*But they often play out in these wale tamawine and the wale tamatane where these things happen. And if it happens between the young people, that is okay. It is not done in a way where somebody just takes possession of that girl just for the release of emotions or the release of something in them. Whereas when they...reach out into these wale tamawine and wale tamatane and they meet, everyone is relaxed.*

*...It's only just the young girls and there's no married – if you have a partner, once you settle with somebody, then you are out of there. If you are boy or a girl, you are out of there...what they do amongst themselves is up to them. That's traditionally how we use to live and we have lost all that. Now it's individual lives.*

**Man, 57:** *This is the custom in relations to titles. This, of course, is to remain within the family, the title...However, when you go back and look deeper into this, though he is the father, he has the right to unite with any of his daughters, or the daughter or wife of his son. This has been written.*

*Whether this has happened, I am not sure.*

#### PROTECTIVE FACTORS

One participant described her grandfather's instruction about the protective brother-sister relationship, and a strong value of respect in relationships.

**Woman, 57:** *He would say every day: 'These are your brothers and these are your sisters'. He would sit the brothers to one side on his right hand and us [on] his left hand...He would look to our brothers and say to them: 'Here are your sisters, and I am your grandfather. This is what the brothers should do, is to look after your sisters. This is what the sisters should do, is to look after your brothers. There is nothing within the home which separates the men and the women, the work belongs to everyone.'*

*...when we were children, and I was about nine years old, he would say: 'You the sisters, respect your brothers. You the brothers, treasure your sisters. I am not saying that any of you have rights over the other. When I say treasure, then watch over them at school, watch over them here*

at home, watch over them in all places when you are there. You must watch over your sisters at all times.' Because we had sisters older than our brothers. That is how he taught us to treasure our brothers, and to respect our brothers.

Another teaching of his is: 'Not one of you is above the other; you have one grandfather and that is me, and we have one that is above us all and that is God in the high heavens.' Even when we sleep at night, he sleeps in between us, our grandfather, here is our brothers on the mat to one side of him and also us on the other.

...He would teach us about these things...every morning, every night, he would never stop teaching. For example, when I go to get water down at the river, one of the brothers must come and help too. 'Help, help each other, have peace amongst yourselves. Do not smack'.

That is what our grandfather taught us. 'I am teaching you about respect; just as I respect my wife, my children, so you should respect each other and you will not see trouble. If you see trouble, then you will know how to help each other so that things will be okay'.

## TERMS AND UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants were aware of different aspects of sexual violence, in the Cook Islands as well as in the community in New Zealand.

**Woman, 57:** ..take a woman and a man and they have been married. This man, all he wants is to have intercourse with his wife, over and over, even though this woman is tired, even though she has different kinds of illnesses, he does not care. If she does not give in to the desire of this man, this then is another kind of [sexual violence]...

.. this is the situation at her job, her boss...he helps to show how to do her job. At that time, he will touch her cheek, caress, slap her bottom, lean on her at times when they are working, whisper into her ear, 'how about it tonight', things like that. She gives into this idea about going...cup of tea or coffee somewhere. And after that, he begins force sex onto her...though he did not get on top of her when he took her in his car, he persuaded

her to play with him, to kiss him and his body, to caress his body, those sort of things – the white man call this? Ah – oral sex, upon her...So this is another kind of sexual violence.

This is what is happening then, is to ring her, sing songs on the phone to court her and say things to ill-treat her body. And this woman too, she has a fax machine which the number is the same as her phone number. A picture of a man's body is sent to her and a woman's body, the penis and vagina, put together, just as if they were having intercourse. This is to frighten her, something like that.

**Woman, 61:** I overheard parents or grandparents talking amongst the elders...you know, like motoro [dare], other people dare each other and boys [to] go through the windows to get the girls. And parents, if there's incest, they hide it. And what happened with that, the perpetrator will strangle the girl: 'If you tell anybody, I'll hurt you or I'll do something to you and your family', and they don't talk about it. If the father or the uncle or the brother do something to the girls over there in the Cooks, and that happens over here too.

**Man, 49:** And of course there are some experiences of girls being attacked by men, which has been the majority of the cases of sexual violence. It's been men versus girls; and it's usually the younger girls, too, when that happens.

"When we were children...he would say: 'You the sisters, respect your brothers. You the brothers, treasure your sisters.'"

One participant spoke about sexual abuse of boys.

**Woman, 46:** I've seen a lot of people that I have spoken to that are my friends that are in the same situation as I have. The majority of them are Cook Island boys. They have been kanga (abused) either by uncle or brother or whoever - father. And none of them have had the support, because they didn't know where to go to.

Many Pacific people do not know that these actions are against the law, and do not want to make an official complaint.

**Woman, 57:** This is then what I would say to them: 'Do you know that this is wrong?' They would answer: 'No'. The bigger one is that one of the married husband and wife. She would



say: 'This is my husband; I do not want him to be taken to court. Because of our children, he is a responsible person in his job; I do not want him to be sacked'.

**Woman, 61:** *When I started working in mental health, I came across clients that had suffered incest from their parents and clients that had been touched by, and they couldn't talk about it. So I said: 'In New Zealand, you are allowed to talk about it and you can be protected by the law, it is law here about incest'.*

One male participant equated unwanted sex with sexual violence.

**Man, 57:** *Because this act of tatomō (raping) women, act of akameamea (coercing) women, these thoughts of sex; in the eyes of God, God created this as sacred, it is sacred and that sacredness is recognised in society. Unwanted and violence is virtually the same.*

## SILENCE ABOUT SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants said that sexual topics, including sexual violence, were rarely discussed openly, especially by victims.

**Man, 49:** *It is not something that people talk about a lot. But you know that these kinds of things must happen in the background and it's not brought out into the public that often.*

*Because now we have been, I don't know what to call it, we have been made civilised - where everybody keeps quiet and those breaches that occur are kept quiet.*

"Victims of incest said they can't talk about it because the families don't listen to them and...parents blame them, it's their fault."

*...when there is a breach of that trust, and you cross the boundary, that is nasty – that is not a good thing. Often the girls go into a period of denial, and shame. And they will not come out and talk about that breach.*

**Man, 57:** *Now as an individual, if you become a victim, for me the big thing is shame.*

**Woman, 61:** *When I was growing up as a child in the Cooks...sexual things were not spoken, were not talked about.*

She described her work with victims of incest:

*They said they can't talk about it because the families don't listen to them and...parents blame them, it's their fault and they don't know who to talk to about this problem.*

However, one survivor of rape had spoken about her experience in church.

**Woman, 46:** *I even had a sermon on it at church, a brief explanation to what happened to me and I was more than willing at the time to share it with my congregation and I did. And like that was even better, it felt a lot better after doing that little sermon that I had with the church.*

## FAMILY RESPONSE AND SUPPORT SERVICES

This participant had been raped by her uncle as a child and acknowledged what had happened suddenly as an adult. Her siblings' first response was to ask to meet with her as a family to discuss it.

**Woman, 46:** *I was just crying non-stop; nobody could talk to me, not even my mother...And then [a friend] had to talk to my mum and my sister and tell them what happened. So they were all in shock as to what happened. And then they requested that a family meeting be held amongst the sisters. So we had a family meeting, and they asked me if I could talk about it. But I couldn't. I couldn't express myself then because I was too emotional at that time.*

This participant thought that support services did not publicise themselves vigorously enough among Pacific people.

*...they don't know that there's a friendship house up by Manukau because...it's never in their face 24/7. Something like that should be in their face, especially for Pacific people – they are just not aware of it at all.*

*Somebody should be around delivering pamphlets into the houses saying that there's certain places where you can meet and talk about certain things, counselling advice, stuff like that. And some of them because of their culture are ashamed to admit that there is something wrong, and I was thinking to myself, if only our people would actually listen, open up their ears and listen to the cry out there.*

*...we can't express how we feel and that's something that I feel should be broken, because our people need help. And that's where I actually stand. Which is why I don't mind - you can write*



an essay on the whole interview, you can do what you want – you know, let the people know that there's a need for support within our communities, support within churches.

This participant spoke of forgiveness as a strong value in her family.

*I actually spoke to mum one time and she said to me: 'One of the things that you are going to have to do is you are going have to forgive your uncle.' And I went ballistic! I said: 'Are you crazy! No way! I'm not going to forgive that man for what he did to me!' And she kept saying to me over and over again: 'There is no way that you can continue with life if you do not forgive this man.' And about, oh, two years ranting and raving every time she brought the subject up, and then it finally dawned on me one day, she was right, my mother was right. If I can forgive this man, which I did, perhaps something happy can happen with my life.*

## CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

One participant said that women would try to avoid their husbands if the women did not want sex, but they believed they could not say no to sex with their husbands.

**Woman, 57:** *This woman believes that this is her husband: 'He has the right with my body because he will tell me, he will remind me that he is married to me'. 'You belong to me... I am your husband, I have the right to do what I want with you.' Therefore, though [she might] find a way to run, sleep with the children, if not sleep in the sitting room, someplace where she will not be ill-treated at the time she does not want it, therefore that is forced sex.*

Two male participants said that among young men, sexually violent acts against women were boasted about as a source of pride.

**Man, 57:** *From the perpetrator's point of view – pride. I am reminded [of] us as boys: 'Hey, have you scored? Yes, I have scored.' In other words it's like, if you have achieved what you have done according to your desires, to rape this girl, even though that girl did not agree, it's still a situation that will be taken as pride for you.*

**Man, 49:** *And of course with the guys, the attitude amongst young men is to try and get as many girls as they can, as if it was a prize, as if it was a goal for them.*

## PREVENTION

One participant gave an example of a deterrent from ancient customs.

**Man, 57:** *But if you look deeper, especially into the situation of the customs in history, this will become as ways within the families which will be worth looking at [as] ways of preventing [sexual violence]. One thing the paramount chief used to do, called moe a'ano... really, it is adultery. Should a paramount chief or a person do this, he will be banished from the island; his title will be stripped from him. This is the way of preventing this amongst the wrong things you would do upon your wife or upon the children.*

One participant wanted sexual violence education to be on Radio 53 IPI.

**Woman, 57:** *... what's more important for me is, if this programme would at one day be put on the radio. But if this programme of research could eventuate into something that we would need our people to know about and hear it, I would very much support that thought.*

*"If you have achieved... according to your desires, to rape this girl, even though that girl did not agree, it's still a situation that will be taken as pride for you."*

One participant described a traditional healing practice for dealing with corrosive sexual jealousy and preventing violence.

**Man, 57:** *My father, it happened to him. He was jealous... But my father was not able to physically abuse my mother because he was old.*

*What solution can be found to make peace? My mother went to the Māori taunga (traditional doctor). This is what the taunga said: 'You go and pick the leaves of the Tiare Māori, 12 leaves. Wrap them up... knot one side and knot the other side, then cut the bundle in half. Give one half to him and one for you. What you are to do is to inhale its fragrance, over and over.' My mother said: 'This is the solution we used to do to prevent the evil*



*from growing.' Perhaps this is an act of the spirits, but for me it actually worked because I was there.*

One participant talked about a requirement of pre-marital virginity for daughters in her family.

**Woman, 61:** *I was told by my mother that the education I have on sexual things, you have to keep yourself for your husband. I suppose, you know, you have to get married, to have sex with your husband.*



Two participants talked about the need to pass on cultural values in the family; one barrier to this was the need for parents to work long hours for family survival.

**Woman, 57:** *So we teach like it was taught to us in the past to our siblings and they will learn. We should enhance that, we should develop that a bit more in our own people. If not the leadership amongst our lives, it will show. We would go to places, flat over there - the children are trying to do their thing, and the parents go their way. That is why there is a lot of trouble.*

*One of the things I know is our parents, you know, the children... they lose their parents by parents not being around with them. Being around with them is not taking them to the table to eat only. Or watching them go to sleep. Being around them is actually spending quality time and part of that quality time is to also educate them.*

**Man, 57:** *What can be done? For me, it goes back to the job of the family, the parents to teach. That is, for me, the first step to prevent this from happening.*

#### 4.1.4 DISCUSSION

The brother-sister relationship, and respect and sacredness in relationships more generally, continue to act as protective factors against sexual violence within the Cook Islands community in New Zealand.

Participants identified a huge cultural shift in attitudes and behaviour around sexuality with the coming of Christianity to the islands. While there was a traditional expectation of fidelity between lifetime partners, pre-marital virginity was not practiced or expected of young men or women. They lived together free of adult supervision and could have sexual relationships with their peers. Participants said this is still practised on some islands.

The silence about sexual violence was also seen as something introduced with Christianity. While some participants said sexuality and sexual violence were avoided in public discussion, one participant was able to speak in church about her experience of child sexual abuse.

Participants identified factors that combined to silence people who have experienced sexual violence and to keep sexual violence hidden. They included threats from perpetrators, strong feelings of shame, blaming the victim in cases of incest, and a belief that husbands have a right to their wife's body. In addition, some young men's construction of masculinity meant they felt pride in forcing sex on a woman, rather than shame about committing such an act.

A strong customary deterrent for *moe a'ano* - a breach of relationships that can include forced sex and incest as well as adultery - was suggested as a possible contemporary model for dealing with sexual violence within families. Participants also drew on *vairakau* Māori (traditional healing practice) as a way of restoring relationship breaches.

Passing on values of respect between brothers and sisters and in other relationships was seen as helping to prevent sexual violence, but participants also acknowledged that some parents could have little time with their children because of the need to work long hours.

## 4.2 FIJIAN RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

### 4.2.1 METHODOLOGY

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

An electronic search identified 15 documents or newspaper items relating to sexual violence or relevant Fijian law. Two books provided valuable information on the early history of violence within Fijian culture.

#### INTERVIEWS

Participants were selected based on -

- Age.
- Gender.
- Ranking.
- Talatala (minister or minister's wife).



Age was divided into those under 40, 40-55 years and those over 55. Six males and six females, two people per age group, were selected based on likely subject experience and knowledge. Interviews were carried out either in their own language or in English if they felt comfortable and competent to communicate meaning.

Ranking enabled a titled perspective to be gained from both men and women, acknowledging that there would be cultural variations depending on what province or island they represented.

Interviews with Talatala and their wives provided church perspectives and their links with traditional Fijian world views. The wife of a Talatala is an influential person within the church community, able to access peoples' lives particularly through its women.

The interviews would not have been possible if the interviewers were young, not ranked within the Fijian community and without appropriate social connections. The maturity of the interviewers as well as their professional status made access uncomplicated. It would have been highly inappropriate to discuss sexual violence otherwise. A focus group, even if gender specific, was inappropriate due to the defined relationships and status.

I would like to thank the participants for sharing their valuable knowledge with the hope that it will be used towards ethnically specific service development to prevent and reduce the incidence of sexual violence. Vinaka vaka levu.

## 4.2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

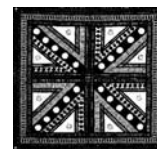
Fijians were the fastest growing Pacific population, between 2001 and 2006, increasing 40 percent to 9,861 (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). In 2006, New Zealand-born Fijians were 44 percent of the Fijian population.

### FIJIAN TRADITIONAL WORLD VIEW

The hierarchical structure of Fijian society took the form of its patrilineal linkages, with Degei at the top, and his two sons Tokairabe and Tui Lakeba Radinadina; they acted as mediators for the prayers to their father (Derrick, 1950). After them came the grandchildren of Degei, and then more distant relations and then the legions.

However, for chiefs of each locality Degei was hardly the objective of worship and cultic practices. Lesser gods of the clans would be sought. The traditional beliefs were that the gods of the clans were closer to them because they were the spirits of the dead members of their own clan. If one was a great warrior in his lifetime he would be sought for his blessing in the event of war. If he/she was a singer or dancer he/she would be sought for help in the same function. The ancestral spirits or gods were symbolised by totems that are part of the clan's ethos (Ibid).

Trees, animals, insects, fish, and birds were usually the representations of gods. They are regarded with respect and the concept of tabu is applied to their identification with the clans because of its connectedness to the clan's place of origin or vanua, and therefore the peoples' origin as well. In Fijian belief there is no such thing as a god or spirit without a place or vanua (Ibid).



For a man, all kin through his father's sister and his own sister are sacred blood (dra tabu), as a daughter or a sister makes a new line.

### FIJIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

It would not be possible to discuss the Fijian world view and values without first attempting to understand the early Fijian social structure. Ranking was made up of six levels (Derrick, 1950, p. 8).

Essentially:

- High chiefs and watina bau.
- Chiefs of large districts or islands.
- Chiefs of towns, priests.
- Distinguished warriors of low birth, chiefs of the carpenters (boat builders) and chiefs of the turtle catchers.
- Common people.
- Slaves by war (bakola).

Rank is hereditary through the female line. However within the chiefs, a ranking system exists based on the status of the father and to a lesser extent the mother (Ibid).

Every chief had a wife or wives who were high born (marama) and referred to as watina bau. From this union the children in turn became chiefs in their own right. However, should one of the marama or watina bau be of a better-ranked family, then the sons could have a higher rank-

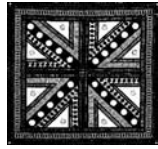
ing than his father particularly if his mother is a higher rank than his paternal grandmother.

This lineage was important in war, marriages and politics. Trading daughters and sisters to other chiefs could secure alliances. The value of women was most important.

The importance of kin ties is marked when one addresses a relative by using the type of relationship rather than the individual's name. In very formal speech, as a sign of respect, people are referred to in the third person as "the son of [name]" or the "father of [name]" (Becker, 1995).

A preference for marrying outside kin is preserved in legend and reinforced by current disapproval of marriage within one's village. Marriage is meant to enlarge the social universe.

Parallel cousins, the grandchildren of two sisters or two brothers, are viewed as brother and sister, a relationship usually vested with stringent avoidance tabu. However, this tabu has been overlooked in cases where two romantically involved people did not know of their relationship (Becker, 1995).



The interweaving of the state, the church and the vanua is reflected in a saying - *Noqu Kalou, noqu Vanua - My God, My Land* - used in folk songs and political rhetoric to emphasise the relationship.

Cross-cousins (*tavale*) are the children of a brother and a sister. An element of hostility attends what is otherwise a relation of extreme respect (Sahlins, 2004). For a man, all kin through his father's sister and his own sister are sacred blood (*dra tabu*), as a daughter or a sister makes a new line.

Prescribed avoidance between a sister and her brothers prohibits direct address, body contact and sexual references. She is seen as embodying divine reproductive powers. The family into which she marries gains her power at the expense of her birth family. The kinship system is a generations-long cycle of alienation and reconciliation, marked by successive stages of exaggerated respect and exaggerated hostility, revolving about the contest over sexual and spiritual prowess (*Ibid*).

Juxtaposed with the stringent avoidance tabu in particular relationships is *viwaletaki* (joking talk) that is common in social interaction, particu-

larly between *tavale*, using allusions loaded with double-entendre. This sexual pseudo-familiarity is reflected in the fairly common greeting *Barewa* ("Is it possible...[for us to sleep together]").

Male cross-cousins may steal from one another, exchange joking sexual insults, and flirt with each other's sisters. This may lead to sexual intercourse, but traditionally in coastal kingdoms marriage between first cross-cousins was discouraged. The preferred union was between second cross-cousins (Sahlins, 2004).

## SOCIETAL VIOLENCE

Violence was an accepted part of everyday life in the early history of Fiji. Fijians were spiritual in that they acknowledged many gods and many lords and attributed many occurrences or phenomena to spirits, gods or witchcraft. Even the advent of Christianity did little at the time to stop many of the traditional practices (Derrick, 1950, p. 8-12).

The early settlers witnessed many acts of violence in the name of tradition. Clunie (1977, p. 38) cites an account of a wild orgy from Turpin's Narratives, which shocked even the hardened beachcombers of 1809:

That night was spent in eating and drinking and obscenity the blood drank and the flesh eating seemed to have a maddening effect on the warriors. I had often seen men killed and eaten but I had never heard or saw such a night as that. Next morning many of the poor women were unable to move from the continuous connections of the maddened warriors.

Infanticide was also a common practice according to Clunie (1977, p. 42): "Many girl babies never got a chance, being suffocated by their mothers or a hired murderess soon after birth because they were of little direct service in war".

## CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Dominant chiefs and the people they controlled were converted to Christianity after the arrival in the early 19th century of European Christian missionaries, especially Methodists. Cession of the islands to Great Britain in 1874 contributed to Christianity becoming the dominant faith among indigenous Fijians, grafted onto the collectivist framework of Fijian culture.

Fijian Christian denominations developed as “folk churches” that represented local society and reflected some of its values and standards, rather than as churches standing in opposition to the society as a voice for the underprivileged (Varani-Norton, 2005).

The interweaving of the state, the church and the vanua is reflected in the country’s coat of arms: Rerevaka na Kalou ka doka na Tui - Fear God and Honour the King - and reinforced by another saying: Noqu Kalou, noqu Vanua - My God, My Land - used in folk songs and political rhetoric to emphasise the relationship (Ibid).

Rural indigenous Fijian women “are sandwiched between the pressure to fulfil the institutional obligations [from church and state], and their increasing desire for a freer life to be able to concentrate their time, energy and finance on their families rather than on institutions, which give them little that is now helpful in return” (Ibid, p. 244).

The major indigenous Fijian women’s organisation is the Government-funded Soqosoqo Vakamarama, whose representatives on Provincial Councils do not have voting rights (Ibid).

## PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

There have been no large scale studies of sexual violence in Fiji; prevalence data is available only from justice and support services. Between 1999 and 2003, police received reports of 521 cases of child rape, attempted child rape, “unnatural offences” against children, indecent exposure towards children, incest involving children, and indecent assaults of children (UNICEF et al, 2006). Between 1993 and 2001, the Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre received reports of 131 cases of child sexual abuse and 26 cases where children were sexually and physically abused (FWCC, n.d.).

Twenty-two percent of students and 29 percent of school leavers surveyed in Suva said they knew a friend or relative who had been sexually abused as a child (UNICEF et al, 2006). Pastors, clergy and church workers were among those identified as perpetrators of child sexual abuse.

Women, especially Indo-Fijians, were made specific targets of gang rape and sexual violence as part of ethnic violence during the coups (Keating, 2007). The Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre found that 14% of women surveyed had experienced verbal or physical abuse or had family members who

had been abused as a result of the 2000 coup (Save the Children Fiji, 2006).

Networks of teenage girls were known to work out of motels that serve as brothels in Suva and Nadi; one in three of these girls were still in school and came from homes where parents were no longer living together (Ibid).

## APPEASEMENT/BULUBULU

The word tanoa means a rare gift and is now used to describe the sacred tooth of the whale used in ceremonies and appeasement. The tabua was the price of life and death, the indispensable adjunct to proposals whether of marriage, alliance, requests and apologies, appeal to the gods and sympathy with the bereaved (Derrick, 1949). The act of bulubulu is a contemporary ceremony of atonement or reconciliation, and is used to seek forgiveness for an act.

Today, the practice of bulubulu is still observed and often reported in cases of sexual assault and rape. The perpetrator and their family may approach the family of the victim (usually male to male) and carry out the traditional ceremony of bulubulu or atonement usually in an attempt to avoid justice. Women can still make an official complaint, but this is unlikely as it would go against the wishes of both families.

The Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre (Kotoisuva, 2002) describes such practices today as an abuse of culture “because in the olden days, the punishment for the crime under customary law was death”.

## RISK FACTORS

Among the risk factors for child sexual abuse listed by the Save the Children report (2006) were -

- Poverty of opportunity, education and economics.
- Disability.
- Violent home environments.
- Parental neglect and lack of supervision.
- Early or forced marriage.
- Lack of policy and training to recognise and report sexual abuse in the tourism sector.

## PREVENTION

The Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre opened in 1984 to provide a service for women and child victims of rape and domestic violence.



The centre's male advocacy programmes are being used by NGOs in Vanuatu, Cook Islands, Bougainville, the Solomon Islands and parts of Papua New Guinea. They aim to sensitise Pacific men to all forms of discrimination against girls and women, challenge and support men to work as advocates for women and girls' rights and change behaviours that perpetuate mistreatment, exploitation and crimes against women and girls (Meleisea & Meleisea, 2006, p. 26)



The centre recommended the following changes for religious bodies, among other authorities, in an undated report on domestic violence and sexual assault –

- Churches and religious organisations must play a more pro-active role in eliminating violence against women and eradicating its acceptance within the community.
- The curriculum at religious training institutions should include awareness-raising on gender and violence against women.
- Religious leaders should be specifically trained to deal with cases of violence against women in a gender-sensitive manner.
- Women's leadership within religious organisations and hierarchies should be encouraged and practised.

Most participants spoke of the protective and preventative values within the brother-sister relationship and how it is closely connected to the preservation of the integrity of the bloodline.

### 4.2.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Participants identified the brother-sister relationship as the most significant Fijian cultural protective factor against sexual violence.

#### BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Most participants spoke of the protective and preventative values within this relationship and how it is closely connected to the preservation of the integrity of the bloodline. They spoke of the structure of the family, the rules for communication and contact and defined ways that provide protection to the sister; ensuring that breaches of the relationship do not occur.

**Woman, 62:** *The respected relationships were how we protected the Fijian community for marriages. There were already tabus. They were not allowed to marry if their mothers are sisters or fathers were brothers. They are not allowed to have contact and marry in our culture. There were set rules. You do not marry your first cousins if fathers are brothers and mothers are sisters. Structures were very set.*

**Man, 53:** *The relationship is called mata ne veiganeni and I can not talk directly to my sister. Similarly my wife cannot talk directly to my young brother. They can sit in the same room with other people but cannot talk directly to each other. That is the protection of the relationship.*

The protective aspect of the brother-sister relationship was strictly managed within each family until the marriage of the daughter.

**Woman, 58:** *The family will be the protector in the village. Everyone is related to everyone in some way or other and you have to be careful that it is not your sister or your brother. A man can approach you knowing you are a tavale (cousins) and go out and have sex. But there are certain other areas that you cannot go with your brothers and if the cousin comes and takes your brother, you cannot go. It was a protected relationship.*

**Man, 65:** *The daughter is protected. If I wanted to talk with a girl I would approach the father first and the father will talk to the son and say that he will approve the talk between his daughter and another boy. In our culture if someone, say a man, sneak you out and our sister never told us we would attack the man and then cut her hair first and she would also get a hiding. The hair is traditional sign for virginity. In our culture if she has a long hair and puts it to one side (plait) it means she has not been with another man. That why the brother would protect her from anyone including the uncles.*

**Man, 27:** *...one is the marriage between na mata ne veiganeni – marriage between first cousins. Like if the fathers are brothers and mothers are sisters the children cannot marry. It happens. The whole community will go against it. If the girl gets pregnant from the first cousin, the family will go and punch up the man and his family. Even the girl would get beaten up by her brothers for being promiscuous.*

## MAINTAINING VILLAGE HARMONY

One interviewee identified the ranking structures that still exist in Fijian villages, communities and society. She described how the processes for information, decision making and all aspects of the economy and prosperity of the village were conducted through this clearly-defined structure.

**Woman, 58:** *Each village has its own turanga ni koro – like a police person who gets the information from the chief of the village and then early in the morning he will go out and speak to the people about issues that have to be done in the village. In the village settings there is a vusa (tribe) and we have a turanga ni vusa [tribal head], then it comes down to the turanga ni matagali [head of sub-tribe]. From there they are divided up into smaller groups called matagali. Then from matagali it comes down to the tokatoka [wider family] and you have a turanga ni tokatoka [head of the wider family] and by the time it reaches the tokatoka area it is more like one family tree – the father, mother, grandparents, brother, sisters, aunts and uncles and very closely related. Sitting at the top of the vusa, matagali and tokatoka sits the chief – tui vanua.*

The structure ensured that everything carried out within that village had a purpose, a process and order. It maintained harmony, traditions and protected the values of the culture and the village or the vusa through good behaviour.

**Woman, 43:** *...people knew what to do...there was order in the village and I remember tagging along with my grandmother everywhere. Just to know what I am supposed to do, know the people who are my relatives and family.*

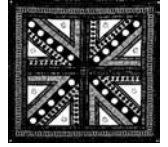
Participants discussed learning how to behave. This was expected, as everyone within a village was related to a greater or lesser degree. Expected good behaviour included a dress code. Modest dress, as introduced with Christianity, included covering breasts, legs to the ankle and the tops of the arms.

**Man, 27:** *...In the village it is still a tabu for young girls to wear shorts. Even if they go into town they will need to have their sulu in their handbags. If they saw one of the elders walking towards them they will quickly run into the shops and put*

*on their sulu (sarong). Cause if the elder saw them he will go back and tell the turanga ni koro (village chief).*

**Woman, 59:** *In the village the women covered themselves. Once you reached puberty you wore the sulu i ra (long skirt) and dressed modestly – long sleeves and high-neck dresses because it's what they were required to do by the chief.*

**Woman, 31:** *Bad behaviour is abuse, sexual abuse. Bad behaviour is what we do in the village...when someone drinks and gets very loud...they would get all the boys together in a group and the person who makes trouble would get a hiding from each of the boys. That is to show that we teach them and also to respect the village.*



**"The relationship is called mata ne veiganeni and I can not talk directly to my sister. Similarly my wife cannot talk directly to my young brother. That is the protection of the relationship."**

*The village is where our blood comes from, it is our roots. We still do that in Fiji. Two years ago a group of boys drank in the village and they were very loud and my dad did that. He brought all the men and the boys, and the boys who were making trouble got a hiding in front of everyone just to embarrass them and to know that this is the village. The village has chiefs, elders and also kids that are growing up. Don't want to be in that influence.*

## VANUA

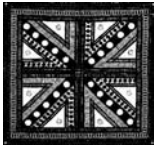
Two participants spoke of the way the vanua encompasses not only the physical land, but the nurturing qualities of the land, the spiritual essence of the land, the people and the language. It is the culture, the people and the life-blood of Fijian people.

**Man, 65:** *...In Fiji our motto is: Noqu kalo noqu vanua (my God, my land) – no one can take the land...God gave it to us.*

Here the interviewee speaks of a spirituality that originated from the many gods that the Fijian worshipped before Christianity. He refers to the linkage of the Tui (king) to god and the land - the vanua is the Fijian.

**Man, 65:** *The kalou and vanua first – the Fijian had a spirituality – the king held the spiritual connection of kalou through his position. You cannot separate the kalou and the vanua. It may have been more like draunikau (witchcraft) as we worshipped many gods.*

## CHURCH/RELIGION



The Fijian traditional values have merged with the values of the church; “noqu kalou noqu vanua”. My god, my land in pre-European Fiji, translated easily to God first with vanua and all that it encompasses following the word of God and the teachings of the Bible.

The respect, esteem and power given to the pastor of the church is on a par with that of a chief – leader, decision maker, giver of faith, hope and one who cares for his/her people (congregation).

“the boys who were making trouble got a hiding in front of everyone just to embarrass them and to know that this is the village”.

Participants talked of how in the New Zealand context the traditional village has evolved into the church village, holding on to a defined structure, a sense of purpose and a defined pathway as dictated through the Bible.

**Woman, 59:** *The Fijian values have adopted the Christian values. When the missionary came to Fiji it was actually something that worked side by side.*

*...but the church takes over from the village community back home. My church community is like my own family. We have nieces and nephews here but I see my church community as I see my family. It is how you keep the closeness of relationships and closeness of family life.*

**Man, 27:** *I was brought up with and have strong belief as a Methodist...the Methodist and the vanua are well blended together. That is where I still hold my values ....it’s the teachings that I get from the Methodists that correlates to my upbringing or vanua.*

**Woman, 62:** *Christian principles - they also help our family keep in line with their Christian values. These two go hand-in-hand with traditional values and Christian values, by keeping sex safe and happy marriages. If they hold on to Christian*

*values I think that should not be a problem if they migrate to other places.*

## TABU

Participants said that sexual violence was a tabu (not spoken about) subject. It was not openly talked about within the family, the village, the wider community and particularly in the church.

**Man, 65:** *No, they don’t talk about this as it is tabu. Now that you have picked this up with me I will take it back to the men’s fellowship group and talk about real issues like this. I mean it’s the real world; we cannot turn a blind eye to this. It’s happening. It’s the responsibility of our leaders.*

**Man, 27:** *...although it is not really well emphasised in the church or talked about freely in the church. In some ways if it happens only the Talatala (minister) may be aware of it and will deal with the family directly. The Talatala would not talk about it to the congregation.*

## IMPACT OF MIGRATION

Migration to New Zealand meant for several participants that traditional links, family links, family and community structure and protection were left behind for a better life. Fitting into a new culture brought its own challenges. Access to sexual images in all media, advertising and everyday life was often at odds with what is acceptable in a traditional or cultural context. The messages are confusing – abundant sexual images of women and men that went against their traditional and cultural teachings but were an accepted part of their new environment.

**Man, 27:** *This can happen to anybody – they come here and they see...how people dress....and they have the desire to do those things. And that’s where the pressure comes from their new peers, TV and what they watch as they don’t have this in Fiji and when they come here they see these sorts of things and try to participate in all sorts.*

*This have changed – school peers, computers – accessing sex even in their mobiles. We never had this. Now we hear of kucu to the niece and father to daughter – the people have become hungry for the bad things like violence and sex. They know that it is wrong but it still happens.*

*Many people have left the villages and the protection of the village and come to city life. That is*

good but in the city there are pros and cons and when they get there they want to be Palagi. They want to show off and not be the Fijian girl or boy who was brought up in the village. Also their eyes are wide open – they have seen a lot of things that they never saw in the village when they were growing up. Also the way the people talk. There is no sacredness of talking or respect and they think that this is part of living in the city and they should be like this.

**Woman, 43:** There is a lot of movement from the village and that people are moving into the town now and when they come back to the village they bring back a different dynamic. They bring in a more Western type of dynamic into it and it clashes with the village dynamics. But then somehow the village has given into it through the aptitude of forgiveness and letting go. So they have let go so much and now the structure is confused.

## POVERTY

**Woman, 43:** I think that basically it is not to do with economics, it is more to do with the upbringing of the person, and if their upbringing is good then the issue of sexual violence is how shall I put it ...is not there. If you are taught from small that you should not be doing these things and there are boundaries then it would keep you in a good place.

## ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

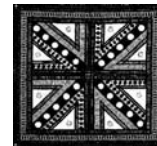
Two participants identified alcohol and drugs as factors that undermine the safety and protective factors of traditional relationships.

**Man, 27:** For our children in New Zealand – I can see this now in New Zealand – like *vei vuqoni* – uncle and niece, they can just drink together from the same carton of beer. Where I was brought up you are not allowed to do that. If the uncle is drinking there, even if it is my momo we would have to find somewhere else to go because it is *tabu* for us to be together. It's the protection or safety of the relationship. Things happen when a momo have an affair with a niece. That's because they are drinking together and get drunk and don't know what they are doing. It provides the children knowledge to remain safe – protective barrier.

**Woman, 31:** It does have a big effect, depends on your choices. And there is alcohol and drugs in 18-year-old people's lives and they are committed to that and can lead to violence and sexual abuse and it does trigger it in people's life.

## RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING VALUES IN NEW ZEALAND

The family and the church was identified as key to maintaining values, whether traditional or church-based; language was also seen as crucial to appreciate the *vanua* and all it encompasses. Participants also talk about the pressures of mortgages and paid work, which takes time away from time with children and family.



'There is no sacredness of talking or respect and they think that this is part of living in the city and they should be like this.'

**Woman, 59:** Before you preach from the pulpit you need to set an example. You need to ensure that you and your family live the Christian values. When you preach, don't hide anything.

**Woman, 62:** I would say that the parents must first of all know what to take and what to leave. What is good for their children and what is not good for their children. To really know what is good and bad and have regular time with their children. Sometimes some parents leave their children to concentrate more on getting money into the family for mortgage, rent and bills. They must identify priorities and spend time with their children, and have time to discuss with them what is good and bad and what the priorities are for them – their education and to also prevent them from mucking around and focus on their education and get through it and get work.

First it is the family themselves and secondly the church groups and then the Fijian community. They have their own provincial *tikina* [districts]. Like with us – we come from [an island] and every month we have a church meetings and every month have our community meeting from [this island]. We are moving on to get the whole of [the island] group to have two-monthly church gathering.

**Woman, 31:** Yes, it would be dad and also other elders because in my village there is a lot of my *tavale* (cousins) and *tutua* (uncles) who are much older than me and same age group as my dad

and very protective over me and my sister and my brother. Even when we go over there we have the respect thing that tutua don't talk to tutua and not allowed to speak or to say anything to your elder tutua. So we have to respect that cause living in New Zealand we are so open – we talk to anyone. Mum and dad tell us to respect the tavale and tutua as they are different category. You have to respect the connection of our relation.



## PREVENTION

Four participants view traditional Fijian values as preventive of sexual violence. Women who have lived most of their lives in a small village and then go to live in a city may be more vulnerable without family support and protection.

**Man, 27:** Well it's supported with the community of Fijians because we think alike and we know what it's like and support each other to ensure sexual violence does not happen. These values are undermined by people who live in the city area, and it is the same behaviour they did before and when they come here they behave the same. It's their norm.

*“living in New Zealand we are so open – we talk to anyone. Mum and dad tell us to respect the tavale and tutua as they are different category. You have to respect the connection of our relation.”*

**Man, 69:** I think the main ideas that should happen is that we need to go back to the traditional upbringing. Like one of the major ones is respect of each other. Things happen now and we can see why those things like incest – uncle have a relationship with the niece because there is no respect in each other.

**Man, 65:** Noqu kalou noqu vanua. When we came here to New Zealand it's the same - God first and land second. We need to teach our children this as well as the church.

Vanua is the culture. We say that New Zealand is not your land.....your land is in Fiji and Fiji is in your heart and in our culture. Sorry that you don't live in Fiji but remember the culture that you have been brought up with. Don't go to the pub and don't go drinking; you wait for the man to come to you.

**Woman, 57:** When we come over here this is the main problem. I wish we still retain all our cultural values even though we are in New Zealand.

I see the young people in our church and I try to tell them, but once they get here all the things like dressing well and the language goes – they speak English all the time and forget speaking Fijian. I try to tell them don't change.

Three participants talked about how education could help prevent sexual violence.

**Man, 44:** I would say we need to identify the prevention factors and what triggers sexual violence, the causes, the symptoms and a balanced approach of the media and a very intensive education programme in education to push the social values in the curriculum ..it's the best way to get the message. Plus strong moral ethics kind of reinforcement from home...starts with individual, build up a good home and good neighbours.

...Prevention....To me the only option would be to educate the mind...the more education the more reinforcement of the issue for our kids...not only the boys, also the girls...things they can do to protect themselves to know when some things are happening....remarks. I have seen it with my two kids...when they come home and some guy said something at school they come back and report it to me.

**Man, 65:** I don't think that when we are handling subjects like sexual violence or questions related to it that we should try to solve it from the pulpit. You know, bang the pulpit. No, no, that is not the way to solve it. You have got to get down from the pulpit and settle this somewhere else and talk about it properly; counselling and provide space where it can be talked about well and be responsibly handled. If you do it from the pulpit it is all wrong and it's just adding to the violence that has occurred.

**Woman, 57:** ...for the young people in the church there are leaders who run wellbeing sessions. They invite speakers to talk on any topics. We would like to see the topic of sexual violence talked about in these sessions for young people and parents.

One participant talked about how to prevent abuse by church ministers.

**Man, 69:** We have to go through the system again ... screening of people coming into the ministry. The screening is very important and they should not get into the ministry in the first place.



They are evil, they are not true shepherds – they move around and destroy the flock. I think the second thing is the ministers are human beings and when they get into the parish and they see some beautiful girls in the pew they are tempted. So because of that they also get back to the system; they have to be constantly counselled by their superiors to see how they are getting on and should be well supported.

## TERMS FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Many of the participants found talking about the actual act of kucu or dara (rape), difficult. Particularly so because of the subject matter, but also that they were being interviewed by a female. It helped that the interviewers were older and both nurses.

