

## READING REALITIES THROUGH *TĀ-VĀ*

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This essay is taken from my PhD dissertation and discusses how I was able to make sense of the theory *tā-vā* theoretically and apply it as an analytical tool in “reading” the stories of the Pacific students in my study, in particular of two Pacific students in my study.

I HAD BECOME more interested in the theory of *tā-vā* during my PhD study as I sought to make sense of characteristics or dispositions that Pacific students tended to share. For example, my examination of the literature identified certain characteristics that have come to be associated with Pacific students—they are known to congregate in the back rows. Using the lecture hall as an analogy,<sup>1</sup> I wanted to understand the space that separated Pacific students at the back rows from non-Pacific students in the front rows and vice versa. Given that the back row is a space that is self-imposed, that is, Pacific students choose to sit there, I rationalized that understanding the nature of that space might help explain how Pacific students mediated their world and the non-Pacific world, represented in my study as the University of Auckland (UA), and the education system.

I felt that an exploration of the Pacific concepts and practices of *tā-vā* appeared to hold far greater explanatory potential. For this reason, I believed that such an understanding would provide a crucial analytical tool in “reading” the stories of the Pacific students in my study.

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### Context

My study was developed within a qualitative framework and consisted of three research questions that drove the way the study was conducted. The decision to use the qualitative paradigm was based on my search for meaning, understood as socially constructed and derived from social interactions. In particular, I wanted to understand the meanings that the Pacific participants attached to the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

The first two research questions<sup>2</sup> are outside the scope of this essay; however, the final question, “How do Pacific students understand the notion of equality of educational opportunity as expressed through their experiences of intervention strategies in one particular institutional site?,” focused on how these programs have been experienced and understood by Pacific students as one of the target groups. They were addressed by drawing on the indigenous Pacific-based new general *tā-vā* translated into English as time and space (Māhina 2004, 2007; see also Ka’ili 2005, 2008) theory of reality and were presented as an integrated holistic piece.

### Methods

The stories of the participants’ experiences in my study were gathered through unstructured interviews using a Pacific approach to dialogue called *talanoa*. *Talanoa* has been practiced in the Pacific prior to and since European contact. It has been and remains a crucial means of transmitting knowledge of histories, customs, and traditions. Moreover, *talanoa* has been used as a medium for Pacific peoples to tell and retell stories; to interpret their worlds and their understanding of the world they live in; to resolve conflicts and tensions; to advance understanding and knowledge about “social identities,” values, and beliefs that strengthen kinship and familial ties; and to engage and relate with one another at a personal level (Halapua 2005).

At the commencement of my fieldwork, I had originally anticipated that the total number of participants would be 40. However, as the study developed, I decided that a smaller sample was needed, as I wanted to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences. Hence, I focused on six participants who had been involved in my *talanoa* group and one-to-one sessions and who had attended the UA from 1995 to 2008.

### The Analytical Tool *Tā-Vā*

In 2001, ‘Okusitino Māhina, a well-known Tongan/Pacific scholar, discussed *tā-vā* at a Tongan history conference held in the United States. As a student

who had been mentored by him, I had from time to time been privy to conversations where Māhina discussed *tā-vā*. At that time, I had not paid much attention to its possibilities as a theoretical framework, as I had found it difficult to understand. I knew the words *tā* and *vā* in Niuean as *tā*, “to beat,” and *vā* or *vaha* (Niuean term), as “space,” but beyond that, I was unable to make sense of the two terms as they have been brought together “in theory.”

This was due largely to my Niuean understanding of both time and space as *vaha*. For example, *vaha loto* (literally, “inner space”) means “relationship,” and *vaha makalili* (literally, “cold space”) means “winter” but also has the connotation of “the cold time.” When Niueans refer to the past, they say *vaha kua mole*. For example, I have often heard my mother in discussion with her siblings say *kua vaha kua mole a ea* in reference to their bringing up past issues that are seen to be irrelevant to the discussion at hand.

This meant that the notion of *vā*, as space, was a simpler concept for me to grasp than the notion of *tā*, as time, and this complicated my being able to see them as a unified theoretical concept. In order to make sense of the theory, I found it useful to first establish a clear understanding of the concepts as independent terms.

