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# Walking the Palagi/Pasifika edge: The va of mediated dialogic research

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## **Abstract**

Like all acts of naming, the term 'Pasifika', which is used to refer collectively to persons with connections to Pacific Island nations living in Aotearoa New Zealand, can be used to represent or to misrepresent, to enable or to control. Consequently, the notion of a field of Pasifika educational research is contested. This article provides a discussion of the potential contextual justification and consequent theorisation of Pasifika education. It pays attention to developments in the literature and to the usefulness of theory based on wisdom from the Pacific. It suggests that a relational edge-walking methodology framed through va is one way of making Pasifika educational research catalytically powerful. Located in recent PhD study, this account is by a Palagi (European-origin) teacher-researcher seeking to navigate the intercultural and positional edges of both Pasifika research and education. The aim is to facilitate respectful dialogue and thus enhance understanding and harmony. The article suggests that while power makes a mediated methodology helpful, methods configured to address relationality directly have the potential to achieve these valuable aims.

## The perils of 'Pasifika'

An initial issue when paying attention to methodologies for investigating and improving Pasifika education is contestation around the idea of 'Pasifika' itself. People from the Pacific Islands migrating to, and living in, Aotearoa New Zealand have been called Polynesian people since the 1930s (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013); Pasifika is by comparison, a recent coining. The term has not gained total acceptance and alternatives include Pacific peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), Pacific heritage/Pacific (Education Review Office, n.d.) and Pacific Islander (Tupuola, 2004), each with its own nuance. Pasifika has political, relational and historical resonance because the "nature of Pasifika groups residing in New Zealand tends to reflect historical and colonial relationships New Zealand has had in the Pacific region" (Airini, Anae, Mila-Schaaf, Coxon, Mara & Sanga, 2010, p. 49). Given this, as a "term of convenience" (p.49), one may ask whose convenience is being served.

Despite debate, official recognition has cemented the everyday relevance of the term Pasifika. The Ministry of Education has been an agent of its popularisation (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013), using Pasifika to refer to "those peoples who have migrated from Pacific nations and territories. It also refers to the New Zealand-based (and born) population, who identify as Pasifika, via ancestry or descent" (Airini et al., 2010, p. 49). Whether the term supports the identity, self-representation and progress of those so



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described is perhaps less to do with vocabulary and more a matter of aims and outcomes: the exercise of power is at issue.

An advantage of the use of Pasifika as a category in data is that the widely reported, relatively low achievement of Pasifika students in NCEA (e.g., New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2013, 2014, 2015; Turner, Irving, Li, & Yuan, 2010) has become visible. Previously invisible as a result of policy, (NCC Programme on Racism, 1984), this has stimulated initiatives in planning (e.g., Ministry of Education, 2013), research (e.g., Wilson, Madjar, & McNaughton, 2016), and in classrooms. Although using the term Pasifika means that aggregation of diverse populations is a danger, disaggregation is not a silver bullet. As Airini et al. (2010) note, "Even within ethnic-specific groups, there is a danger of glossing over intra-ethnic variations" (p. 49). In addition, a possible negative result of disaggregating Pasifika data is that an overwhelming attention might be diverted by central agencies from comparison of Pasifika achievement with the majority European/Palagi population group, to comparisons between groups of Pacific origin. Inter-Pacific comparisons, while useful in some contexts, are unlikely to provide the impetus for change required for equity.

Given the kinds of contestation discussed above, the dangers of colonial imposition and the importance of contextualisation, (research which seeks to articulate collective experiences of Pasifika students), should regard itself as contingent. It can only be justified by its usefulness to explain and improve educational practice and outcomes for the community or communities involved. The honouring of ideas of Pacific origin becomes important where default concepts and research methodologies stem from the West as unreflexive ethnocentricity raises questions of validity (Tamasese, Parsons, Sullivan, & Waldegrave, 2010). However, in Pasifika educational research the complex realities of modern urban intercultural experience need to be contextually confronted. A balance is thus required which acknowledges where people (or peoples) have come from and where they seek to flourish, which is a way to advance the migrant dream in the lives of ongoing generations. This is a form of "walking backwards into the future while facing the past" (Refiti, 2015, p. 49). Such an approach is especially relevant in a diaspora where the inclusiveness of the term Pasifika at times reflects relationships in the lives of groups of students from multiple origins, perhaps most often visible when Pasifika people are in a minority of non-Pasifika peers, and in circumstances where a contextual Nesian (McGavin, 2014) identity or Pasifika ethnogenesis (Spoonley, 1988) may be occurring.