**Woman, 62:** For rape we say....dara, kucuvi, there are different languages and dialect [with] their own words.

**Man, 65:** Yes, vei butakoci, vei suki – if I rape you - vei suki vei butakoci koi – hold you and steal something from her life.

Older participants spoke of not hearing about rape until they left the village and moved into a town. While sexual violence was practiced, it was often not discussed or recognised as such.

**Woman, 57:** When I grew up in the village I never heard of the kucu (rape), never heard of it, but there were women who got pregnant out of wedlock because the man got drunk and things happen. But sexual violence - I never heard of it.

## REPORTING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Most of the interviewees agreed that the likelihood of indigenous Fijian females reporting sexual violence remains low. Shame or feeling mandua is cited as the reason for non-reporting, as it brings both personal shame and shame on behalf of the family.

**Woman, 43:** One of the reasons is that always I feel that the women want to protect the family... husband and children from breaking up. They feel that it is better to stay with the family rather than break up the family. I feel that if you report these things the society is not there to support and prevent these things from happening. So women

try to be submissive as possible and take it in and keep praying that their husbands will stop doing what they are doing.

**Man, 44:** We hardly hear the victim speaking up. Hardly hear the victim speaking up. Only when something triggers it like pregnancy or injury or when gets back to the peers, the victim tells the peer and the victim tells the parents and it get set off.

**Woman, 55:** ...some women will report...a rape and they have not had sex before and they don't know the person, but sometimes if they have already had sexual contact they would be too ashamed to report it.

**Woman, 59:** Even if it was sexual violence they have to marry to protect the name of the family and hide what has happened. Sometimes the girl would just run away from the village, town and go far away. You never see the girl around, even if she is pregnant she will deliver somewhere else. It was hidden from the village and no one knew about it in my days.

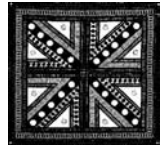
"You have got to get down from the pulpit and settle this somewhere else and talk about it properly; counselling and provide space where it can be talked about well and be responsibly handled."

**Man, 53:** [When] it happens the offender will be talked to and sometimes there is violence between the families, as he has offended the name of the family. It will be dealt with by the family – they will give him a hiding! In some instances the offenders will feel better when they get beaten up rather than when they are spoken to, as the words go deep and hurt.

One interviewee disclosed an act of sexual violence and describes the difficulties faced in having her story believed and the shame on the family.

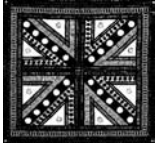
**Woman, 31:** That's why I kept it quiet as I know no one would listen and they would look down on me. That's why I say in Fiji the abused don't have a voice.

If I tell my family they would say 'Oh no it is not true' and don't believe it. It's my dad's relative - it's a distant relative. The boy was 18 and I was only five and I did not know anything about it and he was very rough, and I thank God for not



putting me in that family too long, for after that we moved to another place.

...With me the sexual abuse I had made me into a very angry person and so that anger is still in me. So if it did happen to my sister I would do something to that guy. To me I would not care about prison. I really don't. That's how angry I am for what I went through. It is just what I think. With that anger I still have it, and I can still feel it. Anger is a deep emotion; it's really difficult to control.



## BULUBULU

All participants spoke of the protective factors of the Biblical teachings of respect, love and forgiveness. The teaching of forgiveness has remained as a way of traditional reconciliation from pre-European time to the current day. Vei bulubulu (reconciliation) is the act of asking for forgiveness or reconciliation from a family head for a transgression carried out on a member of their family. The victim is outside this process.

*"That's why I kept it quiet as I know no one would listen and they would look down on me. That's why I say in Fiji the abused don't have a voice."*

One participant spoke about pre-European Fiji and the breach of a protected relationship. Violence would inevitably result in more violence until the matter was resolved through vei bulubulu or sometimes in death.

**Man, 65:** *If someone raped a woman in the village they would be beaten up and if they did not run away they would die. The only way they could live is if the family quickly came to the girl's family and did a sevusevu or bulubulu i soro – an apology – sorry I disrespected your family.....tabua, yaqona this is important and for the apology, and this would be accepted by the family. It would hurt the family but if the man apologises and reconciles to the brothers and the family, then they would tie the knot again.*

**Woman, 43:** *It's when someone wrongs your family and the other person feels that they have wronged your family they would bring a presentation. If it was a bad crime it would have to be a tabua. If it was rape, the family would feel obliged and have to come and ask for forgiveness, bringing the tabua and yaqona and asking for forgive-*

*ness. The other family is expected to forgive.*

**Man, 65:** *Never mind if I do something wrong or even if I killed your son.....get the tabua, yaqona and present it to the family – when they arrive they say I want to reconcile. E soro e na cakava na luvenqu – I am sorry for what I have done to your child. Dua vaka taki – reconciliation - tie the knot again. When they say sa soro (I am sorry). When the tears come they know that they have done the wrong thing and then the family will forgive them.*

**Woman, 59:** *When there is bad behaviour the family that has been involved will try to hide it from the chief. Even before it comes out in the open they will send their family member away from the family and the family that has been victimised - they will do nai soro (apology); they will take the kava to the family with mats and food to say sorry for what they have done. If the families agree they will settle it then. But if it is not and it is heard by the chief then it will be different. But you know if it is a chiefly family then you cannot do it that way. Only the commoners. If it is the chiefly family then the chief is already involved.*

**Woman, 31:** *With my healing the only thing that healed me was God. Especially my soul; when I got to New Zealand I got to know what sexual abuse is and it happened to me, and that is when I did not want to say anything to my parents and that is when I started praying. I think prayer really helped me and helped me out there. I still think about it now and then but I try to rebuke it as it is the devil that is bringing back bad memories. My solution is that I just give my problems to God. I am a lot different than other girls who go through that. I think other girls when they have that they follow the wrong direction.*

*...God said to forgive but I don't think I could ever forgive. I don't think I would accept a sevusevu because that thing ruined my life...I don't think I can trust a guy. I don't think I want to get married.*

## 4.2.4 DISCUSSION

Participants identified the brother-sister relationship as a strong contemporary protective factor for unmarried Fijian women in New Zealand, while also saying that it is practiced less in New

Zealand than in Fiji. They also identified ways in which the undermining of this practice in Fiji and New Zealand had created opportunities for sexual abuse, for example, by uncles of nieces.

Participants also identified a more general value of respect in relationships as protective against sexual violence, but also under threat from the differing values of the dominant culture in New Zealand. One participant said that punishment of offenders by the men of a victim's family was a continuing practice.

Pressures on parents to earn money meant that parents had little family time with children. Increasing this family time was also seen as protective for sexual violence and other issues.

Bulubulu was also identified as a strong part of Fijian community response to sexual violence and other relationship breaches in New Zealand. While the victim's family may forgive the offender's family, however, victims of sexual violence found this much more difficult.

Participants viewed the church as blending Fijian and Christian values, and having taken over the role of the village for Fijians in New Zealand. One participant acknowledged that church ministers had perpetrated sexual violence, and described processes for monitoring ministers and screening theology students to prevent this.

Participants identified strong barriers to open discussion of sexual violence. Victims rarely spoke about their experiences unless pregnancy or injury meant they could not be hidden. A higher value was placed on keeping families intact than on stopping male violence and ensuring the safety of women and children in those families. Women who had been abused relied on prayer to deal with this violence rather going to the Police. However, participants indicated an interest in discussions about sexual violence among single sex and young people's groups within Fijian churches.

Participants spoke of the social requirement for female modesty, particularly in the village setting. This is about respect for the dress code that is agreed for the village.

## 4.3 NIUE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

*Amaamanaki ke kau fakalataha ke tamate e matematekelea nei, mo e ati hake e motu Nukututaha, ko Niue fekai.*

*We look forward to working together to get rid of this violence and support our small country, Niue.*

Honorable O'Love Jacobsen, Niue Government, Niue Advisory Group Fono, March 2009, Auckland

### 4.3.1 FOLAFOLAAGA/INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence impacts Niue peoples' lives traumatically. This project is an opportunity to focus on relevant ethnic specific issues. Sexual violence amongst Niue people in Niue and New Zealand has never been considered side by side before. Previous studies led by non-government organisations in the Pacific targeted sexual violence as part of family violence, and previous Pacific studies in New Zealand have been geographically restricted.

This project is responsive, timely and different. It is responsive because it aligns with a broad policy initiative aimed at decreasing the incidence of family and sexual violence. It is timely because it is long overdue; sexual violence can be examined by members of respective Pacific communities led by Pacific researchers. It is different because it includes leaders in the field resident both in Niue and New Zealand, and because it tracks solutions from the islands and to Niue people's adopted motu of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

This opportunity for open discourse is an attempt at understanding the huge threatening gata (an unbearable spectre likened to the serpent from the Tohi Tapu/Bible by one of the study participants) of sexual violence. Prevention and policy responses to sexual violence for Niue communities in New Zealand, Niue and elsewhere that Niue people reside need to be based on an understanding of the problem, its causes and the circumstances in which it occurs.



## 4.3.2 PUHALA KUMIKUMI/ METHODOLOGY

### MATAKAU NIUE HE MATAGAHUA/NIUE PROJECT ADVISORY GROUP

The Niue Advisory Group and Pacific Project Advisory Group included Niue leaders resident in both motu, a mix of long-time community field workers and sexual violence professionals. There was a tertiary student, a senior teacher, a politician, a mental health specialist, a social worker, a senior police officer, and a qualified family therapist.

The group provided historical information, case studies and anecdotal data. For their fono, a record of the minutes was provided and disseminated. This project generated a lot of interest, resulting in the Niue Project Advisory Group collating a glossary for all terms related to sexual violence. This was significant because there is no formal record of this terminology.

The experts consulted included a senior health promoter; a sexual violence therapist; a retired teacher lecturer; and a drug and alcohol clinical therapist. They were also part of the very first Niue workforce in sexual/family violence in the late 1980s. They were carefully selected for their knowledge of the field; their energy; availability; keenness to contribute; and high commitment to all things Niue.

The Niue Project Advisory Group made the following recommendations about the project:

- That the tala tuai/traditional dialogues focus on oral histories handed down through tupuna (parents, grandparents and more distant ancestors);
- That it is critical to analyse the leo vagahau/ language about sexual violence, and pay attention to what is not said in the village contexts or family settings;
- That the project needs to consider factors that increase the vulnerability of particular Niue to sexual violence, including gender inequalities, discriminatory application of “custom”; early and forced marriage; social acceptance of sexual violence; silence around sexual violence; limited access to knowledge; social change; internal migration; and socio-economic determinants; and

- That the main focus should be on Niue philosophical tenets that have the mana/power to prevent sexual violence.

### KUMIKUMIAGA HE MATAFEKAU/LITERATURE REVIEW

Niue has functioned as an oral culture for a very long time; therefore, there are few written Niue texts. Most written texts have been reactions to the external environment, or initiated by non Niue authors with various and sometimes questionable motives. A literature search found a handful of sources that noted sexual violence and Niue people, either on the Rock or in Aotearoa. Relevant knowledge was collated from the Advisory Group, pulotu/those with wisdom and extensive knowledge, language and cultural experts and professionals who have worked in the field of sexual, family and other forms of violence.

### TAU HUHU/QUESTION SCHEDULE

The Niue male researcher translated the questionnaire as required by key informants. The Niue female researcher ensured Vagahau Niue translations of all questions with her focus group and checked that questions were understood.

### MATAKAU FAKATUTALA/FOCUS GROUP

The female researcher elected to facilitate a focus group of eight women. These women were aged mid-40s to mid-60s, and came from various occupational backgrounds: retired teacher, senior health promoter, senior community worker with the elderly, hospitality manager and community leaders. Their stories provided extreme mirth and good cheer; by their own admission this was a therapeutic process. Their shared discussion was uninhibited and offered insight into the past of many Niue women and key village characters. Many personal case studies illustrated the broader themes extracted for analysis. The whole discussion was conducted in Vagahau Niue, transcribed and translated. This is problematic because translations are without nuance and exact meaning.

### LAUTOLU TAKI TOKO TAHA KUA FAKATUTALA/ KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

While key informants did not work directly with sexual violence, they were familiar with Niue communities, knew of cases of risk, or aware of



instances of sexual violence. All five individual interviews were conducted by the Niue male researcher in English with instances of Vagahau Niue. Key informants were men aged from their mid-40s to mid-60s. Most were blue collar workers, and all served senior village, religious or other leadership roles for their Niue communities.

## KUMIKUMI HE TAU FAKATUTALA/ANALYSIS

A combination of Nvivo8 and manual coding was used to analyse the data.

## TOHIAGA HE FAKAMAUAGA/REPORT WRITING

Financial constraints of the project prevented the report being written in both Vagahau Niue and English. However, this is still worthwhile noting should there be subsequent projects. It is particularly critical for the Niue component, given the endangered status of Vagahau Niue.

### 4.3.3 KUMIKUMIAGA HE MATAFEKAU /LITERATURE REVIEW

Niue is known as the Rock of Polynesia or the Rock. Its peoples are predominantly Polynesian; and it is located 2,400 kilometres northeast of New Zealand in a triangle

between Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands. Its geographical location influenced its history, as its people hail from the three nation groups of Samoa, Tonga and Pukapuka/Cook Islands.

Its aga fakamotu (Niue ways) and its vaha fakamua vaha fou (history) were constructed from these various influences. Niue is self-governing in free association with New Zealand, and therefore lacks full sovereignty. As a result, New Zealand and Western influences have impacted on the traditional and contemporary knowledge of many Niue peoples and Niue society.

## TAU TALAHAUAGA VAGAHAU/ORAL TRADITION

The ideal state of wellbeing is achieved when people complement their Tagaloa (Supreme God), takatakaiaga (environment), fakafetuiaga (fellow relationships) and matakainaga (related people, kith or kin). It also exists when people do not violate their roles and responsibilities as fakafetuiaga (members of their society). Above all,

fakatapu (making something sacred) was a critical protective mana (power).

Wellbeing resulted from these dimensions, including manamanatuaga mitaki (reasoned use) of:

- Fakalilifu (respect).
- Loto fakalofa (sympathy).
- Loto fakatokolalo (humility).
- Loto matala (common sense).
- Feofanaki (caring).
- Makaka (ability).
- Malolo (strength).
- Fakatautonu/taui (reciprocity).

In Niue oral tradition, village peoples have many stories unique to their settlements. Niue stories are heavily reliant on initial sources written by Papa'alagi visitors, and reliably repeated Niue stories. Pulekula of Tamahaleleka/Liku tells a story of a tupua (demi god) named Lageiki, who was the chief tupua at Punafofoa in Alofi (Smith, 1983, p. 99).

Lageiki married many female tupua, but he also caused the deaths of many of his female partners through his evil actions. This would be one of the first known stories of polygamy, but it is more telling that the evil actions of Lageiki are not disclosed. This story is perhaps the first known case of violence against women in Niue oral traditions.

This opportunity for open discourse is an attempt at understanding the huge threatening gata of sexual violence.

Smith also retells the story of Tiki Matua (parent) and Tiki Tama (child) who “married” and produced Tikitiki; hence, “Tiki is the term for incest, of which the people had great horror”. He noted that fe mauaki is a union between the children of brothers and sister-in-law, (that is, between first cousins, which is legalised today) to which objection was sometimes taken as it was considered incestuous (1983, p. 38). However, Niue Advisory Group members also offered that incest may have been used to maintain land entitlements within families. It was not necessarily perceived in terms of the edicts introduced by the London Missionary Society following Captain Cook’s visit in 1774.

Advisory Group elders told the story from Hakupu Atua (meaning the word of God) or Fineone, a known case of violence between a man and woman. Tulitulikoka poured nane (a porridge concoction) on the head of his partner, Tuatuali.





This was offensive on many levels. It was bad manners to waste food, as cooked food was laborious to produce; and it was also an extremely insulting act involving touching the sacred head of another person. The consequence for the couple, especially for the disgraced male, was community ridicule and scorn. It was perceived that he could not control his woman.

The moral of this story was how extremely important it was for men to be seen to maintain power over their partners. If they could not control their household, it was perceived they would not be a good leader in any other societal role.

Advisory group members also told the story of a couple who lived in Mania, near the village of Liku. For a long time the female ancestor did not see her partner naked, and when she did, she was so frightened she ran away from him. He self-flagellated with kapihi (fern fronds) causing mania (sharp pain) to his genitals. There are many similar stories that illustrate that violence is not new; and by inference, it follows that sexual violence is not new.

Advisory group members said that there was a time in Niue history when Niue women did not have to explain nor apologise for having multiple partners. Due to this custom, Niue women could avoid sexual violence because they had the power to leave and start relationships. Christian missionaries discouraged this behaviour and it became unacceptable conduct for women.

The moral of this story was how extremely important it was for men to be seen to maintain power over their partners.

### TAU NIUE HE MOTU/NIUE SOCIETY IN NIUE

Niue society has a near universal acceptance of corporal punishment in childrearing (GIEACPC, 2009), which has been identified in the literature as a risk factor for family and sexual violence (WHO, 2006).

In Niue, women actively participate in national and local government (Talagi, 1999):

*The women also play a significant role in agriculture production and are the driving force behind village communities, churches and the family. They are also active in maintaining cultural and promoting income generating activities.*

This statement underscores Government intentions to ensure that the rights and privileges of women are protected as required by international conventions and instruments. However, as with all other developing nations, there is still much progress required to ensure equal and equitable rights and privileges, and elimination of sexual violence.

Since 1994 and particularly after the World Conference on Women in 1995, the provision of awareness programmes commenced in Niue on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), focused on women's human and legal rights and violence against women.

According to a former Niue official (personal communications, March 2008 and September 2009), volunteer counsellors were selected and trained for a counselling centre for women established in 1991. However, the centre operated more as an information centre maintained by community volunteers, was not sustained over time, and closed in the year of cyclone Heta, 2005.

This may be a result of applying an inappropriate model, or lack of resourcing, or it may be an indication that this issue was not prioritised or supported. However, it was successful in ensuring that violence was publicly discussed. Since then the voluntary Niue Council of Counsellors has attempted to replace this service.

From 1998 to 2001, the New Zealand Police (NZP) and New Zealand Aid (NZ Aid) provided support for Pacific police services in Niue, Kiribati, Cook Islands and Tonga to build

their capacity to prevent and respond effectively to domestic violence. Feedback from these programmes indicates that while the assistance was well received in the region there is a need for more consistent and on-going support (New Zealand Police, 2009).

Project participants and community people agreed that this overseas development assistance was directed at strengthening the New Zealand Police and the training focused only on Niue police, rather than strengthening the community base to work with cases of violence.

Around 1999, the Government of Niue established the Moui Olaola Committee, comprising government, non-government and private sector representatives responsible for health-related programmes on the island. Prior to this, such briefs were the privy of public servants.

This was one of the first cross-sectoral collaborations on Niue and signified that previously isolated programmes were to be integrated into one national health programme. In a statement to the 1999 Hague Forum, the Head of the Delegation of the Niue Government stated (Talagi, 1999):

The purpose of the Committee is to promote awareness of the physical, social and economic impact of health problems on the individual, the family, the community and the nation; and to assist the people make healthy choices with regards to lifestyle, behaviour and attitude through improved knowledge on sexual health, family planning, gender equality and the empowerment of women.

The Moui Olaola Committee included training of health awareness programmes on STDs and HIV/AIDS, impacts of alcohol and substance abuse; and a review of public health and environmental policies and legislation. The Niue Project Advisory Group said that the incidence of sexual and family violence was treated as no more important than a litter-free environment, one of the committee's priorities.

Niue's operationalisation of the CEDAW since its incidental ratification in 1985 has faced limitations, and programmes for elimination of social violence have also been slow. As a Niue official reported (Talagi, 1999):

Although a lot of work has been made on gender equality and the empowerment of women one of the major constraints is still the minimal male involvement in the family due to the lack of awareness of the importance of co-parenting and sometimes to traditional practices of the Niuean society.

Over 2003 and 2004 the New Zealand Police, NZAid and Pacific Islands Chiefs of Police agreed to strengthen the Domestic Violence Programme in the Pacific. NZAid and New Zealand Police committed to deliver a five to ten-year family violence programme for a Safer Pacific Free from Domestic Violence (New Zealand Police, 2009).

A project participant reports that there are still few orders taken out against perpetrators, still fewer charges laid and there is no refuge for violated women. Therefore, there is little enforcement and the rights of victims are not necessarily upheld.

In 2003, the World Health Organisation published guidelines for medico-legal care for victims of sexual violence, designed to enable health workers to provide comprehensive care for the medical, psychological and forensic needs of survivors of sexual assault. However, WHO does not resource Pacific countries to support their own health worker infrastructure.

### TAU NIUE I NIU SILANI/NIUE IN NEW ZEALAND

Sexual violence is known in Niue by the general term eke fakakelea. This means to despoil and is as applicable to messing up one's hair as it is to sexual violence. Particular contexts, tones and implications convey the understandings that sexual violence is the subject. Kunu mena (to touch something) has recently become a common reference to bad touching. Talk about kunu mena is fakatapu (forbidden or not encouraged). The use of terms surrounded by rules of fakatapu perpetuates and maintains the power and control of perpetrators, and those protecting perpetrators.

..the incidence of sexual and family violence was treated as no more important than a litter-free environment

A respondent in an Auckland sexual violence project (McPhillips et al, 2002) said: "There is no one word for rape. The Niue words that have been used in relation to sexual abuse include, fakapilo, takiva (to dirty something)".

The Niue population in New Zealand in 2006 was 22,473, over 14 times the size of the population on the island. Almost three quarters (74 percent) of Niue people in New Zealand were born here (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). New Zealand administered Niue from the early 20th century and Niue people have retained unrestricted entry and permanent residence in New Zealand. Sixty percent of Niue also identify with other ethnicities (ibid). These significant statistics indicate that the Niue population represents unique issues and challenges which may require special attention.





In New Zealand, Niue women are the backbone of their families, working mainly in clerical, administrative and teaching professions. They serve similar roles to their counterparts in Niue.

In 2000, 30 percent of Niue students could speak Vagahau Niue at an average or better level (Mila Schaaf et al, 2008). Just over 10 percent of New Zealand born people with Niue ancestry spoke their own language at the time of the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

In depth understanding of Vagahau Niue/Niue language allows for inculcation and ownership of cultural values and principles. With limited Vagahau Niue, one may not understand the essence or nuances of the vagahau or the Aga Fakamotu (the traditional Niue way). Therefore, lacking Vagahau Niue may be a risk factor.

There have been reported cases of sexual violence amongst Niue in New Zealand (the New Zealand Herald, published case of a disabled girl cared for by her relatives), just as there are known but unreported cases in Niue, as mentioned in the women's focus group. An Auckland summary of the issue resonates in these cases (McPhillips et al, 2002).

Rape within marriage is an area generally not recognised by Pacific women. "Marital rape is not part of the equation." It is seen by some as a marital obligation. There is much fear around disclosure. It may cost a woman's reputation to disclose that she has been sexually assaulted. She may be re-abused, disowned and disassociated by her family, as well as made to feel ashamed and guilty. The family name is really important. Often there is more concern for the family name than the reputation of the survivor, and often it remains unreported to the police and therefore statistically under-represented.

Sexual violence is known in Niue by the general term *eke fakakelea*. This means to despoil and is as applicable to messing up one's hair as it is to sexual violence.

Niue women have shown a high commitment to fighting against sexual, family, child abuse and other forms of violence. Since 1986, they have been prominent in supporting the Pacific Islands Women's Project Aotearoa, the first Pacific non-government organisation established to focus on

family, sexual and other forms of violence.

Niue women were also an integral part of various programmes to deliver against sexual violence. In 1988, they founded the Pacific Islands Women's Health Project Inc in Auckland. In 1989, a Niue woman was instrumental in establishing a Pacific women's refuge (Women's Refuge, 2009). They were part of many national Family Violence Co-ordinating Groups (FVCG), and latterly, the National Pacific Advisory Group to the Ministerial Taskforce on Family Violence sponsored by the Ministry of Social Development.

There are more support mechanisms and networks in New Zealand than on Niue to ensure that sexual violence is reduced. There are more resources to develop awareness material, increase capacity and capability for the workforce; publicity and marketing; communications and liaison; resource development; research and evaluation; training and education; and all other aspects of delivery.

## 4.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

### ILDAAGA HAGAAD KE HE VAHA TUAI/INFORMATION FROM THE PRE-CONTACT PERIOD

Some participants did not know or were uncertain about behaviour and thinking on unwanted sexual acts before the arrival of Christianity and other settlers. One woman said: "Yes, there was no certainty because it is in the distant past..." and another added: "And there was no education concerning it."

One male participant said "It's very hard to say before Christianity and settlers. I'd be guessing here."

The second male participant said that "in their own villages they have their own laws" but did not give examples of how they worked. Other female participants described separate sleeping arrangements for boys and girls from this time.

*My understanding, you know that the families are extremely protective. Brothers and sisters, they are not usually allowed to sleep on the one mat because they are related.*



...and it was not the practice for girls to sleep in the same room as boys; there would be a different room for the girls and for the boys and that's how our ancestors looked after their children.

Three women described a rule about children not being alone with an adult.

...and that's why there is a rule that children aren't allowed to sit with older people.

That's correct, children are not allowed to sit with the older people.

They are not allowed to sit alone in the room with an adult.

## FAKATAPUTAPU E TAMA FIFINE/GIRLS AND WOMEN ARE SACRED

Some participants described the meaning of tapu.

**Woman:** That is another one that we use, isn't it... fakatapu, and girls are not allowed to be harmed or 'dirtied' by anyone.

**Second man:** Tapu in Niue is a strong word; it's more or less trying to meet the expectations of our behaviours and that we should have those qualities... it keeps us safe, not only our society safe but connected.

**Third man:** Yes tapu - tapu means sacred, tapu means... something that needs to be valued and protected and cared for...

**Woman:** My understanding from our ancestors - the men always cherished their families. When they got into a fighting formation they would co-ordinate all their families to hide them in the caves in their own settlements. Should there be a lot of men in the village or family, then the women would have the privilege of living in dwellings and the men would sacrifice to the womenfolk.

When asked about values that traditionally kept a community safe, several participants described restrictions on the behaviour or clothing of girls and boys.

**Woman:** ...as we heard about our parents, they taught our children respect; they were also not allowed to go with each other.

**Second man:** ...speaking with my elders and they said that it is wrong to have... any contact with or sex with anybody until you're actually mar-

ried. And if you do then you don't touch anyone else of another gender.

**Fourth man:** ...the values of telling, especially young women, not to show their... legs or their bodies. Its very strict, wear long dresses, and its not often you see young people or young women in Niue wearing short shorts or short skirts.

## INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

Three participants credited Christianity with strong protective values.

**Woman:** As much as many of our people don't believe in Christianity, it was actually the Bible that taught us a few things about keeping the lines separated, and these family members and family relationships be kept safe...

**First man:** The only values we had was... the religious beliefs that were given in the church.

**Second man:** ...Christianity... has actually strengthened the fact that... you do not do that.

Three women described the persistence of restrictions on young people, especially girls, with Christianity.

When I was a small child my mother said I was not to go to gatherings of men... and wear long dresses, clothes that cover you. You are not allowed to wear short clothing and it's all things to do with

"It's not often you see young people or young women in Niue wearing short shorts or short skirts"

the olden days. If she sees me playing cricket with boys on the road I would be in trouble.

Girls were not allowed to wear long pants or short pants in those days and if they were caught, they would be in trouble.

...because the women weren't allowed to walk beside men or to hold hands. So when my uncle taught it was tough for him to teach the koli (dances) because... you have to hold each other to dance... They were taught that men were not allowed to go with women and you're not allowed to hold hands, and it took him quite a bit of time to teach people how to hold hands, to dance waltzing around.

One woman described how the names of tolopo (men who crept in the night) were written on the lapa uli (blackboard) in front of the Police



station in the 1950s and 60s, “and names get written...and people will go and see whose name is on the blackboard”.

One woman described how she tried to protect her grandchildren.

*I understand with my grandchildren - ‘Whose home are you going to, who is that? Before I allow you to go, you bring your friend and sleep with us in our home and then I will see. Then I will know that you are going to be safe to go to that home. Huhu uka ni ka ha/ask the hard questions, those sorts of things so you know the home that the child is going to sleep at.*

## TAU KUPU HAGAAO KE HE TAU MENA EKE FAKAKELEA/TERMS FOR INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOUR

Some respondents said that there were no exact Vagahau Niue terms to describe unwanted sexual acts. Some respondents were very clear about the parameters of sexual violence.

**Third man:** *That’s one of the most degradable ways of treating another human being...sexual violation of any human being is one of the lowest form of behaviour and attitude of a human being...*

The second male participant described it as “actually taking somebody’s mana...touching somebody and actually knowing that it’s...wrong.” He described Niue people as tending to “hug and comfort people by a lot of body language”.

“Some people say ‘Oh, it’s the woman that seems to be enticing me’...That’s rubbish. It’s just how the male as an individual sees the world, eh, or...a woman as, you know, sexual objects.”

This can “go overboard” and develop into inappropriate behaviours that are wrong: “there is a limit to everything and you know you can touch somebody but only to a limit...you can actually sense it.”

*...as I mentioned before in regards to those with higher position, I have zero tolerance for anybody who actually commits those sexual acts without the willingness...the consent of anybody of any gender.*

Other participants described sexual violence as “disgraceful”, “devious” and “evil sort of behaviour”.

## CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants gave a range of causes for sexual violence, including male dominance.

**Third man:** *...it’s always that thing, you know that belief that...male is superior than a female, so all of those things [are] already planted in people’s minds and thinking...*

*You can have factors around you that influence and so on. Some people say ‘Oh, it’s the woman that seems to be enticing me’...That’s rubbish. It’s just how the male as an individual see the world, eh, or see the other person...who’s a woman as, you know, sexual objects...It’s just thinking in their lopsided way of looking at other people, that lack of respect, I guess.*

Some women talked in moral terms.

*So the question remains - why is that tupuna (elder) still interfering with a child?*

*That’s sin.*

*Of course, it goes back to the blackness of one’s heart.*

*Yes, those who have dirty hearts.*

## ALCOHOL

Two participants described alcohol as a factor.

**Third man:** *Alcohol...it’s always been there, always been a problem...but that one cause, I guess that can lead to sexual violence...*

**Woman:** *Because some of our families have lost their values, they’re too much into this drinking stuff.*

The fifth male participant agreed: “...also, you know, drugs play a big part in it”.

However, other women said this was an excuse.

*The pity about all those things is it gives licence for people, not just men, to behave badly because, you know ‘He’s a drinker, that’s why he’s touched small children’.*

*See, that’s not an excuse, that’s not acceptable, no excuses.*

*How do you say that in Vagahau Niue?*

*Ai fai fakaataaga (there is no excuse).*

*Yes, they know very well what they are doing.*



*Iloa kua kelea (they know it is bad), kae taute ni (but they still do it).*

## OVERCROWDING

Two women said overcrowding was a factor.

*Especially when you have many families under one roof.*

*And so they would share the room because of overcrowded.*

## PORNOGRAPHY

Two participants mentioned pornography as a risk factor.

**Fifth man:** *It start with blue movies...And that's when you know they want to go and try it out, you know, what they see.*

**Women:** *Yes, when [kissing] comes on TV there's huge excitement but the parents should be in the room monitoring all that.*

*Blue movies and all that.*

## NUCLEAR-FAMILY LIVING

Two participants contrasted nuclear family with village life.

**Woman:** *One of the things that is awkward is 'mind your own business', which means you can do your own thing in your own lotofale (sitting room) - that keeps violence going. I remember where we lived every night you would hear particular women wailing and crying because they were being beaten.*

**Third man:** *...because we all live together in the islands, same village, the support is there, you know, it's just next door. The child can easily go over and say hey; whereas here we're scattered all over the place and the phone is not the only thing, they're not next door to run to...*

This participant contrasted this with the collective approach of pre-Christian days.

*...the identity of the people is important, kept it together as a group of people and being collective, being together as a group, rather than just individuals or individual families.*

One participant believed that migrating to New Zealand had had a positive influence on how the community dealt with sexual violence.

**Third man:** *Yeah, I think it has shifted a bit, shifted for the better you know, being in New Zealand and I guess more open, and there are other organisations...they are saying, hey if these type of things happen to you...don't close shop, just open up...*

## SEXUALITY TABOO

Most of the participants said that discussion of sexuality and sexual violence was taboo. Participants spoke of it as something private, hidden or under cover. Women said:

*There would be little discussion of it, of these types of things.*

*These things are buried, especially family because of the shame.*

*And these are embarrassing things.*

They also said:

*It comes back to the same answer - it's the taboo nature of sex.*

*Yes.*

*So therefore you don't have a kind of understanding of how to have a consequence...*

*...na pehe agahala taha (if one were to commit a wrong).*

**"If a young girl was...sexually violated by a male in the family or...outside the family they blame the girl."**

**Second man:** *Niueans don't talk about these things openly. They're very closed...what they need to do is open that avenue, open that door and say 'Hey, Niueans, hey'...let's talk about it, you know, this sex and violence and that that's wrong'.*

**Third man:** *People worry more about individuals as well as families in a group of families. They worry more about the impact on their status and their name, you know the social impacts on your name; they worry more about that. To protect that at the expense of dealing with the problem, you know, and it's still happening, that's still happening. I think people just need to be courageous and open it up if they're seeing acts like that, unwanted sexual violations and so on; they need to open it up and deal with it openly rather than behind closed doors.*



**Fourth man:** *In Niue it's something that we don't talk much about. Its taboo and we don't talk about these sort of things when sitting around with women and men and young children.*

## BLAMING THE VICTIM

Several participants spoke of cases where the girl or woman who had been abused was blamed or shipped off the island and the perpetrator escaped any punishment.

**Third man:** *Oh, quite often I guess it's kept covered. You know, it's a no-no to sort of reveal it and whoever knows about it or learnt about it, because [if] a person is a well-known person, the leader...they worry more about that person's status in the community, and cover it up...rather than dealing with the problem.*

*If a young girl was...sexually violated by a male in the family or outside by somebody else, outside the family they blame the girl. I saw one case in my own village, the girl was blamed and so the mother had to bathe her, like a rug...really scrub her down and cut the hair short...and really degraded them. That has happened quite a few times that they're blaming the girl rather than the person who was doing it.*

*"..the child is penalised but not the parent, ai fakahala e matua...Because the matua had the pule, mana, everything and he abused it, abused it."*

*...they knew who it was, he was...part of the extended family, the male, but no punishment of some sort. That was disgusting.*

*...people worry more ...about the impact on their status and their name, you know, the social impacts on your name...*

**Women:** *My parent says when they see relatives and...the girl is pregnant already; when the family woke up to the fact that it could have been the father, then she was definitely removed offshore.*

*See this is an interesting case - the child is penalised but not the parent, ai fakahala e matua.*

*Because the matua had the pule, mana, everything and he abused it, abused it.*

One woman described a case of abuse of a girl by a male family member whose mother took him to court, which has split the extended family living in Auckland.

*Kua mavehevehe e magafaoa taha ia (that family has split just on that one road) and it has split the family; that's the truth of the consequence within the one family, the family will split, it will be destroyed.*

## KO LAUTOLU NE FAI PULE/PEOPLE IN POWER

Several participants knew of church ministers and other leaders who had been sexually violent.

**Third man:** *I'm not saying all of them but there are some people in leadership or higher position who have misused their positions over a woman, you know, of a sexual nature and the poor woman. I think we've had many cases, the poor woman emotionally was gutted but she can't say anything, it is her word against the minister.*

This man spoke about how attending church can be a cover for abuse.

*Perhaps religion covers all these things...having sex and especially with their families and relations. Yeah, they know it's unlawful but they still do it, but that religion covers all that because*

*'In our eyes oh we haven't done anything wrong. We go to church.'*  
(laughter)

Two women spoke about this abuse.

*My sister says those people who were the worst in their youth, they are the same ones who take up Bible learning in their adult years. And they would stand to preach at the pulpit but often their hearts are the blackest; you can see them preaching but their eyes are looking where they shouldn't.*

*Yes, someone said to me 'So-and-so is a good man' and I would say: just as a word of warning - that man is like this. And they are often shocked...so when you go to prayers, just make sure you know where your children are at all times, get them into the car or take them home.*

There are few options for intervention when the last bastion for safety is a perpetrator. One woman who had been asked to intervene said:



*I went to find help only to find that that leader figure was helping himself to the child that needed help...they are the one we go to for assurance and to gather support, but the heart of course, as we see he wanted the child.*

## TAU FAKAHALA FAKAMOTU/ PUNITIVE CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

The first male participant said that in cases of sexual violence, the wronged family “will do something...to rectify that mistake by another,” and the Police would be involved afterwards. One woman spoke of an example she had heard of about family retribution for incest:

*...around about the 60s there was a case of a father who slept with his daughter. When the sons grew up and they became stronger, as young men they burnt him alive in the house.... but I don't know the truth of the story.*

Another woman spoke about the case of a matua:

*I often wonder about that case because we haven't yet verified whether it is indeed true...and we're wondering about the consequences, for example, being cursed or just that line being cursed.*

The women's group was asked about protective measures in the village to combat these incidents; women generally responded that there were no measures. Yet, when another wrong has occurred, the villagers are often up in arms and fono pathways, or the sea, or tracts of land. (Fono is also a cultural process prohibiting the use of particular parts of lands if the community deem it to be fakatapu (made sacred); prayers often accompany the process and no one trespasses until the tapu is lifted.) The group did not know:

*..why is that permitted and not to something very real like [sexual violence] that you can see with your eyes and yet fono fono the roadways/parts of lands?"*

One male participant talked of punishments for sexual abusers, but said these were rare.

**Fourth man:** *He's banned. Yeah, [from] doing anything with the family. The family are, what do you call it, outcast. Mm, he's not allowed to go near any kids, but that seldom happens.*

This applied even to a relative:

*No, no, if my brother [did] that to my granddaughter he's not part of my family. That's gone, I can still talk to him...but...you've got to protect your family.*

When asked about appropriate punishment for mulefu (men who commit indecent acts), some women said:

*It is appropriate to remove it.*

*Quite appropriate to fana mate (shoot him).*

*...or glue his genitalia.*

*How sad. (laughter)...*

*Quite appropriate hehele, uta kehe (cut and remove).*

*Yes, and bring hot water and throw it at his genitalia.*

Three participants spoke about forgiveness.

The third male participant said that a man who abused a member of the participant's family “can be forgiven for what he has done, but he's not welcome in your house”. Two women said:

*We do have something where we approach as a family to try...*

*...especially to taute mafola (make peace).*

**“It's always hard to counter or improve attitude, isn't it, but that has to be the starting point.”**

The fourth male participant said that sexually abusive ministers should be banned from their church.

*If the Minister has done something like that, he's automatically banned being a Minister; but they usually do, that usually happen[s]... The only way is kick them out of church... Nobody wants such a person as a leader... a person that everybody looks up to.*

## TAU LEVEKIAGA I NIU SILANI/PREVENTION IN NEW ZEALAND

All the women participants agreed with the need for an ethnic-specific prevention programme against sexual violence.

**Interviewer:** *Pehe ha mutolu a talahauaga ka kua lata ke fai lagomatai tupe ke talaga aki e tau fakaholoaga ke fakagahua aki e tau tagata*



Niue (Are you saying that there should be funding support to assist Niue to implement a Niue programme)?

All: Yes.

One woman said:

...the essence of speech has changed. If parents say it in English, it does not sound appropriate. When it is said in Vagahau Niue the spirit of what is said is intact. Used with the child, so the child...understands...the depth of love conveyed *loto fakalofa loto fakatokolalo*...

**Second man:**...making them aware, hey...but especially for some of our old people...for our generation probably be able to understand the language [it] should be in Niue language.

You should have pamphlets...just acknowledge the fact that, hey it's happening. Be aware of it, here's the pamphlet, read it. Maybe...be in both languages, it's just making...making sure that they know it's wrong.