### *Tā*

According to Ka’ili (2008), *tā* in the temporal sense, to Tongans, is a marker of time and indicates time through beats, markings, or social acts. For example, *tā nafa* (“beat the drum”) is a process of marking time through drumbeats. Similarly, Māhina (2004, 92) contends that *tā* acts as a form of time and signifies time through the beating of space. This reflects my understanding of *tā* in Niuean, “to beat” or “to hit.” *Tā kofi*, meaning “to play the band” or “to play the music,” literally means “beat the instrument.”

Using art as a medium in which to illustrate *tā-vā*, Māhina (2005, 92) explains that art forms such as poetry, dance, and music can be “defined as the symmetrical beating of language, sound and body, all with a common purpose of producing harmony and beauty.” A good song, for example, is basically produced through the symmetrical beating of body, language, and sound in space. In order for symmetry to occur, everyone involved in the production of the song—the musicians and the singers—have synchronized their beating of language and sound. Likewise, a bad song is produced when the beating of body, language, and sound is asymmetrical, brought about by either the singers or the musicians being off-key or out of beat when beating language and sound.

Māhina goes on to say that understanding time in Pacific cultures is really important because it clarifies the basis on which the world is understood and

future possibilities are defined. As he explains, Pacific peoples “locate the past as time in front, the present as time in the middle and the future as the time that comes after or behind” (Māhina, 2007, 226). Because the past is in front of them and the future behind them, Pacific peoples “walk forward into the past and backwards to the future.” They see the past not in terms of events that have passed but rather in terms of events that have happened and are therefore “real” and in front of them. The future, however, being yet to happen, remains in the realms of the “unreal.” The future lies “behind the past” (Māhina 2007, 226).

### Vā

As explained by Wendt (1999), recognizing the relational aspect of the space means that “*va* is conceived of as the space between, not empty space that separates, but social space that relates.” The concept of *vā* is a way of thinking about space specifically in terms of social space. *Vā* in Samoan epistemology “is a highly complex phenomenon influencing interactions in everyday life [that sanctions and guides] individuals and family behaviour.” Lilomaiava-Doktor (2004) adds that the concept of *vā* is a way of thinking about space specifically in terms of social space. As she notes, *vā* in Samoan epistemology “is a highly complex phenomenon influencing interactions in everyday life [that sanctions and guides] individuals and family behaviour” (cited in Ka’ili 2008, 28).

The notion of *vā*, Ka’ili (2008, 16) points out, denotes “a relational space between two time-markers . . . beats, things or people.” Further, *vā* relates to the nature of the space that is created through these relationships and relates also to the nature of those relationships. Accordingly, *vā* signifies

the nature of the relationship that is *vāmamao* . . . a distant space between things and *vāofi* a close space between things. In social contexts then *vā* is a space that is formed through the mutual relations between persons or groups and it is also an indicator of the quality of the relationship . . . *vālelei* refers to harmonious and beautiful social space between people and *vātamaki* signifies a disharmonious social space between people. (Ka’ili 2008, 16)

Māhina (2007) also considers the impact of the mutual performance of certain actions to create beautiful social spaces, or, conversely, *vā* can also become unpleasant social spaces through the lack of mutual performances of actions. Ontologically, at one level, he explains, *tā* and *vā* are common mechanisms for understanding the way things are in reality. Epistemologically, *tā*

and *vā* are socially constructed and vary across cultures. Furthermore, the nature of relationships in all things is necessarily shaped by both conflict and/or order. Thus, he notes, the theory has a number of tenets:

that ontologically *tā* and *vā*, time and space are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality; that epistemologically *tā* and *vā*, time and space are social constructs, concerning their varying social arrangements across cultures is conflicting in nature; that all things, in nature, mind and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange to one another, giving rise to conflict or order; that conflict and order are permanent features of all things within and across nature, mind and society. (Māhina 2007, 225)

Niuean notions of *vā* similarly relate to social spaces and the quality of those spaces and is defined by the relationships. It is at this point that Māhina's linking of *tā-vā* holds some familiarity for me. *Vaha loto*, noted above as meaning "inner space," also has a positive connotation, a space where affection emanates. Conflict in relationships is referred to as *vaha loto keleia*, literally meaning "bad inner spaces." The Niuean saying *Leveki e vaha loto he tau magafaoa* ("look after the family relationships") shows the importance of the concept of *vaha loto* in terms of maintaining harmony in the family.