One strategic solution to issues regarding the notion of Pasifika in education is to employ analytical restraint (Valenzuela, 2005). This places a calculated but temporary limit on discussion so that forward momentum in research can occur. Thus, the field can be rendered tangible, discussable and potentially alterable whilst acknowledging that the claims of research may not apply equally or in the same way to all those placed under the Pasifika umbrella (Samu, 2006). A further consequence is to invite scrutiny regarding the appropriateness of methodologies and analytical approaches used, looking for congruence between the idea of a Pasifika field and the ways in which it is investigated. Congruence in this context is likely to involve relationships of one kind or another to thinking from the Pacific.

## **Research into relationships**

Harnessing the definition of Pasifika current in Ministry of Education (Airini et al., 2010) practice reveals deep issues in Pasifika education, the evidence for which can be found in achievement data such as the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) achievement statistics (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015). These tell a story of Pasifika students at a disadvantage in education when compared to some other groups. Achievement is a product of educational processes and research needs to look at what leads to summative data. In the literature of the field, a main processual area of focus has been the examination of student-teacher relationships. This brings together the development of students and the professional pursuits of teachers. However, the history of this strand in the field suggests that while Pasifika education has been researched, Pacific cultural reference has largely been absent.

In early literature, deficit theorising "overwhelmingly locates the basis of school failure in students, their cultures, and their families" (Valencia, 2010, p. xv) and was used to explain issues in Pasifika

achievement (Alton-Lee, 2003; Gorinski & Fraser, 2006; Nakhid, 2003). Such literature conceptualises in-school processes, relationships and outcomes as dominated by out-of-school factors. This understanding of Pasifika education removes agency from teachers and schools and pathologises Pasifika students for being Pasifika. Deficit theorising of Pasifika students within an educational system which has a European base can be understood as a cultural judgement resting on the silencing (Castagno, 2008) of culture. The idea that Pasifika student voice might talk meaningfully to the structures of education through culture is untenable in this view, as is the idea that concepts of Pacific origin might have value for education. Where deficit theorisation is evident in Pasifika education, an assimilatory tradition (New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988; Stephenson, 2009) is maintained in education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

More recently, student-teacher relationships in Pasifika education have been subject to strengths-based theorisation. Strengths-based research values what students bring to school in terms of language, culture, identity and so on. In this literature, attention focuses on in-school relational activity; there is no external community to blame. Strengths-based Pasifika voice research has asked how teacher-student relationships might be shaped to make a strength of being Pasifika by responding to student preference. A number of taxonomic accounts of characteristics of successful teachers exist (e.g., Hawk & Hill, 2000; Siope, 2011), describing what teachers might bring to relational activity in order to enhance Pasifika education. However, studies (e.g., Hawk, Cowley, Hill, & Sutherland, 2002) often use phenomenological methodologies to present Pasifika students talking about, not to, teachers. The relationality investigated is indirectly approached as if its power were sited in words and the ideas they convey, but not in developing the configuration of the relationships themselves.