**Third man:** It's a complete overhaul, 360 degree turnaround of people's attitude. It's always hard to counter or improve attitude, isn't it, but that has to be the starting point.

One woman wanted leadership from the church:

*I was hoping the church would take the lead with our people, but we are not seeing it happen.*

The third male participant thought more blunt talking was needed in congregations:

*I remember when we did that anti-violence in the families after church, because a lot of older people were there. Some of them, I'm not saying all of them, are perpetrators themselves you know...so ...talking bluntly to them 'Hey it's a male problem that beats up young kids or beats up your wives. You're the male, you're the one who get it, don't make excuses.' 'Oh, my wife yells at me, or smart at me', you know that's rubbish... That type of, yeah they're sort of starting to open up, yeah, yeah true.*

He also suggested that ministers should adopt teaching safety protocols:

*I remember when I was teaching, one of the key working principles for teachers, still is today, is that you don't deal with kids...on your own in a room without anybody else... Yeah, church minister, it's a job in a way, it's your profession, so if you're dealing with people as part of your profession...*

"talking bluntly to them 'Hey it's a male problem that beats up young kids or beats up your wives. You're the male, you're the one who get it, don't make excuses."

**Interviewer:** On your own.

*That's right, that will lead to all sorts of things, isn't it?*

## LEVEKIAGA HE TAU FUATA/ PROTECTING THE YOUTH

This man pointed out that Niue men's attitudes had already changed significantly:

*Looking at Niue over the generations: I mean Niue, well, mellowed is probably one way, or perhaps it became more civilised in moving away from that...and not as rigid as...a lot of other cultures in how we treat our women.*

### CHURCH-BASED PREVENTION

The second male participant said church endorsement would help sexual violence prevention.

*Those ministers can actually assist...For us that make a big difference; their word is y'know and that's the impact that he actually...brings out...His voice is...not of authority but very fakalilifu, very respectful...so I feel that they should be very involved...with getting the word out...not only one minister but all.*

Some women participants said family education was important.

*Sexual education is done in schools from the age of 11.*

*Yeah.*

*And what we do is just to reinforce that and bring it out to the open, which is what our people don't want to be heard in public about sexual education and it needs to.*

However, three women said that this was not enough:

*It is our fakaakoaga (teachings) handed down from our mamatua tupuna to our families, especially our families who know how to promulgate these principles; but our families without these*



matutakiaga (teachings) about these matters, it is not easy for them to have understanding.

There are those things in place like our traditional principles like fakalofa (love), feofanaki (caring) within families.

It happens but not for general use; it only happens within families who believe it, and what happens if you don't believe it - it doesn't happen.

**Third man:** ...it's all about that modelling of behaviour and again from a young age, from preschool age as you grow you know you need, the family environment need to be a very positive one...

**First man:** I think, you know, it's the education from the parents.

**Fourth man:** The only way you can is to talk to them. Talk to them now or everyday, tell them don't do this, don't do that, it's against the law, its against the faith that you have because you believe in what you, in the family. Especially if the family does this to you, to the family. That's unforgivable.

This participant said he would warn his community if he knew a man was sexually violent.

*Telling people he's a sexual deviant... Tell the young girls don't go near the person.*

He would also encourage his children to talk to someone safe if they were touched in a bad way:

*Go to nana, if you trust aunty, or trust grandpa. This person has done this to me. They say you can figure it out - that's not right but that's the only way you can tell... we've got to look after our young people, eh?*

## TREATMENT FOR PERPETRATORS

Three men said perpetrators needed help to stop abusing.

**Second man:** In regards to whoever does the act, they could always go into these preventative programmes... how can they help themselves back on track psychologically? A lot of times these people... they still got it on their conscience.

**Third man:** ...the perpetrator... needs to be in the, whatever programme to counter these things...

**Fourth man:** The only the only thing they can do is probably official counselling... making them... aware that it's wrong... that the community do not

tolerate those types of behaviour... and you have to take ownership for your actions.

## TAU TAULATUA/TRADITIONAL HEALERS

There was little knowledge about the potential of traditional healers to assist in cases of sexual violence. One male participant was aware of taulatua dealing only with physical health ailments, not psychological issues. The third male participant was sceptical:

*The so-called traditional healers probably became part of the problem. You know, unless the person is an independent, totally new to the family or to the person, that person would have had an opportunity to see it with impartiality with the whole thing and say something to expose it. Otherwise if [they're] from within the same extended family they'll cover up for each other.*

## 4.5 TAU MANATU FAKAOTI/ CONCLUSIONS

Participants identified preventative and protective values from Aga Fakamotu (the Niue way):

- Fakatapatapu - sacred, valued highly.
- Fakalilifu - respect.
- Loto fakalofa - love; empathy; sympathy.
- Feofanaki - caring.
- Loto fakatokolalo - a heart filled with humility, especially towards those held in respect.
- A community responsibility for the safety of Niue children, women and families.

They also identified the taboo on speaking about sexual issues and sexual violence as well as a tendency to blame the victim as major barriers to prevention.

Participants were ambivalent about the role of churches. They were seen as sites of cultural maintenance and sexual violence prevention, as well as places where relationship breaches have occurred or been condoned. However, the influence of the church is decreasing for Niue communities in New Zealand, with less than a third of male Niue secondary school students regularly attending.

Participants also identified the isolated New Zealand family living environment and socio-economic factors such as overcrowding as likely to exacerbate the risk of sexual violence.



Respondents identified major gaps in the Niue and Pacific anti-violence and support workforce and called for a specific research project to explore all facets of sexual and family violence amongst Niue communities as well as a specific sexual violence programme for Niue by Niue. They wanted such a programme to use the Niue language.



Strategies for decreasing and eliminating sexual violence amongst Niue communities are best driven by Niue people in Vagahau Niue so that enforcement of solutions and resolutions are compatible with the contexts that Niue know and occupy. The solutions will be found in Aga Fakamotu and amongst Niue peoples.

## 4.6 SAMOAN RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

### 4.6.1 METHODOLOGY

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

The key areas of the literature review were - A theoretical and philosophical understanding of context and meaning in the interpretation of information taken from oral tradition and the validation of this information.

- Understanding the concepts around a Samoan indigenous world view drawing on creation stories, lore and history.
- The concept of va as critical to the Samoan world view.
- The concept of feagaiga within the brother-sister relationship as the paradigm for gender roles and relationships.

Identifying key concepts from the indigenous world view which continues to have value and relevance to Samoan people in the prevention of sexual violence.

An initial search of the project's identified databases, including NZ and Pacific Digital and Hawaii Pacific Journal Index, was undertaken for the following terms: feusuaiga fa'amalosi; feusuaiga mataga; fa'amalosi teine; fa'amalosi fafine; toso fafine; toso teine. This search produced mainly news articles reporting sexual assaults, and information related to health and social services.

A second search focusing on the terms va fealoa'i; va tapuia; and va produced around ten results of which half were useful to this literature review. Usefulness was based on the presence of context to the searched term and applicability to present day life situations. From the results of this search, the following terms were also referenced for further searches:

- Feagaiga.
- Feagaiga i le va o le tuagane ma lona tuafafine.
- l'oimata.
- Tapu, Sa, Pa'ia, Paia.
- Tapuitea.
- Mavaega.
- Alagaupu, Muagagana.
- Solo, pese, siva.
- Samoa: Christianity; colonization; Mau a Samoa; Mau movement.
- Malietoa Vainu'upo, John Williams 1830.
- Indigenous: culture; world view.
- Kiwi Tamasese: gender-culture.
- Mead-Freeman.
- Samoa pre-contact.
- Gender and culture Samoa.

A comprehensive selective search was undertaken of the library and grey literature. This literature review is by no means an exhaustive or definitive gathering of information relevant to Samoa's indigenous worldview.

Indigenous in this document refers to knowledge that was accessed and used by Samoan people prior to contact with European and colonial settlers (circa 18th century).

#### INTERVIEWS

In light of the sensitive nature of the area researched, Samoan etiquette around gendering was observed. Where ideally the interviewers are matched against the age and gender of the participants, limited resources meant that only two interviewers (one male and one female) in the age range 40-55 years could be engaged.

Skills and competencies that were looked for in the interviewers were -

- Bi-lingual fluency: language conveys values and beliefs of cultures and sub-cultures. It is important that researchers and interviewers are able to draw widely on the language of both cultures in order to capture the range of ways in which participants express their world views.



- Familiarity with the social and cultural nuances of the Samoan and Samoan sub-culture of New Zealand having lived in both Samoa and New Zealand.
- Acceptability to youth, and to older men and women.
- Acceptability to the Samoan community: both interviewers live and are actively involved within their church and social communities from where the participants were recruited.
- Research experience: both interviewers have been involved in Pacific and Samoan-focused research projects both in New Zealand and in Samoa.

The key informant approach was deemed to be appropriate to the needs of the study. It enabled discussions -

- On beliefs and perceptions of sexual violence by people who are in positions that allow them to network widely within their communities, and who work or are informed about the issues on sexual violence.
- On Samoan indigenous concepts.
- That would not otherwise be appropriate within a focus group setting.

Based on project specifications and information from literature, the areas within which information was sought were a Samoan indigenous world view; a Christian theological perspective; a perspective from a professional counsellor/therapist; and the experiences and views of young people.

The questionnaire was developed with the interviewers and designed to cover knowledge of sexual violence, perceptions and experiences of causes, terms and words used, and prevention. Open-ended questions were asked as prompts to encourage a storytelling approach, ensure that the interview focus was maintained and to enable participants to take the story in the direction that they felt was important.

Questions in both the Samoan language and in English were developed.

The small numbers of participants - nine- was not considered to be a problem. The intention of this study was not to generalise the findings to the Samoan population, but to attempt to glimpse beliefs and perceptions of New Zealand-born and Samoan-born youth; matai; minister of a Christian

church; the wife of a minister; and sexual abuse counsellors/therapists.

The interviewers' knowledge of their communities provided the basis upon which they could privately approach potential participants and seek their interest in participating.

Participants were provided with a participant information sheet in either Samoan or English. The interviewers explained the purpose of the study and the ethical rights of participants. Consent forms in either Samoan or English were provided for signing to those who wished to take part in the study.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted. Consent to using a recording device was sought. The benefits of using a recording device are that it:

- Minimises distractions created by writing between the interviewer and the participant.
- Alerts the interviewer to other signals such as body language that may indicate a change of mood during the interview.
- Enables a relaxed environment to develop.
- Allows the interviewer to be focused on responses particularly, where the discussion may be upsetting the participant.



In Samoan social and cultural conventions it is very important that anything likely to cause offence be communicated in "mannered language"...using allusion, allegory and metaphor.

Where recording consent was not provided, detailed handwritten notes were made. Confidentiality of identity was protected. The interview notes and tapes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and password-protected computer.

Data was entered using the NVivo8 software package. Where the data was in Samoan, analysis was done from the Samoan language and conceptually translated into English. Data in English was analysed directly.

## 4.6.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

### SAMOA'S COSMOGONY

The Samoan indigenous worldview is highly philosophical. Linguistic skills, customary knowledge and a steady hand are needed to navigate and negotiate the literal and nuanced meanings

that give definition to the indigenous references from generations immemorial. The expressions or proverbs:

*O Samoa o le i'a e iviivia a o le atunu'u ua uma ona tofia, and*

*O Samoa ua ta'oto, a o se i'a mai moana, aua o le i'a a Samoa ua uma ona aisa*



are muāgagana and alagā'upu called upon in Samoan oratory to expound the complexities of aganu'u Samoa, which, like the deep sea fish, has a skeletal frame comprising networks of intertwining and interdependent fusions of flesh and bone.

Knowledge about Samoa's past was known through oral tradition which refers to stories, poems, songs and genealogies passed down through the generations by word of mouth. Today, knowledge about Samoan people's past is also sourced through academic studies in prehistory (Meleisea, 1987, p.2).

O nainai, writes Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi, is a term for those who have been specially selected for the transfer of knowledge (2005, p. 63). For Samoan people, knowledge is power, and the most powerful is historical knowledge. Histories of families, lands, genealogies, villages, and events are treasured and guarded, to be shared only with those trusted within the family. The rich pool of knowledge continues to be safeguarded and locked in minds and notebooks (Meleisea, 1987, p. vii-viii).

In Samoan oral traditions, there is no epic of migrating populations to the Samoa islands. At the beginning of creation, the supreme god Tagaloaalagi pronounced, and Samoan people were created from...Samoa land.

Without apology, much of the literature selected for review in this section is authored by Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi. Unlike other Samoan texts garnered for the well informed, the impact of Tui Atua's work is largely felt by generations born and raised outside of Samoa who are seeking clarity, truths and a vision for fa'aSamoa in the 21st century.

Tui Atua's work satisfies these needs in terms of: cultural authority, providing access to knowledge that is sacred, an empathy with the New Zealand-born milieu, a compassionate heart for the core foundational values that respects all life, and a

critical view of fa'aSamoa that seeks not only to be faithful to those elements that resonate with the wisdoms of other places, but which also brings harmony, balance and peace to the lives of all Samoan people.

Literature that addresses sexual violence and other forms of violence within the context of a Samoan worldview is sparse. This is perhaps not surprising, because in Samoan social and cultural conventions it is very important that anything that is likely to cause offence be communicated in "mannered language". This is achieved by utilising Samoan linguistic techniques such as allusion, allegory and metaphor. These tools provide "meaning which privilege relatedness and the sacredness of the other". Tui Atua (2003, p52) notes that -

Frankness is crass because of its potential to offend. The availability of many meanings can help to save face. This is especially important in a culture where face is the essence of relations between the self and community, and family and community.

## THE ORIGINS OF SAMOAN PEOPLE

In Samoan oral traditions, there is no story or epic of migrating populations to the Samoa islands. At the beginning of creation, the supreme god Tagaloaalagi pronounced, and Samoan people were created from within the fertile soil of Samoan land (Lafai-Sauoaiga, 1988; Tu'u'u, 2001; Kramer, 1994; Meleisea, 1987).

Samoan people however were prolific travellers and alongside other Pacific navigators sailed the Pacific region far and wide. According to the oral tradition of his family, Misilugi Tu'u'u (2001, p. 36) notes that

around 350BC, New Zealand was known as Maui after its founder, Maui Ti'eti'eatalaga, who was a Samoan "ruler, conqueror and discoverer of lands". In 950AD, the Tongan ruler, Tu'itonga Tuitatu'i renamed it Tonganui. Around 1350, the "great migrators" Lata and his people from the north-west (Havaiki) renamed the land Aotearoa.

Māori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) relates a story that highlights the strength of belief held by Samoan people as to their origins (Field 2006, p. 216).

*At a kava ceremony in Ta'u, I was welcomed by a talking chief in the stilted phrases of his office. In my reply I alluded to the common origin of the Polynesian somewhere in Asia and the wonderful voyages our ancestors had made in peopling Polynesia.*

*The talking chief replied: "We thank you for your interesting speech. The Polynesians may have come from Asia, but the Samoans, no. We originated here in Samoa." He looked around with an air of infallibility, and his fellow scholars grunted their approval.*

*In self-defence, I became a fundamentalist. I said: 'The good book that I have seen you carrying to church three times on Sundays says that the first parents of mankind were Adam and Eve, who were created in the Garden of Eden.'*

*In no way disturbed, the oracle replied: 'That may be but the Samoans were created here in Manu'a.'*

*A trifle exasperated, I said: "Ah, I must be in the Garden of Eden". I took the silence which followed to be a sign of affirmation.*

There are many accounts of the creation of Samoa and its people. Aiono-Le Tagaloa (2003) notes that she had come across six in her readings. Meleisea (1987, p. 10) notes that for each story or version of events, there are special meanings and importance attached to those who are relating these. One function of oral tradition is that of "legitimization" – a version will be told in a way that explains the position or situation of, for example a particular village, title or district.

In reading differing versions of oral traditions, it is more important to consider the reasons as to why one story is told in different ways and why one version may be legitimate and true of one party but not for another. Further, Tui Atua notes that the contradictions within versions of creation are not invalidated because of opposing views of events, but instead are sustained by the many meanings suggested by allegory and allusion (2003, p.70).

The following excerpt is one version of the creation of Samoa and was said to have been written at a time when few Samoan people had become Christians. Meleisea (ibid, pp2ff) notes that this version was first recorded by Rev. Thomas Powell in the 1840s and later translated by the Rev. George Pratt into English, then published in 1892.

## THE ORIGIN OF SAMOA INCLUDING MANU'A

*The god Tagaloa dwelt in the Expanse; he made all things; he alone was (there); not any sky, not any country; only he went to and fro in the Expanse; there was also no sea, and no earth; but, at the place where he stood there grew a rock. Tagaloa-fa'atutu'pu-nu'u (creator) was his name; all things were about to be made, but him, for all things were not yet made; the sky was not made nor any thing else, but there grew up a Rock on which he stood.*

*Then Tagaloa said to the Rock, "Be thou split up." Then was brought forth Papa-ta'oto (lying rock); after that, Papa-sosolo (creeping rock) then Papa-lau-a'au (reef rock), then Papa-'ano-'ano (thick rock); then Papa-'ele (clay rock); then Papa-tu (standing rock); then Papa-'amu-'amu (coral rock) and his children.*

*But Tagaloa stood facing the west, and spoke to the Rock. Then Tagaloa struck the Rock with his right hand, and it split open towards the right side. Then the Earth was brought forth (that is the parent of all the people in the world), and the sea was brought forth. Then the sea covered the Papa-sosolo; and Papa-nofu (that is, Papa-ta'oto) said to Papa-sosolo, "Don't bless me; the sea will soon reach you too." All the rocks in the manner called him blessed.*

*Then Tagaloa turned to the right side, and the Fresh-water sprang up. Then Tagaloa spoke again to the Rock, and the Sky was produced. He spoke again to the Rock and the Tui-te'e-lagi (sky proper) was brought forth; then came forth Ilu, 'Immensity, and Mamao, 'Space, (that was a woman); then came Niua (clouds).*

*Tagaloa spoke again to the Rock; then Lua-ao (two clouds), a boy, came forth. Tagaloa spoke again to the Rock, and Lua-vai (water hole), a girl came forth. Tagaloa appointed these two to the Sa-tua-lagi (behind the sky).*

*Then Tagaloa spoke again, and Aoa-lala (aoa, a native tree branch), a boy was born and (next) Gao-gao-le-tai (open sea), a girl; then came Man; then came the Spirit; then the Heart; then the Will; then Thought.*

*That is the end of Tagaloa's creations which were produced from the Rock; they were only floating about on the sea; there was no fixedness there.*



Then Tagaloa made an ordinance to the rock and said:

(1) Let the Spirit and the Heart and Will and Thought go on and join together inside the Man; and they joined together there and man became intelligent. And this was joined to the earth ('ele-'ele), and it was called *Fatu-ma le-'Ele-'ele* (Heart and the Earth), as a couple, *Fatu* the man, and *'Ele-'ele* the woman.

(2) Then he said to Immensity and Space, "Come now; you two be united up above in the sky with your boy *Niuao*," and they went up; there was only a void, nothing for the sight to rest upon.

(3) Then he said to *Lua-ao* and *Lua-vai*, "Come now, you two, that the region of fresh-water may be peopled."

(4) But he ordains *Aoa-lala* and *Gao-gao-le-tai* to the sea, that they too may people the sea.

(5) And he ordains *Le-Fatu* and *Le-'Ele-'ele* that they people this side; and he points them to the left-hand side, opposite to *Tualagi*.



*this rock and the grotto then sprang forth song (lagi) and melody (fati)...(Kramer, 1930:1-39, cited in Moyle, 1988, p. 1).*

## FA'ASINOMAGA – DESIGNATION AND IDENTITY IN FA'ASAMOA

Identity and belonging is bound to *fa'asinomaga*. The designation of *fa'asinomaga* defines Samoan peoples' sense of belonging to Samoa and *fa'aSamoa*; to ranks and status, our relationships with others and *tuā'oi* – the boundaries within and across these relationships (Tui Atua, 2009a, p. 157). The expression, *o le tagata ma lona fa'asinomaga*, makes explicit that every individual is entitled to a designation (p. 166).

Individual and familial identity and designation is known through genealogical connections and the relationships between people and their physical and cosmological environment. These connections permeate the Samoan worldview. Genealogies and their associated narratives are considered sacred knowledge and are protected by family custodians. The information is, therefore, not always readily available to all individuals within the extended family. Genealogy situates the individual within their family, their village, and within the Samoan worldview. Genealogical knowledge is also central to claims regarding land and titles.

In drawing on connections between people and their physical environment, the word *fatu*, for example, is the Samoan term for rock and heart. The religious ritual of burying the *pute* (umbilical cord) in the land connects people and the land, giving substance to the saying *o le tama o le 'ele'ele* (man of the soil) and *tulaga vae* (footprint). *'Ele'ele* (earth) and *palapala* (mud) can also mean blood. These core symbols, continues Tui Atua, indicate the genealogical connections and the *tuā'oi* (boundary, connection) between people and land (ibid, p. 156).

Tui Atua (2009b) notes that connections between Samoan people and the cosmos are also found in ancient expressions and sayings. The relationship between people and the cosmos is expressed in the saying, *e lē taumasina* (the movements of the moon are beyond the control of man). In Samoan mythology, for example, the stories of *Tolola* (delayer of the sun) and *'Alo'aloolela* (avoider of the sun) record the Samoan understanding of

In Samoa, all children have a *fa'asinomaga* (Samoan identity) regardless of the circumstances of their conception.

(6) Then Tagaloa said to *Tui-te'e-lagi*, "Come here now, that you may prop up the sky." Then it was propped up; it reached up on high. But it fell down because he was not able for it. Then *Tui-te'e-lagi* went to *Masoā* (starch) and *Teve* (a plant with very bitter roots); he brought them and used them as props; then he was able. (The *masoa* and the *teve* were the first plants that grew, and other plants came afterwards). Then the sky remained up above, but there was nothing for the sight to rest upon. There was only the far-receding sky, reaching to Immensity and Space.

A version recorded by Kramer gives further detail about the rock and Samoa's music tradition:

*...it is related that the red earth united with the brown earth and begot the rock that stands upright, and that it [i.e. the upright rock] united with the earth rock. From this union there issued the white rock called Papatea. This is also the name of the home of the spirits in the distant east. From*

their relationship with the sun. In this story, the sun's passage was delayed to allow for the impregnation of a woman. Upon the death of matai, honorifics connected to the cosmos are drawn on to announce the death; one such expression is *ua pa'ū le la*, the sun has fallen (ibid, pp.179ff).

The Report on the Status of the Child in Samoa (Government of Samoa, 2005) refers to *fa'asinomaga* as the genealogical identity of a Samoan child, which forms a fundamental part of every child's life. In Samoa, all children have a *fa'asinomaga* (Samoan identity) regardless of the circumstances of their conception. A child's *fa'asinomaga* is established through kinship connections by blood, marriage or adoption and where they belong in terms of his/her family.

A child, for example, who grew up in village A may through their parents and ancestors also claim *fa'asinomaga* in villages B, C and D. *Faasinomaga* of the child and all Samoan people also explains why one child and individuals have so many relatives and extended families, and why that person has a right to claim their identity within several villages.

The report says that "a fundamental part of one's *fa'asinomaga* is one's *Aiga*" (nuclear and extended families). Villages comprise a number of *aiga*, and in Samoa all Samoan children have an *aiga* to which they belong.

*The concepts of fa'asinomaga and aiga are the fundamental cultural principles which guarantee the protection of children in Samoa. It is normal practice for uncles, aunties, grandparents or other relatives to care for a child in the event of family breakdown. This 'security' element of the Samoan culture is very much a strength in the protection of children, given the non-existence of a western welfare system for children in Samoa (ibid).*

Within the context of the Samoan indigenous theological reference, man in ancient Samoan funeral ritual taunts God in dance performance and song chant. The basic message is "you have taken one of us, but so long as I have a penis I have the power to reproduce life" (Tui Atua, 2009a, p. 156). This reference, notes Tui Atua, provided ancient Samoans with a point of orientation for being, knowing and belonging. *Fa'asinomaga* as man's inheritance is designated by God and is located in the heart, mind and soul of a person,

*It is what gives them meaning and belonging. It is what defines relationships (va fealoaloa'i) and*

*boundaries (tuā'oi) between ourselves and others, us and the environment, us and the cosmos, us and God (ibid).*

According to Tui Atua (2003), the significance of *fa'asinomaga* is found in the belief of ancient and contemporary Samoans that Samoan people do not live as individuals but as beings who are integrally linked to their cosmos, who share divinity with ancestors, land, seas, and skies:

*...For if you want sight and insight into my psyche, you will have to speak to the gods who inhabit it. You have to eavesdrop on the dialogue between my ancestors and my soul. You have to address my sense of belonging. I am not an individual; I am an integral part of the cosmos. I share divinity with my ancestors, the land, the seas and the skies. I am not an individual, because I share a "tofi" (an inheritance) with my family, my village and my nation. I belong to my family and my family belongs to me. I belong to my village and my village belongs to me. I belong to my nation and my nation belongs to me. This is the essence of my sense of belonging. These are the reference points that define who I am, and they are the reference points of other Samoans (p.51).*

The Samoan psyche and soul dialogues with the Gods and their ancestors.

## THE SAMOAN PSYCHE

The Samoan person has a *mauli*. The closest equivalent in the English language is the psyche (Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 2003, p. 48). The *mauli* is a significant part of the intellectual life of the person. The missionaries replaced the term *mauli* with the word *loto* – the heart of the person in the figurative sense; the seat of the will or emotions, "wherever that is!" adds Aiono-Le Tagaloa. Another understanding of *mauli* is *agaga* or soul (Tui Atua, 2009c, p146).

In comparison to Freud's three divisions of the psyche (the ego, the super ego and id), there are seven parts to the Samoan person's *mauli* -

- *Iloilo* - the ability to reason, the intellect.
- *Masalo* - the ability to divine, to foresee or predict. Other expressions or manifestations of *masalo* are *iite* and *lia* or *fa'alepo*.
- *Finagalo* – the ability to make promulgations. This was ceded to the God of Christianity. While Samoan people may refer to the *finagalo* of another, they do not speak of holding a personal *finagalo*.



- Mana – grace and/or power. Also ceded to the God of Christianity; Samoan people no longer speak of personal mana.
- Sau – breath of life manifested through the spoken word. Samoan people put great emphasis on the need to choose one's words carefully and to speak only in appropriate circumstances and tones. They recognise the power of words to create and to destroy. The breath of life must be handled with great care, consideration and caution.
- Mana'o – feelings, emotions and desires. These show the deepest yearnings of the human being. It is humanity manifested at its best and at its worst and most base.
- Mafaufau – the ability to remember, memories and memory itself. (Aiono-Le Tagaloa, pp. 46-49).



Va tapuia are sacred relationships enshrined within covenants (feagaiga).

## ON HISTORY AND GENDER RELATIONS

*“...without a dynamic analysis of the total gender system, the cultural meaning of virginity and rape in Samoa is misrepresented by Freeman’s ahistorical and contextless analysis” (Leacock 1993, p. 362).*

Eleanor Leacock is critical of Freeman’s view that there is no reason to suppose that Samoan society changed in any significant way between 1926 and 1940. In saying this, continues Leacock, Freeman ignores “historicity as a dynamic factor and its impact on the structure of gender relations” (p. 351).

The important eras of Samoan history overlooked by Freeman include the arrival of Christianity in 1830 and its influence on the gradual re-conceptualisation of gender relations, the most important being that of the feagaiga i le va o le tuagane ma lona tuafafine – the brother-sister covenant. Other events which also influenced the way in which Samoan people were beginning to see the world included the 1918 Spanish influenza that killed at least 25 percent of the population; the colonial administrations of Germany and New Zealand, and the boycotts by local growers wanting to participate independently in the international market trade.

The period to which Freeman refers was one of immense social and political upheaval in the

Samoan population that led to demonstrations against the New Zealand administration and the events of Black Friday in 1929. Samoa’s struggle for political independence, sparked by a host of complaints against the colonial powers, was achieved in 1962.

## ON THE ‘CULT OF VIRGINITY’ AND OBJECTIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Shankman (1996) disagrees with Leacock’s (1993) view on the impact of Victorian and Christian morals, and female chastity in Samoan gender relations. He argues that the importance of taupou as a cultural institution became weakened with the introduction of monogamy and, that during World War II, young Samoan women were encouraged to engage in relationships with the American soldiers which not only goes against strict Christian teachings on morality, but also challenges Freeman’s perception that Samoan people place a high value on virginity (1996, p.561). Both Leacock and Shankman disagree with Freeman and their use of opposing rationale highlights the difficulty of establishing an objective interpretation of culture.

## SAMOAN CONCEPTS AROUND RELATIONAL SPACES

### THE SAMOAN SELF

#### **As relational**

Samoa’s beliefs, traditions, and protocols point to the individual as living within multiple contexts and as a relational being. The Samoan self is o a’u ma ‘oe (it is me and you, my self and your self). Self is designated with fa’asinomaga (identity) and tofi (responsibilities, heritage and duties). Self exists within the context of va fealoaloa’i, va tapuia and tuā’oi (Tamasese et al., 1995, p. 28-29).

#### **As Iu Iu: The physical and spiritual maturing of the Samoan person**

The Samoan person is believed to be Iu Iu, that is, to be both physically and spiritually matured. The term Iu fa’aletino refers to the physical realm of the human being. The term Iu fa’aleaga refers to the spiritual realm. This particular study found that Iu fa’aleaga includes the mental dimension of the Samoan person. Iu fa’aleaga and Iu fa’aletino cannot be separated.

They are interdependent and need to be considered together when addressing the whole person (Ibid, p. 34). Itu lua has significant implications in the spiritual beliefs of Samoan people (Ibid, p. 36-38).

### Va fealoaloa'i – Alofa and Fa'aaloalo

Va fealoaloa'i refers to mutual respect between people. Alofa (love) and fa'aaloalo (respect) comprise two key elements of va fealoaloa'i. Although alofa and fa'aaloalo are translated respectively as love and respect, both terms are heavily contextualised within the Samoan paradigm based on relationships of encounter and engagement.

Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese (2009d) notes that alofa and fa'aaloalo are -

*...two critical values of our Samoan culture that are enacted in conversation that help to save or keep face.*

Fa'aaloalo is alo mai and alo atu. This literally is "face meeting face". The loss of face means there cannot be a meeting of faces and the basis upon which fa'aaloalo is premised no longer exists.

Tui Atua is accountable "not only to the living but to the dead" -

*...face is not the individual secular, private face as in the Palagi context, face is the collective face of the family, village and ancestors. (pp.71-72)*

### Va tapuia

Va tapuia are sacred relationships enshrined within covenants (feagaiga). Relationships between Samoan people, between people and their environment, between people and their divinities are viewed in light of va tapuia.

#### Breaches of va tapuia

Tui Atua (2007) writes that "in the relationship between offender and offended, the boundary between right and wrong, between harm and good is most pronounced". Justice in the indigenous Samoan milieu involved restoring harmony to the family, village and individuals. Punishment was judged not so much on the physical harm as the pain imposed on the spiritual. An offence that caused disharmony required the restoration of harmony. Ifoga was instrumental to restoring harmony. In early times, ifoga was mainly conducted for offences of murder and adultery. The

three elements that sustain ifoga are:

- A sense of remorse and shame by the perpetrator.
- Accountability by the (perpetrator's) family and village.
- Forgiveness by the victim's family.

Harmony can only be restored if there is the recognition that ifoga is co-existent with remorse and forgiveness. The Samoan expression, e mu le taulaga i le fa'amagalo, means that the penance of the penitent gains substance and meaning through remorse and penance and equally by the forgiveness of the injured party. This, states Tui Atua, emphasises the importance of remorse and forgiveness in the equation of peace and harmony between people (p.8).

### Tua'oi

The term va fealoaloa'i refers specifically to relational bonds between different entities. In Samoan



Tapu within relationships between people ensures that a state of wellbeing is protected and maintained

speech protocols, the term va fealoaloi' is used when speaking of one's own personal or close relationships to them. In speaking objectively of the relationship of others, as in those relationships that are unfamiliar (at a personal level) to the speaker, the appropriate term is tua'oi (Tui Atua 2009a, p.161).

The tua'oi (boundary) between parents and children in a village setting for example, was traditionally defined by social and cultural expectations and the economic and political realities of village life. In the tua'oi between parents and children, the parents speak on behalf of their young or untitled children in matters of importance (ibid, p.163).

### Tapua'iga

Tapua'iga was the way in which Samoan people perceived, engaged and gave form to the way in which respect was given to their gods and divinities. Tapua'iga is people, environment, and God/s specific. Three important aspects arise out of the significance of tapua'iga. First, the embodiment of the Gods resided within, and was believed to be found in the environment in which people lived. Second, the connection between Samoan people and the Gods are genealogical. Third, fa'asinomaga relates to those places which locate the Samoan

person within the spiritual, physical, and historical continuums of identity and belonging.

Tapua'iga is one permeating strand underpinning fa'asinomaga (designation, identity, belonging), tupuaga (genealogy) and tofi (roles, responsibilities, heritage) of the Samoan person (Tamasese et al, 1995, p. 30-31).

## TAPU



Tui Atua (2009b) notes that in the Polynesian context, tapu means both sacred and 'taboo'. Tapu is the sacred essence which underpins and permeates people's relationships with all things; with the gods, the cosmos, environment, other people and self (p.175). Tapu within relationships between people ensures that a state of wellbeing is protected and maintained (Tamasese et al, p29).

The term va tapuia contains the word tapu within it. Tui Atua (ibid) states that it literally refers to the sacred relationship between people and all things that are animate and inanimate, sentient and non-sentient. The relationship is with all things living and dead. The distinction notes Tui Atua between what is living and what is dead is not premised on the presence of life force, that is, maui or fatumanava, but on whether there is a genealogy (in an evolutionary sense) that connects to a life force.

Tui Atua further states that the Samoan indigenous reference acknowledges that while people might be the most evolved and intelligent of all Tagaloa's creations, they are in Samoan genealogical terms the 'younger brother'. All matter that is human, water, animal, plant or of the biosphere are issues of Tagaloaalagi. They are therefore all divine creatures connected by genealogy. Accordingly, the proper attitude by the 'younger brother' towards all earlier creations must be one of respect (ibid, pp 175-176).

Fa'aaloalo (respect) is the cornerstone of Samoan indigenous religious thought and must be shown by people to the sacred essence of all things, and the sacred origins of their beginnings (ibid).

### **Tapu and the conception of human life**

In ancient Samoa, once conception was established, a ritual celebration known as afuafua (literally, beginning) would take place. The Samoan understanding for when human life begins is at the point of conception, where human life is stated to exist. This is known as ma'itagata, a

shortening of the term, ma'itagata, meaning to be ill with a new tagata (human being). The foetus is recognised as a person who gains sacred essence and is therefore considered tapu. In cases where the life of the foetus is deliberately terminated, a breach of tapu occurs for which rituals of pardon need to be conducted (Tui Atua, ibid, pp.180-181).

### **Consanguinity tapu**

Incest or mata i fale (to look into or direct one's attention into the house which implies family) is viewed as abhorrent by Samoan people. Tapu in sexual relationships between closely related family members was strictly adhered to, and knowledge of these occurrences, whether conducted surreptitiously or sanctioned as exceptions for political gain, continue to be protected within the genealogical records and memories of families and villages.

Tui Atua (2009e, pp.23-24) lifts the knowledge tapu on the story of Mata'utia Fa'atulou and Levalasi, who are first cousins; Levalasi is also a high born woman. In this story, the two orators, Leifi and Tautolo, engineer the union between the cousins on a political pretext. Because of the consanguinity tapu, Mata'utia must pardon himself (tulou) in fulfilling his conjugal duties, hence the name Mata'utia Fa'atulou. Levalasi became pregnant and gave birth to a clot of blood.

Assuming the breach of tapu as the cause of this, the two orators conspire and assassinate Mata'utia Fa'atulou. Levalasi, however, is inconsolable and fearing reprisals from her family and, in particular, her brothers, Atua (the political district) built a pyre in which the orators were burned alive, thereby avoiding retribution from Levalasi's brothers (Tupa'i and Tauiliili).

Tui Atua also shares the story of the origins of Gatoaitete, one of Samoa's important paramount titles. Gatoaitete was a descendent of an incestuous relationship between the brother and sister, Gatoloai and 'Alimanaia.

Gatoloai became pregnant and gave birth to a son, La'ailepouliuli (meaning a step into the dark night, signifying the circumstances of his birth), or La'auli. To avoid public shame and disgrace, Gatoloai was offered by her father as a wife to Malietoa Itualagi, who on his death passed on the title of Malietoa to La'auli. Malietoa La'auli's children were girls, the eldest of whom was called



Gatoaitele.

In his desire for a son, Malietoa La'auli adopted the boy Falefatu. During an argument between Gatoaitele and Falefatu, he referred to her incestuous grandparents and questioned her legitimacy as an heir of Malietoa. This led to a factionalised war within the Tuamasaga district. The village Malie led the Falefatu faction and the village Afega led Gatoaitele's. Gatoaitele was assisted by her grandsons Tupa'i and Tauiliili, who fought with the support of the war goddess, Nafanua. The result of Falefatu's defeat included the removal of status from the Malietoa title resident in Malie with the imposition of the title Tupa'i, and the name Gatoaitele became the new paramount title in Afega.

### ***The curse of parents and village elders on breaches of consanguinity tapu***

Anecdotal information and studies note that incestuous relationships would incur the parents' curse, mala'aumatuā on the couple; or where force was used by the male, upon the male offender. The curse would often involve the parents and family disowning the offending couple/or offender; a life of hardship disconnected from family, village and land, and no biological or surviving biological offspring. Tamasese et al (1997) note that mala'aumatuā and mala'aunu'uā (curse by elders of the nu'u – village) are viewed as one consequence of mental unwellness amongst Samoan people (pp.42-44).

### **MYTHS AND LEGENDS**

Existing literature written predominantly by European writers (Steubel, 1976; Kramer, 1994; Schultz, 1980) on myths and legends of Samoa do not contain narratives of sexual abuse or incest. The one exception is the story of Nafanua. Nafanua is renowned for her prowess in war as well as her gift for prophecy. Nafanua's parents were Savea Siuleo and his brother's daughter Tilafaiga. She was born as a blood clot and was buried by her mother in the soil of Pulotu in Falealupo. The foetus took the human form of a girl and was named Nanāilefanua (hidden in the earth) or Nafanua for short (Liumaunu, 1994, pp. 126-127).

### **4.6.3 DISCUSSION**

Within the available literature, there is little or no explicit articulation of sexual violence within the context of a Samoan indigenous worldview. The information gathered from the literature review does provide some positive insights into a range of approaches to developing prevention initiatives for a diverse multi-ethnic Samoan population.

### **VA: VA FEALOA'I, VA TAPUIA**

#### **SPACES OF RELATIONSHIPS AND OF SACRED CONNECTIONS**

Literature identifies Samoan academics, thinkers and specialists who agree that the Samoan concept of va is central to the way in which Samoan people perceive and engage with the world. The Samoan worldview is encompassed in va (Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 2003) and is important to the Samoa view of reality (Wendt in Lilomaiva-Doktor 2009, p12).

Where in everyday usage, va refers to a physical space between objects and people, within



*Va is space that relates, is conceptualised and lived out holistically.*

the context of human interaction however, va (spaces) and tuā'oi (boundaries), define and govern the way in which relationships between people, between people and environment (SPREP 1999), and people and their divinities (Tamasese et al 1995) are to be conducted. Va is space that relates (Wendt, ibid), is conceptualised and lived out holistically (Lilomaiva-Doktor 2009, p13), in that all human dimensions and the elements in their cosmological and social environments are interdependent; and which defines the Samoan person as a relational being who has faasinomaga (places of belonging), tupuaga (a genealogical context), and tofiga (duties and responsibilities to the collective identity) (Tamasese et al, ibid, p28).

The concept of va according to Aumua Simanu underpins all epistemologies related to Samoan relational identities and obligations (in Lilomaiva-Doktor 2009, pp.13-14).