### ***Tā-Vā* in Education**

In education, *tā-vā* can be understood as a process that requires the mediation of social and intellectual spaces in order to create harmony. Māhina (2007) argues that education is an intellectual process that first and foremost involves the development of critical thinking. Criticism is developed through knowledge acquisition, which in turn replaces ignorance. Citing Tongan education as an example, Māhina (2007, 229) claims that knowledge production through education reflects a spatiotemporal transformation in the human intellect, incorporating form and substance. This begins with *vale* (ignorance) and develops through *ilo* (knowledge) to *poto* (skill) and takes place in real time and space. The tangible aspects of education in its internal sense are the *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content) of things, which, Māhina (2007) explains, are the concrete dimensions of the abstract *tā-vā* across nature, mind, and society. Education as knowledge production is a *tā-vā*, time-space, *fuo-uho*, form-content movement—"a movement in human thinking about reality, a movement from subjectivity to objectivity" (Māhina 2007, 229). The

more one studies one's subject of choice, the more objective knowledge one has about it.

However, Māhina (2007) states that education also needs to be understood as a social organization and as such is connected with the provision of material and human resources—with utilizing or applying knowledge produced for its own sake in meeting the needs and aspirations of society and people. This is the external quality of education.

Also external to education are the social, economic, and political barriers to knowledge production and its application. Like the intellectual process of education, the social organization of education is also *tā-vā* in orientation and incorporates the application of the *fuō* (form) and *uho* (content) of things for human use. For example, in order for one to become a mathematics teacher or an engineer, one has to have certain knowledge about mathematics in order to use it professionally in one's chosen field of work.

In summary, Māhina (2008) suggests that, in ideal terms, in the intellectual process of education, a *tā-vā* transformation occurs, enabling a shift from *vale* to *ilo*. Within this process, symmetry, harmony, and beauty mediate points of conflict through critical thinking. Likewise, the social organization of education is subjected to a similar process of transformation through such things as policy development, whereby deficiencies are mediated through symmetry, harmony, and beauty to achieve sufficiency. As Māhina elucidates,

The intellectual process of education is made to undergo a spatio-temporal, substantial-formal transformation from a state of chaos (ignorance) to a condition of order (knowledge), where conflicts in thinking are mediated by means of symmetry, harmony and, above all, beauty through the development of criticism and so on.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the social organisation of education is made to undergo a spatio-temporal, substantial-formal and functional transformation from a condition of chaos (a form of deficiency, i.e., lack of social, economic and political resources) to a state of order (a form of sufficiency, i.e., provision of social, economic and political resources), where conflicts (i.e., between deficiency and sufficiency in resource provision) are negotiated by means of symmetry, harmony and beauty through effective policy implementation and so forth. (pers. comm., 2008)

That is, in formal, substantial, and functional terms, the intellectual process of education and its social organization are separate but continuous states of affairs. Although both types of problems are fundamental to education, the “real” concerns with the intellectual process will always precede those of its

social organization. While the intellectual process has to do with the internal qualities of education, connected with seeing things as they positively are in a single level of reality, those of its social organization are concerned with its external qualities, associated with their imagining as we wish them to be, in terms of their use<sup>4</sup> (Māhina 2007, 2008).

### **Knowledge Production through *Ta-Va***

As education is a spatiotemporal, formal-substantial transformation of the human intellect from *vale* through *ilo* to *poto*, this theory is well suited to an examination of student experiences of education both as an intellectual process and as a form of social organization. Furthermore, as this theoretical model rests on Pacific epistemological and ontological frameworks, it is well suited to an analytical reading of Pacific students' expressions of their understandings of the ideological foundations of equity programs<sup>55</sup> institutionalized to support their learning and of their experiences as participants in those programs.

Overall, the accounts of the participants in my study reflected two important and distinct yet related senses of education on which Māhina's theory is developed. The first relates to education as an intellectual process involving the development of criticism and the second to education as a form of social organization and its practical function in providing human and material resources.

If education is a social phenomenon, Māhina (2008) argues, it is important to recognize the social, political, and economic barriers that stand in its way or define its possibilities. Of particular significance, Māhina (2008) adds, is the way in which the students experience the economics and politics of education, especially issues relating to the control over its production, distribution, and consumption.