Associated with this approach is a paucity of discussion about what 'relationship' might mean in the context of Pasifika education. The word seems often used as a universal reference. In these circumstances, the presentation of Pasifika students' descriptions of teachers and student-teacher relationships can be underpinned by untroubled Western assumptions. One consequence has been the portrayal of teachers favoured by Pasifika students as in some way special, perhaps going the "extra mile" (Evans, 2011, p. 72), where such qualities reflect individual 'super-teachers' whom others might emulate. There may be super-teachers in some classrooms, but extraordinariness can be significant for its scarcity rather than being special in and of itself. Perhaps special-ness is a relational idea which implicitly exposes historically defined and professionally propagated notions held by teachers of their role, such as those discussed by Spiller (2013) and Siope (2011). By contrast, a Pacific Island-derived account suggests that relationally focused teachers should be valued for meeting commonly held, culturally-founded obligations (e.g., Helu-Thaman, 1988). Helu-Thaman (2010), for example, describes the role of a teacher in Tonga to include "nurturing positive relationships and social responsibility" (p. 356), that is, being a moral agent rather than simply a labourer. If Pasifika students come to school with similar expectations, these might sit behind their preferences for teacher behaviour. Critiquing the cultural understanding of a teacher's role in this way, however, offers a deep challenge to business-asusual in schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. It also has implications for the kinds of methodology appropriate for research in the field of Pasifika education.

## Relational edge-walking as methodology

I am a Palagi teacher/researcher with a concern to make a positive contribution to Pasifika education, especially in contexts where students from many Pacific ethnicities are educated together but remain a minority of a school's total population. This circumstance reflects the situation of the majority of schools which educate Pasifika students (Education Review Office, 2012). Setting out to research the ideas of success held by Pasifika students whilst mindful of the need to match methodology and analysis to context, I found myself developing a fit-for-purpose edge-walking methodology.

I first encountered the concept of edge-walking as used by Tupuola (2004) to describe intercultural experiences in the Pacific diaspora. Edge-walking can be contrasted with border walking (e.g., Symonette, 2004). Borders are stable and predictable features of social topography; crossing a border implies one might be in a new location for some time. Edge-walking, however, involves the "personal

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and emotional" (Krebs, 1999, p.13), ideas confirmed by the danger of being on an edge. From an edge, one can step backwards and forwards as a continual action: one can trip, one can fall. Krebs says edge-walking is not crossing a boundary but "stepping beyond our current boundaries to affirm the enlightened values by which our world must go forwards" (p. 13). That is, edge-walking is a mentality, a commitment. Such a commitment is required by the positionality of someone outside Pasifika communities embarking on a voice-based investigation of Pasifika success as Pasifika. Edge-walking embraces the emotional, interpersonal and intercommunity balances which this situation requires.

Edge-walking is a term of European origin, useful in describing the way Pacific people develop fluidity in negotiating identity in a variety of contexts in diaspora (Tupuola, 2004). However, on encountering the Pacific relational concept of va and viewing edge-walking through this, I found a spatial and relational understanding of edge-walking helpful. Through va, I became focused not on any 'edge' itself, but on the relational negotiation between various entities in the 'edge-space'. This involves the recognition of the state of relationships across edges as affecting the way negotiation is performed. Although it is hard to honour the concept of va in a few words, a brief account of the concept follows. Va has variously been glossed in English as space between (Anae, 2010a) and relationality (Poltorak, 2007). It would be presumptive to consider va as a cross-cultural understanding (Tuagalu, 2008) or Pacific-wide, but discussions of va often take place in the context of Tongan (e.g., Helu-Thaman, 1988; Ka'ili, 2005) or Samoan (e.g., Tuagalu, 2008; Wendt, 1999) culture and the concept has been described elsewhere in the region (e.g., Hoem, 1993). Wendt (1999), writing from a Samoan perspective, describes va as "the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things" (p. 402). Similarly, Ka'ili (2005) writing from a Tongan position, says va "emphasises space in between. This is fundamentally different from the popular western notion of space as an expanse or an open area" (p. 89). Further discussion is found in Anae (2010b), Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) and Author (2017).