Whether one is engaged in va fealoa'i (social relationships) or va tapuia (sacred relationships) depends on the type of connection one (as a family or social collective or as an individual) has to the other within specific contexts. Aumua Simanu (ibid) for example refers to knowledge of social and genealogical connections between families.

SPREP (ibid) points to the sacred relationships between people and their environment.

## BOUNDARIES - TUA'OI

Samoan speech protocols make distinction between the use of the terms *va fealoa'i* and *tuā'oi*. When speaking of one's own personal or close relationship to another, the term *va fealoa'i* is used. In speaking objectively of the relationship of others, such as relationships that the speaker is not familiar with, the appropriate term is *tuā'oi* (Tui Atua 2009a, p.161).



As a principal task of nurturing children, they are taught how to identify and to respect boundaries of relationships between themselves, their peers, family members and people within their village (Tui Atua 2009e, pp.54-55).

## PROTECTIVE FACTORS IN PRACTICE

### CULTURE AND GENDER

#### **The covenant of brother and sister: Va tapuia**

Samoan relationships are defined by covenants which are often framed within testaments such as the final wish of a dying leader, the parting of warriors and kings and promulgations. The importance of this covenant between brother and

Samoa's gender arrangements between males and females are based on the covenant between the brother and his sister – o le feagaiga i le va a le tuagane ma lona tuafafine.

sister is highlighted in the Samoan saying,

*E leai se feagaiga e sili atu lona tāua i lo'o le feagaiga a le teine ma lona tuagane.*

This means that there is no covenant that is more binding and sacred than that, that exists between the sister and her brother (Tuimaleali'ifano in Huffer and So'o, 2000, p172).

Samoa's gender arrangements between males and females are based on the covenant between the brother and his sister – o le feagaiga i le va a le tuagane ma lona tuafafine.

#### **Feagai – opposite but not in**

## opposition

The root word in *feagaiga* is *feagai* which means to be opposite each other within the same space but not in opposition. Within the context of *feagaiga*, language and behaviour between brother and sister is prescribed. In Samoan families, brothers and sisters can also include close cousins and relatives as well as children brought into the family to be raised as part of the family.

*Feagaiga* according to Tui Atua (2007) is both status and covenant (p.7). The sister is the covenant and fulfils the roles and responsibilities accorded to the status of *feagaiga*. The *feagaiga* is peacemaker, conciliator and intercessor where family or village conflict occurs and on behalf of the family gods.

*Indigenous Samoan society promoted the virtues of women as special and different but complementary to that of men. The feagaiga was founded on the principle that women have the gift of producing and nurturing life. As child bearers women were seen as sharing divinity with the gods.*

The sisters were known as *ilamutu* because of their links with the family gods,

*Ilamutu is the Samoan term for family gods. Feagaiga and the family gods are ilamutu because they share divine intercessory powers. Hence, when the role of the feagaiga as peacemaker is rejected or spurned, the curse of the feagaiga, known as mala o le ilamutu, may be imposed (ibid).*

When the sacred elements of the *feagaiga* relationship is acknowledged and respected, harmony exists between brother and sister, and in families (p8).

### **Gender relationships in society**

Within wider Samoan society, the same prescriptions for behaviour and language, extends to non-related males and females.

The brother-sister relationship underscores the ideal of male and female relationships. The *feagaiga* of brother and sister is also the harmony between man and wife, male and female, each core relationship in family and society (Tui Atua, ibid).

### **Origins of the Feagaiga covenant**

Available literature does not provide an account of the origins of the feagaiga covenant. In the past, “the feagaiga was a birthright exclusive to high-born females. Through Christianity and contemporary practice the feagaiga status is extended to all families” (Tui Atua, *ibid*).

One account, however does, tell of the origin of the tama sã (sacred child), how this status came to be conferred upon the eldest female child and the subsequent covenant that was established through mavaega (dying testament) defining the relationship between ten brothers and their sister,

*The first human beings on earth were Fatu and ‘Ele’ele who were created by Tagaloa Lagi. They had ten sons and one daughter. Fatu grew to be very old and towards the end of his life, he made his mavaega. His sons would in succession be the head of the family. His daughter would be tama sã for whom her brothers [e mu iai o outou mata] (Tapuai 1972, p.18 cited by Ete-Lima, 2003)*

The phrase “e mu iai o outou mata” is literally, for your sister, your eyes burn. The message behind the father’s testament to his sons is that their life’s focus is to be perpetually directed towards the wellbeing of their sister, to the point that their eyes smart and redden from unblinking vigilance.

In the spirit stories of Samoa, the origin of the morning star and the evening star is based on the mavaega made by Tapuitea to her brother Toivao-toaletufuga (Toiva). This particular covenant is known as le mavaega na i le tulafasa:

*Tapuitea was known as a fierce lady with the distinction of possessing two pairs of eyes, the second pair was said to be at the back of her head. She was also known to be partial to human flesh, especially that of her own kin. One day as Toiva was sitting under the fasa tree by the bathing pool, he saw in the water the reflection of his sister about to pounce on him, “Isa! Ai lava o tuafafine vale nei!” [Isa! It’s the evil/bad sister!]*

Reminded of the va tapuia between brother and sister, the contrite Tapuitea says,

I shall become a star in the heavens  
But when I appear in the west  
That is the time for your rest  
When I stand forth from the east  
That is the time to fish (or hunt)  
(Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 1996, pp.24-25)

## The brother-sister covenant as va Pa’ia

Literature often discusses feagaiga in terms of va tapuia – relationships that are tapu. Recent writing by traditional orators, however, refers to this covenant as va pa’ia (Lafai-Sauoaiga 2000, p.34; Aumua Mata’itusi Simanu 2002, p.125). The term Pa’ia has connotations of sacredness, sacrosanct and holy. Unlike the term tapu, the word Pa’ia points to something that shares divinity and is God-like.

An excerpt from Aumua Mata’itusi Simanu (p.125) describes the nature of va Pa’ia, the role of the brother and how this relationship impacts on present-day situations. Translations in square brackets are by the Samoan researcher. The words in bold and underlined are an example of language used with sisters. Words that are underlined indicate terms worth noting.

*O le va lenei e ta’u e Samoa o le va pa’ia, o lona uiga e pa’ia le olaga o le tuafafine i le manatu o le tuagane; e soifua le tuagane Samoa e tautua lona tuafafine, e fa’asi’usi’umata uma iai ana mea lelei, ma e fa’ataunu’u uma e le tuagane mana’o o le tuafafine; pe faigofie, pe faigata, pe tau fo’i i le oti se mana’o o le tuafafine, e fa’ataunu’u lava e le tuagane....aua o le i’oimata o le tuagane lona tuafafine.*

[This relationship (va) is known by Samoan people as va pa’ia, in other words, in the mind/belief of the brother, his sister’s life is sacred and sacrosanct. Throughout his life, it is the role of the Samoan brother to provide for the needs of his sister; he seeks out the best of things for her, and he provides everything that she is in need of; whether it is easy, difficult, whether it kills him, whatever the sister asks, he will achieve...because his sister is the pupil (i’oimata) of the brother’s eye (i.e. the brother perceives the world in relation to the wellbeing of his sister)].

*E le mafai ona a’ai fa’atasi le tuagane ma le tuafafine, ae ‘auauna mai le tuagane i le avega o mea taumafa, ma saofa’i mai le talatua o le fale ma le apa fafano ma le solo; se’iloga ua laulelei o le tuafafine ona fa’ato’a ‘ai lea o le tuagane.*

[The brother cannot eat with his sister; his role is to serve her meal and to sit to the rear of the house with a bowl of water and towel (to clean her hands) when she has finished her meal. When her meal is completed, he is then able to have his meal. (Note: laulelei is the polite term for eat,



while 'ai is the common term.]

*E fa'aeteete le tuagane i soli mea e tofa ai le tuafafine, e le palauvale fo'i le tuagane i le tuafafine; ae sili ona mataga pe'a matamata fa'atasi i 'ata o televise ma tifaga aua ona o lagona lava fa'anatura o le fa'aSamoa. E fa'aeteete fo'i le ava ma le fanau a le tuagane ne'i le malie le tuafafine, aua e ono fa'ato ai e le tuafafine lea fafine ma tamaiti. O le va fealoa'i lea o le tuagane ma le tuafafine ua ave sese i aso nei ma ua fela'asa'i ai le va fealoai Fa'aSamoa moni. (p.125)*



[The brother is careful/cautious that he does not enter into the place where his sister sleeps,

Malietoa also designated the missionaries as “quasi-sisters” of each village by bestowing on them the ceremonial address of Fa'afeagaiga taulagi – the prefix fa'a meaning “to be like” and feagaiga, the sister

nor does he swear at or in the presence of his sister. What is most shameful is for a brother and sister to be in the same room or picture theatre (where the film is of a sexual nature). The brother's wife and children are also careful that they do not displease the sister in case she causes them ill will. This is va fealoa'i between brother and sister; however, now-a-days, va fealoa'i is used wrongly and its true meaning within fa'aSamoa has been bandied about/used indiscriminately. (Note: the term soli means to trample, defile. Tofā is the polite term for sleep)]

### **Feagaiga and the missionary sister**

The arrival of Christianity to Samoa in 1830 under the auspices of John Williams and the London Missionary Society initiated events that significantly impacted on the status of feagaiga. Aiono-Le Tagaloa (1996) writes:

*The very first western-planned development programme was introduced into Samoa by the British missionaries in 1830. The package represents the whole of Western civilization with all its real and presumed superiority. (p.35)*

The missionaries William and Barf were advised by Samoan converts, Puaseisei and Fouea, who had sailed with them from Tonga, to appeal first to the hearts and minds of the Samoans. They were also introduced to the matai group who recognised the potential for good or ill of the programme and swiftly moved to protect the

unity of the ideal Samoan social organisation.

With some variations by village structure, Samoa's socio-economic and political organisation comprised four main “houses” -

- Nu'u a Ali'i: House of ali'i and tulafale
- Nu'u a Tama'ita'i: House of unmarried females
- 'Aualuma: House of married women (which includes unmarried females in absence of a nu'u a tama'ita'i)
- 'Aumaga: House of untitled men.

As a way of incorporating the missionaries into Samoa's social structure, Malietoa Vainu'upo designated the missionaries to the tama'ita'i

group and gave them the right to be addressed as Susuga (Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 1996, p.36) which is the form of address to the title Malietoa. Huffer and So'o (2000, p. 123) note that Malietoa also designated

the missionaries as “quasi-sisters” of each village by bestowing on them the ceremonial address of Fa'afeagaiga taulagi – the prefix fa'a meaning “to be like” and feagaiga, the sister. The missionaries would therefore have the status of tama'ita'i, and the tapu of the feagaiga, even though “they did not come from the same womb” (Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 1996, p. 36).

### **Contemporary understandings of fa'afeagaiga and feagaiga**

In the 1990s, on the completion of a community training project on sexual violence, an 'ava (kava) ceremony was held in a church hall at which a government minister and one of the authors of this report were present. The minister of the church was also present, as well as one female matai amongst a large number of male matai. A senior orator from the project was designated to call the sequence by which matai and dignitaries would receive their cups in order of importance. It was assumed by many that as an important guest the first cup would go to the government minister, to be followed by the minister of the church. The first cup, however, was called to go to the female matai.

This caused uproar; the ceremony stopped and the church minister quietly left. Male matai argued that the church minister's position as fa'afeagaiga meant that he should have been the first Samoan to drink. The senior orator responded that the 'ava ceremony is a true Samoan ritual, so the first

cup should go to the feagaiga – the female matai. In the informal discussions that followed, one matai commented that when Malietoa Vainu'upo made the missionaries his fa'afeagaiga, he effectively invalidated the status of feagaiga.

Early in 2009, a group of leading orators who comprise Samoa's Ministry of Womens Affairs advisory committee visited New Zealand. They intended to clarifying practices of fa'aSamoa that were creating added financial burden for families living in New Zealand. They were asked their view on the status of feagaiga. One female informant at the meeting said their response was that once a woman married, her status as feagaiga no longer existed (personal communication, 23 June, 2009). The informant's comment to the group was that if this was the case then sexual violence would never cease. She also added that this was the first time that she had ever heard of a woman losing her feagaiga status because she married.

## PRESENTING A MESSAGE THAT IS MALIE

One unique aspect of this study is the opportunity to review critically and sift through the material to generate the type of dialogue that Tongan theologian Vakatau Nasili (2009) refers to as liberative, transformative and uHINGA mālie.

Nasili identifies three properties of meaning within Western scholarship: meaning as the property of actions, of texts and of readers. UHINGA in this context refers to text that has been set free when it has been critically read. Mālie is about symmetry and balance, something that is aesthetically pleasing and right to all of the physical and psychic human senses.

The Samoan word mālie has the same meaning as the Tongan term and in practice manifests itself in similar and in different ways. At a superficial level the word mālie is more commonly understood as something that is funny or hilarious. At a conceptual or philosophical level, mālie in its ideal state exists within va between people, va between people and their environment and between people and their universe. Tui Atua's search for harmony and peace, for example, can be said to be a search for mālie as part of the balance in human relationships with each other, the cosmos and the environment.

The concept of mālie is understood by many fluent speakers and perhaps intuitively by New

Zealand-born non-speakers. A key to framing Samoan prevention initiatives is the use of the concept of mālie. Is the information relevant, meaningful, and aesthetically "right" to the senses? Does the language and visual information capture the individual and the collective in a physical, mental, spiritual and emotional way? To what extent is religion and culture liberative and non-liberative to the general issue of violence? What are the liberative elements that need to be set free from the misinterpretation of non-liberative definitions?

Family therapist Taimalieutu Kiwi Tamasese discusses the developmental work towards emphasising liberative aspects of indigenous culture in an interview (White, 2000). Issues of gender and culture for Samoan violence prevention programmes are significantly under theorised and Tamasese's work is an important contribution to meeting some of the challenges that exist within Fa'aSamoa.

*We have tried to create an alternative way of approaching issues of gender and culture. This is a framework which focuses on the liberative traditions within all cultures. Within all our people's histories there are non-liberative as well as liberative stories, traditions and practices. As we have written about elsewhere, the principles of belonging, liberation and sacredness, and their inter-relationship, inform every aspect of our work. We're interested in playing our part to contribute to the traditions of belonging that are liberative, and that we could call sacred. Many sacred traditions are not liberative - so we do not make these our focus. And some liberative traditions don't emphasise belonging, so similarly we do not concentrate on these. We believe in creating contexts to further those traditions and practices in which belonging, liberation and sacredness meet. And we believe that this is a challenge for all peoples within our own cultures.*

## ON THE NURTURING OF CHILDREN

In terms of promoting positive values and beliefs from childhood, Tui Atua (2009e) provides some insights into the way in which children can be raised based on fa'aSamoa. In his address, he clarifies for parents and important family and village carers the cultural position on discipline,

*There is nothing in Samoan culture and custom that promotes excessive discipline through word or*



deed (p54).

Child discipline, continues Tui Atua, requires that children are nurtured on good thinking and good behaviour. This approach towards raising children provides the moral compass to being, feeling, knowing and doing what is right. The parents, elders, matai, and the village hierarchy have a shared responsibility for nurturing the child.



## THEMES

The three core themes identified in the Samoan literature review and from which all other themes (such as fa'aaloalo, tofi, tautua) can be considered as co-existent to these are

- Fa'asinomaga - identity and belonging
- Va: va fealoa'i, va tapuia, va Pa'ia – relational spaces
- O le feagaiga i le va o le tuagane ma lona tuafafine – the brother and sister covenant.

### THE RELIGIOUS THREAD IN FA'ASINOMAGA, VA AND THE FEAGAIGA COVENANT

Identity and belonging are problematic themes for young people. The main frames of reference available are Christianity, societal norms and aspects of fa'aSamoa.

While it can be argued that there are similarities between Christianity and Samoan religion, it can

of tapu, sā, pa'ia).

It is not a creation story and based on the expression, e le se Atua fau...ao le Atua usu gafa, it is an account of how the Samoan world was birthed by a progenitor God called Tagaloa. The relationship between people and their God is, therefore, not a relationship between creator and created but is one between ancestors and descendents. For this reason, genealogies are central to belonging and identity. Every Samoan person's genealogy traces back to the God/gods.

The narrative on the origins of Samoa is one of many of Samoan lore literature that provides a structure for how Samoan people ought to live in the world with each other and with their environment.

The impact of Christianity on fa'aSamoa was twofold. First, the notions of sacredness, pa'ia and mana characterising ali'i and ali'i pa'ia gradually became ceded to the Christian God. Second, the missionaries acquired the supernatural powers of the sister's side of the high ali'i titles (Meleisea 1992, in Huffer and So'o, 2000, p.122).

Literature and anecdotal information suggests that the designation of missionaries and now Samoan religious ministers as fa'afeagaiga (like the sister) has given rise to a confusion of roles and responsibilities of the minister under the covenant between fa'afeagaiga and their communities of faith. Kamu (1996) notes that the shift from the model of pastoral stewardship and service to that of fa'afeagaiga has resulted in pastors misunderstanding their roles,

*...pastoral model of auauna (servant relationship) to that of the (fa'a) feagaiga relationship, [which] when understood in terms of power, authority and prestige in a secular sense, has often tempted pastors with false perceptions of their roles.*

Further the confusion between the terms feagaiga (as sister) and fa'afeagaiga, and the term feagaiga (as contract) is emerging (though very rarely) in academic writings developed by Samoan students. For example, Siauane (2004) refers to the faifeau (minister) as feagaiga. Of interest, and because of its impact on issues of power relationships, is also the reference to the minister as sui o le Atua, as God's representative (as chosen by God) (p. 123-124).

The way in which the role of fa'afeagaiga can be seen to have appropriated a concept which...honours the sacred role of Samoan females, sets a perilous precedent for other liberative aspects of Samoan culture

also be contended that the differences are the critical points that matter in identity and belonging. Tui Atua writes that in the Samoan thesis of religion, there is no Garden of Eden, no snake, no sin and no fig leaf (Tui Atua 1999, pp.1-7). In this context, there is also no tempting Eve (the seductress in Protestant beliefs) and no Virgin Mary (one of Catholicism's central doctrines).

In looking for liberative elements within fa'aSamoa, the narrative on the origins of Samoa and Samoan people provides the basis for which people and their environment are sacred, and how ritual and language serves to enhance and protect the sacredness of human beings and environment (such as feagaiga, va tapuia; notions

The theological implications of this are many; however, the way in which the role of fa'afeaiga can be seen to have appropriated a concept which, within the context of fa'a Samoa honours the sacred role of Samoan females, sets a perilous precedent for other liberative aspects of Samoan culture.

## LANGUAGE

Samoan words for sexual violence include fa'amalosi (to force) and pule le uma (child sexual abuse) (McPhillips et al, 2002), toso teine (rape), faafeusuaiga fa'amalosi (forced intercourse) and pule le uma (undisciplined). World views on sexual violence incorporate these definitions and meanings.

## PREVALENCE

There appear to be high rates of sexual violence in Samoa. The Samoa Family Health and Safety Study (SPC, 2007) found that 19.6% of the 1,212 women who had ever been in a relationship had experienced sexual abuse from a partner at some time. Thirty-five percent had not wanted their first experience of sexual intercourse or had it forced on them. Of these, 13.5% described themselves as never abused. This is consistent with other research (eg. Littleton et al, 2008) that women may not see their experience as rape at the time, and only later recognise their lack of choice or inability to consent.

Three percent (11) of men surveyed separately reported sexual abuse from a female domestic partner.

Of the total 1,646 women surveyed, 10.6% had been forced to have intercourse with someone other than a domestic partner. Two percent had experienced unwanted sexual contact from a non-partner. Seven percent of men (44) reported forced sex from non-partners; however, report authors concluded that some respondents had not taken this question seriously.

Most participants thought there was a good reason for their partner's physical violence and made excuses for them. More than 70 percent believed they should not refuse sex with their partner when they did not want to; more than 40 percent would not refuse when he was drunk and 24 percent when they themselves were sick. More urban than rural women reported they would submit to sex with the husband when he

was inconsiderate. Women were less likely than men to believe a woman is justified in refusing to have sex with her partner (p. 47). Women were also more likely to believe physical abuse was justified in some cases (p. 48).

The position of fa'afafine in Samoa was described as a butt of jokes, as "a disposable sexual outlet and as an object of occasional violence and brutality" (St Christian 1994, p. 184). In recent years there have been reports of violence against fa'afafine by young masculine Samoan men (p. 151).

## PREVENTION

The traditional safe havens acceptable to the community are the church minister's house or that of the matai of the family (UN CEDAW, 2003, 78). In villages, traditional punitive measures are administered on the offender's whole family rather than the individual. This means that the person concerned risks the wrath of the family as a result of his/her actions.

A report into domestic and sexual violence in Samoa concluded that widespread community education about the unacceptability of domestic abuse needed to reach into villages and churches (SPC, 2007).

The report said that Village Councils usually do not interfere in domestic abuse. However, if a person is seriously injured by domestic violence, the Village Council may fine the person who caused the injury, or act as a court witness. The accused may be pardoned if they have already paid a tribute to the council. The person who was beaten does not directly benefit, although sometimes their family may receive some material goods.

Male participants in the report said anger management was their main solution to domestic violence, and recommended that programmes should be available to help men find non-violent solutions to anger (SPC, 2007). Men also suggested that NGOs should promote harmony within families by conducting seminars in schools, villages and church groups. Thirty-nine percent suggested that Village Councils should fine abusive men, 24 percent wanted church ministers to preach about the importance of relationship harmony, while 22 percent suggested churches should run seminars for members on ways to stop violence.



Service providers in Samoa suggested village workshops that stress that violence is not a form of love, and teach non-violent ways of expressing anger, and communication skills between families (SPC, 2007). They also suggested counselling for women to recognise their own worth.

#### 4.6.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS



##### SAMOAN INDIGENOUS PROTECTIVE CONCEPTS

Participant perceived violence as a disruption of *va* that fractures relationships and could result in punishments.

**Male matai:** ...if you understand what *va* means, you do your best not to do violence...

**Faletua:** There was the curse of the family elders (*mala'aumatua*) ...yes, and the curse of village leaders (*mala'aunu'ua*)...

When covenants that protect the relational spaces between people (*va tapuia* and *va fealoaloai*) are abused or breached, relational spaces are trampled and are no longer viewed as protective.

**Male matai:** ...if we examine the protective factors between *matai* within their covenant...the covenant that protects everything...covenant and sanctity go together...but the concept of *feagaiga* has been *solu* (trampled)."

...Erosion of *va tapuia* of the *feagaiga*, the sacred covenant between the brother and sister, means

"If you understand what *va* means, you do your best not to do violence."

that the safety of the sister has been compromised.

##### AWARENESS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants said that sexual violence been highlighted in New Zealand and Samoa relatively recently, often due to media exposure.

**Samoa-born young male:** *Tupu so'o i Samoa.* [(Sexual violence and incest) happens a lot in Samoa.]

One male *matai* and a *faletua* spoke about the prevalence and attitudes to sexual violence in pre-contact times.

*Sex to us - Margaret Mead she had a great deal of truth...sex was such an everyday thing, I think.*

*Ae e iai le toso teine. [There was rape of girls.] That would have been in that sexual violence context. All that, it was accepted.*

...o le *fa'amamafa* i le sexual side o le *tapuiga* o le *mamalu*. *Pe e tusa le fasioti tagata ma le soli tofaga...* [With regard to sexual behaviour, the seriousness of the offence of desecration of the marital bed was equated to the act of murder.]

*E le'i iloa tele. Incest was there. Ou te le iloa pe sa iai muamua, pe ufiufi. E le'i iloa tele.* [It was not widely known. Incest was there. I don't know if (sexual violence) was there then, or if it was covered up; it wasn't known about.]

**Faletua:** *E le se tu fa'a Samoa le fa'ao'olima...o le mea ua masani i tagata...ae e le iloa le matagā.* [Sexual assault is not part of Samoan culture... it has become a part of people's behaviour... but they don't realise that (in Samoan culture) it is shameful/ugly].

##### GENDER POWER AND CONSENT

One male *matai* expressed contradictory perspectives on gender power and consent.

**Male matai:** *Anything to do i le va o gender, tatau ona faaigoa i le gender violence....o le violence lea ou te talanoa iai o le va o tane ma tamaitai...between dominant offender versus victim...power imbalance.* [Anything to do with gender relationships should be called gender violence...that is the violence that I am talking about, within relationships between men and women...]

*Tulafono [law] – it's against the law to violate a minor but the minor might be happy to do it if there is no violence.*

The second comment, which may not be an isolated attitude among Samoan males, implies that consent constitutes willingness and therefore an absence of force or violence. This ignores the developmentally inappropriate and psychologically harmful effect of sex between an older person and a minor.

##### TERMS FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

**Faifeau:** *E iai mea o le moetotolo, o le mataifale. E iai cases o maliliu ai tagata – soli tofaga. Na alu le ifoga.* [There were *moetolo* (men who surreptitiously made their way to a female's sleeping



area while she was asleep to commit a sexual assault) and mataifale (men who commit incest). There were cases where people died because of adultery. In situations of adultery, the process of ifoga (ritual of reconciliation) was undertaken.]

**Male matai:** ...o pa'umutu...teine tosolau.  
[promiscuous female; loose female]

Two young participants named the types of sexual violence that they were aware of, and their terms for offenders:

**New Zealand-born young woman:** Rape, forced sex, unwanted sex, type of sex victim does not want, talking in sexually offensive way; ...fucked up jerk, shit head, dick, fucker.

**Samoa-born young woman:** Le mea [the thing]; fai [do]; faamalosi [force – indicates rape]; koso [rape]; makagā [ugly]; laga mea ga fai [the thing that he did – third person description].

Name of the offender; le alii [man]; kamaloo [man]; ai kae [one who eats shit]; ufa [rectum, anus].

**Samoa-born young male:** Faafeusuaiga fa'a solitulafano. [Illegal sexual intercourse]

E tusa toso ma le fa'amalosi teine. [Toso and fa'amalosi (force) teine both mean to rape a female.]

## PERCEIVED CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants identified a range of causes and contributors to sexual violence. Four described revenge and control of women as motivators for men.

**Samoa-born young woman:** ...we tell him..ai kae, get lost you are not part of our circle...you're a married man...

**New Zealand-born young woman:** Dicks that can't get their shit together ...maybe he's the type of dude that wants to control a woman and can't do it like a man so he has to do...something like that... get his way...

...Na..a lot of guys can't have a conversation with girls but they don't go and rape them and stuff like that...that's why he has to force her..gotta jump her and all that.. cos he ..can't get what he wants...he hasn't got the balls.

**Samoa-born young male:** ...committed by males who can't find a girl.

Three participants believed that drugs and alcohol

were major contributing factors, and three spoke about the impact of media.

**Faletua:** Television...are naked from morning to night...(men) watch and then go and try...this life is too fast...too little time spent by parents with their children.

...Men sin through their eyes...they see something and are seduced by it.

**New Zealand-born young woman:** Oh yeah...but the TV doesn't tell him to go rape someone...that's why God gave him a mafaufau [mind to think]..that's just an excuse..I don't go that one...even if there's a lot of stuff on like that... it's his decision...



In one case described by a counsellor, where a father forced his wife to act out pornography he had watched, the children and the perpetrator had different explanations.

The children viewed their father's behaviour as 'natura o latou tama' [being their father's nature].

In his view, his behaviour was a pattern...he would become upset if he saw his wife talking with male church elders ...he called his behaviour a sickness like ma'i Samoa [associated with spirit possession and believed to be incurred by breaches of relational boundaries of people or of spirits]. The husband said that an incident happened to him during his teenage years in Samoa where he had been sexually abused by a group of males. He said that his mind became sick. He was a victim but then he 'infected' especially his daughter.

**Male matai:** ...there are genetic causes... It is a mental illness...

**Samoa-born young male:** ...is perpetrated by people who live in families where God is not present.

## PREVENTION STRATEGIES

Participants described a range of strategies involving leadership and mentoring, the church, communication, peer influence and school-based programmes.

**Woman matai:** I le olaga fa'asamoa e mana'omia ni ta'ita'i totoa latou te taitaiina ni polokalame. ...O le lu'i lena o le tutu fa'atasi o taitai o lotu, matai matua. [In the Samoan way of life what is needed are strong and capable leaders to deliver the programmes...that is the challenge – for church leaders, matai and

parents to stand together (on this issue)]

**Counsellor/therapist:** Samoan people need to work together with church leaders and other community leaders to address the issue.

**Samoan-born young male:** One successful Samoan rugby personality came and spoke to us at our church's Easter Youth Camp and that was very popular. Use of good and successful Samoan role models to mentor young Samoan people.

**New Zealand-born young male:** Establish programmes at church or the workplace to discuss issues... Churches provide more support for young people through their Church Youth Groups... Raise awareness and promote the consequences of alcohol abuse.

Participants suggested that parents and children discuss this subject together.

**New Zealand-born young female:** Someone's

"There's a huge need to address this in the ministry. If the minister is not enough, use counsellors and others in the church."

got to talk to them. Our parents try in their own way...like taking us to loku [church] and talking to us about being tama leleli, teine lelei, aua e fai se mea ka'u valea ai maua... [good boy, good girl, don't do anything that will bring shame to us] that's their way of telling us ..but someone's got to help these ..they can show them how to talk to a girl...my brothers always ask me about girls...my mum said all boys are bad...kasi le mea e magao ai... [they only want one thing] it'd be cool to talk to our parents..but good luck.

[I'd]...rather talk to my mum about sex cos Palagi doesn't understand..but I don't want piss my mother off... she's going to think I'm having sex... i just wanna know..she can tell me some cool line to give him the shits..

**Woman matai:** Samoan people have to be comfortable in our own skin - comfortable to talk about sexual matters before we can talk about sexual offending...it's a missionary hangover but it's not God's will to hide sin.

One participant suggested that male peers could have an influence on violent males.

**New Zealand-born female:** Even TV gets it wrong...they show heaps of sexual violence...every program got it...but no information about the

effects...prevention...nothing for the jerk sitting at home (laughs)...where can he go for help...yeah yeah...go get it cut off...(laughs)...better before it happens.

...I don't know of a place a guy can go to if he thinks he might be a stalker 'n that...our priest does confession on Fridays (laughs)...if one of my mates came to me and told me he was thinking something like that...I kick his muli [arse] man. I kick his balls so he can't even do it.

Two young people suggested early school-based education.

**Samoan-born young male:** Education and raising awareness of sexual violence should be encouraged to discipline wayward children...

**New Zealand-born young female:** ...they (abuser) don't live by themselves...do they?... someone's gotta know...someone's gotta talk with them...yeah, like they gotta make a decision but someone has to talk to them...it's too late...get to them early...when they young at primary school.

...maybe that kid is a victim too...talk to them early before they go be violent to some other poor kid...

## CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROLE OF CHURCH:

### The church as a barrier to the prevention of sexual violence

Participants identified a wide range of causes and contributors to sexual violence within the church. A faifeau and counsellor agreed that sexual violence is perpetuated by a conservative approach and silence from the church.

**Faifeau:** Unfortunately some of the faifeau have themselves committed offences, including sexual violence.

**Counsellor/therapist:** Some church leaders hold on to absolute power and do not provide assistance to those affected by sexual violence... most are not putting enough emphasis on finding solutions.

One participant was critical of the church's avoidance and lack of clear direction on the issue.

**Faletua:** The church is in the dark around issues of sexual violence – they close their eyes to it.



...There are no women's fellowship programmes, only weaving mats, sewing pillow cases.

...Ministers are reluctant to address it directly in their sermons – they are not confident/committed.

...Many people use scriptures from the Bible... people are confused. I listen to the radio...incredible that people are muddled.

Participants believed that ministers were not fulfilling their responsibilities based on gospel teachings. Without attention given to the issues raised by the participants, they believed that sexual violence within the church will remain hidden.

**Counsellor/therapist:** *The ministers' sermons are not relevant to what the gospel refers to. If we don't do the work, they will sweep it under the mat so that it won't be known. They give the impression that things are being done...*

**New Zealand-born young male:** *Sexual violence isn't talked about amongst friends and peers at church...*

#### TRAINING FOR MINISTRY

One participant explained that in the past there had been no training or awareness-raising about sexual violence for ministers at theological institutions. Ministers in training were sent to observe and do fieldwork in the inland villages. These topics were often discussed under Christian ethics. The only sexuality issue mentioned was discouraging sex before marriage. She spoke about when she and her husband were beginning their ministry in a village in Samoa.

**Faletua:** *We couldn't do anything (about the sexual violence)...we were considered to be young within our village and we would be reported.*

**Counsellor/therapist:** *...different generations of ministers received different kinds of training...the older ministers ...nothing has been done (about sexual violence)...the only thing is to deliver a sermon every Sunday...they don't come down and mingle with the people...some of them – it's my way or no way. There is no room for secular events.*

#### PREVENTION STRATEGIES WITHIN THE CHURCH:

Participants suggested changes in advocacy, interpretation of scripture, and collaboration between ministers and others in the church.

**Faifeau:** *There is a need for the Samoan church to take leadership in addressing all forms of violence including sexual violence. Its role is to protect people."*

*The Bible is very aware of a changing world.*

...The theology must link to life – into our own context.

...Thy kingdom come, thy will be done – we cannot do (God's) will if we don't know what is happening out there.

**Faletua:** *God is the God of love.*

...It is clear in the story of Genesis. The original sin was disobedience, it was not sex. God sanctified their union and told them to be fruitful and to multiply.

**Faifeau:** *As a Christian – first priority is the law of God. Any kind of violence includes sexual violence. Based on Paul's teaching there is respect of the other person. The church hierarchy should do everything to protect people as part of the gospel.*

...There's a huge need to address this in the ministry. If the minister is not enough, use counsellors and others in the church.



## 4.6.5 DISCUSSION

### PREVALENCE AND ATTITUDES TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN PRE-CONTACT SAMOA

Participant uncertainty and the scarcity of evidence about the extent to which sexual violence occurred in pre-contact Samoa may be due to:

- Secrecy maintained by families and villages
- Different understandings of sexual violence
- Selective transmission of knowledge by traditional knowledge holders.

However, the terms and behaviour of moetolo and toso teine continue through to the present day. Incidents of sexual violence may have been masked through linguistic metaphor, as is common for information sensitive to families and villages. The tapu on family knowledge does suggest that these violations are accessible to family members.

While incest was considered to be a serious breach of covenants, numerous incidents of incest amongst high-ranking families, and intended and actual sexual violations by high-ranking men, can

be found in oral tradition and literature. Their identities were sometimes masked by reference to animal forms and they are a part of Samoa's cosmogonic origins.

The stories of Sina and Tuna and Nafanua are examples of how knowledge became codified within story telling. The publications of these stories, especially by the early missionaries, have sometimes been sanitised with leading characters often demonised and stories treated as myths.



## LANGUAGE FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The reference to the term *toso teine*, which in modern speech refers to rape, is suggestive of the actions of the *moetolo*. Often the *moetolo* will incapacitate the female by striking her to carry her away from the house. *Moetolo* was known to exist in pre-contact days. While *moetolo* still occurs in Samoa, houses in New Zealand are likely to act as a deterrent for this type of offending. Non-related males with a predisposition for sexual offending often get into family homes through friendships and associations with family members.

In Samoa, if a *moetolo* is caught, he is usually beaten by the men of the household and pun-

permeate the core concepts related to *va*.

The curse of the parents (*mala'aumatuā*) and village elders (*mala'aunu'uā*) are extreme forms of punishment and serve to deter people from behaviour that breaches relational boundaries. Curses may leave the offenders unable to have children or continue a genealogical lineage. They may also involve the destruction of property, including the removal of food crops, and banishment from the village. The offender is condemned to live in the world disconnected from and with no useful purpose to the family. The implication is that the offender has no *fa'asinomaga*, that is, no cultural terms of reference through a continuing genealogical line and a place of belonging. This possibility is an anathema to the Samoan person.

Conservative elements of Samoan culture discourage children from questioning their elders, particularly on issues related to sex. It is not clear whether discouraging a questioning attitude was a part of pre-contact Samoan practice or whether it emerged from missionary and Western education teachings on children being seen and not heard. One participant suggests that as a part of resolving and healing, children must be encouraged to ask.

The curse of the parents (*mala'aumatua*) and village elders (*mala'aunu'ua*) are extreme forms of punishment and serve to deter people from behaviour that breaches relational boundaries.

## CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Young participants described revenge and control of women as motivators for male sexual violence, which is consistent

with research findings. Participants did not mention whether this practice continued in New Zealand. Forced or consensual incest is viewed as very serious and can incur the curse of the parents or the sisters and expulsion from the family with no possibility of return.

More work is required to understand meanings in the way in which young people describe violent behaviours.

## PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Participants identified *va fealoaloa'i* (relationships), *va tapuia* (sacred relationships), *feagaiga* (*feagaiga i le va a le tuagane ma lona tuafafine*), *fa'aaloalo* (respect) and *alofa* as being important in preventing sexual violence. Literature also identifies *fa'asinomaga* (identity and belonging) and *tapuia'iga* (spirituality, worship). These and other attendant concepts are interdependent and

with research findings.

When sexual violence is ascribed to genetics and mental illness, the implication is that it is part of the perpetrator's nature and cannot be changed. This takes the focus away from social values that enable perpetrators to get away with sexual violence, for example, that husbands have a right to their wife's body.

The perception among some participants that alcohol and television images could be direct causes of sexual violence has the effect of diminishing the responsibility of perpetrators, or excusing them as one participant recognised.

## PREVENTION STRATEGIES

Overall participants encouraged the collaboration of Samoan people, church and community leaders to address sexual violence. Comfort in discussing sexual issues was seen as necessary for this.

Prevention strategies suggested included -

- Samoan role models to mentor youth
- More community discussion about ways to avoid harm from alcohol abuse, and its role as a disinhibitor.
- More discussion between parents and children about sexual violence.
- Support for young men about their interactions with young women.
- More community discussion about violent images from television and pornography and their contradictions with Samoan relationship values.
- Support for male and female peers to intervene in the behaviour and attitudes of young violent men.
- School-based education from early primary school.

## THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF MEDIA REPORTING

In its reporting of sexual crimes, media plays a significant role in the public disclosure of behaviour that has historically been covered by silence in Samoan families and communities. One impact of media reporting is likely to be shame and embarrassment for families and communities and the potential for family members to become subjected to ridicule and isolation. On the other hand, however, it may elicit community support for individuals and families.

There is little informed, as opposed to reactive, dialogue between the wider Samoan community and media about addressing the causes of violence. This inevitably leads to the monopoly of media and dominant culture public opinion on issues of sexual and other violence within families.

## A CRITICAL APPROACH TO KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION

One matai's support of Margaret Mead's work might have benefited from further enquiry as to his understanding of this. Mead's work is beneficial in that she provided very detailed description of what she observed. There is, however, a question around her interpretation of these observations. There are risks where knowledge and belief is based on empirical observation without commenting on the underlying meanings of behaviour that occurs within a cultural context.

## THE NEED FOR CAPABLE LEADERSHIP

Participants commented on the need for strong and capable leadership to prevent sexual violence, suggesting that ministers, matai and parents work collaboratively. Participants did not mention Pacific providers and professionals, who have worked for years in this area. Participants lacked confidence in the ability of some ministers to advocate from the pulpit or to work to prevent violence in the families of their congregations.

Within the context of fa'a Samoa the leaders of families are the matai. There was no clear comment from the participants as to the specific role of matai in preventing sexual violence within families. This is an important omission and requires further exploration.

Historically, leadership in the New Zealand setting has been weighted towards religious and cultural status over experience and expertise, and privileged males over females. However, recently there have been significant shifts in the composition of leadership where the skills of expertise have been recognised.

**A theological response is needed from church institutions on sexual violence within the church.**

Church and cultural leaders will have a role in preventing all forms of violence, including sexual violence. Some ministers and church leaders are known for their educational and support work. However, a problem with emphasising church and cultural leadership is the lack of clarity in philosophical position and commitment on issues of sexual and other forms of violence.