### **The Narratives**

While time and space do not permit a full discussion of the narratives presented in my study, summarily the accounts of the six participants showed that primarily dissonance was dominant in their social *tā-vā* and that this impacted their intellectual *tā-vā*. Common to all were the familial tensions either prior to entry or during the course of their studies. How they mediated their familial *tā-vā* tensions impacted how they negotiated their intellectual tensions. Of the six participants, the most intense familial *tā-vā* tensions surfaced for two participants—Sina and Tangaroa—prior to entry. Excerpts of their experiences below will illustrate how I applied the theory of *tā-vā* in my data analysis.

Sina had not wanted to attend the university like her older siblings; rather, she wanted to go into the navy. However, her parents expected her to attend the university. As Sina states,

To be perfectly honest, although I have always had a dream to become a teacher since I was little, however during my seventh form year I was really contemplating on joining the Navy. I think this came about from what I saw on TV, and just having information given to us at school through our careers class. However this obviously was not ideal for my parents, but being the person that I was, very determined I would have still gone for it. But knowing my older siblings had gone through to University, the pressure to follow was a lot tougher to resist, so it was just easier to give in.

In the end, Sina mediated her familial *tā-vā* tensions by conceding with her parents' wishes in the hope that if she followed their wishes and completed her degree, she would still have time later to go into the navy.

Conversely, Tangaroa always wanted to attend the university. She had begun to prepare for the university by giving up her sports aspirations. Like Sina, she was head girl at her school. Despite her efforts in her seventh year, Tangaroa did not receive the coveted government scholarship, but she did gain UE entrance. Bitterly disappointed, Tangaroa's parents urged her to repeat her seventh form in the hope that she would gain a scholarship:

What had happened was at the end of seventh form year based on your marks students received scholarships from the government and I did not make the cut which meant that I did not qualify to receive a government scholarship. One of my parents insisted I repeat seventh form to improve my marks so that I can get a scholarship. I kind of understand what they were going through because one of my parents had lost their job due to the big political transition of thousands of government workers. My parents couldn't really afford to send me away.

As familial *tā-vā* tensions surfaced, Tangaroa refused to concede to her parents' wishes, as she knew that a stigma was attached to returning seventh formers. Moreover, there were no guarantees that she would get a scholarship. Although Tangaroa continued her plans to enroll online, she knew that she needed financial assistance for airfare to NZ. Thus, she began to mediate her familial *tā-vā* tensions with one parent. While that parent paid her airfare, Tangaroa left her island at a period that she recalls was very sad:

To be honest I did not have full support when I decided to come to university. It was a tricky situation and a sad time for me. I felt unsupported in my decisions. . . . However, I managed to get one of my parents on side and they paid for my fare to NZ. . . . I left the [islands] with the issue unresolved . . . maybe it was a rebellious phase for me . . . anyway two months later the issue[not obeying her parents' wishes to return to 7 form in order to apply again for a scholarship] was kinda resolved . . . in an unspoken way.

Although Sina and Tangaroa entered the university at different periods—Sina in the late 1990s and Tangaroa in early 2000—both experienced their first year at the university differently.

Tangaroa's only expectation of the university was that it would be like the *Felicity* program she used to watch on TV. As she recalls,

I knew nothing about the University of Auckland prior to coming. I did not know where the programme I enrolled in would take me, thinking that uni would direct me. . . . I also thought that the UA was like the movies I had seen about universities in the US . . . cheer leaders, football teams and friendly people. . . . I also read that the UA was multi ethnic, however what I read and envisaged was very different from the realities that I encountered. For example multi ethnic was in reality white and Asian students.

In spite of the familial tensions between Tangaroa and her parents prior to her leaving her home island, she misses her parents. However, despite her loneliness, Tangaroa also begins to feel a sense of freedom. Away from parental control, she begins to relish in her freedom and her choices:

I really enjoyed my first year of uni. Freedom from rules, from judgment, commitment, [from] family obligations . . . being in control and having some control of my life . . . and although I had freedom, I remained focused on my study. I did not fail any papers as I felt that it was important that I didn't fail papers. I felt a sense of obligation to my parents not to fail.

Tangaroa also begins to search for the familiar at the university. She joins a club on campus where she meets others like her—others with the same cultural background and others with whom she can form familiar relationships. In her discipline, she notices that she is one of very few brown faces. In her tutorials, Tangaroa is not quiet; rather, she speaks and asks questions, as she

felt that she had to speak for all the quiet Pacific students in her tutorial even if she knew that her comments at times were “stretched.”<sup>6</sup> She wanted to be visible, not invisible:

I felt that I had to be vocal in the tuts because I felt that I had to represent the Pacific students in class that were not saying anything.