Rhetoric has yet to be followed by decisive action by the combined Samoan Christian churches and Samoa's traditional heads of families. The question of leadership needs to be revisited to determine who is most capable of negotiating the complexities of the New Zealand context as well as anchoring the shifting interpretations of Samoan indigenous concepts that promote dignity and protection of human life.

The collusion of silence about sexual violence by family and community members requires discussion by both adults and youth in separate forums. This could include the implications of silence for the offender, victim, family and community, and



how this silencing fits with Samoan values and Christian practice?

## THEOLOGY

Several strands emerge from participant interviews:

- The church organisation needs to take a proactive stand against sexual violence as part of the gospel teachings.
- The church organisation needs to ensure that ministers are rigorously trained to understand and apply the theological messages of the Bible to the lives of ordinary people.
- Ministers need to draw on expertise within their congregation to assist with issues of sexual violence in the church.
- The church organisation through its minister needs to work in collaboration with members to ensure that the church environment is free of sexual violence.
- The minister must set an example by working to eliminate sexual violence.



Some participants' observations drew on a more liberative theology, developed from the viewpoint of the most vulnerable in the community. This is a radical departure from the current, often literal, interpretation of the Bible in Samoan churches. For example, a liberative theology takes into account the language and values of its believers. Examples include core values around relational arrangements and the concept of alofa.

This theology also calls on the minister to become involved in the world of the ordinary person and become a part of the healing of those suffering in his congregation. This is the image of ministers as God's suffering servants.

Interpretation of Biblical scriptures can inform and reinforce behavior. Participant comments about consent and the power of minors indicate the need for educational approaches by which everyone, not only men, are able to learn how to assess critically acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, whether based on Samoan cultural values, Christian doctrine or other philosophies.

## THE CHURCH AS A BARRIER TO PREVENTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Without exception, all Samoan communities publicly hold church ministers and priests in high esteem and respect. The relational status of the minister is that of va tapuia. Protestant ministers

are referred to as susuga; Catholic cardinals and bishops as afioga. Both honorifics denote high-ranking positions in the Samoan cultural world.

In New Zealand, church leaders are known to have been reprimanded or incarcerated for serious offences including sexual violence, yet anecdotally there is a general reluctance and resistance by some parishioners, communities or parent organisations to address sexual crimes committed by church ministers. In some situations, parent organisations have been known to remove clergy from their churches and transfer them to positions in other parts of the country or to churches in overseas countries.

Some of the reasons for the reluctance include the:

- Perception that the minister is God's representative and therefore it is a spiritual issue between the minister and God.
- Role of the minister (attributed mainly to the Samoan Congregational church) as fa'afeagaiga (to be like the covenantal sister) and the complexities that lie within the covenant with the congregation.
- Protection of the reputation of the minister; and/or the church membership; and/or vested interests of the body of laity and holders of positions of responsibility.
- Perceptions of women that blame the victim.

Participant comments highlight issues related to the role of ministers as spiritual protectors of the vulnerable and upholder of spiritual and moral integrity – the shepherd. The church is necessarily the minister, individuals and families; it is also the institutional theological governance body to which ministers are responsible. Participant comments on the failure of ministers to address sexual violence raise questions about what theology is being subscribed to, and how the covenant between fa'afeagaiga and the congregation is practiced.

The role of the church is unclear because its own theological position and its standpoint on fa'a Samoa is not clearly defined. A theological response is needed from church institutions on sexual violence within the church.

In many cases the minister has the final word on the running of the church and its policies. Participants comment on the authoritarianism of ministers. The issues around control and power in churches have implications for theology, commu-

nities of faith and for fa'aSamoa.

## FEAGAIGA – MATAI - FA'AFEAGAIGA

The history surrounding the arrival of the London Missionary Society missionaries in Samoa and their being accorded the status of fa'afeagaiga by Malietoa Vainu'upo is known to many elderly Samoans as well as younger generations who have access to the literature. It is not clear as to what Malietoa's intent was when he created the fa'afeagaiga role but it appears that amongst Samoan people, including ministers of religion, there are differing opinions.

While female participants did not state this openly, the research shows that some Samoan women clearly believe feagaiga to be an important part of their birthright, and a way to restore balance, peace and harmony in families.

Proponents for relegating feagaiga status to the past have largely been men who are often matai. Ministers appear to be publicly silent on this issue. It is clear that the creation of the fa'afeagaiga role has led some to believe that Malietoa Vainu'upo intended this to be a replacement of the feagaiga status.

However, this is not supported by evidence from oral tradition or missionary writings. Missionary documentation indicates that they viewed the powers vested within feagaiga as belonging to the Christian God, and that feagaiga must be divested of these powers.

The implications of displacing the feagaiga status mean that the brother-sister covenant should no longer exist. In the absence of a Samoan indigenous gender paradigm, the default gender arrangements become models drawn from the Bible and Western societal norms. As in the history of the displacement of feagaiga, it will be men, supported by some women, who will define the boundaries of gender roles.

A response to the senior orator's question in 2009: "At what point did Samoan men become heads of households?" is based on two historical contexts – from the time that the missionaries were created fa'afeagaiga and from the time that Samoan men decided to re-define their relationships with their sisters.

When two opposing world views are presented

as being complementary to each other or the same, confusion arises.

There are two assumptions behind the comment of the visiting orators from Samoa that once a woman married, she and her brothers no longer have a covenantal relationship. Customary belief holds that the covenantal bond between brothers and sisters is life-long. A brother's responsibility to his sister does not end at her death but extends to her children until his own death. The basis of the orators' comment is not clear, as it appears to contradict traditional thought.

Secondly, the comment implies that under the terms of the marriage vows, the sister enters into a new covenant with her husband, which takes her role into the context of Old Testament and Western attitudes towards women. These are that men are the heads of households, and women are obedient to their husbands. Current Samoan marriages are able to sustain the sister's marital covenant with her husband as well as her feagaiga status with her brothers. It is unclear as to why the feagaiga covenant should cede upon marriage. This is an area that also requires further discussion.



It is clear that the creation of the fa'afeagaiga role has led some to believe that Malietoa Vainu'upo intended this to be a replacement of the feagaiga status.

Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese states that fa'aSamoa is based on alofa. If it is not based on alofa, then it is not fa'aSamoa. The measure for knowing whether an interpretation of a foundational value or belief is based on alofa is to ask the question, does this belief enhance the dignity and sacredness of all Samoan people; does it promote peace, harmony and balance within relationships?

## 4.7 TOKELAU RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

### 4.7.1 METHODOLOGY

The researcher asked for community acceptance of the research by presenting on sexual violence at a national conference, Tokelau and Tuvalu Fonolahi of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa

New Zealand. The research was also discussed with ministers in the two other denominations active in Tokelau communities - Catholic and Ekalehia Fakalapopotoga Kelihiano Tokelau (EFKT).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A general electronic search produced very little research about sexual violence, as only two internet and three published sources mentioned the issue.



## INTERVIEWS

Interviewees were recommended by others or known to the researcher. Nineteen interviews were conducted and two withdrew later. The remaining 17 live in the four main regions of Tokelau population - Wellington, Auckland, Rotorua and Taupo. They include New Zealand and Tokelau-born participants aged from 20 to 80, nine women and eight men. They have a range of educational and occupational backgrounds, including pensioners, labourers, blue collar and technical workers and unemployed people.

### 4.7.2 INTRODUCTION

“Talia mai! Talia mai!” (Answer my cry for help!) In Tokelau, this is what a victim will scream at the top of her lungs when she realises that an intruder has crawled to her in the middle of the night with sexual malintent. Others in the household, neighbours and villagers respond immediately, rising to her aid by chasing the perpetrator, or by calling out “Talia mai!” themselves.

This Tokelau cry seeks an urgent and immediate response in both words and deeds.

### 4.7.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Tokelau is described by some Tokelauns as the miracle of the South Pacific because by scientific calculation it should have been subsumed by its ocean surroundings many years ago. The highest point is five metres above sea level and the inhabitable land mass is less than thirteen square metres on which approximately 1,500 people are spread over three atoll villages - Fakaofu, Nukunonu and Atafu.

Tokelau’s remoteness is highlighted by the fact that a two-weekly supply and passenger ship takes between 26 and 36 hours to reach the

closest atoll, depending on weather and tidal conditions.

New Zealand administered Tokelau from early last century. Tokelau people have had unrestricted entry to the country and to permanent residence since 1916.

In the early 1960s Aotearoa, New Zealand began to implement a resettlement programme, shifting many Tokelaun families to these shores to manage the increasing problem of overcrowding on the small atolls (Kupa, 2009; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Also at that time the economy of Aotearoa, New Zealand was expanding and Pacific migrants helped fill labour shortages in factories in urban New Zealand.

The Tokelau population living in New Zealand in 2006 was recorded as 6,819 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007); 69 percent were New Zealand-born. Tokelau is the only Pacific ethnicity predominantly concentrated in the Wellington region (Cook, 1999).

## WORLD VIEW

Te mea te manaia ko fenua fiafia  
A land filled with joy is a beauty to behold

Te mea te manaia ko fenua fiafia  
A country filled with joy is a beauty to behold

E iloa i te loto e tahi  
One experiences the unity of heart

Te loto fealofani  
One senses the friendship of love.

Tokelauns consider the song to be the paper of Tokelau (Thomas et al, 1990). This is because the stories, themes and concepts in ancient fatele (traditional Tokelauan action dances) such as ‘Te mea te manaia’ are recalled, learned and expressed communally.

Maopoopo (communality) is the relational material which galvanises, binds, holds and preserves those aspects of true value into a shared sense of common purpose and unity. People belong to a community, want to belong to a community and own their place in that community.

Tokelau culture and beliefs have survived because they have been formulated, tested over time and sensitively nurtured in a holistic environment and a context of isolation, interdependence and kin-based community relationships.



Tokelauns are deeply spiritual beings, considering themselves part of two interconnected worlds: the spiritual beyond the world of sight, and the natural or physical. Sources of the interconnectedness and relationship between each world come from myths, legends, village stories, gafa (family genealogy) condensed lyrical songs, observation and careful study of the natural world.

Fundamental to Tokelau culture is tauhi, the ability to care and provide for those within one's sphere of responsibility, whether immediate or extended family or broader community. Tokelau community takes seriously the care of all its members, using systems such as inati (sharing - often a fishing catch). This has as one of its most important values the care and responsibility for the most vulnerable - orphans, widows and newcomers unable to fend for themselves.

Pre-Christian tauhi began with the supreme deity, Tui Tokelau (Macgregor, 1937; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Office for Tokelau Affairs, 1986). Tui Tokelau was deemed to be the creator of Tokelau villages Fakaofu, Nukunonu, Atafu and Olohega, her people and all who come into contact with her.

## TOKELAU VILLAGES

### FAKAOFO

In the pre-Christian era Fakaofu was deemed the capital of Tokelau, as the residence of two important posts: the divine being Tui-Tokelau (the Paramount Chief who could not be seen but who could be known and experienced as the source of all prosperity and life) and the King/Priest. Chiefly lineage connotes "unity, genealogical stratification, male authority, centralisation and power" (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996, p. 177).

Post-Christianity the religious base shifted to each village alongside the Taupulega, a ruling village council of elders. Genealogical comprehension is vital to an understanding of why each atoll is organised in its own unique way.

### NUKUNONU

The genealogy of this village is related to four family lines, and organises the village to represent the complementary male and female spheres of the kaiga (ibid, p.177).

### ATAFU

Historically Atafu people find their genesis in the original couple: a male of the chiefly line from Fakaofu and his Nukunonu consort [wife] and their seven children who re-populated the atoll (ibid. p. 178).

## KAIGA - FAMILY STRUCTURE

The way to live in harmony within the village (nuku) and family (kaiga) is knowing what must take precedence and when. One's first priority is to the village, then the family and extended family (pui kaiga) and then oneself. Features of Kaiga (ibid, p. 110) include -

- All persons who can trace any path of ancestry to their founders
- Division into complementary halves as tamatane, children of males, and tamafafine, children of females
- An understanding that the daughter will remain in her family residence after marriage, thereby ensuring that the son/male will follow his wife to her family home - Ko te tuafafine e nofo; ko te tuagane e fano i te auala.
- No two people who share common rights to land may marry or have claim to these lands due to the nature of the new union.



Inati (sharing)...has as one of its most important values the care and responsibility for the most vulnerable - orphans, widows and newcomers unable to fend for themselves

- They are dissolved after a span of four or five generations to reconstruct and make way for a new kaiga.

## TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Sexual violence was not condoned by the pre-Christian god Tui Tokelau or the pre-Christian community according to traditional stories.

"Here is a tale about punishment by the gods. A group of men were once fishing for loia and matele in the ocean off Motuakea when a shark appeared. It swam right between men who were a distance from the reef until it came to the man who was closest inshore, and swallowed him. The elders knew right away that this was the man who had been

chased from houses where he had been fooling round at night. He had done this frequently, but always denied it. People had recognised him, though, and it was known who he was. The elders had left his punishment to the will of the gods, and as soon as the shark attacked, they knew the reason for it. After that the nightly disturbances stopped.” (Office for Tokelau Affairs, 1991).



This story expresses several Tokelau values about care and respect for the victim, the perpetrator and village in cases of sexually damaging behaviour.

## The brother-sister relationship is the most significant and highly cherished relationship in Tokelau culture.

A moetotolo/moetolo - someone who comes crawling into a home in the middle of the night intending a sexual act against the will of another person - must face up to the consequences of their actions to the woman’s brother, family and village.

### PROTECTIVE VALUES

The brother-sister relationship is the most significant and highly cherished relationship in Tokelau culture. Brothers are deemed to be guardians, protectors and providers, whereas sisters are deemed to be the stable rock, nurturers and allocators, each with their complementary roles (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996).

Tuatina/ilamutu – mother’s-brother’s child and matua tauaitu, matua hā/tama hā - father’s sister/brother’s child: “The basis of these cross-generational pairs and of their behavioural correlates is the highly marked tuafafine/tuagane, sister/brother’ pair, the relational pair...most heavily weighted with explicit formalities, prohibitions and observances” (Ibid, p. 119).

Sacred values are attached to this most cherished of relationships including: alofa (compassion, affection); ha (restrictions); fakaaloalo (deference), courtesy; mamalu (respect, honour); and ma (shame, disquiet) (Ibid, p. 119).

All sisters were treasured by their brothers. As an expression of this bond, should a brother leave to go to war, travel or carry out some task

of great danger, he took with him his sister’s son - someone who he could rely on to the point of death (Ibid.).

Sisters and daughters are traditionally expected to live in their parents’ family home, and more so the Fatupaepae (foundation stone), even after marriage. Her role is multifaceted; she receives and distributes her brothers’ bounty to her immediate and extended family. Women are also responsible for maintaining the environment, food preparation, ensuring family health, weaving and family supervision (UN, 2002, p. 191). In the case of inappropriate sexual behaviour, it is the role of the Fatupaepae to see justice for those within her household through her family.

The story above affirms that if a woman speaks out, she can be assured of a hearing. Her voice must be clear and loud

so that all may comprehend the depth of her pain. In this story, the woman would have alerted those in her household.

Brothers and sons are traditionally expected to live and care for their families until they marry and move to their wife’s home. Although his time will be divided, his primary loyalty then will be to his biological family and their material provision, land maintenance and genealogy. He must love and serve his wife’s family, but there is an acknowledgement in marriage that he is more than capable of broadening his roles and responsibilities.

In a case of inappropriate sexual behaviour, it is the brother’s role to answer his sister’s cry for help with appropriate action through the customary or legal processes available to them.

His role is to intervene, and ensure further safety precautions are taken. In the story above, it would have been the brother who would have chased the perpetrator, taken the issue up with the Taupulega (Councils of Elders), who in turn would have addressed and punished the perpetrator.

Women have relatively high status in the traditional social system, derived from their right to occupy the houses owned by kin groups and to manage extended family economies. In 1998 the National Fono (Tokelau’s decision-making body), endorsed the decision that each atoll delegation to the National Fono must include a Fatupaepae

representative, which upgraded the political status of women (UN, 2002, p. 192).

## SEXUAL VIOLENCE

For this research, sexual violence means any violation that impinges on one's relationship with another person through sexually inappropriate or unlawful behaviour.

Only one published report focuses specifically on sexual abuse in Tokelau. A Tokelau Law and Social Work Team conducted participatory workshops on sexual abuse in Atafu, Fakaofu and Nukunonu in 2006 (Faiva et al, 2006). The workshops aimed to define: sexual abuse, explore sexual abuse prevention, encourage support for victims and their families, identify legislative provisions, explain legal processes and the rights of alleged perpetrators and victims. This focus had been requested in negotiation with the Administration Office of Tokelau.

The team, made up of New Zealand and Samoan-based Tokelauan and Samoan social work and legal practitioners, defined sexual abuse as -

- An act with a sexual connotation
- The sexual act must involve force by the perpetrator to the body of the victim, such as fondling, kissing or sexual intercourse to someone of the same or different gender; or the use of sexual imagery or acts to affect the mind of another, for example indecent exposure.
- The sexual act must be done without the consent or agreement of the other person; or against a person under the age of 16, whether or not that person consented.

The 475 participants generally found the workshops helpful and appreciated the opportunity to discuss the roles parents and families, Taupulega and nuku could play to prevent sexual abuse on Tokelau.

Feedback included a wish for clarification on the relationship between national law and nuku (village) rules and how to deal with conflicts in their operation.

Two men who described themselves as moetolo (night crawlers) to a child publicly admitted wrongdoing and expressed remorse. A significant number of participants indicated that their thinking had been influenced to control any future sexual abuse temptations.

Strategies to prevent sexual abuse included:

- Educational and social awareness around the definitions of sexual abuse
- Providing tools to assess what is a acceptable or unacceptable behaviour
- Providing a legal definition around consensual partners.

Ongoing discussion and clarification of the roles of parents and families, Taupulega and nuku were important to manage further incidences of sexual abuse by potential sexual abusers.

Participants wanted to improve community respect for the rights of others against sexual abuse.

The team had intended to identify people in each village to whom abuse could be safely disclosed, but concluded that, apart from immediate family members and close friends, there were no people who could supply professional help. While national civil servants agreed that a government department should take responsibility for sexual abuse issues, none said they would do this at that time.

Prevention was placed back onto the kaiga and in particular the various heads of each family, to ensure the appropriate education, monitoring and reporting to the appropriate people.

## 4.7.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

### PRE-CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TO SEXUALITY

**Man, 44:** *Upon the introduction of the Good News, people were half-naked. Their top half was not covered up, then when Christianity arrived the influence changed our beliefs and thinking. Clothes covered the whole body especially the holy animal (women)... Now people walk around half-naked. Nowadays people are dressing up using less clothes, which is sad because we were being taught by Christianity that we had to cover our whole body. Now we are confused, because we had to believe what the White man brought us telling us what to do which must be good, especially Christianity.*

**Woman, 57:** *I would say religion may have a negative impact on the sexual life on the islands ...we moved away from our natural purity. So we're progressing, we're coming to terms with that.*



## PROTECTIVE FACTORS

**Woman, 40:** Between the brother and the sister, which is really sacred. The brother respects the sister...the sister is honoured and the virginity of the sister is protected. The sister is like the pearl and is so significant in the Tokelau culture. Even if she does something wrong, the brother will go to any length to protect her.



**Woman, 53:** It wasn't possible for the brother and sister to face each other. They couldn't look at each other's face. The respect, even cousins of the extended family...you limit your speech in front of them.

**Man, 44:** Tokelau women were referred to by the name manu hā...people are animals but the woman was referred to as sacred. This means that we don't abuse her, it's important that we take care of her, that we don't scar her.

There was a fleet of war to Fakafo [which] circumnavigated the outer islands of Nukunonu. It is told in an old Tokelaun story that when the fleet came across a woman's titi [grass skirt], then they knew that there was a woman bathing in the lake and she is naked. She was able to stop the Fakafo war men from attacking or continue killing the people of Nukunonu...She is the one who gave life to the people of Nukunonu; she is the woman who was able to stop those Fakafo warriors. She is sacred; therefore, she is off limits.

"The woman was referred to as sacred. This means that we don't abuse her, it's important that we take care of her, that we don't scar her."

When we think about why the woman is so sacred - she is important because without them there would be no life in Tokelau.

**Man, 50:** Our Tokelauns are law abiding people. The Tiakono (church deacon) is not allowed to shed a drop of blood. When they breach their role as a Tiakono then he is stood down. So it is an honour to the family.

## UNDERSTANDINGS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Two female participants identified a spectrum of sexually violent acts.

**Woman, 43:** It is an act which involves violence but it is a sexual act... it's invasive, it's traumatising...it's can totally rob someone of their self worth...their value...of their life basically and

how they perceive themselves and how conduct themselves in the company of others and their community.

So any acts of a sexual nature which violates a person's mana...which challenges them to question who they are...

**Woman, 44:** They weren't married men they were single men. Inappropriate advances made to women when they're drunk; full penetration and rape of a drunk woman. So on the continuum...just about everything. Inappropriate looking, inappropriate touching, phone calls eliciting some sexual activity or making a comment of a sexual nature, inappropriate hugging, like rubbing your chest against them or the other way when you're brushing past them. And their penis is hard and it brushes against you, and they want you to know."

## MOETOLO

Five participants expressed strong disapproval of moetolo who approached women without a prior arrangement.

**Woman, 80:** Night crawlers who came to me, which was very strong in those days especially by some people. There were quite a few who came to me, but I always threw something at them. They would come and wake me and ask me to come, but I would tell them to get lost. We would all be asleep. I was so disgusted, they were shit - to come in the night - disgusting [lots of laughter].

**Man, 54:** Moetolo/moetotolo - there are two kinds: one which is successful and the unsuccessful. This is unwanted. If I go to my girl in the night then it's planned, even though my girlfriend doesn't know I'm coming because she expects it. But when someone goes to one who is known or unknown, there is no connection. So I decide I'm going to moetolo to that woman - that's where the expression comes from, the moetolo e au ma te moetolo e he au. Some people just want to go for a look. Moetolo mataitu and moetolo e fia amio leagal/with bad intentions...but feel sorry for the moetolo who is caught.

**Man, 44:** Moetotolo - this is not a custom of ours. Those people, if we used the machete on them then that would end all those kinds of behaviours so that they would never do such disgusting ways. Because the family, parents and

all the extended family are disgraced because of their stupid things.

Why don't they just go and talk to them - I'm desperate, can you help me? It's not a bad thing to ask; you knock on the door, it might be open.

The moetotolo does something that is not blessed. He sits outside and peeps at you and how would you feel if someone does this to you ... It's not nice that in the night you are asleep and they come to you.

**Woman, 53:** ... anyway when this moetotolo came creeping to this girl, he started *fāfā* (touching/feeling for her with his hands) whilst she is asleep then when she realises she screams. He jumps up as he is scared of the family who is woken up, he's run off.

There are people who have that kind of behaviour and they are like animals. There are bugs which crawl on you and bite you, called a *molokau* (centipede), and when it crawls on you, you get woken up because it bites and it stings you.

## PUNISHMENT FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The behaviour of moetolo was seen as bringing shame to their families and incurring the wrath of the community. Their punishment was decided by the family they had offended.

**Woman, 77:** It's up to the family – the person's family would really beat them, they would be shamed like 'shame on you – you moetolo!' He would be shamed by those also who caught him then others in the village would talk about that person.

They would be brought to the family – they would have a family meeting, they would talk to him, give him a warning and some words of advice.

**Man, 44:** First they are spoken to, words are spoken to them. They are taken to the council house to the *takapau* (disciplinary mat) and the heads of the family are seated. Especially the elders, they know more about life. Stories and advice is given to them to teach them and then after this is done then the punishments advised. One case I heard that happened in Tokelau about rape - two raped a girl (all teenagers at the time). They were taken to the council of elders, then they were communally bashed. Their head was shaved by blunt blades until their heads were bleeding and they were beaten. I wondered what lesson they gained from that beating if they've learned

anything at all. It's hard because their punishment was a hiding, but they should have had a punishment that continued. It hurt there and then [it was] finished with nothing else and they've never done anything else. One of them has come to New Zealand and the other has stayed in Tokelau. I guess they've learnt their lesson. They should've done one year hard labour so they know that what they've done is really wrong.

Women were not important in terms of what they did, it was so disgusting.



## CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants described a range of factors contributing to sexual violence in the New Zealand setting, including an imbalance of power between men and women, and changes in living patterns due to migration and low income.

### MALE DOMINATION

One Tokelau woman referred to men's greater social power and control as a contributing factor to sexual violence. In contrast to disapproval of moetolo, another described a tolerance of sexually abusive male behaviour.

**Woman, 57:** Then who holds the power? Men in Tokelau. Men in home. There are arenas where men dominate. Even though we are a matriarchal society, in essence it is a male domain... we are definitely impacted with that.

... Imbalance of power – adults to children, man to woman. When there is not that equality of understanding, of values. Or I meet my needs, never mind who or where I get it from, that's inappropriate. Some people just take when there is no equal communication, understanding. Man-child, woman-children, man-woman, and also gender, when the power is not balanced.

... I'm allowing myself to be stronger, to be vocal in the things that are important to me as a woman then as a mother, so if I can say it's hard work to stand up and reclaim woman power.

**Woman, 44:** And it's only my observation of being in Tokelau that the boy, because he's been groomed to be the provider - so they would turn a blind eye... the value of family would not be considered when he did his drunk thing through the village. The accountability for him enticing



young women to have sexual relations with him that led to a pregnancy needed to be addressed

There was a young man who was in his 20s was having sexual relations with girls way too young to consider what it's all about - 14, 15, 16, 17, and when she got pregnant moved onto the next girl. And there's no correction for that particular man who ends up only now married in his 30s in his first marriage to a young woman in her early 20s... But what society do we continue to build up, like in my village when your young men believe they can behave as they wish and their parents will turn a blind eye or laugh it off and say 'That's my boy'. And then at the same time if it's happened to their daughters, these young girls who are having young babies too early; and then say that it's the fault of their child for eliciting or soliciting or opening up her legs too early. And she was groomed to serve and not consider her own vision, her own goals, her own worth within that family.

you know the houses. So anyone can just come in and do whatever; sometimes they don't scream because sometimes they don't do anything, because the parents will blame them [the girl].

## CHANGES DUE TO MIGRATION AND DOMINANT CULTURE

Participants identified many challenges to Tokelau values from migration and the influence of the dominant culture in New Zealand.

**Woman, 53:** ...there are a lot of influences outside of Tokelau that are different, which break the respect that was there.

**Woman, 40:** In New Zealand once you're 21 you can do your own thing, whereas in the Tokelau culture whether 21 or 44 you are still a baby... but in the Tokelau culture, you are still a part of a family that you [have a ] bond of responsibility, things that you have to do. In New Zealand these things are being undermined, like the family.

"What society do we continue to build...when your young men believe they can behave as they wish and their parents will turn a blind eye or laugh it off and say 'That's my boy'?"

**Man, 62:** New Zealand has many attractions, TV, children they have friends. There are lots of types of friends - some lead people to good things, others are largely smoking marijuana

in school. There is no fellowship inside the family, there is a lot of freedom. The laws are different that they abide by in New Zealand where they have the freedom, so it's not an easy job for parents to lead their children. But at least they're trying. TV, computer, listening to pictures that are not good, a lot of time at the movies, and a lot of friends who are able to pull them down.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEN IN POSITIONS OF POWER

**Man, 44:** He shouldn't be there. Kick him out, run him out of the position he's in. If I am a teacher and I do something stupid to a child? Of course not, I should be an example to the life of that child... I shouldn't be a teacher any longer.

It keeps happening because of power, which plays a big part in life. I can do it because I can. I can do it because I hold this position. But remember Tokelau is constructed on many people not just one person. Like the extended family, by the examples of the leaders. That one person does not have the authority - he is there because he was selected to go there. If he does something stupid, he should fall. It should be enforced by the elders.

**Man, 20:** They just let it go but don't raise or make it an issue, they just let it happen. Tokelau people are real humble, not ones to address issues such as that. And I think that's why they just cover it up.

In the kautalavou (youth) it was normal - honestly it's like it's normal. She was sleeping and

**Man, 44:** Earlier we talked about the holiness of the elders - you have been picked by the family, you have been selected because you have enough wisdom to represent the family and extended family. You should be wise and intelligent because of your age; but now anyone is picked. Hey, you go and be our representative; now you are picked because they are in paid positions.

...It's hard in the beginning because of the influence of the life here is large - our Tokelau culture is dissolving.

## OVERCROWDED HOUSING

Closed and overcrowded rooms in New Zealand houses create opportunities for sexual violence.

**Woman, 53:** They are living together in that house there are rooms [where] obviously things happen which shouldn't happen because of overcrowding. But it can still happen to a small household where people are attracted to another. Sadly to say, we have gotten to a larger world where we are free but the house becomes a place where things are protected and not seen...can be a breeding place for things that shouldn't happen.

## ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

Alcohol was seen as both a disinhibitor and a cause of sexual violence.

**Woman, 57:** Migration definitely in the new world, new environment comes with its own stress. Drugs and alcohol definitely is a huge barrier, because there alcohol is free. Once upon a time there was no alcohol in the islands but since there was a boat that got hooked up on the reef which had a whole lot of alcohol. So it's in the culture. They drink to get drunk and an excuse to do sexual things, so alcohol and drugs are not helpful.

**Man, 50:** Moetotolo – someone who is not well. Someone who fantasises. The reasons for this occurring - due to relationship between he and his wife is not good; Two - under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

...Drugs and alcohol; some fathers do what they do when they are drunk. If there isn't any alcohol then they start sniffing glue or sniffing petrol.

## LONG WORKING HOURS SO LESS TIME FOR CHILDREN

Low incomes led to long working hours, which limited time to inculcate cultural values.

**Man, 54:** If there is enough time for fellowship between parents and children. Work takes a lot of time from you and your family; you don't have enough time for your family because you are tired. I work 12-hour shifts and it's always hard. If the child comes home and sees that there is no one home then you can see what will happen...Then it's not easy getting time to spend time together to talk about the culture. Our children want to spend time with other children but don't realise how they are related. We may gather at funerals and find out then how we are related but it all starts from within the family.

## CHURCH REFUSAL TO SEE

The reluctance of the church to face sexual violence was seen as helping to perpetuate it.

**Man, 20:** The church – they just want to be so pure they don't want to know. Pure – closer to God. The church, by not giving awareness, by not talking about it; the church doesn't want to get involved in those kinds of things, that's why it keeps going. By praying it'll go away but it can't. I think the church needs to give awareness to this sort of stuff.



## HEALING FOR VICTIMS

Two female participants argued strongly for victims to be able to choose the process that will help resolve the abuse and heal their relationships.

**Woman, 43:** I think the road to healing is within groups of loving, caring community, and that the victim should be able to choose her rite of passage. Because going through court doesn't always do it where everybody's mana is intact. And that's the road that should be taken - bar the offender, bring him and rake him through the coals. But you know and that shame thing - there must be a better way of bringing about closure.

**Woman, 44:** I just think we've spent a lot of time discussing the structures that are in place and about what's important, but in terms of the process that we go through to support the victim, that is totally not addressed. And I think that needs to be given a lot more thought and a lot more time. If the victim, the person who has experienced that trauma and that abuse, does not have the opportunity for true healing unless somewhere down the line that healing has occurred, we continue to perpetuate the cycle of violence...For if they are damaged, then how do they grow into healthy relationships for our Tokelau community; and so it just carries on and is passed on. The incorrect messages of self worth into the next generation. So I think that body of work needs to be given to this.

I think that an important key in a prevention programme is that they would have an advocate who could help their understanding as to what might happen to them in terms of the process of healing...they may be at different points of trying to develop that, so they need to be given an opportunity at which they're ready to voice their choices. The act of violence has taken away their



choices, and so they need to be given back those choices and the manner in which they want to proceed.

There are two separate parts: there is the actual prosecution and consequences for the perpetrator and then the path of healing for the victim. So keep them separate but give the opportunity for her to find her voice and to point out what she needs to do. Yeah and then the different forms that exists, but that needs careful handling so people need to have the range of how that would look. Because at the end of the day, the girl, the boy or the victim does want to preserve the family relationships - choices are going to be very important.

## PREVENTION

Participants said that family education of cultural values needed to be supported. They also advocated revaluing every member of the family, including children.

Descriptions of a sister as a pearl for whom a brother would go to any lengths contrast with contemporary descriptions of sexual harassment and contemptuous use of women who were drunk.

## STRENGTHEN FAMILIES

**Woman, 44:** *I think that we have to strengthen the family base, they have to define the value in every member in that community. And they have to recognise...although they are displaced, in a new environment, having stress in your life is like the fact that you're living in a society that doesn't necessarily value your position. Our Pacific churches have a big part to play in that because they have got to be structure to do that.*

**Man, 44:** *The first prevention should be the parents; if they've taught their children from a young age then that will impact on the family. If alcohol and drugs are not involved then the family is good. I guess drugs and alcohol play a large part in a family life, and that's the biggest fear that I have. I have a teenage son and my biggest worry is the involvement of his friends. If you start your preventions today, then his friends play a big part in their life for there are friends who do drugs and alcohol, who influence the son and that's what I have to watch for and that's my biggest worry.*

**Woman, 59:** *Probably in the evenings are special,*

*especially the night time. Parents and children should try to sit and learn the customs and culture that were taught to us. Like the evening devotional time is a sacred time for our families especially those of us who are adrift in New Zealand.*

**Woman, 53:** *...if I was able to hold onto my upbringing - that's what I want for my daughters and youth and the rest of my people...I can only try, and I will never stop talking to my children and my youth about these sorts of things.*

*When we have gatherings then our children know how they are related. If they don't know then there are behaviours that can happen.*

**Man, 44:** *[Our community] has begun Tokelau language classes and started organising a programme for the Tokelau culture, starting with songs, like comedy plays. We had a large number of young people and we were teaching them.. The next programme will be a workshop on family trees. But we don't want to rush - slow and sure.*

**Woman, 53:** *The new thing would be a new understanding, to further understand the culture like the respect between the child and their parent. There is a great deal of wisdom with the child but often in the culture they don't have the chance to share. This is sad. We need these two to work together - by working together there is a lot of development.*

**Man, 62:** *If you look at our Polynesian people, we go to church and take our children to church. These are the prevention measures to hold our children so that there is enough time between the parents and children. To take them to the church, there is a lot of help to children, especially the ministers, Sunday school, gatherings – it helps instead of just going and playing. Maybe 80 percent don't do anything bad because of these types of gatherings.*

*I believe there should be people who are knowledgeable elders, ministers or government people to go and visit mother's groups.*

## COMMUNITY MEDIA AND DISCUSSION

Two participants proposed other prevention methods.

**Man, 50:** *Concerning this topic of sexual violence, Tokelau should be looking at ways in which to*



*discuss and prevent and let people know the law – the justice system. To openly discuss and let people talk about who is responsible. The Tokelau radio - there will come a time when someone talks about this to prevent the large number and explain to others the laws and what will happen if someone does something, so that they know that this is an important issue.*

**Woman, 57:** *Community discussion groups; separate males, females and young people. I think there needs to be workshops on sexual education.*

## 4.7.5 DISCUSSION

One participant recounted an ancient story about how a single woman bathing was so sacred that encountering her traditional titi (grass skirt) stopped a whole war party from continuing their attack on another island. Descriptions of a sister as a pearl for whom a brother would go to any lengths contrast with contemporary descriptions of sexual harassment and contemptuous use of women who were drunk.

Participants expressed strong disapproval of moetolo. Participants were assertive and confident in their ability to discourage moetolo attentions, and in the support they would receive from their community if moetolo were unwanted. Their stories of community punishment of moetolo on Tokelau contrasted with a description of one young man's serial sexual exploitation, which was excused, almost approved by his family. This participant perceived that the women he slept with would instead be blamed.

One participant's advocacy of victim-centred restorative justice provides a suggestion that may enable victims to feel supported by their community in a different environment.

Participants were concerned about the eroding effects of the dominant culture on Tokelau values and were taking action to sustain it. However, family time was subsidising family survival as parents worked long hours away from their children so they could support them. They advocated more family time to pass on cultural values, as well as disseminating sexual violence prevention messages in other ways.

Interview participants identified perpetrators from a range of roles including: Ministers, Taupulega (Council of Elders), fathers and uncles,

either in public but predominantly in the home and in secret.

Victims were identified from ages as young as five up to their fifties from both male and female. They were usually a relative, or could be a widow or someone home alone whilst their husband was away fishing.

There seems to be no logical reason for the lack of discussion around taboo topics such as sex, unwanted sex, the human body and sexuality, other than because this has been considered rude or disrespectful and by implication "cultural". Yet this silence has unwittingly created a culture of collusion and denial, allowing even greater abuse to continue unhampered.

Violence is seen as a justifiable means to an end and if this is no longer to be an option in the arsenal of Tokelau tools, then a great deal of retraining needs to be considered on how to effectively deal with perpetrators.

## GAPS

More work needs to be considered around the following:

- Identifying ideas that are prevalent: For example, Tokelau notions of the body which predominantly centres themselves in a relational context. Such as the way a brother relates to his sister, rather than a clinical model, which looks at the function of body parts, or a Western framework.
- Creating a space and opportunities to discuss taboo topics such as: sexual abuse/violence prevention, the human body, sex and sexuality.
- Creating a new language and appropriate tools and processes to approach this from the perspective of Tokelau songs, legends and storytelling.
- Rediscovering and enhancing stories of the complementary nature of the Tokelau relationships and those timeless values.
- Identifying the place of taboo subjects within the cultural context of the past and identifying the taboo subjects that are important to discuss in today's context of Aotearoa/New Zealand.



## 4.8 TONGAN RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

### 4.8.1 METHODOLOGY

#### INTERVIEWS

As personal information was desired from the talanoa/talanga (interviews), a face-to-face approach was appropriate for Tongans.

The research drew on specific Tongan values and principles from the framework of Helu-Thaman's 1999 Kakala model, based on the traditional process of fragrant garland making. Toli Kakala, searching for the most appropriate flowers and fauna, is the metaphor used for selection of community elders. Kau tui kakala are the skilled personnel conducting the work and finally Luva e Kakala is the concept used in the study for discussion and also for dissemination of the results.

The two interviewers were both women; a 58-yr-old registered nurse, and a 42-yr-old social worker. They used their position and networks in the community to select Tongan participants. Each key informant was interviewed for about an hour using a questionnaire in a talanoa/talanga format. The talanoa/talanga were conducted in Tongan, recorded with a digital voice recorder and transcribed before analysis.

The use of the Tongan language in the interviews enhanced respectful conversation about the sensitive issue of sex, even when female interviewers conversed with male participants. The interviewers' professional status, role, age, social standing and familiarity with the participants helped to remove any cross-gender barrier.

There was no difficulty with the recruiting process because both the researcher and interviewer knew participants and they were willing to participate. Participants were approached by telephone initially and then a visit was arranged. After participants had agreed to participate in the study, each talanoa began with an introductory talk and thanks in accordance with Tongan custom. Each interview was followed by an informal discussion of the subject questions and answers. These were not recorded nor transcribed for analysis.

#### SAMPLE

Twelve Tongan adults were selected, equal numbers of men and women, based on availability, accessibility, respectability, understanding of Tongan culture and willingness of the participants due to the time constraints of the research project. The participants were all known to the researcher through her community networks, church and colleagues.

The six men included a senior Methodist Minister; a retired labourer; a senior community health worker; a social worker, a young lawyer and a young university graduate.

The six women included three senior housewives or retired women, two with adult children; a counsellor; and two teachers.

All participants regularly attend Christian churches and all but one live in Auckland; one was visiting from Wellington. The talanoa/talanga were recorded at participant's homes or work places.

The nurse interviewed all the males and two elderly female participants. The social worker interviewed the other female participants.