She recalls that after the tutorial, she would often reflect on her speaking and questioning powers during the tutorial and conclude that there were times her remarks were questionable:

At times I would be so vocal and then feel after that I really didn't know what I was talking about . . . but that didn't stop me . . . I questioned not only to understand, but to be visible . . . I loved doing class presentations because I had some experience of public speaking in the islands and was comfortable with it.

Sina's first-year experiences, on the other hand, differed markedly. As she was passionate about a subject at which she had excelled in high school, she decided that she would major in the same subject at the university. However, she soon found that the subject differed from the same subject in high school. In high school, textbooks were the mainstay, whereas at the university, Sina did not know that she had readings to do for class and that essays consisted of reading a number of books. She struggled in class, disappointed, lonely, isolated, and lost. In her tutorials, she remained quiet, unsure of herself, scared to voice an opinion in case it was wrong, scared to ask questions:

I did not like to miss tutorials so I guess I was proactive physically, but mentally I hated tutorials. I did not like the thought of students having to initiate discussion, even if I had done the reading and understood what the students were discussing I still felt embarrassed and shy to speak out. I would always get frustrated with myself if the tutor would ask a question and I would be thinking the answer but too “shame” to say out loud in case I gave the impression that I was stupid. So then another student answers exactly what I was thinking and so I got annoyed at my mentality. There are many times that I understood what is being discussed and would love to contribute, but I actually feel really frightened to do so as I felt like what I might say is not at the academic level. I guess this is because, when I sit and listen to some of the students, I too judge them accordingly. For example I would sit and think that these students are far

too intelligent or man, that was a stupid question. So I judge them silently and therefore silently struggle.

While this was to be her experience for a number of years, she persists with her major. The turning point for Sina came when she enrolled in a Pacific Islands tutorial<sup>7</sup> that was offered in one of her other subjects. In that tutorial, she began to feel safe, as she was in familiar circumstances, with others like her. Sina felt safe to ask questions and did not feel that her questions would be seen as silly. Additionally, as her undergraduate years progressed, Sina joined various Pacific clubs and formed relationships with others like her. At the end of her undergraduate studies, a more confident Sina eventually emerged, and she was able to enroll in her master's degree and complete it.

### **Reading the Realities through *Tā-Vā***

Both Sina and Tangaroa excelled in high school, academically and socially. They had entered the university from high school—one from a high school in the islands and one from a high school in New Zealand. Both negotiate their familial *tā-vā* prior to entry—one mediates hers and concedes to her parents' wishes, and one does not concede to her parents' wishes but rather mediates her *tā-vā* with one in order to get to New Zealand. Both Sina and Tangaroa have minimal expectations of the university and different coping mechanisms. One mediates her social *tā-vā* tensions more quickly than the other and as such positively impacts her intellectual *tā-vā*. The other takes longer to mediate her social *tā-vā* and struggles intellectually for a number of years but eventually reconciles her social *tā-vā* tensions. The reconciliation of her social *tā-vā* positively impacts her intellectual *tā-vā*. The familial *tā-vā* for Sina and Tangaroa are essentially *tā-vā* conflicts within the social organization of education.

Although the levels of enthusiasm to attend the university differed between Sina and Tangaroa, common to them was their isolation brought about by the social and intellectual *tā-vā* of the university. Moreover, their knowledge and expectations of the university and university education prior to enrollment were minimal. Sina expected to find the subject she chose at the university similar to what she had experienced in high school. Tangaroa's romantic image of the university and university life had been shaped through Hollywood movies, TV programs, and what she had read in course books.

While their accounts indicate that their lack of knowledge of the university environment may have shaped their responses in the classroom, it also implies that they entered straight from high school and were intellectually and socially unprepared for the *tā-vā* of the university. This would suggest

that there is a social and intellectual *tā-vā* asymmetry between high school education and university education. Sina's experiences tell us that part of her intellectual *tā-vā* struggles were related to her lack of preparedness to do university readings. That is, in her high school *vā*, she had spent her *tā* reading textbooks and as such was unprepared for the *vā* of the university, where she was expected to spend her *tā* doing a certain amount of subject readings. Ironically, on the theoretical level, she should have had one of the smoothest *tā-vā* transitions from high school to the university. A model student for the majority of her time in high school, accepted as having something important to contribute, her intellectual and social *tā-vā* was symmetrical.