#### DATA ANALYSIS

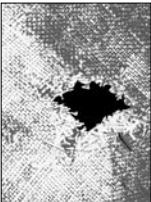
Interview transcriptions were read and manually sorted into themes relating to the research proposal. Repetitions of issues and themes occurred after about 45 minutes in each interview, in different ways. The saturation point where no new perspectives were expressed was attained before all the participants were interviewed.

None of the participants reported having been a victim of sexual violence. However, all of them knew of people who have been victims. The teachers reported being involved in the aftercare of pupils who had experienced sexual violence. Throughout the interview and in the quotes below, the nuances (heliaki) of Tongan language continually emphasised, implicitly and explicitly, the Tongan and Christian values underpinning the behaviours of Tongans, families and kainga.

### 4.8.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

#### TONGAN POPULATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Tonga had no formal colonial relationship with New Zealand, so Tongans have had no rights of permanent entry. Many came to New Zealand



on temporary permits in the 1960s, helping to fill labour shortages in urban New Zealand factories during the economic boom. Overstaying was tolerated when demand for their labour was high, but they suffered from dawn raids and street checks during the economic downturn in the early 1970s.

Tongan immigration increased faster than that of any other Pacific ethnicity between 1986 and 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The Pacific Access Category, introduced in 2001, allowed an annual quota of 250 Tongans to immigrate as permanent residents without going through the usual channels for skilled migrants and business investors. Approximately ten times this quota apply to immigrate, so a ballot is used to select randomly among applicants. In 2006, there were 50,478 Tongans in New Zealand, 56 percent of whom were New Zealand-born.

## TONGAN SOCIETY

Tongan society was highly stratified, even before European contact (Aswani & Graves, 1998). This was governed by a complex ranking system. Rank does not denote dominance of a person over another, but an order of precedence. These relationships are marked with respect and avoidance, and with a series of taboos and complicated reciprocal exchanges of goods and services (Douaire-Marsaudon, 1996; Finau, 1982).

The three main determinants of rank in Tongan society are age, paternity and sisterhood. An older person is of higher rank than a younger person. Paternal kin is of higher rank than maternal relatives. A sister outranks a brother, especially socially, but the brother is politically superior (Finau, 1982).

Urbanization, modernization and migration have loosened the societal glue of reciprocal obligations and respect; the ranking system has been blurred by individualism and physical and social distance (ADB 2004; Finau, 1982) especially in New Zealand today.

Aswani and Graves (1998) describe sexual violence an example and expression of altered behaviour due to broken relationships, diminished reciprocal reliance and respect.

Violence was the instrument of the Tongan wars and imperialism in the Pacific (Mahina, 2006).

Tongan warriors killed and colonised much of the South Pacific. The emergence of modern Tonga was based on the respect and fear derived from this pre-contact history (Mahina, 1999).

Internally, Tonga was united through wars, guile and strength. Many of the societal values and practices, including child rearing, were developed within the harsh conditions of perpetual conflict (Ledyard, 1982).

Universally, violence is seen as unwanted and deliberate insult or assault causing physical, mental, spiritual and social harm to the environment and its occupants (Counts, 1990). The level of harm depends more on the resilience and norms of a society, than on the magnitude of the impact (UNICEF, 2005). Therefore, what is violent is ethnic-specific. Thus, Tongan notions of violence differ from others, especially Western ones.

In the Tongan context, violence means causing grievous bodily harm - anything less is not considered violence, but may be viewed as discipline, endearment, right of passage or other culturally appropriate practices.

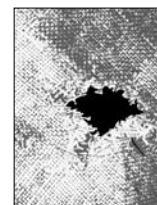
Normal sexual practices vary among ethnic groups, thus sexual violence is also defined in ethnic specific ways (James, 1994).

*A sister outranks a brother, especially socially, but the brother is politically superior.*

Similarly, Tongan society has evolved approaches and structures to maintain its continuity and survival (ADB, 1998). These were maintained and developed through child rearing methods, gender roles, relationship structures and social sanctions (Finau, 1994; Kavapalu, 1993).

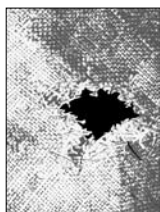
## DEFINITIONS

There is no Tongan word for the concept of sexual violence; explanatory phrases such as hia fakamalohi, houtamataki fekau'aki mo e sino are used. This does not mean that forced sex does not take place. The Tongan language has labels for specific acts of sexual violence (e.g. tohotoho, kai, mohe to, 'uma). These labels are couched in common language. All words for sexual organs and sexual acts have become disrespectful or swear words. The use of heliaki (allegory; Mahina et al, 2007; Taumoeofolau, 2004) allows discussion of these acts in a socially acceptable framework



while still maintaining taboo and mutual respect.

Verbal and some physical sexual harassment is common in Tongan interactions, but these are seen in the Tongan heliaki system as acceptable fakamatalili or fakapangopango (teasing) and fakakata (joking), or ways to praise or show disapproval without confrontation, and are not considered assault or insult.



## SOCIETAL VALUES

The stories, legends and oral history of Tonga consist of God and creations (Gifford, 1924; Fanua, 1982): super-human feats and accomplishment; voyages of discovery and endurance; love, romance, elopement and reproduction. Sexual violence did not feature in these stories. However, incest was common among nobility and royalty where polygamy and polyandry were frequent (Herda, 2007). Before Christianity, virginity was not valued for its sexual context but for the believed purity of the first born.

The key values governing Tongan relationships and the glue that holds society together (Wood-Ellem, 1999) are:

- Feveitokai'aki - reciprocal respect.
- Faka'apa'apa - respect.
- 'Ofa - love and care (Kavaliku, 1977).
- Fetokoni'aki - reciprocity.
- Fatongia - duty and purpose.
- Tauhi vaha'a - maintaining relationships.

## Tongans view the sister–brother relationship as the bedrock of anga faka-Tonga

These are perpetuated through:

- Parenting and child rearing via early observation, practice and constant education (Finau, 2005) (mohe ofi, Kaliloa, talatalaifale, akonaki); and
- Well-demarcated gender roles with clear division of labour into women and men's work and games.

This division helped to keep women and men apart from an early age and through life (Ralston, 1990; Kavapalu, 1988). Fundamental to the division of labour is the brother-sister relationship wherein the brother is tasked with brawny and rough occupations needing strength; for example, hunting, fighting, deep-sea fishing. The

female tasks are more delicate and domestic; for example, cooking, washing, weaving and flower gardening.

In Tonga, the sister has a higher social rank than her brother but depends on him materially (Besnier, 2004). This covenant between sister and brother is expressed between siblings and cousins in everyday life through faka'apa'apa (respect), which after puberty takes the form of stringent physical avoidance and interactional indirectness (Helu, 1993 & 1995; James, 1990). "Tongans view the sister–brother relationship as the bedrock of anga faka-Tonga (the Tongan way)" (James, 1990, 308).

Faka'apa'apa is resilient as an ideology and practice. It is only among the most Westernised overseas Tongans that faka'apa'apa is no longer relevant, but many overseas Tongans continue to honour the practice (Lee, 2003: 98–90; Small 1997: 172). Indeed, faka'apa'apa functions as an idiom of opposition to westernisation. As Tongans experience an increasingly determinative modernity, cosmopolitanism and plurality, some also idealise anga faka-Tonga, including sister–brother faka'apa'apa, in an increasingly self-conscious and conservative fashion.

## PREVENTION

There were no large-scale studies of sexual violence among Tongan populations in the literature. NGOs such as the Women's Development Centre and the National Council of Women provide public education and shelters for abused women (US Department, 2001). The Free Wesleyan

Church operates a telephone hotline for troubled women. Concern has been expressed about the ability of the health system to recognise and support victims of sexual violence (Moran, 1994).

The Catholic Women's League in Tonga has used funding from aid donors to promote strategic gender issues and autonomy for women (Varani-Norton, 2005). Its Legal Literacy Project provides training in legal rights, legal awareness programmes and free legal advice. Its Centre for Women and Children conducts workshops and seminars, and publishes booklets to promote gender equality and rights issues as well as providing services for abused women.

## 4.8.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

During the hour-long interview, recurrent repetitions of various issues started to occur after about 30-45 minutes with each individual, albeit said in different ways. There were a lot of repetitions in the responses across the participants, respectively. The saturation point for this group was fully attained before all the participants were interviewed.

### AWARENESS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Younger participants said they did not know the status of sexual violence during the pre-European period, but elderly participants said that pre-contact sex and marriage were political tools and not necessarily monogamous, so they did not fit into Western or Biblical contexts.

**Man, 69:** *I am not aware of sexual violence cases pre-Christianity days, and I am sure if any cases like that happened, he would have been severely punished or killed.*

This participant believed that marriage was defined differently in pre-Christian times. Participants concurred that sexual violence occurred in Tonga and in New Zealand, and is on the increase in both locations.

**Woman, 85:** *I am aware and also heard that this practice happened in Tonga and also New Zealand.*

### TRADITIONAL CULTURAL VALUES

All the participants emphasized the importance of traditional and cultural values as the cornerstone for preventing sexual violence. These values include:

- Feveitokai'aki (reciprocal respect).
- Fetokoni'aki (helping each other).
- Faka'apa'apa (acknowledging respect).
- Anga fakatokilalo (humility).

**New Zealand-born woman, 33:** *First and foremost, they must know God, and know their purpose in life. They must know the basic Tongan values e.g. faka'apa'apa (acknowledging respect), mamahi'i me'a (loyalty), humility (anga fakatokilalo), fetokoni'aki (helping each other) and feveitokai'aki (reciprocal respect). I think if they know those basic Tongan values, and observed these being practiced at home, they will be more confident.*

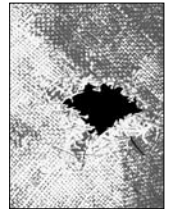
**New Zealand-raised man, 33:** *These basic values were taught to me by my parents, my family, my girl cousins and sisters. Respect of elders was taught to me so I grew up with that, but I don't know if that's being continually taught to the Tongan youth coming up in New Zealand.*

**Man, 25:** *We should bring back and adopt our Tongan traditional cultural values, for these would be the way to curb sexual violence.*

- Anga 'ofa (demonstrated kindness).
- Fe'ofa'aki (reciprocal kindness).
- 'Ofa (a feeling for others which is often described as love in the broadest sense, kindness, help, sharing, concern, grief, passion and respect).

**Man, 69:** *The basic Tongan values include respect, relationship, tapu, reciprocity and love. All these lead to love and fe'ofa'aki and reciprocal obligations. These values have been demonstrated by people preparing you food when you arrive at their household even though you're not a blood relative.*

- Tapu (sacred observance of someone or something; a behaviour which enables a person to be aware of the boundaries they need to observe in relation to others).
- Fatongia (an obligation by birth or duty).
- Talangofua (obedience).



All participants emphasized the importance of traditional and cultural values as the cornerstone for preventing sexual violence.

### IMPORTANCE OF VIRGINITY

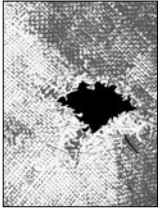
**Woman, 85:** *I believe it's important to maintain this practice, because it protects our girls from various violence, but more importantly, both families celebrate virginity as an indication that the daughter and mother have successfully fulfilled her duties (fatongia)."*

**Man, 60:** *Celebrating virginity this way is probably unique for Tonga, and [I] am sure [it is] the only country that values this practice. There is 'Umu Tuvai (special food and fine mat presentation to the bride's family from the groom's family) in appreciation and exchange for the fulfilment of their duties (fatongia).*

*This exchange of virginity with goods and services is a demonstration of reciprocal obligations for*

performance of traditional duties (*fatongia*) of both parties and mutual respect for each other.

The importance of virginity lies in its symbolism of unavailability and being off limits for sexual advances from potential suitors. In Tonga, virginity also represents excellent childrearing and protection by parents, brothers and extended families. Not being a virgin does not invite sexual violence, but is an indication of sexual experience that can be exploited in different ways.



The mat exchange also reinforces the importance for women of appropriate dress.

- Malu'i (protect or safeguard).
- Supervision.

## INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION

One participant blamed unsupervised time watching television for sexual violence and the erosion of Tongan values.

**Man, 52:** *I believe that indiscriminate and unsupervised television watching is one of the factors that contributes to violence, and loss of cultural values. You see, both parents go to work, and the children are left with no senior supervisor. Sometimes, the supervisor is too busy doing something else and the children are left to just watch TV.*

In Tonga, virginity also represents excellent childrearing and protection by parents, brothers and extended families.

## VALUES RELATED TO RELIGIOSITY

All participants emphasised the important role Christian religion, the bible, and prayers play in preventing sexual violence, but there was little reference to spirituality.

- Lotu (worship).
- Ma'u lotu (church attendance).

**Retired Minister, 70:** *I believe, we need to lotu (pray) more...practice Christian living, read the Bible more because the more we know and learn about it, we will be able to withstand the temptations that may come our way. Like the Bible says, 'God bestows us with his blessings, so that you can withstand any difficulties, but if you don't have many blessings, then our spiritual life will be starved'.*

One woman described a feeling of being included that implied more respect for social norms.

**Woman, 34:** *A belief in God will enable a person not to feel lonely, separated or ignored by relatives and friends.*

**Man, 69:** *I believe parents should take religion seriously. In that way, God will show them what is right and appropriate to advise the children according to God's will.*

## INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AND VA WITHIN

Participants believed strongly that they needed to strengthen family and societal relationships to support each other, thus preventing sexual violence. Va is the social space between people in relationships.

### Family

- 'Ilo'i hotau tupu'anga (knowing who we are and our place and role in society).
- Role and place in the family.
- Complementarity of roles (male/female division of labour as a child-rearing tool).
- Reciprocal obligation.

**Woman, 85:** *I believe we need to encourage, strengthen and promote the importance of family gatherings or reunions, so that we know about our cousins and relations who we've not met*

*before. In this way, we will protect each other's welfare and prevent breaking of the tapu and va.*

*I support and urge we go back and revive the use of kaliloa in parenting, because our children's behaviours will have the respect, love and willingness to help within them if we start early.*

**Woman, 70:** *I am aware that the programmes they teach for the youth group includes the following: learn about fellowship, fetokoni'aki (helping each other), faka'apa'apa (acknowledging respect), and to know that Christian teaching helps them to know who they are and ilo'i hotau tupu'anga (their identity)."*

Kaliloa (from the term kali, a native wooden pillow or headrest) literally means to rest one's head on the long wooden pillow. Metaphorically it refers to the mother's or father's extended arm. In the evening in Tonga, children rest their heads on their mother's arms while the mother tells stories about history, legends, values and expected behaviours within the family. Kaliloa is an

integral part of Tongan parenting, used to smooth and soothe children's fears.

**Woman, 56:** Teaching starts from home. You teach respect to each other, to the parents, brothers, sisters and extended family. Also included is constant dialogue and advice as well as praying when they're still young, so that when they grow up, those values are not forgotten.

### Brother-sister relationship

Participants mentioned the brother-sister relationship, where the brother protects his sister and her virtue. This protection implies that a brother will have the same respect for the sisters of other men.

**Woman, 85:** When I grew up, brothers and sisters live in separate dwellings to maintain *veitapuiki* and the sacredness of the brother sister *va*. If my brother came to the house, he will wear a shirt fully buttoned up.

*Veitapui* is sacred *va* or space. The sacred *va* between the brother and sister, extend to male and female cousins to ensure distance and maintain absolute no sexually suggestive context.

**Man, 70:** Youth must receive God and through that love of God will prevent them from wrong doing. This will include treating all women as their sister. This means that they will treat other women as they will treat their biological sisters.

**Man, 69:** One of the important teachings of the youth group is ensuring they have the understanding and respect for others, as well as brother and sister relationship.

### LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Two participants mentioned the importance of language and identity as a protective factor in maintaining who we are and what we believe.

**Woman, 85:** I believe language is an important element in identifying who we are. We're able to talk, share and understand about good behavioural practices for our children. (If you know your Tongan language, you will be able pick up little smart comments that may suggest sexual meanings). I believe language is a vital communication tool for our children. (In addition, I believe knowing our cultural values especially knowing who we are, will strengthen your *va*/relationship with families and others).

**Man, 60:** We identify with our traditional Tongan clothes and dress codes...I believe our New Zealand youth at times are ashamed of their Tongan traditional clothes and dress codes. The importance and the value of our traditional dress codes and language cannot be over-emphasised, but I am also aware that some of our youth are even ashamed about speaking our Tongan language.

### APPROPRIATE CLOTHING

Most of the participants mentioned appropriate clothing as protective against sexual violence.

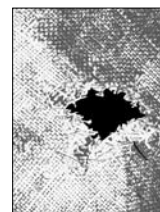
**Woman, 85:** I remember when I was growing up in the islands, women's clothing covered neck to toes, and there was hardly any body parts exposed. I also know that clothing nowadays are different, where body areas are more exposed, and that is what I am referring to. This exposure is not good; it will encourage temptations from others.

**Woman, 56:** Women should cover their bodies to decrease temptations to men. Not only that, one of our protective values includes respecting your father. This means children are not allowed to touch their head, or wear any of his clothes. These practices are about maintaining our cultural value of respect and further lays boundaries between family and *kainga* members.

**Man, 70:** Remember clothing can be very deceiving. Women have certain parts that should be respected and should not be shown publicly, but nowadays, some of the clothing exposes sexually suggestive parts which stimulate reactions from the observers. For example, a boy may have not thought or felt that way, but after seeing the bare parts caused him to feel that way.

Most of the participants mentioned appropriate clothing as protective against sexual violence.

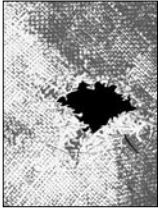
For these participants, clothing defines a person and states intentions. In the Tongan context, a woman whose dress exposes her body is acting inappropriately, expressing a lack of respect for herself, for her family and for others, and challenging onlookers with sexual availability and suggestion. However, in this context, participants were not condoning violence by onlookers, and were not describing clothing as a cause or incite-



ment to violence.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR PREVENTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants recommended various options to address sexual violence among Tongans. No participants mentioned sexual health education at school.



- Preaching of factors protective of sexual violence in churches; e.g. the body is the Temple of God, no sex outside of wedlock, preserve virginity until married. Preaching is a message from an ordained leader and thus social guidance for the congregation. These messages would be for the congregation as a whole, and would reinforce sexually non-violent behaviour as a norm.
- A special campaign against sexual violence in the Tongan language using Tongan cultural context.
- Re-emphasising basic traditional relationships within families (back to basics).
- Girls to not go places unsupervised; this signifies the importance of the girl and deters any harmful intentions.
- More parental quality time with children.
- Appropriate clothing covering sexually suggestive anatomy.

there is more sexual violence now that traditional values have been influenced by Western values. All participants suggested re-acculturation and a return to Christian principles as the strongest protection from sexual violence in New Zealand.

Participants suggested that the continuing imposition of Western and non-Christian values without reference to cultural democracy - the ability to practise a culture without being discriminated against - will destroy the remnants of traditional protective values preventing social violence.

Pacific peoples are faced with being wholly assimilated to Western or Palagi culture, or remaining Pacific while learning to practice Palagi things at the appropriate time and places. There are many successful Pacific people who live the second alternative.

Comments on inappropriate clothing exposing sexually suggestive parts of the body may seem to put the onus of sexual violence onto women. However, clothing in Tongan culture is indicative of occasions, status, and respect (faka'apa'apa). In Tongan culture, inappropriate attire for an occasion invites a reaction or counter challenge. Clothing of individuals is within the cultural boundaries controlled by families. It is when families cannot control the appearance of its

In the Tongan context, a woman whose dress exposes her body is acting inappropriately, expressing a lack of respect for herself, for her family and for others, and challenging onlookers with sexual availability

and suggestion.

- Ethnic-specific primary and secondary Tongan services.
- Ethnic-specific acculturation and parent training, for example, the use of the kaliloa concept.
- Separate sexual health programmes for boys and girls
- Programmes to include what it is like to be a Christian and a great citizen of New Zealand.

### 4.8.4 DISCUSSION

All participants agreed that the erosion of traditional and cultural values, and Christian ethics, have disrupted traditional child rearing. While the research indicates that sexual violence exists in traditional Tongan society, it also indicated that

members that sexually suggestive clothing breaks the barrier of tapu, va, and faka'apa'apa. This can lead to a verbally aggressive response.

The participants supported the traditional gender roles, and suggested strongly that the traditional relationships (va) and practices of those values to be re-instituted. Tongan traditional gender roles give men the responsibility of stopping sexual violence to their kin and respecting other kin by doing likewise. This is part of traditional reciprocal obligations (feveitokai'aki and faka'apa'apa).

This may suggest the uniqueness of Tongan culture wherein a highly stratified ranking system allows equal power sharing between men and women depending on social and political occasions, based on the mehikitanga (fahu system) and the brother and sister feveitokai'aki and reciprocal obligations.

To implement participants' recommendations on prevention, an operations research design will be



necessary to elucidate the workable culturally-appropriate pathways for a sexually safe environment for child rearing. Such an approach will not only address the fundamental contributing factors to sexual violence but also violence and abusive behaviour in general.

## 4.9 TUVALU RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

*Fakamalosi te va fakaaloalo e pui-pui i ei a tino  
Pasefika mai uiga pukemalo*

### 4.9.1 METHODOLOGY

#### INTERVIEWS

The ten interviewees were chosen to include the eight island communities of Tuvalu and equal numbers of men and women. They included church pastors, officials and volunteers, community leaders, students and parents. Interviewers were matched by gender; the men's interviews were carried out by the researcher, and those with women by his wife.

### 4.9.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2006, there were 2,625 Tuvalu people in New Zealand, 37 percent of whom were New Zealand-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

#### BELIEFS

The people of Tuvalu revolve around their belief in a Supreme Being, represented among them in the form of the aliki, the paramount leader in traditional Tuvalu (Tafaki, 1983). The people believed that the aliki was the shadow of that all-powerful being and could curse anyone at will.

As the representative of the powerful being, the people would respect the aliki and obey his demands, whether or not they saw them as justified. The people feared that if they disobeyed the aliki, the Supreme Being would get angry and disaster would follow.

The aliki had the final say on all things, and to go against his decision was to invite trouble for oneself and one's family. The aliki was also the symbol of community pride and identity, and was expected to protect the culture inherited from the ancestors.

To assist the aliki, tao aliki or assistant chiefs advised him on the state of affairs in his domain. The slightest news of a threat to the peaceful existence of his people would be reported to the aliki and counter measures planned. In addition, the tao aliki were mediators between people and the aliki. They were responsible for the administration and supervision of the land and the people.

Next to the tao aliki were the elders, te sinā o fenua. They were male family heads. The sinā o fenua advised the tao aliki and sometime counselled the aliki. They could admonish the aliki on food supply and preparations for war. This political structure of Tuvalu had almost vanished when the London Missionary Society landed on Tuvalu and with the beginning of colonialism (Selu, 2007).

#### TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

Tuvalu women are expected to cook, weave mats and care for children while men are expected to fish, climb for coconuts, and take the main responsibility for cultivating root crops.

Young men are allowed considerable freedom for sexual play, so long as they pursue affairs discreetly. They are expected to be sexually adventurous before marriage. Fathering an extramarital child does not reflect badly on a man's character. But for women, marriage is the career traditionally expected for them, and premarital sexual play is frowned upon.

#### FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

In Tuvalu, family relationships are marked by responsibilities and behaviour that reveal cultural expectations. The word kaaiga (family) includes close and distant relatives to fourth or fifth cousins. In some islands, like Nanumea, the role of matua ofo (volunteer mother) strengthens the relationship between fourth or fifth cousins.

#### BROTHER AND SISTER RELATIONSHIP

The term tuagaene refers to the relationship of opposite sex siblings and cousins. They must be polite and reserved toward each other, respectful to the point of indifference, and take special care to avoid any topic or action with a sexual connotation. They are expected to be caring and protective of each other. The tuagaene or sisters are more venerated by brothers than siblings of the same sex. They must not be provoked or embarrassed, as it is forbidden to spill the tears of a tuagaene.



Men are expected to protect the honour of their sisters. If their brother is present, women will avoid any contact with a potential suitor out of concern for the brother's potential embarrassment. Brothers thus constitute effective chaperones, and younger brothers are often sent along with a daughter who must go on an errand after dark.



The more distant a relationship is between opposite sex cousins, the more important obedience and respectful behaviour become. If distantly related tuagaene see each other approaching on a path, one should change course to avoid their meeting. In gossiping and joking, people must also be careful not to relate critical, embarrassing, or sexual orientation accounts of someone's behaviour in the presence of his or her tuagaene.

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNCLE AND NIECE

The term for the strong bond between uncle and niece, a mother's brother and his sister's child, is tuaatina. Tuaatina are strongly expected to help their nieces and nephews as needed or requested, regardless of the hardship or danger involved. The older tuaatina might be asked to supply the costly gold ring a groom needs to wed, or to provide refuge should his nephew or niece quarrel with other family members. Traditionally, tuaatina fought for each other if an argument escalated to a fight.

Tuagaene or sisters are more venerated by brothers than siblings of the same sex. They must not be provoked or embarrassed, as it is forbidden to spill the tears of a tuagaene.

In Tuvalu, women with a brother have someone to help them in life, and her children can look to her brother (their tuaatina) to help them in strife or emergence. Although the mother's male cousins will help, her actual brothers are the most important as tuatina.

### MATUA OFO (VOLUNTEER MOTHER)

The role of matua ofo is expressed when a woman brings gifts for the newborn baby of a distant cousin. Young unmarried women are most suited to take on the matua ofo role because they are responsible and knowledgeable caretakers, but have not yet become preoccupied with their own children or household.

As a matua ofo, a woman is expected to visit the baby once or twice a day, helping with its care and washing its soiled clothing. The baby's father, assisted by other men in his household, devotes extra effort to fishing so that the matua ofo can be given daily gifts of fish. The interaction between volunteer mothers and the child's family strengthens relationships among relatives.

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TAINA

Taina refers to siblings of the same sex, as well as to sisters, brothers-in-law and cousins' partners. Taina can joke in a relaxed and carefree way. Anthropologist Keith Chambers recounts: "early in our first stay on Nanumea... we assumed that women enjoyed teasing Keith to test his developing language ability. One evening some of this joking turned toward explicit sexual repartee" (Chambers & Chambers, 2007). This was because these women treated Keith's wife Anne as taina.

### 4.9.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### HISTORY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants recognised that sexual violence existed and was treated as normal before the arrival of Christianity, when perceptions were changed.

**Woman church volunteer:** *Sexual violence was considered as normal behaviour.*

**Male student:** *Those days, people have not received the gospel and would not be thinking of sexual violence as immoral behaviour.*

**Male church official:** *Through the teaching of the church people had realised that sexual violence was immoral.*

#### MOTIVATIONS FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants said that sexual offenders may want to be seen as a hero or takafiatoa, show their masculinity, or retaliate against women.

**Woman church volunteer:** *Sexual violence is not acceptable and we don't want it to happen in our communities; however, there is also another implication that if a person has done such thing [he] merely wanted to show that he is a hero.*

**Community chairman:** *Sexual violence is another way of telling people that you are a man.*

**Male church official:** Sometimes people have done it for retaliation.

Others saw it as resulting from mental health problems.

**Female school student:** What I can see, the people who do such [a] thing have something wrong with their thinking. They don't care about what they did and the outcomes.

**Male church official:** Those who sexually violence others are mental.

Others saw it as opportunistic behaviour.

**Male theology student:** I think those who have the authority and power are the ones who can easily do sexual violence. In workplaces, managers and supervisors can be easily tempted to do such unwanted sex because they have the power.

## CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE

### CHANGES DUE TO MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Interviewees referred many times to the context as the major contributing factor to sexual violence. This included the need for both parents to work for the family to survive and resulting lack of time with children and supervision of them; overcrowded households, and easy access to pornography.

**Male theology student:** As parents here in New Zealand we have to work to have something to put on the table and to pay bills. We don't have enough time with the children.

**Male pastor:** Overcrowded is another factor that contributes to sexual violence.

**Community chairman:** Another contributing factor is the over-crowded [housing] and such situation may also lead to sexual violence and children abuse.

...Bad thing would happen if the children leave by themselves without someone to look after.

**Male student:** I'm a university student and I have part-time job...I have not enough time with my children.

...It appears that young people have been abusing their freedom. The smacking bill is strengthening the young people to think that they can do anything they want.

**Male pastor:** The young people can easily access pornography. What they can see could lead them to sexual violence.

## WEAKENING OF PROTECTIVE PRACTICES

Participants also spoke about the lessening of taboos between brothers and sisters and opposite-sex cousins; and decreased respect among children for parents.

**Male church official:** Back in the island the relationship between brothers and sisters cousins [is] strongly observed but here in New Zealand this relationship is getting weak. Here in New Zealand, brothers and sister cousins can drink together.



"Sexual violence is another way of telling people that you are a man."

**Male pastor:** The relationship between brothers and sisters cousins has been getting weak; the sisters do not expect their cousin brothers to look after them.

**Working mother:** Back in the island, the cousin brothers could not speak to their cousin sisters or make jokes. But what we have been experiencing here in New Zealand, cousin brothers and sisters can joke and drink together.

**Woman church official:** It seems the context we have in New Zealand makes young people ...disrespect their parents. The existence of gangs and peer groups has much impact on young people. If I tell my children to come home straight after school, they would not listen to me. They only come home if they want to, otherwise they spend time with their friends. But with their friends, they can do anything.

## SUPPORT FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Participants said that a refusal to treat sexual violence seriously, a culture of silence, and limited knowledge about human rights were factors that also supported sexual violence. Participants said that people did not want to make things known to others if the issue brings shame to the family.

**Minister's wife:** It's simply difficult to take any rape case to court because that would have negative impact to the victim.

...I know there are many sexual violence cases in our community but we do not consider the issue seriously.

**Female school student:** As a young person, I don't have any clear knowledge about the law in relation to sexual violence. I do not know what my rights are if I am a victim.

## PREVENTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE



Participants suggested actions that would help prevent sexual violence. A male student suggested running workshops about awareness of sexual violence; law and human rights; and gender equality. A pastor said that participants should include youth groups, parents, church leaders and island communities.

**"The church should well address social issues that have physical, mental and psychological impacts on people."**

A female church volunteer said workshops should be run according to Tuvalu cultural processes and:

*revisit Tuvalu culture values that focus on the importance of women, mutually respectful relationships between men and women, and parents and children.*

## THE CHURCH AND PREVENTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The Church is an important body that could help with the prevention of sexual violence.

**Male pastor:** The church must help to nurture young people to know their cultural value.

**Male student:** It's important to run workshops for church groups and leaders to encourage the holistic ministry of the church.

**Woman church official:** The church should have worked in the society, not only as a spiritual body but as Jesus with the people.

**Male church official:** The church should well address social issues that have physical, mental and psychological impacts on people.

**Male theology student:** Working with NGOs and Government organisations to build safe and healthy communities is another area that the church should have considered.

## DISCUSSION

Participants identified cultural values as precious treasures which enable respectful relationships between individuals, families and island communities. The brother-sister relationship particularly was identified as a contemporary protective factor against sexual violence. However, participants said these ties have become weak in New Zealand.

Participants recognised that for some men, sexual violence and exerting control over women was part of demonstrating their masculinity. They also recognised sexual violence as opportunistic behaviour by bosses and family members whose roles gave them power over others.

Participants identified long working hours, overcrowding and easy access to pornography as other factors that contributed to opportunistic

sexual violence.

They said that victims were unlikely to report sexual violence officially or tell their families because of the shame it would bring to the family, and because the complaint would not be taken seriously.

Participants suggested community awareness programmes about sexual violence, including workshops for church leaders, and co-operation between churches and organisations working against sexual violence.

## 4.10 DOMINANT CULTURE LITERATURE REVIEW

### 4.10.1 METHODOLOGY

This part of the literature review searched for studies involving more than one Pacific population, as well as studies of sexual violence against children and boys in non-Pacific populations, and research about community sexual violence prevention campaigns.

Electronic databases searched included Scopus, PubMed, Medline, PsychInfo, CINAHL, Cochrane, Embase, Index New Zealand, ERIC, Science Citation Index, Current Contents, Proquest Abstracts,

Social SciSearch and Google Scholar.

Specialist electronic database searches included the Australian National Child Protection Clearinghouse, NSPCC Inform, the UK Child Protection Clearinghouse, the New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, the Australian Institute of Family Studies, and CDC Violence Prevention. Published bibliographies on sexual violence and sexual abuse were reviewed for relevant articles. One systematic review of sexual assault prevention programmes was retrieved from the Cochrane database of systematic reviews. In addition, Google searches were performed.

Search terms and combinations included prevention, prevention programmes, sexual violence prevention, rape prevention, sexual violence, intimate partner violence, sexual assault, sexual abuse, rape, sexual offense, sexual molestation, incest, intimate partner violence, sexual harassment, sexual offender and victim, social marketing, Pacific, and individual country names. Titles and abstracts were reviewed for relevance and articles retrieved that seemed relevant.

## 4.10.2 THEORETICAL MODELS

Here we review Māori and Western theoretical models that we believe have relevance to sexual violence in Pacific communities.

### POWER AND CONTROL WHEEL

The power and control wheel was developed by the Duluth Abuse Intervention Project in the USA and has been widely adopted in New Zealand and elsewhere to describe the persistent pattern of behaviours by which male perpetrators maintain physical and sexual power and control over their female partners.

In her insightful critique of this model, Crichton-Hill (2001) argues that the four cultural assumptions underlying the model do not fit well with Samoan society. The first assumption is natural order; a belief system that places the abuser in a position of power over the victim, and makes him feel legitimately entitled to obedience. Crichton-Hill argues that Samoan women were traditionally respected for their contribution to village life, and that they are increasingly holding the position of matai, which does not support this belief system. She also says that families make the decisions in

Samoan society, rather than individuals.

The second assumption underlying this model of abuse is cultural objectification of women, a perception of them as objects rather than as humans of equal value. Crichton-Hill sees the high status of Samoan women in the brother-sister covenant, and the reverence granted the taupou (ceremonial virgin) as contradictory to this. She concludes it is “more realistic to suggest that [objectification] exists in parts of the culture” (Ibid, p. 207).

The four cultural assumptions underlying the Power and Control Wheel do not fit well with Samoan society.

The third assumption is that the forced submission of victims is supported by a culturally reinforcing environment that promotes the domination of men and persuades women to accept it. In Samoa, women’s groups (auluma) and matai may provide support and protection, but in New Zealand women are more isolated in nuclear family homes with walls, where their nearest relative may be a suburb or an ocean away.

The fourth assumption is that perpetrators can use physical violence without significant punishment. Crichton-Hill points to research identifying village structures that enable the suppression of anger in Samoa, especially towards those of higher status. This authority and structure may be impaired when Samoan people migrate.

She argues that Samoan cultural norms that support violence must be challenged, and that support workers need to understand the cultural obligations that Samoan victims of violence must uphold. She recommended that public education campaigns provide opportunities for “communities to determine what service responses or interventions they believe should occur” (Ibid, p. 212).

### MĀORI TRANSFORMATIVE MODEL

A transformative model applied to Māori whānau violence by the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence (2004) provides a useful ethnic-specific conceptual framework. The process involves the victim, whānau and perpetrator (Ibid, 2004). The three key parts of the transforming process include -

- Dispel the illusion (at the collective and individual levels) that whānau violence is normal,

acceptable and culturally valid

- Remove opportunities for whānau violence to be practiced through education for the liberation and empowerment of whānau, hapū and iwi. To liberate is to free whānau, hapū and iwi from the bonds of violence. To empower is to transcend powerlessness by reclaiming power and authority to act for whānau, hapū and iwi. The act is moving from a state of whānau violence to a state of whānau wellbeing
- Teach transformative practices based on Māori cultural practice imperatives that transform Māori behaviours and provide alternatives to violence (ibid, p. 16)

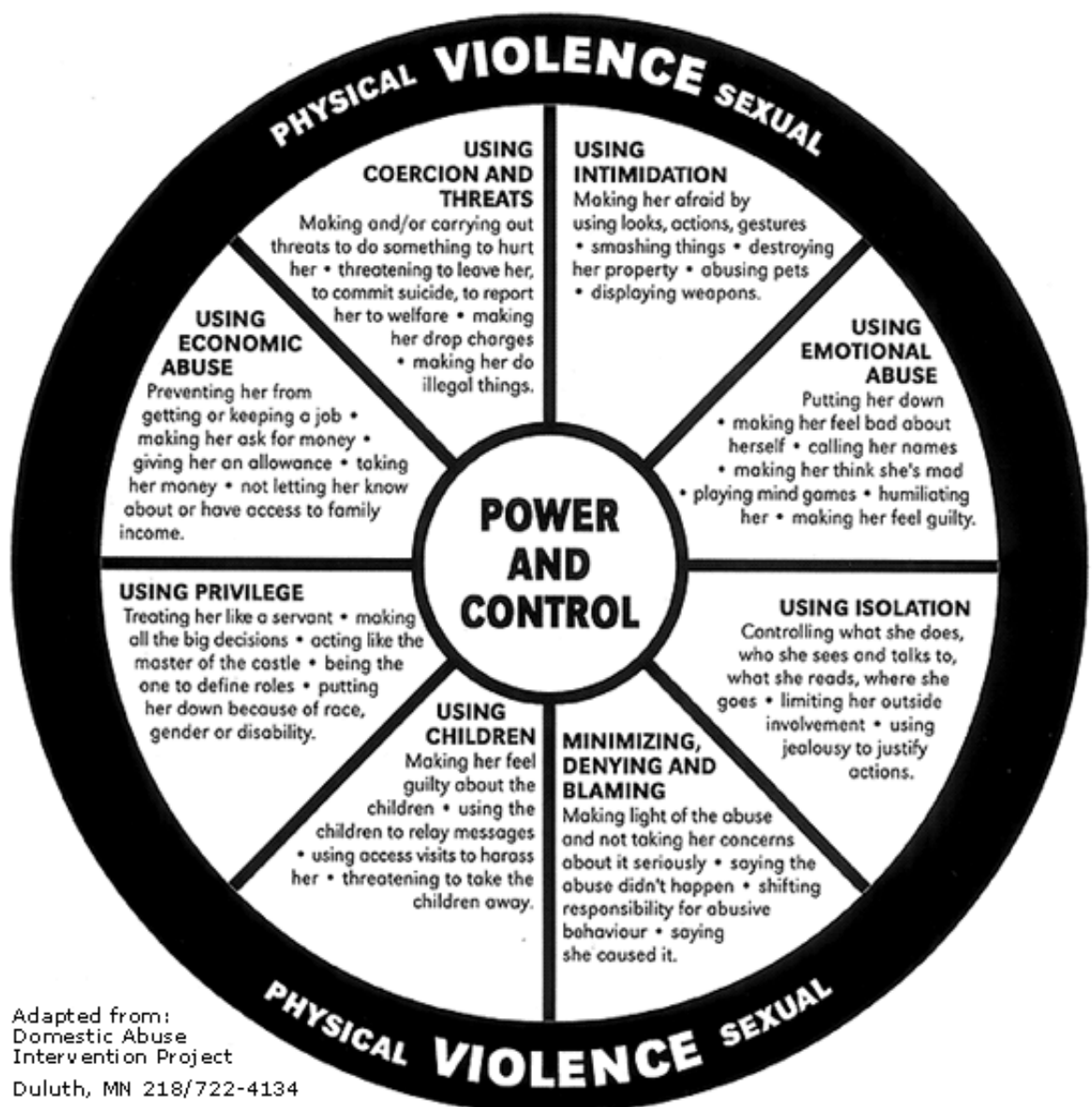
## TRANSFORMATIVE PROCESS

Figure 1 Transformative process

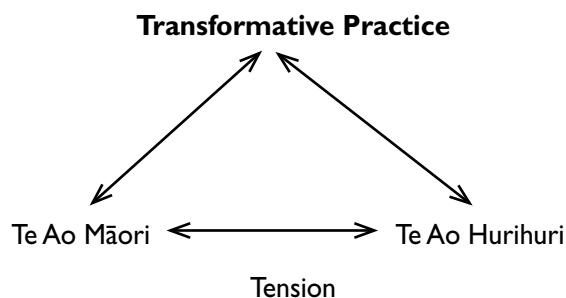
Process/State	Effects	Task of practitioner
Illusion that violence is normal	Normalisation of violence	Dispel the illusion
Opportunity for violence	Perpetration of violence	Remove the opportunity
Dependence (on violence)	Resistance to transformation	Liberate victim(s) and perpetrator(s)

## TRANSFORMATION OF BEHAVIOUR

Dependence	Independence	Interdependence
Impotency, violent	Self-realisation, liberation	Empowerment



A framework that uses the transformational model involves is outlined below:



Te ao Māori reflects the cultural constructs important to Māori –

- Whakapapa (kinship that determines the collectivity between whānau, hapū, iwi, collective consciousness)
- Tikanga (the practice of Māori beliefs and values; collective practice)
- Wairua (spirituality, expressed as awareness of wairua and passion for life; self-realisation)
- Tapu (a state of own knowing; self-esteem)
- Mauri (inner values; sense of power, influence and identity)
- Mana (outer values; external expression of achievement, power and influence).