Despite this symmetry, Sina was unable to transfer her social and intellectual *tā-vā* from high school to the university. Why? Part of her struggles may stem from the fact that she did not want to attend the university and did so only to appease her parents. Once inside the institution, the subject she had chosen as her major differed from her expectations.

Her intellectual *tā-vā* asymmetry, coupled with her reluctance to attend UA, may have impacted her motivational *tā-vā*. While she was aware that she could contain some of her intellectual tensions by doing the readings, she chose not to, citing laziness on her part and allowing family obligations to take precedence. In order for Sina to negotiate her *tā-vā* conflicts to allow a transformation from a state of *vale* to *ilo* to *poto*, she would have to reconcile her social *tā-vā* to free up more time in her intellectual *tā-vā* in order to read more. This demonstrates some of the sources of conflict, many of them cultural, in the social and intellectual *tā-vā*.

Tangaroa, like Sina, was a model student in high school and became the head girl. Their responses to university study and therefore the way they experienced it were distinctly different. Eliminating potential conflicts in her educational career was less of a challenge for Tangaroa, who had always wanted to attend a university. Despite her *tā-vā* struggles in the social domain, she was, from the outset, able to arbitrate her social and intellectual *tā-vā* crossroads successfully, thereby minimizing her social *tā-vā* conflicts. Why was Tangaroa able to achieve this symmetrical beating more readily than Sina? The answer may lie in her motivation and desire for a university education.

Effectively, the two accounts reveal varied *tā-vā* experiences of Sina and Tangaroa socially and intellectually and show that when the social organization of education—which reflects the impact of cultural and political asymmetry in the form and content of the institution—and the intellectual organization of education intersect, *tā-vā* asymmetry occurs. Notably, finding the familiar and forming *vaha loto* (good relationships) with others within the *tā-vā* of the university were critical in helping them find *tā-vā* symmetry.

### Concluding Comments

Drawing from Sina's and Tangaroa's experiences, the theory of *tā-vā* not only provides an understanding of the space that separates Pacific students at the back rows from non-Pacific students in the front rows but also helps us understand how Pacific students mediate their world and the non-Pacific world. Given that Pacific students choose to sit there, we can ascertain from Sina's and Tangaroa's experiences that the back row of a lecture hall is the familiar *tā-vā*. Many Pacific students sit there because that is the space in the lecture hall where they find other Pacific students in their class. Many may not know each other, but they sit there because the back row represents the familiar. It is where they feel the strongest bonds of commonality (harmony) with other, similar students.

The front row, on the other hand, where many non-Pacific students sit, represents the unfamiliar and disharmony. It is space where students who do not share commonality sit. What is important to remember from Sina's and Tangaroa's narratives is not the location of the space but rather where Pacific students congregate in that location. Their presence is what creates the familiarity that acts to help Pacific students mediate their social *tā-vā*, which in turn helps them mediate their intellectual *tā-vā*.

### NOTES

1. As an analogy, the lecture hall space appeared to me to be a physical manifestation of the multifarious ideological spaces that shaped the students' worlds within the *Palangi* institution. Thus, if the space were indeed self-imposed in a physical sense, it appeared to me that the ideological underpinnings of that decision needed to be explored.

2. What are state and institutional understandings of the notion of equality of educational opportunity in New Zealand? How have these understandings informed the development and implementation of intervention strategies aimed at improving educational outcomes for Pacific students?

3. An example of beauty through the development of criticism is the movement from recognizing that there is flaw in an argument or design (*ilo*) to recognizing that there is flaw in an argument or design and articulating what the flaw is and how to resolve it (*potō*).

4. For example, the intellectual process is that students who want to be medical doctors pass exams a, b, c, and d, whereas the social organization of education is that doctors pass exams a, b, c, and d and, in the case of Tongans doctors, be able to speak Tongan in order to communicate with Tongans in their own language.

5. Ideological foundations of equity programs are based on the notion of equity- remedies or resources that seek to redress historic injustices.

6. Inflated

7. A Pacific Islands tutorial is a tutorial that is specific to Pacific students in classes where there are a large number of Pacific students.

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