Te ao hurihuri entails recent influencing factors that “undermine(s) the practice of cultural constructs from te ao Māori”; for example, colonisation. This particular model shows how a Māori framework can include the transformative process in understanding violence.

The model also shows the tension between the old and new world views and the need to appreciate the relationship to encourage change in behaviour and beliefs.

Similar tensions between older, traditional expectations and behaviour and the values of younger New Zealand-born Pacific people are reflected in Pacific communities in New Zealand.

## PUBLIC HEALTH

A public health perspective classifies prevention into primary, secondary and tertiary interventions (Davis et al., 2006) based on whether they take place before violence occurs, immediately afterwards (including hospital care, emergency services or treatment for sexually transmitted infections following rape) or over the longer term (including counselling, rehabilitation and reintegration). This approach is multidisciplinary, and directed toward identifying effective and

appropriate prevention approaches (Hammond et al., 2006).

The Ottawa Charter on Health Promotion (WHO, 1986) identifies five essential approaches to promote good health -

- Build healthy public policy
- Create supportive environments
- Strengthen community action
- Develop personal skills
- Reorient health services.

Public health action to reduce family violence focuses on developing personal skills in young families, children and youth, strengthening community action and creating supportive environments. The literature supports a multidimensional approach to reducing violence (DCYF & MSP, 2000).

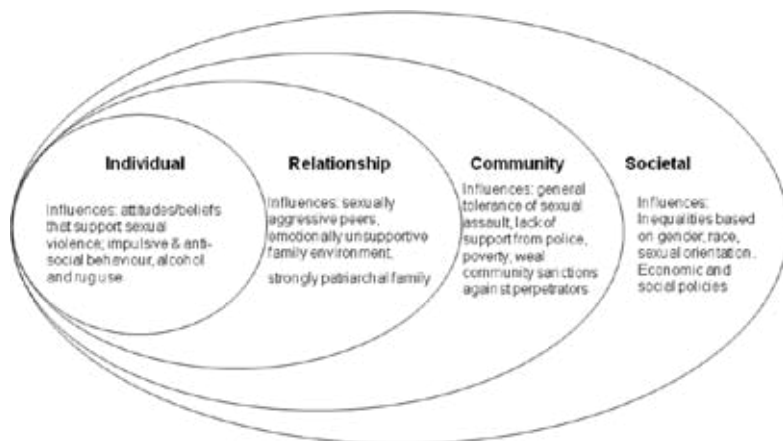
## ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Figure 2 illustrates an ecosystem model for understanding sexual abuse prevention, occurrence, detection, and recovery (Fontes, 1995). Every culture has norms that raise the risk of sexual violence against children and adults, as well as values that are protective. Fontes argues that culture influences the ways in which people understand experiences with their bodies and concepts such as virginity, gender roles, shame, power and help-seeking.

Steps to change include (Ibid.) –

- Naming the oppression - individuals, families, communities and wider society must break through denial and identify problems,
- Education - raising awareness by speaking out in all possible forums and involving people from all groups and professions
- Members of specific groups need to organise to change the conditions of their own group that permit or foster sexual abuse.
- Prevention efforts can only hope to be effective if they work synergistically to address these issues at multiple levels (Davis et al., 2006; Robertson et al., 2008).

We use the levels of the ecological model to outline risk factors and prevention initiatives.



**Figure 2 Ecological model for understanding sexual abuse**

### 4.10.3 PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

#### ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND MEANINGS

Sexual violence is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as “Any sexual act, attempt to obtain sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person’s sexuality, using coercion, threats of harm or physical force, by any person regardless of relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work” (Jewkes et al, 2002).

Sexual violence for women with disabilities may also include the demand or expectation of sexual activity in return for help, and forced sexual activity that takes advantage of physical weakness or an inaccessible environment (WWDA, 2007: 33).

The USA Asian and Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence (2008) defines sexual violence to include –

- Excessive restrictions designed to control women’s sexuality
- Being blamed for rape, incest or coerced sex
- Being forced to marry their rapist
- Kept in ignorance about sex, sexual health and anatomy
- Denied a different sexual orientation.
- Being trafficked as mail order brides, sex workers, or indentured workers
- Forced (rather than arranged) marriage
- Extreme sexual neglect
- Being forced to watch and imitate pornography
- Being forced into unprotected sex can result in sexually transmitted diseases including HIV.

In the last 30 years, the meanings of many concepts about sexual violence have changed and new terms have been coined. Examples include marital rape, acquaintance or date rape, sexual harassment and sexual slavery (OED, 2009; MacKinnon, 1979; Kramarae & Treichler, 1985). Violence that was accepted as discipline in the 1950s in Aotearoa is also now widely considered unacceptable and described as abuse (Hand et al, 2002).

#### PREVALENCE IN NEW ZEALAND PACIFIC COMMUNITIES

The Youth 2007 survey found that 13% of Pacific female students and 6% of Pacific male students had experienced one or more episodes of unwanted sexual behaviour from another person in the last 12 months. Of those, 27% reported the abuse as severe. The majority (57%) had not told anyone about the abuse (Helu et al, 2009).

Table 1 shows that Cook Island girls and Tongan boys had the highest rate of unwanted sexual contact; Cook Island girls and Niuean boys reported severe unwanted sexual contact and finally Cook Island females and Niuean males had experience phone or web based sexual harassment the most compared to other ethnic groups.

The Ministry of Justice (2008) suggested that Pacific people in New Zealand may not identify their sexual violence experiences as a crime and therefore may not tell anyone, contributing to under-reporting among Pacific peoples.

Two other studies concluded that intimate partner violence is common in Pacific communities (Gao et al, 2008; Lievore et al., 2007). While the Pacific Islands Families Study did not include a question about sexual violence, 23% of Pacific mothers reported any violence in the previous year from their partner and 11% reported severe physical violence (Paterson et al., 2008).

Earlier interviews with Pacific victims of family violence found that “yelling and verbal abuse appear to be features of the communication styles used by some families. Physical violence accompanied by verbal abuse also appears to be the norm in some families” (Koloto & Sharma, 2005a, 94).

The Ministry of Justice (2004) reported that 23% of Pacific women had experienced intimate partner violence, and 12% had experienced violence from other people known to them.



**Table 1 Youth 2000 and 2007 survey results**

	Cook Islands	Niue	Samoa	Tonga
2000: Girls, unwanted sexual contact (2007: last 12 months)	37%	35%	29% (13%)	20%
2000: Boys, unwanted sexual contact (2007: last 12 months)	16%	18%	15% (6%)	28%
This was severe (females)	77%	66%	71%	75%
This was severe (males)	30%	19%	15%	6%
2007: Phone/Web sexual harassment (females)	28%	23%	17%	14%
2007: Phone/Web sexual harassment (males)	15%	17%	14%	11%

While violence rates are also high in Palagi communities, Pacific and Māori who are suspected or who have committed violent crimes are over-labelled in media news and television programmes compared to Palagi offenders, reinforcing negative attitudes and perceptions of Māori and Pacific people: "... that is what news is, eh - brown people hitting their kids.." (Kupu Taea, 2008, p31; Loto et al, 2006; Ross, 1994).

## PREVALENCE IN THE PACIFIC

There is anecdotal evidence of sexual violence in the Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu (Taikoko et al, 2003; Niue Advisory Group; Faiva et al, 2006; Field, 2002; US State Department, 2001; UN, 2008), but no evidence from large-scale or population research.

However, the Fortieth Pacific Islands Forum in August 2009 "acknowledged the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the Pacific" and "committed to eradicate SGBV and to ensure all individuals have equal protection of the law and equal access to justice" (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2009).

One review of recent Pacific fiction concluded that partner violence and rape in marriage are emerging as central themes in literature across the Pacific (Ramsay, 2007).

## INSIGHTS FROM OTHER PACIFIC COMMUNITIES

A population study of violence against women in New Caledonia found that 11.6% reported child sexual abuse before age 15 (Hamelin et al., 2009). Almost all (96%) perpetrators were known to the women and 63% were close relatives. Salomon & Hamelin (2008) found that a majority of Kanak women no longer legitimise rape or physical violence, even if the perpetrator is their

partner. Widespread challenges to this violence from young and urban Kanak women indicate a renegotiation of gender relations and changing attitudes in New Caledonia.

More than one-third of native Hawaiian women respondents in a 2005 survey reported being the victims of violence, mostly from spouses and other family members (Austin & Marsella).

Lippe et al (2008) found that a median of 21% of secondary students in American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, the Marshall Islands and Palau had ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse; the prevalence was very similar for both genders.

American Samoan students reported that 26% of female students and 19% of males had ever had forced sexual intercourse.

Almost 13% of Asian and Pacific Islander women in a national USA survey reported physical or sexual partner violence during their lifetime (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Harvey et al (2007) and UNICEF et al (2006) report an increase in sexual violence for women and children in the Pacific region, related to urbanisation and the shift from extended to nuclear families.

## 4.10.4 RISK FACTORS FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

We use the structure of the ecological model described in Figure 2 to categorise risk.

### SOCIETAL RISK FACTORS

Three societal risk factors are common to a world-wide review of child maltreatment and a

New Zealand plan for safer communities (WHO, 2006; Ministry of Justice, 2004). They are -

- Cultural norms that support male dominance over women and rigid gender roles
- Norms that support and accept violence
- Health, education and social policies that maintain or create inequities between groups and lead to poor living standards. For example: Socio-economic inequalities between Pacific peoples and Palagi in New Zealand have lessened only slightly over many decades. Pacific peoples have a lower median income and tend to have fewer formal qualifications than the total population, and many live in low-decile areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a).

Paterson et al (2007) found that low household income and maternal lack of formal education were associated with intimate partner violence and victimisation in Pacific households in New Zealand. Physical violence from intimate partners was often accompanied by sexual violence.

The existence of child pornography and child prostitution affects child maltreatment (WHO, 2006). The common risk factors for child maltreatment and sexual and intimate partner violence show the importance of addressing violence holistically (Harvey et al, 2007).

## COMMUNITY RISK FACTORS

The World Health Organisation (2006) and Ministry of Justice (2004) reports identified common community risk factors for intimate partner violence and child maltreatment -

- Tolerance of violence
- Inadequate or overcrowded housing
- Gender and social inequality
- Unemployment
- Poverty
- A mobile population
- A local drug trade.

All the Pacific communities in this report had a higher average household size than the New Zealand average in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a-g), with Niue, Tokelau and Tongan households averaging over four people. A quarter or more of Tongan, Samoan, Niuean and Cook Islands students reported in 2000 that they lived in overcrowded housing (Mila-Schaaf et al, 2008).

This is related to persistent socio-economic inequalities in New Zealand, as the average annual Pacific person's income in 2001 was \$14,800,

almost \$4,000 lower than the New Zealand average of \$18,500 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a). Over half the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoan and Tongan students in the Youth 2000 study said their households sometimes worried about having enough money for food (Mila-Schaaf et al, 2008).

The WHO report also found that communities which lacked family support services and where alcohol was easily available posed a higher risk of child maltreatment. The Ministry of Justice also identified physical deterioration and social isolation as community risk factors for domestic violence.

The Gender Violence Among Pacific Islander and Asian Peoples report says that cultural communities that migrate to another country can freeze their traditions in time, creating more rigid and conservative attitudes compared to the home country (Dabby, 2007).

Paterson et al (2007) found different rates of family violence among Pacific ethnic groups; Samoan mothers were less likely than all other Pacific groups to report being either a victim or a perpetrator of severe partner violence.

As Pacific social networks become more individualised, the ability to use community networks to escape violent partners is diminished (Cribb, 2007). As extended family arrangements are replaced by nuclear households, women become more socially isolated, making it more difficult for communities to apply sanctions against violent men.

Participants at an Auckland fono about preventing sexual violence said that attitudinal barriers include men regarding their wives as property, and mothers siding with their sons to endorse violence (MVA, 2007).

Cook Islands advocates believe that missionary affirmation of "fathers as unquestioned heads of households, and insistence on wives promising to obey their husbands, confirmed the traditional pattern" (Taikoko et al, 2003, p. 160).

A survey in Samoa found that 89 percent of women and 97 percent of men believed that a good wife obeys her husband (SPC, 2007). Service providers said the parallel between disciplining a disobedient child and a disobedient wife suggested that Samoan women do not have full adult status. While 91 percent of women in a survey in

Samoa believed family problems should be kept private, only 57 percent of men believed this. While 87 percent of women believed that others should prevent a man beating his wife, the rate was higher among rural women, who are more likely to be living among relatives (Ibid.).

### VALUES ABOUT MASCULINITY

In a qualitative formative evaluation for the It's not OK campaign, some Samoan and Tokelau perpetrators of violence said that the man is the pule (authority) and had the right to make family decisions (Families Commission, n.d.). Many of these Pacific men perceived family violence as discipline or the rightful exercise of male authority. They may see women and children's adoption of assertiveness about their rights as disrespectful of male authority.

These Pacific men commonly reported growing up and living in environments where violence was considered normal (Families Commission, n.d.). Hand et al (2002) found that family violence was part of family life for some Pacific people. They tended to consider violence as abuse only when it led to serious injuries. "If a woman went to church with a black eye, she would become the focus of jokes but this would be done in a warm manner...[to] make the woman...feel relaxed and not alone. This was the women's way of comforting her" (p. 77).

Ali (2006) says that most countries of the Pacific accept violent punishment, mockery, ridicule, public humiliation and severe verbal abuse of boys and girls as valid forms of discipline. "Even in countries where corporal punishment is illegal, such as Marshall Islands and Fiji, violent punishment of children is accepted both at home and at schools. A study of parental practices in Fiji found that in punishing their children, hitting, smacking and hitting with a stick or other object was almost as frequently employed as verbal scolding (p. 7-8).

Rape within marriage was generally not recognised by Pacific women in Aotearoa - sex was seen as a marital obligation (McPhillips et al, 2002).

However, violence is not widely accepted or supported among Pacific peoples in Aotearoa.

For example, two-thirds of the Samoan women interviewed by Duituturaga (1988) and Cribb (2007) did not accept domestic violence.

Some Pacific people invoke culture as a justification for violence (Dabby & Poore 2007; Ali 2006; Law Commission, 2006; Koloto & Sharma, 2005a; Hand et al, 2002; Rimonte, 1991), but these authors stress that this is a misunderstanding or distortion of the Pacific cultures involved.

Some Pacific people invoke culture as a justification for violence, but these authors stress that this is a misunderstanding or distortion of the Pacific cultures involved.

### RELATIONSHIP RISK FACTORS

The WHO review (2006) identified risk factors for child maltreatment from relationships with families, friends, partners and peers and are outlined below. Risk factors include relationships with anau/yuvasu/magafoa/aiga/kainga/kaiga/family and peers.

- Family breakdown.
- Violence between parents, children or parents and children.
- Gender roles in intimate relationships that are disrespectful of one or more people in the household. Besnier (2004) says that brothers in Tonga find it difficult when a young member of the family shows early signs of becoming a leitī, and often use serious physical violence to try to straighten their sibling. Adult fakaleitī are also often the target of male violence (James, 1994).
- Isolation from the community.
- Lack of support for difficult relationship issues.
- Breakdown in extended family child rearing support.
- Discrimination against the family due to ethnicity.
- Involvement in criminal or violent activities.

While the Pacific Islands Family Study found no association between problem gambling and intimate partner violence (Schluter et al, 2008), the authors acknowledged that it used a non-standardised maternal gambling measure and identified a smaller than expected number of problem gamblers.

Other studies have found sometimes strong evidence of gambling as a risk factor for family violence (Muelleman et al, 2002; Tui'tahi et al,

2004; Problem Gambling Foundation of NZ, 2010).

## INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS

Risk factors for general child maltreatment include parents and caregivers who (WHO, 2006)

–

- Were maltreated as a child.
- Lack awareness of child development or have unrealistic expectations of the child. Respond to child's behaviour with inappropriate, excessive or violence punishment.
- Approve of or use physical punishment to discipline children.
- Show a lack of self-control when angry.
- Misuse of alcohol and drugs.

While a lower proportion of Pacific than non-Pacific people in New Zealand drink alcohol, Pacific drinkers consume more on typical drinking occasions than other New Zealanders (Huakau et al, 2005). A higher proportion of Pacific people report violence from their own and other's drinking than other New Zealanders.

An early New Zealand study of Pacific people and alcohol found that many Pacific men and some women perceived women who drank as being "loose" and sexually available (Asiasiga, 1997; Asiasiga et al, 1997). Hand et al (2002) found that drinking problems were characteristics of violent Pacific abusers.

Other characteristics of these male offenders included -

- Victim of abuse.
- Moved from home to home or put in foster care.
- Low self-esteem.
- Unemployed.
- Afraid and full of guilt and fear.
- Experienced uncontrolled feelings of anger.
- Lacked support from family members (Hand et al, 2002, p.76).

Sex workers experience high rates of sexual violence from clients (Surratt et al, 2004; Plumridge & Abel, 2001; Harcourt et al, 2001). Fa'afafine and other gender liminal Pacific people are over-represented in the New Zealand sex industry (Schmidt, 2005, p. 212). Worth (2000, p. 19) found that many transgendered Pacific sex workers leave home early because of intolerance or sexual abuse. Fa'afafine work from particular street locations allocated to the transgendered, which

lessens violence as most clients know that those areas are not for female sex workers (Schmidt, 2005).

## 4.10.5 PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Communal lifestyles and broad extended family networks have provided important protective safeguards and sanctions against violence for Pacific women and children. However, these traditions have been eroding due to rapid urbanisation and cultural change (UNICEF, 2005; Ministry of Justice, 2007; Law Commission, 2006). This has meant that fewer people take part in community decision making about customary processes. Poor relationships between children and their parents and grandparents, especially fathers, often mean adults have little understanding of their children's lives outside of home (Ministry of Justice, 2007).

## PAN-PACIFIC FAMILY ROLES

Parenting among Pasifika families occurs between grandmothers and aunties as well as parents, and between island countries and New Zealand (Gravitas, 2005). It is also common for older female children to be responsible for the care of younger siblings from an early age, and for extended family to raise other people's children as their own. Pasifika parenting in Aotearoa varies from traditional practice to assimilation of aspects of Western practice (p. 13). Traditional practice emphasises unquestioning respect for parental authority.

The position of a child relative to other members of the family is influenced by the child's gender, position in the family (eldest, youngest, oldest girl, oldest boy) and the position of the mother's and father's family, lineage, village and island (Gravitas, 2005).

An early Pacific women's workshop on family violence identified the following family relationships (Peteru, 1983) -

- Father/daughter - protects the welfare and virtue of his daughters until marriage.
- Brother/sister and older male cousins - protects the virtue of their sister outside the family environment, acts as a chaperone.
- Husband - protects the welfare of wife and daughters.

A national study of Pasifika women's economic well-being (Koloto & Sharma, 2005b) identified significant leadership roles played by eldest

daughters of different ethnicities in their extended families.

Pacific families are collectives, and roles, responsibilities and obligations differ between and among Pacific cultures (Hand et al, 2002). "Collective responsibility means being responsible for one another from birth till death" (p. 73). This includes communal discipline, where a mother may hit a child and an aunt may intervene after there has been sufficient discipline (Ibid).

As head of the family, fathers have a responsibility and obligation to its members. Pacific people said this role was interpreted in a negative way "as being 'boss' and having ultimate power and control over members" (Ibid, p. 71).

Traditionally, if women experienced domestic violence in Samoa they would use their family networks including matai to ensure their safety (Simi, 1985).

Sex is traditionally tapu to talk about, and Pacific people vary in how comfortable they are in sharing information about sexual violence (McPhillips et al, 2002). Women and men will talk about sex and unwanted sex within their own peer groups, in their own languages and using humour. This is not offensive in Pacific languages, but may sound offensive when translated into English.

The Law Commission argues that women in the Pacific should be able to choose whether crimes of violence against them are dealt with through custom, through the courts or through both (2006, p. 13). "Customary practices of seeking and receiving forgiveness through symbolic presentations and apologies between the families of the wrongdoer and the wronged are important for restoring relationships within communities (p. 95-6). "In some communities, the focus is not on gift-giving but on paying compensation. However, family resolutions can leave women without a voice, and they may feel pressured not to bring charges or to drop them."

## WOMEN'S FINANCIAL AUTONOMY

Economic factors can influence the prevalence of sexual violence. Women with low incomes, including a large proportion of Pacific women in Aotearoa, have a greater likelihood of experiencing sexual violence (O'Donnell et al, 2002;

Crouch et al, 2000). Women with higher incomes, and thus more earning potential, have reported lower levels of sexual violence than other women (Brown et al, 2006).

Poverty, female financial autonomy and male control of money in a relationship have been shown to influence rates of domestic violence and whether women are able to leave abusive relationships (Kaukinen, 2004; McPhillips et al, 2002; Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985).

However, economic or employment status is not a good measure of autonomy because employed women may not control the use of their income. Abusive male partners in a Samoan study were more likely to take their partners' earnings or refuse to give them money when needed (SPC, 2007). Hand et al (2002) found that regardless of household income, many of the women they interviewed who were living with abusive partners had no or insufficient money of their own.

Women with higher incomes, and thus more earning potential, have reported lower levels of sexual violence than other women

Fleming et al (1997) studied access to household income among Pacific, Māori and Palagi couples and found "no evidence of money control being used to exert male power" in Pacific families (p. 71). It was more common in Pacific families for women to control the household income. Gender differences in access to household money were much more marked in Palagi than in Pacific families.

## CHILDREN

WHO (2006) says there has been very little systematic research on factors protective of child maltreatment and they are not well understood. However, "living in communities with strong social cohesion has a protective effect and can reduce the risk of violence, even when other family risk factors are present" (p. 16). Positive non-physical disciplinary techniques are also likely to be protective factors.

Factors that appear to help resilience in children include –

- Secure attachment of the child to adult family members.
- High levels of paternal care during childhood.

- Lack of association with delinquent or substance-abusing peers.
- A warm and supportive relationship with a non-offending parent.
- A lack of abuse-related stress (Ibid.).

#### 4.10.6 PREVENTION

This section explores recommendations in the literature for prevention strategies in the Pacific and among Pacific communities in New Zealand.

##### PREVENTION AMONG PACIFIC COMMUNITIES OVERSEAS

There have been very few sexual violence prevention programmes in Pacific Island countries. Child sexual abuse prevention activities focus on awareness and training; few have a special or sole focus on the issue (UNICEF et al, 2006). Specific sexual violence services are often funded by outside aid agencies, and rely on community volunteers in non-government organisations. They work on Western models using phone lines, drop in, police liaison and legal support rather than indigenous models. Very few of these small programmes have been evaluated.

To prevent child sexual abuse, UNICEF et al (2006) recommended that Pacific countries –

- Promote open discussion and community dialogue on child sexual abuse and exploitation to combat the silence around these issues
- Strengthen the protective capacities of families and communities
- Mobilise relevant sectors in campaigns against child sexual abuse and exploitation
- Alleviate poverty and create education and employment opportunities for children and youth (p. 122).

Capstick et al (2009) review recommended that culturally sensitive health interventions in the Pacific should take into account -

- Concepts pertaining to the communal, relational aspects of health.
- Possible conceptual differences between Western and indigenous conditions, and between Western and indigenous solutions.
- Relevance of local factors such as education and traditions.
- Communicator prestige.
- Alignment with community health promotion systems, such as fono or church meetings.

- Emphasis on oral or visual, as opposed to written material.

Meleisea & Meleisea (2006) said that public attitudes of denial or misapprehension of effective modes of child discipline underlie much of the vulnerability of girls to violence in the Pacific. They recommended –

- Public education campaigns targeting the clergy and church organisations, school teachers and law-makers, law enforcement agencies and parents.
- Community-based prevention programmes, including parenting-skills training, and education in child development and in non-violent and non-abusive methods of child discipline.
- Promotion of non-violence as a cultural value using existing community institutions, structures and linkages.
- Meaningful consultation with children and young people, particularly girl children, to plan and implement strategies to address violence and discrimination against the girl child (p. 29).

The authors of a survey about violence among native Hawaiian people said that “an effective and appropriate prevention programme should consider incorporating Hawaiian conceptions of humour and laughter into interventions” (Austin & Marsella 2005, p. 181).

##### SEXUAL VIOLENCE PREVENTION IN AOTEAROA

This section includes only research not covered in the literature review by Robertson and Oulton (2008) for Te Puni Kokiri and MPIA.

##### WIDER CONTEXT

Research has identified factors that provide an enabling context for anti-violence initiatives. They include programmes to:

- Tackle poverty and reduce societal inequalities (WHO, 2006). For example, a lack of access to financial support for themselves and their children made it very difficult for Pacific women to leave abusive and violent relationships (Koloto & Sharma, 2005a). Tackling unemployment and mitigating its negative aspects on communities has also been identified as helping to prevent child abuse (WHO, 2006) and Pacific family violence (Duituturaga, 1988).
- Provide adequate housing, a crucial need for women and children who need to escape a violent partner (Koloto & Sharma, 2005a).

Government policies that support extended Pacific families, by including extended family members in the definition of household income, and providing appropriate housing would help prevent domestic violence (Cribb, 2007). In the USA, residential mobility programmes have been suggested as preventive for child abuse, as they have demonstrated positive effects on problem behaviours (WHO, 2006). They provide low-income families with housing vouchers or rent subsidies, giving them a choice in where they live.

- Reducing access to alcohol has also been recommended as primary prevention for child sexual abuse (WHO, 2006) and by Pacific communities (Duituturaga, 1988).

## HOLISTIC APPROACH

Several major meta-analyses have identified that a holistic approach that deals with multiple factors is more effective than one which compartmentalises different aspects or targets of violence (for example, WHO, 2006; Runyan et al, 2005; Saunders & Goddard, 2002; Tomison & Poole, 2000).

Minority ethnic communities often have to deal with fragmented health promotion and welfare services (Hand et al, 2002; Whitaker et al, 2007). Instead researchers proposed that an integrated, holistic

Respect for Life package be developed for Pacific communities, combining mental and physical health, disability, violence, safety and alcohol and drug rehabilitation (Hand et al, 2002, p. 86; WHO 2006, p. 36; Peteru, 2009).

Smuts cautions “against the naive hope that changes in a single variable will reduce women’s vulnerability to male aggression. Rather we must consider how numerous variables interact to increase or decrease the frequency of male aggression against women” (1996, p. 251).

## MASS MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

Evaluations indicate that mass media campaigns are effective at building awareness of an issue, but ineffective at creating behavioural change and thus preventing violence (Harvey et al, 2007; Rheingold et al, 2007; Saunders & Goddard, 2002; Dennis & Merrill, 1996). To maintain knowledge and behavioural gains, they need to be accompanied

by more direct interventions among peer groups and communities (Rheingold et al, 2007; Ministry of Health, 2001).

Media campaigns are most effective at changing attitudes when they are long-term, well-resourced and nationally co-ordinated (Ang-Lygate et al, 1997), as attitudes that blame victims of sexual violence have been shown to persist despite an otherwise successful prevention campaign (Saunders & Goddard, 2002).

New Zealand evaluation of a mainstream violence prevention media campaign found positive effects among Pacific people (Hall & Stannard, 1997). The Breaking the Cycle campaign from 1995 to 1997 significantly influenced Pacific people’s concepts of abuse, and they reported the highest incidence of actual behaviour change.

The White Ribbon Day international campaign co-ordinated by UNIFEM is an example of a mass media campaign active in New Zealand. However, it has involved largely businesses and government agencies rather than Pacific community organisations (Families Commission, 2009).

Several major meta-analyses have identified that a holistic approach that deals with multiple factors is more effective than one which compartmentalises different aspects or targets of violence.

Researchers identified a range of key prevention messages -

- Family violence is unacceptable, although it might be considered by some victims and perpetrators to be culturally appropriate (Hand et al, 2002; Koloto & Sharma, 2005a).
- Relationships between parents and children and between siblings are sacred (MVA, 2007).
- A focus on healthy and respectful relationships rather than “perpetrators” and “victims” (MVA, 2007; Hand et al, 2002).
- Collective responsibility for family violence (MVA, 2007; Hand et al, 2002).
- Community examination of cultural practices that condone violence and discourage victims from seeking help outside the family (Koloto & Sharma, 2005a).
- Parents and other family members do not have the right to abuse their children (WHO, 2006).
- Forced sex in marriage is unacceptable (SPC, 2002).

- Challenges to hegemonic masculinity (Gavey, 2005).
- Defining a masculinity that values non-violence and respect for others (Carmody, 2006).

Traditional proverbs, *falea'itu* (comedy) and *fa'agogo* (bedtime stories) can use humour and metaphor to convey strong messages about rape and violence (Gravitas, 2005; McPhillips et al, 2002). An early child abuse prevention video involved Pasifika elders speaking in Samoan about the importance of brothers looking out for sisters and older children looking out for younger ones (Safe Before Five, 1994).

The credibility of the source is crucial for the success of media prevention campaigns (Saunders & Goddard, 2002). Pacific fono participants suggested the use of well-respected and carefully chosen community champions to lead discussion about preventing sexual violence (MWA, 2007). One study recommended that men who resist dominant masculinity should be involved in community programmes that encourage alternative talk about sexuality and gender equity (Sathiparsad, 2008).

One example of credible champions is the Super Māori Fullas, a group of self-funded Māori men, all from non-violent *whānau*, who took time off from their jobs in 2009 to ride from Cape Reinga to Bluff on their Harleys speaking out against family violence. (Family Violence: It's Not OK!, 2009).

Pacific people recommended the involvement of Pacific perpetrators in programmes aimed at preventing domestic violence (MWA, 2007; Koloto & Sharma, 2005a). Media campaigns that are seen as asking men to consider the issue of violence, rather than making women change their behaviour, have been evaluated positively (Kitzinger & Hunt, 1993).

Becoming a good role model for their children was the most effective motivator for Pacific men who had beaten their partners (Families Commission, n.d.). Media campaigns that were effective for perpetrators focused on the consequences of their violence for their partners and children, and the help available if the man wanted to change (Saunders & Goddard, 2002; Hall & Stannard, 1997; Donovan et al, 1999).

Some researchers recommend alternative interventions for students who are already violent in relationships, as school-based prevention pro-

grammes may be counter-productive (Carmody & Carrington, 2000).

Awareness of women's right to say no to sex in relationships needs to be aimed as much to women as to men, given high levels of acceptance among Pacific women of an obligation to have sex with their partner when it is unwanted or unpleasant (Secretariat to the Pacific Community, 2007; McPhillips et al, 2002).

Pacific women who had experienced domestic violence placed a high value on community support and the maintenance of their cultural links (Hand et al, 2002). Processes of community restitution and reconnection are needed to stop abuse and assist recovery. Victims of sexual violence may become more willing to report to police if indigenous restorative and reparative justice processes are more widely available (Hamby, 2008).

## COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS

Pacific peoples have made repeated calls for health promotion and violence prevention initiatives and health services that recognise "the distinct and separate ethnic identity of each Pacific nation in New Zealand and the emerging identity of New Zealand born Pacific people" (MWA, 2007; see also Samu & Suaalii-Sauni, 2009; Paterson et al, 2007; Moala, 2006; Crichton-Hill, 2001). This approach has been implemented or recognised by many health providers and researchers (for example, the Health Promotion Forum (Tu'itahi, 2007); MidCentral DHB, 2007; Abbott & Maynard, 2006; Tumai mo te Iwi PHO, 2006; Ministry of Health, 1996).

Ethnic-specific campaigns would take into account the varying use of Pacific languages among different Pacific communities in New Zealand. For example, Pacific secondary school students who reported that they could speak their language at an average level in 2000 varied from 30 percent among Niue students to 67 percent among Tongans (Mila-Schaaf et al, 2008). Among adults, there are differences in the abilities of Pacific and New Zealand-born to hold a conversation in their community language. For example, in 2001 five percent of New Zealand-born Cook Islands people and 48 percent of New Zealand-born Tuvalu people could hold a conversation in their languages.



An early Safer Community Council Education Resource (1997) recommended prevention messages for Pacific communities as part of a public education campaign. It suggested targeting Pacific churches, community leaders, and recent arrivals. It recommended positive messages as “more readily acceptable” and written material and courses as able to reach only a limited sector of the community (p. 50). It stressed that “attention to appropriate taste, tone and terminology as well as dialect is critical in making messages acceptable and encouraging participation” (p. 50).

The DHB Reducing Violence Toolkit (Ministry of Health, 2001) recommended public awareness campaigns, help lines, community development programmes, training and capacity building in Pacific communities.

### **Tongan community example**

The Tongan community in Sydney was one of four non-English speaking background (NESB) communities involved in a successful community campaign about domestic violence in 1997 (Moore et al, 2002). A phone survey after the campaign found an increased knowledge of the impact on domestic violence on women among Sydney Tongans, and increased recognition of domestic violence as a crime and not a private matter.

The success of the Australian campaign highlighted the importance of targeted cultural and linguistically appropriate campaigns for awareness of family violence.

Community representatives helped design and develop culturally and linguistically accurate campaign materials. In contrast to the images frequently used in English speaking campaigns, separate focus groups for men and women showed that the communities did not want images of battered women and distressed children.

They wanted a focus on the positives - strong families, strong communities and strong social ownership of the issue. Peace and harmony in the family were developed as challenges to domestic violence. Images of happy families were chosen to highlight the importance of the children’s future and the desire to maintain domestic harmony.

A “first language first” model was adopted, enabling working parties to develop messages in their first language using the vernacular and

culturally specific expressions unique to each group.

The multi-media campaign was run over two months including items on community radio stations, advertisements and articles in ethnic newspapers, community forums and billboards at four railway stations. To show family conflict each billboard had symbolic representations of unease and trouble. The Tongan panel had a portrait hanging over tapa cloth with a corner pulled down off the wall, signifying to a Tongan viewer that the family was in trouble. The Tongan slogan was “Domestic violence against women affects the whole family”. Two gender-specific radio advertisements were produced for each community.

The Tongan Song Festival was a culturally appropriate way of raising sensitive subjects in a non-threatening setting. The community was asked to write and compose original songs promoting the message of peace and harmony in the family and opposition to domestic violence. Songs were performed before judges and prize money awarded.

**The success of the Australian campaign highlighted the importance of targeted cultural and linguistically appropriate campaigns for awareness of family violence.**

The festival attracted 16 contestants and over 500 audience members, and all the songs created for the night are now part of the oral history of the Tongan community. The songs were recorded live by SBS, a national Australian television network for ethnic communities, and continue to be played on community radio. The sacred songs also added to the repertoire of songs in Tongan churches across the state. The festival was an example of how community members participated in defining a community project and how culturally-specific campaign messages added value to the culture rather than take something away.

Preparations for developing community sexual violence interventions include -

- Drawing together an inclusive community advisory group to explore community needs.
- Assessing the prevalence of sexual violence and use of sexual violence services.
- Mapping community values.
- Identifying commitment to the issue in different parts of the community.

- Identifying community resources (Lichty et al, 2008).

Community mobilisation approaches show promise for Pacific communities. They treat individuals and community groups as change agents, rather than passive beneficiaries of media campaigns, and emphasise community leadership of the change process (Harvey et al, 2007). Their success depends on the quality of the facilitators. Lessons learnt from such approaches include –

- They are most effective with community ownership, repeated exposure to ideas through multiple channels over time, and when media outreach is combined with participatory group education (Ibid, p19)
- Facilitators need adequate support to address their own beliefs and issues.
- An enabling social environment may increase the likelihood of sustained positive changes in individual behaviour.
- High quality training of facilitators is important but can substantially increase programme costs.
- Formative research needs to identify existing norms and the best messages and channels for social marketing to reach the target audience.
- Community approaches need follow-up to sustain positive changes (Ibid, p. 19).

(eg Potter et al, 2008; Banyard et al, 2005, 2004; Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; Ferguson et al, 2005; Fabiano et al, 2003).

Discussions of gender equality, power, and violence are most open and effective in single-sex groups (Harvey et al, 2007; McPhillips et al, 2002). One anti-violence project working with men suggested that family violence can be a natural entry point for wider discussions of power, gender, and violence (Harvey et al, 2007). However, in Tokelau young girls chose to speak about sexual abuse in mixed gender groups so that young men heard their views (Faiva et al, 2006).

### SPORTING FIGURES

Given the strong emphasis on sporting participation in Pacific communities, especially among men, the Australian Purple Armband Games (Dimitrov, 2008) and other programmes countering sexual violence through sport (Robins et al, 2005), as well as USA models of sexual violence prevention among college athletes (Moynihan & Banyard, 2008) have potential. Three of New Zealand's most successful and popular male sport franchises, the Auckland Blues, the New Zealand Warriors and the All Blacks, are heavily manned by Pacific players in what has been called the "browning" of New Zealand rugby (Schaaf, 2003).

Elite Samoan rugby players viewed their achievements and failures as family property, because the individual's success was seen as a direct reflection of the support received from

their 'āiga. This can make sporting figures influential champions for community campaigns.

### CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

The most common child abuse prevention initiative at the individual level for children aged three to 11 is training to help them recognise and avoid potentially abusive situations. However: "There is uncertainty about whether these skills are retained over time and whether they would in fact protect a child ...if the perpetrator was someone well known to and trusted by the child" (WHO, 2006, p. 40).

Current child safety programmes in Aotearoa include -

- Keeping Ourselves Safe (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996) was evaluated by Sanders (2006) and

Community mobilisation approaches treat individuals and community groups as change agents, rather than passive beneficiaries of media campaigns, and emphasise community leadership of the change process.

Samoan women respondents in an early study of family violence in Christchurch said they wanted help with communication skills, counselling, assertiveness training for women, parenting programmes and community education about family violence (Duituturaga, 1988, p.115).

Communities need to be involved in developing appropriate educational and promotional resources and workshops (Hand et al, 2002). The process of developing appropriate language for the resources can be awareness-raising in itself (Safe Before Five, 1994; Niue Advisory Group).

Community mobilisation approaches can work well with men, but getting men involved can be difficult. Bystander and male peer approaches have been evaluated successfully in the USA and could be adapted to Pacific male peer groups

Woodward (1990), who recommended that developmentally appropriate sexuality education should be taught alongside child protection information.

- No Excuse for Abuse, developed by the Safer Streets Trust, is designed to work with KOS.
- Amazing Me, published by the Safer Streets Trust.
- We can keep safe, a preschool prevention programme run by Auckland Sexual Abuse HELP Foundation.
- Warrior Kids, a self-esteem, social skills and confidence development course for primary age children, is run by Kura Toa.
- Because I'm Special, a primary school personal safety programme, is run by the Levin Sexual Abuse Centre.
- The Big Red No, a 45-60 minute personal safety programme for 4-6 yr olds run by Tauranga HELP.

There is strong evidence that programmes focusing on parenting support help prevent child maltreatment (ISPCAN, 2008; Harvey et al, 2007; WHO, 2006). "The two most widely evaluated and widely applied models for delivering these strategies are home visitation programmes and training in parenting" (p. 38). Evaluations in Christchurch and a systematic review in the USA have found that home visiting programmes (which includes parent training) helped reduce parental and partner violence (Turner, 2006; CDC, 2003).

WHO (2006) says the more successful home visit programmes—

- Focus on families in greater need of services, including children with chronic illness and disabilities, low-income, teenage mothers, a history of substance abuse
- Begin in pregnancy and continue to at least the second year
- Are flexible in length and frequency of visits and type of services
- Promote positive physical and mental health behaviours, and specific qualities of infant care-giving
- Cover a range of issues rather than just child abuse
- Aim to reduce family stress by improving the social and physical environment.
- Use nurses or trained semi-professionals.

Evaluations of training programmes for parents have shown they reduce youth violence (WHO,

2006). Successful programmes include —

- A focus on parents of children aged 3-12
- Active review by parents and testing of parents about teaching materials for their children
- Step-by-step teaching of sequential child management skills.

Effective parent training programmes —

- Identify and record problem behaviours at home
- Use positive reinforcement techniques
- Apply non-violent discipline methods
- Supervise and monitor child behaviour
- Use negotiating and problem-solving strategies.

## MUSIC

Young Pacific people have been identified as needing different and appropriate prevention messages to older people or those born in the islands (for example, MWA, 2007). Young men and women in the islands and in Aotearoa are strongly influenced by the gender norms, dress and dance styles of Black American hip hop (Schmidt, 2005; The Next, n.d.). American hip hop lyrics often talk about women as "hoes" or "bitches", and there is some concern that as the genre becomes more commercial in New Zealand, women will be increasingly depicted in bikinis doing little but dancing provocatively (McAllister, 2005).

However, the lyrics of locally produced hip hop rarely use these terms. Scribe talks about "My Lady" and Che Fu calls on his "sister" for help in *True Balance*. Local Pacific and Māori hip hop lyrics and culture have already expressed concerns about sexual violence and included positive messages about breaking the cycle of violence and abuse (The Next, n.d). Pacific hip hop and international music videos (Dutt, 2002; Stephens et al, 1998) are potential channels for anti-violence media campaigns aimed at Pacific youth.

## CHURCHES

While Pacific language nests, women's networks and primary health care providers have been identified as appropriate providers for Pacific non-violence programmes (Gravitas, 2005; Ministry of Health, 2001), researchers have overwhelmingly identified churches as the major potential site of sexual and other violence prevention in Pacific communities (Capstick et al, 2009; Cribb, 2007; Dabby & Poore, 2007; MWA,

2007; Meleisea & Meleisea, 2006; FWCC, n.d.; Gravitas, 2005; McPhillips et al, 2002; Hand et al, 2002; Ministry of Health, 2001).

Church attendance among Pacific peoples is higher than the New Zealand average. The proportion of over 15-year-olds who are affiliated with a Christian denomination varied in 2001 from 70 percent (Niue) to 97 percent (Tuvalu) (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a-g). However, church attendance is lower among younger Pacific peoples; the proportion who often attended church in 2000 ranged from 60 percent of Tongan female students to 29 percent of Niuean male secondary students (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a-g). The proportion of Pacific peoples who reported no religious affiliation is lower than among non-Pacific people, and in 2001 ranged from two percent of Tuvalu people to 22 percent of people with Niue ancestry.

In 1987, Whipple (cited in Fitzmaurice 1993, p. 8) described legitimised violence in the churches as:

*Religious belief systems, attitudes and teachings in patriarchal churches that hinder or prevent victims of family violence exposing the cycle of violence in their marital relationships by supporting the right of the husband to control his wife.*

Churches act as villages for Samoan women in New Zealand (Cribb, 2007) and this is relevant to other Pacific peoples. Church ministers have power and influence in Pacific communities (McPhillips et al, 2002). However, Samoan women in one study believed the church provides little support in cases of domestic violence (Cribb, 2007).

Fitzmaurice (1993) said that while some New Zealand churches have provided support, accommodation and welfare services for women escaping domestic violence for more than a century, the issue of preventing family violence had “been noticeably absent from the agenda of the churches” (p. 19).

Following complaints about sexual harassment and abuse by clergy in 1989, the Anglican Provincial Board of Ministry set up guidelines for dealing with sexual harassment complaints. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches produced *Violence in the Family* in 1987 for church study groups (Fitzmaurice, 1993). A draft action plan for churches to address family violence recommended a range of actions for clergy and church workers and clergy training (Ibid).

In 1992, groups for survivors of sexual abuse within churches were set up in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, following national workshops about the issue (Mental Health Foundation, 1993). A guide for Christian churches outlined how to deal with child abuse by their own staff and volunteers, as well as abuse by others that was reported to church workers (Goodwin, 1992). It included procedures to protect children in church care, to screen volunteers and staff and to report abuse to officials.

Most mainstream denominations have adopted sexual abuse protection and prevention policies; for example, the Methodist Church in New Zealand published procedures for dealing with sexual abuse and harassment in 1999 (Methodist Church, 1999). The Presbyterian Church in 2004 made it mandatory for every church to adopt and implement a Safety and Protection Policy (Presbyterian Church, 2004).

Publicity about Catholic priests abusing children in the USA and new church policies coincided with a decrease in reports of abuse by priests (Terry & Ackerman, 2008). The Church's *Charter for the protection of children and young people* was implemented in 2002 and required dioceses to establish Safe Environment programmes. These included a code of conduct for adults who worked with children, child-abuse training programs for all adults involved with minors, and personal safety training for youths.

The study found that most sexual abuse occurred when clergy were alone with children and young people, most often at the perpetrator's home. It recommended that the Church should restrict priests from being alone with children in the parish residence or on overnight trips, provide information to parents about how children can be groomed for abuse, and establish an abuse reporting system for children, parents and priests.

Liberal clergy were more likely to use intimate violence prevention practices than conservative ones in a rural USA study, although knowledge and attitudes tended not to translate into preventive action (Strickland et al, 1998).

Two violence prevention programmes developed in Auckland in 1995 have been provided through Pacific churches by Special Education Services for the Ministry of Health (Greenaway et al, 2004). Peaceful Waves ran in the Samoan community and Matangi Malie in the Tongan community, focusing

on anger management and peaceful parenting, including the promotion of non-physical methods of disciplining children.

The two programmes also organised courses for Pacific providers, and one-off courses for conferences and Pacific events, and also deliver their message in Samoan, Tongan and English on Pacific radio. Team members in the two programmes had a philosophy of “absolutely no hitting”, which limited their relationship with other Pacific providers of similar programmes who advocated “controlled hitting” (ibid, p. 21).

The Batterer Intervention Programme of the Asian and Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence said that religious ideologies and leaders who promote gender roles that condone violence to women need to be challenged (Dabby & Poore, 2007). It recommended -

- Demonstrating how fortifying traditional gender roles with religious and cultural explanations colludes with male privilege and endorses batterer impunity.
- Training religious authorities about the historical causes of violence against women so they do not see domestic violence as a private matter that women endure or are blamed for.
- Recruiting and training religious leaders to be sponsors for violence intervention programmes.
- Organising women in congregations to expose how instructing women to pray harder, endure more, drop legal remedies like restraining orders or divorce actions, directly contributes to battered women’s increased endangerment.
- Supporting community-based domestic violence organisations, instead of portraying them as home-breakers, by encouraging congregational donations for anti-violence services.
- Holding perpetrators and communities accountable for domestic violence and religious leaders responsible for promoting gender inequality (p. 16-17).

New Zealand researchers have suggested -

- Training church ministers in how to identify and deal with domestic violence (Cribb, 2007).
- Providing integrated and collaborative domestic violence services through Pacific churches (Cribb, 2007; Hand et al, 2002)
- Public anti-violence education campaigns

involving clergy and church organisations (Meleisea & Meleisea, 2006).

The Pacific Islands Women’s Project pointed out that the church is sometimes used by offenders as a way out of taking responsibility for their actions, and that ministers can collude with violence by asking that an allegation not be taken further (McPhillips et al, 2002).

## CAPACITY OF SUPPORT SERVICES

A dearth of culturally appropriate support services for Pacific victims of violence (Hand et al 2002, p. 169) means that capacity needs to be strengthened to deal with the increased demand that a Pacific violence prevention campaign would entail. Prevention fono participants said there were no Pacific men working with Pacific sex offenders, and that the criteria for counselling accreditation makes it difficult for Pacific people to get recognised qualifications (MVA, 2007).

The church is sometimes used by offenders as a way out of taking responsibility for their actions.

Koloto & Sharma (2005a) listed among the needs of Pacific women victims of family violence -

- Appropriate counselling services and support from Pacific social service organisations or Pacific staff in victim support agencies
- Assistance with referrals to appropriate victim support agencies such as Women’s Refuge, and the need for a Pacific Women’s Refuge
- Advice and appropriate information on victims’ legal rights and support systems offered by criminal justice agencies.

Cribb (2007) said that mainstream and Pacific services needed to break cultural barriers so that older women who may see violence as normal and inescapable can use support services.

One-third of providers of community-based sexual violence support services have acknowledged gaps in their provision for Pacific peoples (Mossman et al, 2009). It is important that Pacific perpetrators and Pacific families at risk are able to access support services that they view as appropriate and confidential.

# 5 Discussion

## 5.1 ETHNIC-SPECIFIC INFORMATION

Research in New Zealand and the Pacific found that young people of different Pacific ethnicities experienced markedly different rates of unwanted sexual touching (Helu et al, 2009; Lippe et al, 2008). Women of different Pacific ethnicities in Auckland also experienced different rates of domestic violence (Paterson et al, 2007).

Participants and advisory groups involved in this research have added to the calls by other researchers for more detailed ethnic-specific research about sexual and other violence, as well as ethnic-specific intervention campaigns in their communities. These campaigns would need to be targeted differently given the differing rates of indigenous language use, church attendance and affiliation, and intermarriage among Pacific ethnicities in New Zealand. Intermarriage and multiple ethnicities within Pacific communities did not seem to affect this call.

As an example of ethnic-specific differences, Fijian participants described the merging of the church with the state and the vanua, making them indistinguishable as institutions. However, one in five Cook Islands people do not affiliate with any religion and two-thirds of Cook Islands secondary students did not attend church regularly.

## 5.2 FOCUS ON MALE VIOLENCE TO FEMALES

While research in New Zealand and the Pacific found that between 15 and 28 percent of boys and young men in four Pacific communities reported unwanted touching (Helu et al, 2009; Lippe et al, 2008), very few of the participants in this study mentioned sexual violence against boys. While a small minority of women have been identified as perpetrating domestic violence, no

participants mentioned this. Their experience and emphasis focused overwhelmingly on male sexual violence against girls and women.

## 5.3 PROTECTIVE PRACTICES

This research suggests strong Pacific concepts on which to base prevention efforts. Participants said that Pacific families in New Zealand continue to observe traditional brother-sister reciprocal obligations with values of respect, obligation and protection.

The degree of this observance, the degree to which it generalises to relationships between the genders, and the values and behaviour surrounding this practice vary between ethnicities. For example, among Tongan people, sister-brother *feveitokai'aki* and *faka'apa'apa* (reciprocal respect) was described as an idiom of opposition to the disintegrating effect of Westernisation.

Several participants said that the brother-sister relationship and obligations precludes brothers and sisters talking about sex, which has a protective effect, but also poses a challenge to Pacific community sexual violence prevention campaigns. Pacific peoples may perceive dominant culture campaigns as including offensively explicit discussion and images about sexuality.

Participants also identified a more general contemporary practice of respect in relationships, which is promising for the development of ethnic-specific sexual violence prevention campaigns.

Participants also described a high value placed on children, expressed, for example, in the Cook Islands menarche ceremony.

Social sanction methods like family shaming and punishment of perpetrators that were identified in Fijian, Samoan and Tokelauan communities could act as a deterrent to men thinking of sexual violence.

### 5.3.1 BARRIERS TO PROTECTIVE PRACTICES

Migration to New Zealand has had a mixed effect. The weakening of links with kin groups, villages, and indigenous institutions has contributed to the undermining of these protective factors. Several participants spoke of how their church had taken the place of their village. However, research identified that in the case of family violence, the church did not provide the same support as villages had done, leaving many, especially island-born, women feeling they had nowhere to turn and had to tolerate sexual and other violence.

Migration and Westernisation also exposed families to more objectifying images of women, and participants spoke about how images from television and pornography had influenced some men's and women's perceptions of sexuality.

However, some participants pointed out that the same Westernising influences were changing village life in their home islands, and that the struggle to maintain protective indigenous values was being waged in both environments.

Low income was identified as a contributor to the undermining of Pacific cultures in New Zealand. Participants in six communities mentioned the difficulty of having quality time with their children due to the demands of working long hours at low-paying jobs so that families have enough to live on. They all said that this time was precious for passing on cultural values, telling stories and gathering with extended families.

They saw this pressure as undermining cultural maintenance, and the protective factors mentioned above. Many participants implied that discrimination against Pacific cultures in New Zealand made it more difficult to normalise cultural and religious practices preventive of sexual violence.

## 5.4 PACIFIC CONCEPTS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Many participants saw sexual violence as an act that involved families and communities, rather than solely individuals. For some, sexual abuse would bring shame to the perpetrator's family. For some, the brothers and wider family of the victim would take immediate action. In some communities, community elders could become involved. These family and community social sanc-

tions distinguish Pacific perceptions of the issue from the individualised Western concept behind the Power and Control Wheel.

This research supports Crichton-Hill's critique of this Western model of domestic and sexual violence. The model assumes that -

- Husbands' entitlement to his wife's obedience is part of the natural order
- Women are seen as objects rather than humans of equal value
- The cultural environment promotes the dominance of men and persuades women to accept it
- The culture allows men to use physical force without significant punishment.

Participants' perceptions of a husband's entitlement to his wife's obedience varied, with Tokelau participants arguing strongly against male assumptions of their power over women.

Participants reported objectifying attitudes to women particularly among young Pacific men in New Zealand, but their descriptions of the respect and obligations of the brother-sister relationship did not indicate objectification of women among many older Pacific men. While some Pacific participants placed a high cultural value on women's virginity before marriage, Cook Islands participants and research indicated that this was not a contemporary practice in some islands.

Participants' descriptions of the promotion of male dominance in their cultural environment also varied. Some participants described men being excused sexually violent behaviour. Tongan participants, on the other hand, spoke of men as having more status politically while women have higher status socially. Some young female participants interpreted violence as an issue of gender power struggle and very clearly rejected male dominance, and held men responsible for their violent actions.

Participants also described cases where men who had committed sexually violent acts had been dealt severe beatings by the woman's family with the endorsement of community elders. This culturally acceptable social sanctioned retribution would be described as a vigilante action in the New Zealand context and it is not clear how much it has continued. These descriptions indicate that in some cultures, men may not be able to use force against women without significant punishment.

## 5.4.1 THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

Participants presented contradictory accounts of the influence of the church on sexual violence. Churches were identified as both preventive against sexual violence, in their support for island cultures, while helping to perpetuate it by their silence and inability to deliver appropriate and effective preventive services.

The positive experience of one Cook Islands woman when she spoke about her sexual abuse in church was a lone example of church openness to the issue.

The designation of Samoan missionaries and later religious ministers as *fa'afeagaiga* seemed unique among the seven ethnicities, and a recent re-interpretation of the *feagaiga* covenant by orators has major implications for the position of Samoan women. Both of these issues need to be widely discussed in Samoan communities alongside the implementation of any prevention campaign against sexual violence.

Several participants knew of cases of church ministers or high officials who had committed sexually violent acts, and expressed considerable anger and discomfort about the gulf between this behaviour and church teachings.

While the parent bodies of many Pacific Christian denominations have adopted policies that reduce opportunities for this kind of offending, this may not be the case in some smaller, stand-alone Pacific congregations.

Some participants and researchers suggested that sexual violence interventions and gender issues be part of theological training, and that encouraging female leadership in Pacific churches would contribute to church action on these issues.

The research and many participants made a very strong call for church action against sexual and other violence. Participants were critical of styles of ministry that were distant, uninvolved with the congregation's daily struggles, authoritarian or punitive. Some called for ministers to work with congregation members with expertise about sexual and other violence, with anti-violence organisations outside the church, and for women's fellowships to engage with these issues.

## 5.5 PREVENTION

Most of the evaluated prevention interventions have been carried out among dominant culture groups in industrialised countries and thus have less relevance to Pacific populations. However, interventions with male peer groups against rape-supportive attitudes, those involving a bystander approach, and community-based multi-method media campaigns include features that could be useful in Pacific campaigns.

Western research indicates that prevention of sexual violence needs to challenge cultural norms that normalise intimate sexual violence as a natural or exaggerated expression of innate male sexuality. "Only then will men who engage in sexually violent behaviour have no excuse" (Carmody & Carrington, 2000). Participants in this study gave examples of these social norms around rape in marriage, and in some communities about violence by young men. However, in this research participants wanted cultural and religious values to be strengthened to prevent violence.

Dominant public discourse about sexual violence among Pacific peoples and Māori in Aotearoa/ New Zealand continues to be stigmatising, arising from deficit thinking rather than a strengths-based approach (Kupu Taea, 2008). This environment provides a challenge to prevention.

Sexual and intimate partner violence and child maltreatment are more likely in societies with -

- Cultural norms that support male dominance over women and rigid gender roles
- Cultural norms that support and accept violence
- Health, education and social policies that maintain or create inequities between groups and lead to poor living standards (WHO, 2006; Ministry of Justice, 2004).

The same two studies identified inadequate or overcrowded housing, unemployment, poverty and a mobile population as other risk factors for domestic violence and child maltreatment. These factors are common in Pacific communities, as a result of institutional discrimination and unequal access to resources (Ajwani, et al, 2003; Rankine, 2005). Evaluations of home visiting programmes show they help reduce violence against children and partners (Turner, 2006; CDC, 2003).

These shared societal risk factors show the



importance of addressing determinants and types of violence holistically, rather than focusing on one type of violence in isolation (WHO, 2006; Tomison & Poole, 2000). They also show the importance of ongoing societal-level prevention programmes that provide an enabling context for those within particular communities (WHO, 2006; Koloto & Sharma, 2005a).

Dominant culture media campaigns have been found to be most effective at changing attitudes when they are long-term, well-funded, nationally co-ordinated, and accompanied by more direct interventions among communities (Ang-Lygate et al, 1997). Among Pacific people, the credibility of the spokespeople is crucial for the success of such campaigns; spokespeople and community facilitators must have a complete no-violence policy.

The research clearly shows that any community interventions must interact synergistically with societal level as well as relationship and individual level interventions (Smuts, 1996). They must also approach violence holistically, rather than focusing on one type of violence. They must also involve coalitions and collaboration with existing anti-violence and health agencies.

Research overwhelmingly identified churches as the major potential avenue of sexual and other violence prevention in Pacific communities. The Australian model of Purple Armband Games also has potential, given strong emphasis on Pacific sporting participation, especially among men.

Pacific communities need to be involved in developing ethnic-specific appropriate educational campaign resources and workshops. Research shows that Pacific communities prefer a focus on healthy and respectful relationships, peaceful and harmonious families, and strong social ownership of the issue.

Overall, participants supported the re-establishment of traditional relationships that prevent sexual violence and strongly encouraging family and community discussion about the issue. Single-sex workshops and discussion was a common suggestion, both within and outside churches. These must observe same-sex tabu and avoid explicit sexual discussion, demonstration and displays. School-based education tended to be suggested by younger participants, but these must be appropriate for Pacific youth.

Others suggested the use of community media;

mentoring programmes, especially for young men; peer intervention programmes for young people; and discussion about reducing alcohol harm that included Pacific relationship contracts and issues.

The use of *vairakau* Māori by one Cook Islands family suggests that traditional healing processes could be investigated for ways of dealing with jealousy, sexual obsession and other motivators of sexual violence.

Participants did not suggest any prevention modes for young people except through churches or schools, families and villagers. However, research indicates that contemporary music and music video genres popular with young Pacific peoples should be involved in any violence prevention campaign (The Next, n.d).

# 6 Implications of the research

Overall, participants supported the reinforcement or re-establishment of traditional concepts relationships that prevent sexual violence, and strongly encouraging family and community discussion about the issue. Gender-specific workshops and discussion were a common suggestion for church and other settings.

The research also indicates that key prevention messages and campaigns need to be targeted, given the differing rates of indigenous language use, church attendance and affiliation, and intermarriage among Pacific ethnicities in New Zealand (Mila-Schaaf et al, 2008; Statistics New Zealand, 2002a-g).

Results support funding of dedicated ethnic-specific violence prevention programmes in Pacific communities.

Implications resulting from this research project are considered in five categories:

- Policy development
- Service planning and delivery
- Pacific communities
- Workforce development
- Research and evaluation.

## 6.1 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The research suggests that policymakers:

- Take a strategic, whole-of-society, intersectorial and integrated approach to sexual violence prevention. This will require government agencies to co-ordinate their services better and support those families at greater risk of sexual violence.
- Reduce poverty, unemployment and societal inequalities, especially for women and children, as this will help reduce the incidence of sexual violence for Pacific peoples.
- Treat violence prevention in an holistic way that combines initiatives against all kinds of violence with other related issues.

- Take a strengths-based approach that includes Pacific resilience and protective factors.
- Provide accessible and appropriate housing options for Pacific families who need immediate housing to escape violent situations.
- Fund and enable targeted approaches for Pacific communities, as one-size-fits-all approaches will not produce the best results for Pacific peoples. Ethnic-specific approaches and differences between New Zealand-born and Island-born perspectives should be considered as part of policy development and resource allocation.
- Reduce access to alcohol, drugs and gambling.

## 6.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR SERVICE PLANNING AND DELIVERY

The research suggests that those working with Pacific families and communities:

- Incorporate Pacific protective practices such as brother-sister and male-female respect into school and community anti-violence education programmes.
- Increase awareness of, and access to support services for Pacific people at risk of committing a sexually violent act, and for Pacific people who are victims of sexual violence. Support services need to be culturally responsive and viewed as safe and confidential by Pacific peoples.
- Ensure Pacific families at risk are included in flexible home visiting that focus on violence among other issues in the first two years of children's lives.
- Resource ethnic-specific and gender-based programmes that encourage Pacific communities themselves to dialogue about the best ways to prevent sexual violence and deliver their own solutions.
- Make available youth-specific and gender-based programmes that support parents and caregivers to keep their children safe.

- Support culturally appropriate parenting skills training for Pacific parents and caregivers that emphasises non-violent methods of child discipline.
- Recognise that churches may provide an effective setting for the delivery of community awareness-raising programmes and community action about sexual violence.
- Support the increased use of Pacific media in anti-violence programmes with an emphasis on ethnic-specific radio programmes.
- Resource health promotion and media activities that have a long-term commitment, are nationally co-ordinated and are accompanied by more direct interventions among Pacific communities.

## 6.2.1 PREVENTION MESSAGES

The research and participant comments suggest that prevention messages for each major ethnic community could be designed and developed by separate male and female working groups from these communities. This would ensure that key messages are culturally and linguistically accurate and that campaign materials are provided in the first language using culturally specific expressions.

In Samoan communities campaigns could include discussion about the feagaiga status of sisters and the fa'afeagaiga status of ministers.

Campaigns could reinforce understanding of sacred relational space, as was highlighted by Samoan and Tongan participants.

Niue women identified the fono practice, usually applied to protect land, as one that could be adapted for issues of violence.

Prevention messages could include culturally specific forms such as proverbs, metaphors, humour and stories, as well as appropriate common and formal language, to convey strong messages against sexual violence. Messages need to be delivered by credible and respected spokespeople or role models from their own ethnic background and local community, who have no history of violence.

Prevention messages for Pacific young people could be developed by young people themselves and delivered in formats most appropriate to them. It would also be productive to bring church ministers together to discuss prevention messages from theological perspectives (for

example, that forced sex in marriage is unacceptable).

The research indicates that a starting point for prevention messages could include:

- A focus on healthy and balanced relationships rather than perpetrators and victims.
- Violence is not an expression of love.
- Treat all women the way you treat your sister.
- Family violence is a collective responsibility. Relationships between parents and children and siblings are sacred.
- Our children are precious, let's keep them safe.
- Respect sacred relational space.
- Family and parental violence is unacceptable, although it might be considered by some to be culturally appropriate.
- Community examination of practices that condone violence and discourage victims from seeking help outside the family.
- Forced sex in marriage is unacceptable.
- Male violence has harmful effects on partners and children, and help available if men want to change.
- Real men are non-violent and are respectful of others.

## 6.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR PACIFIC COMMUNITIES

Sexual violence prevention in Pacific communities needs to:

- Empower and equip Pacific community leaders to be role models and advocates for eliminating the acceptability of violence within Pacific families and communities.
- Increase opportunities for ethnic-specific dialogue about ways to prevent sexual violence, and the determinants of sexual violence.
- Encourage and equip parents to talk with their children about preventing sexual violence. This action should support parents to enhance their children's sense of belonging, connection to a support system and cultural identity as important factors in increasing child and adolescent resilience.
- Undermine cultural norms that accept violence as part of child discipline and treatment of women.
- Encourage churches and religious organisations to be more pro-active in eliminating sexual violence against women and children.

- Ensure that the curricula of religious training institutions include information about violence against women and children and best practice guidelines to:
  - a) Identify and deal with cases of violence.
  - b) Make their parish a safe place by introducing protocols to prevent sexual or other violence from occurring in religious or church settings.
  - c) Screen candidates for ministry for a history of violence or sexual abuse.
- Support women's leadership in religious organisations.
- Provide opportunities for increasing community awareness of victim's rights, support services available for victims, legal obligations, reporting sexual abuse and New Zealand law relating to domestic violence.
- Provide support for male and female peers to intervene in the case of aggressive or violent peer behaviour.
- Provide culturally appropriate mentoring and support for young Pacific men's respectful interactions with young women.
- Build new and strengthen existing relationships with coalitions and organisations that focus on providing anti-violence, health and educational supports.

## 6.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

The research indicates that all areas of the Pacific workforce related to sexual violence - policy making, service delivery, community organisation, research and evaluation - need increased capacity and capability. It suggests:

- Strategies to increase ethnic-specific Pacific services and workforce in anti-violence programmes.
- Cultural safety training for the existing anti-violence workforce to ensure Pacific families receive appropriate services.
- Particular focus on workforce development for Pacific men working with Pacific sex offenders
- Particular focus on training and upskilling of Pacific counsellors to increase the numbers who are ACC accredited.

## 6.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

The research supports further study exploring:

- Violence prevention action research projects in individual Pacific ethnic communities.
- An action research project evaluating pan-Pacific sport-based prevention programmes aimed at Pacific men.
- The perceptions and behaviour of Pacific young people about sexual violence.
- The perceptions and behaviour of Pacific perpetrators of sexual violence.
- Evaluation of Pacific outcomes from current sexual violence prevention programmes.

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# 8 Appendix 1: Protective values and cultural concepts

ETHNIC GROUP	PROTECTIVE VALUES AND CULTURAL CONCEPTS
COOK ISLANDS	Aro'a (love); kitepakari (wisdom); irinaki (faith and trust); 'akakoromaki (patience); ora (life expressed in connection to the land and sacred responsibilities); au metua (respect for elders); rota'ianga (unity); 'aka'aka (humility); noa (freedom within certain boundaries); tapu (spiritual prohibition).
FIJI	Mata ne veiganeni (sacred relationship); tabu (prohibition); dra tabu (sacred blood of kin to a man through his father's sister or his sister); bulubulu (ceremony of atonement seeking forgiveness).
NIUE	Fakataputapu (sacred, protected, not to be harmed); fakalilifu fehagaiaga he magafaoa mo e tau matakainaga (respect based on established relationships between family and community members); loto fakalofa (love, empathy); loto fakatokolalo (a heart filled with humility, especially towards those held in respect); feofanaki (caring); fakatautonu (reciprocity).
SAMOA	Va fealoalofa'i (mutual respect between people); va tapuia (relationships that are tapu and enshrined within covenants); va pa'ia (relationships that are sacred); feagaiga i le va a le tuagane ma lona tuafafine (the brother-sister covenant); fa'aaloalo (respect); alofa (love, compassion); fa'asinomaga (identity and belonging); tapuia'iga (spirituality, worship); mala'aumatua (family elders' curse); mala'aunu'ua (village elders' curse); malie (balanced, aesthetically pleasing, right to physical and spiritual senses); fa'asinomaga (identity and belonging); tapuia'iga (spirituality, worship).
TOKELAU	Tauhi (ability to care for those for whom we are responsible); alofa (compassion, affection); ha (restrictions); manu ha (sacred animal - women); mamalu (respect, honour); fakaaloalo (deference, courtesy); ma (shame, disquiet); inati (sharing); fatupaepae (foundation stone, elder woman).
TONGA	Feveitokai'aki (reciprocal respect); faka'apa'apa (respect, extended not only to brothers and sisters, by women, elders and families); feveitapuiki (behaving towards each other within sets of restrictions; for example, touching and certain topics are not discussed in mixed companies or in the presence of one's brother); veitapui (sacred relationship space); ofa (love and care); fe'ofa'aki (reciprocal kindness); fetokoni'aki (reciprocity); fatongia (obligation, duty, purpose); tauhi vaha'a (maintaining relationships); anga fakatokilalo (humility); fetokoni'aki (helping each other); tapu; behaviour enabling a person to be aware of the boundaries they need to observe in relation to others); malu'l (protect, safeguard); 'ilo'i hotau tapu'anga (knowing who we are and our place and role in society).
TUVALU	Tuagaene (relationship of opposite-sex siblings and cousins); tuaatina (bond between a mother's brother and his sister's child).

# 9 Appendix 2: Glossary

## 7.1 COOK ISLANDS

**Anau** - Family

**Tomo poi** - enter without permission, trespass

**Kanga** - play (as children do), lark about, play tricks, meddle or tamper with, ill-treat, misuse, spoil; damage, mischief

**Motoro** - Sneak into a house at night to seduce or rape (Aitutaki dialect)

**Akaori** - Have sex with for the first time

**Akatu** - Copulate, commit adultery, have sex

## 7.2 FIJI

**Yavusa** - Family

## 7.3 NIUE

**Aaka/aka** - To struggle

**Eke fakakelea** - Sexual violence

**Fakafepa** - To knock together

**Fakafetauaki** - To cause to fight

**Fakakiva/kiva** - To make dirty

**Fakatapu** - Sacred.

**Fakatau** - To cause to fight

**Fakataumioi** - To cause to wrestle

**Fakapilo/pilo/tapaki/fakatapilo** - To make dirty

**Favale** - Violence, savagery

**Fetauaki** - To fight each other

**Fetoti/toti/fetototi** - To knock lightly against each other

**Feuti** - To fight with each other

**Foutu** - To hit

**Futu** - To fight

**Hagaaki tau** - To keep on fighting

**Hahahaha/haha** - To knock off, to beat down

**Hihika/hika** - To strike out, to erase, to take off

**Kunu mena** – bad touching

**Keli** - To beat, to assault

**Kelimate** - Beat, death

**Kelipopo** - To beat to death, to murder

**Kikini** - To strike and throw to the ground, to tear down

**Kini** - To strike down, to beat down, to slash, to cut down

**Kiva taloli, kiva taiki, kiva tamoho** - Very dirty

**Kiva taloliloli, kiva taikiiki, kiva tamohomoho** - Filthy

**Lakafia** - To step over boundaries, to violate

**Lau** - To strike, to hit

**Limatoto** - Murderous

**Magafoa** - Family

**Mikotoa/milo** - To struggle, to persist

**Moto** - To punch, to strike with fist

**Paoaoa/pao/paoa** - To punch, hit, to knock, to strike

**Paotia** - To be knocked, to be struck

**Ta paguti/paguti** - Full force in fighting

**Tafakamiko** - To struggle hard, to persist absolutely

**Taufeguti** - To fight with all one's might

**Tafoleke** - To hit, to knock

**Takini** - To strike

**Takinikini** - To strike down, to cut down

**Takiva** - To dirty something

**Tamate** - To kill, to murder, to eliminate

**Taotia** - To be knocked

**Tapilo** - To make dirty, to defile

**Tau** - To fight, to quarrel

**Taufagatua** - To wrestle

**Taufetului/tau** - To struggle, to wrestle with each other

**Tauhola** - To dodge

**Taulatau** - To fight with each other (many people)

**Taumamate** - To fight to the end

**Taumioi** - To struggle, to wrestle

**Tautuki/tuki** - To knock each other, to fight with each other

**Tohotoho fakapilo** - Attempted rape

**Tohotoho** - To attempt rape

**Tolopo** - To enter at night without permission

**Tuki** - To knock, to smash

**Tukimomo** - To hit or strike badly

## 7.4 SAMOA

**Agaifanua** - Protocols and etiquette related to titles, and lands which are particular to families, villages and districts. It also relates to the structures and governing principles which regulate the way in which relational arrangements are conducted. Protocols and etiquette surrounding agaifanua differ between villages and districts.

**Aganu'u Samoa** - The total of agaifanua

**Alagā'upu** - Expressions, sayings, proverbs

**Ali'i** - Titular heads of extended families

**Faafesusuaiga** – forced intercourse

**Fa'aSamoa** - Commonly understood to be the Samoan way of seeing and doing things

**Fa'asinomaga** - Person's designation; those things that point to one's identity and place of belonging, such as matai title, village, district, land

**Fa'atoesega** – ritual of forgiveness

**Faifeau** – pastor

**Feagaiga** - Covenant; underpins all relationships between Samoan people

**Feagaiga i le va o le tuagane ma lona tuafafine** - The sacred covenant between brothers and sisters (va tapuia and va pa'ia) that defines the boundaries of behaviour, attitudes and beliefs between a brother and his sister. The core values of this covenant also inform relation-

ships between non-related males and females.

**Matai** - Generic term for titular heads of families or chief

**Muāgagana** - Expressions, sayings, proverbs; first principles

**Pule le uma** – undisciplined

**Sā** - Forbidden and can be tapu

**Tapu** - To be forbidden; recognition of the sacred connections between all things

**Tapuaiga** - Before Christianity, tapua'iga was the way in which Samoan people perceived, engaged, and gave religious form to their Gods, involving communion with the Gods as well as performance of related duties and tasks. Tapua'iga permeates and underpins fa'asinomaga (belonging and identity), tupu'aga (genealogy) and tofiga (roles, responsibilities, and heritage).

**Tofi** - Designation, role, duty

**Toso teine** - rape

**Tuā'oi** - Boundaries between people and things

**Tulāfale** - Orator

**Va** - Physical and relational space between people and things

**Va fealoaloa'l** - Social spaces and connections between people

**Va tapuia** - Sacred spaces and connections between people and things

## 7.5 TOKELAU

**Alofa** – love/compassion/affection

**Fāfā** – touch/feel/stroke

**Fakaaloalo** – deference/respect/courtesy

**Fakafehuakiga/Fakaulugaliki** – sexual act

**Fatele** – Tokelauan action dance

**Fatupaepae** – foundation stone

**Gafa** – family tree/genealogy

**Hā** – restrictions/forbidden

**Kaiga** – family

**Kautalavou** – youth

**Kini** – to beat/thrash/hiding

**Inati** – share or division

**Mā** – shame/disquiet

**Mamalu** – sacred respect/respect/honour

**Manu hā** – sacred animal/bird

**Maopoopo** – united gathering, communality

**Matua tauaitu** – father's sister/brother's child

**Moetolo/Moetotolo** – night crawler with sexual malintent

**Moetolo mataitu** – peeping tom

**Molokau** – centipede

**Nuku** – village

**Takapau** – disciplinary mat

**Tamafafine** – children of females

**Tamatane** – children of males

**Tauhi** – care

**Taupulega** – ruling village council of elders

**Tiakono** – church deacon/elder

**Titi** – traditional grass skirt

**Toho/fakamalohi** - rape

**Tuatina/ilamutu** – mother's-brother's child.

## 7.6 TONGA

**Kainga** - Family

**Pa'usi'i** - molested

**Tohotoho** - to rape

**Ala kovi** - touch the sexual organ

**Mohe** - illicit touching during sleep

**Fakamalohi** - assault

**Sio kovi** - to perve

**Sio kaukau** - to peek at a naked body bathing

**Heliaki** - metaphor and allusions

**Tapu** - forbidden or sacred

**Kaliloo** - sleep with parents for the purpose of learning from them

**Mohe ofi** - to sleep close by

**Talatalaifale** - to be taught

**Akonaki** - to coach or teach.

# 10 Appendix 3: Prevention resources

## 8.1 NEW ZEALAND PROGRAMS

### **Auckland Rape Prevention Education:**

RPE works to eliminate sexual violence and abuse through the delivery of specialized sexual violence and abuse prevention education and training programs for youth, professionals and communities. [www.rapecrisis.org.nz](http://www.rapecrisis.org.nz)

**Auckland Sexual HELP:** A community agency providing a 24-hour crisis support and advocacy service; a confidential telephone information, referral and counselling service; in person counselling services for women and children who have experienced sexual assault; and a prevention programme for pre-schoolers in the Auckland area. [www.asah.org.nz/](http://www.asah.org.nz/)

**Doctors for Sexual Abuse Centre:** A professional organisation of doctors from many disciplines that focus on education and support of medical practitioners to ensure maintenance of internationally recognised standards of best practice in the medical and forensic management of sexual assault. [www.dsac.org.nz/](http://www.dsac.org.nz/)

**Hope for Healing:** Offers hope and support to rape trauma survivors and partners through email and other support. [www.hopeforhealing.org/](http://www.hopeforhealing.org/)

**IHC:** New Zealand's largest provider of services to people with intellectual disabilities and their families. [www.ihc.org.nz](http://www.ihc.org.nz)

**Male Survivors of Sexual Abuse Trust:** Enable men to meet with other men who have suffered similar traumatic experiences when they were children. [www.survivor.org.nz](http://www.survivor.org.nz)

**Sexual Abuse Centre:** Provides support, counselling and information to survivors of sexual abuse and rape, their families and friends and allied professionals through telephone counseling, sexual abuse survivors support groups, one-to-one counseling, information, and education and training. [www.sexualabuse.co.nz/links.htm](http://www.sexualabuse.co.nz/links.htm)

**The Word:** On Sex, Life & Relationships:

Answers to questions about sex, life and relationships. [www.theword.org.nz/SITE\\_Default/SITE\\_the\\_word/](http://www.theword.org.nz/SITE_Default/SITE_the_word/)

### **Women's Health Information Centre,**

Christchurch: Provides free health information, education, support and referrals. [www.women-shealthinfo.co.nz](http://www.women-shealthinfo.co.nz)

## 8.2 SEXUAL VIOLENCE RESOURCE WEBSITES

**Australian Institute of Family:** [www.aifs.org.au/](http://www.aifs.org.au/)

**Center for Disease Control,** Violence Prevention, USA: [www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/index.html](http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/index.html)

**New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse;** information and resources for people working towards the elimination of family violence: [www.nzfvc.org.nz/](http://www.nzfvc.org.nz/)

**Preventing Sexual Violence: A Vision for Auckland/Tamaki Makaurau** (2002), Report by Auckland HELP for ACC: [www.awc.org.nz/userfiles/16\\_1151467189.pdf](http://www.awc.org.nz/userfiles/16_1151467189.pdf)

**Washington Coalition Sexual Assault Prevention** (WCSAP) Publishers of *Intimate Partner Sexual Violence: Sexual Assault in the Context of Domestic Violence* (2009): [www.wcsap.org/PDF/IPSVMar09.pdf](http://www.wcsap.org/PDF/IPSVMar09.pdf)

**Child Protection Clearinghouse,** Australia: [www.aifs.gov.au/nch/](http://www.aifs.gov.au/nch/)

**World Health Organization** Violence and Injury Prevention: [www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/en/](http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/en/)









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