Airini et al. (2010) discuss va in the context of Pasifika educational research, referring to the obligations which come with its recognition. They express this through the Samoan reference of teu le va (Anae, 2010a, 2010b, 2016; Mara, 2013) which resonates with the Tongan reference of tauhi va (Devine, Teisina, & Pau'uvale, 2012; Ka'ili, 2005; Poltorak, 2007). The ideal state of a well-cared for va has been described as a harmonious, conflict-resolved, balanced relational space (Anae, 2010a; Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009). Focusing on va encourages us to examine our social interactions and to focus on intention and deliberateness; actions influence the state of our relationships (Mila-Schaaf, 2006). Teu le va (to hereafter use the Samoan reference) is an ethic for research, but also for life itself.

An edge-walking methodology imagined through va for use by a Palagi researcher in Pasifika education offers guidance for both ethics and methodology since the later should embody the former. Airini et al. (2010) discuss teu le va in Pasifika research relationships such as those between researcher, funder and policymaker. However, when focused on the key area of in-school relationships, the focus can be taken a step further. If, as suggested by the literature, improving relationality is a key to the quality of Pasifika education, then a catalytic methodology which aims to teu le va between students and some of their actual or potential future teachers has value. After all, both research and teaching/learning in schools are exercises in joint knowledge production.

Pasifika students are asked to edge-walk by their context, seeking to pursue their ideas of success (Alkema, 2014; Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015) in a Euro-centric education system. They are likely to be taught by people who are Palagi or operate to Palagi notions of what it is to teach. If teachers of Pasifika students accept that they are involved in a joint venture with their students, they also have opportunities to accept the challenge of edge-walking. For this to occur, however, the va between student and teacher needs first to be recognised, and then mutually, positively and supportively configured. The literature, as discussed above, suggests that Pasifika students have expectations of their teachers. When seen through a va lens, expecting students to commit to a situation where these are unmet is to assume unrealistically that students will flourish when the relational space between them and their teacher(s) is trampled. A teu le va approach to edge-walking involves deliberate steps to develop a state of harmony and balance in the physical, social and spiritual levels of the va (Airini et al.,

2010) so that intercultural relational spaces are easier to cross with fluency. An appropriate research methodology may offer catalysis for this if it pays attention to both Pasifika and institutional elements of Pasifika education.

Formal education is a social space which involves complex and multiple axes of power. From the point of view of both university ethics and a desire to teu le va, direct face-to-face discussions between students, parents and teachers are methodologically problematic. Imbalances in positional power limit the value of voice gained from such situations. To develop an edge-walking methodology with potential to teu le va, ways of managing power are required. A careful reading of Airini et al. (2010) suggests that dialogic and relational aspects of Pacific life offer potential in reshaping the flow of power in Pasifika educational research.

The dialogic nature of Pacific societies is consistent with, and contributes to, the ethics of connection (Hau'ofa, 1994) which underpins Pacific social life. Dialogue ensures that new knowledge is contextualised; dialogue itself is a contextual event. Dialogic multi-vocality gives research the potential to "record, analyse and integrate the perspectives, experiences and views of Pasifika families and caregivers, learners and teachers" (Airini et al., 2010, p. 13). A dialogic approach is thus, a helpful tool in making visible the perspectives of those who lack positional power in hegemonic relationships. A dialogic methodology can recognise the nature of Pasifika education where a school is a web of relationships in which a student does not stand alone, and in which not all participants are Pasifika. Consequently, the edges between groups and their world views can be acknowledged and through research, a space can be provided in which understanding can develop to teu le va. This space is a ward against the danger of essentialisation inherent in the term Pasifika since dialogic understanding is negotiated and local, not assumed and universalised.

The second aspect of Pacific life, visible by implication in the literature of Pasifika education, is the relational nature of Pacific societies (Airini et al., 2010). Relationality is important for Pasifika educational research because, as discussed above, education is a relational activity. While dialogue is to do with the way expression shapes relationships, relationships are contexts for expression. A relational methodological orientation can frame interactions between research participants, with research findings becoming a developing social product and the basis of a society. Consequently, research findings become a developing social product. Although a relational methodology has the potential to facilitate dialogic interactions in inter-cultural educational settings, a desire by all parties to promote understanding, harmony and balance is essential if dialogue is to teu le va. Where relational conflict is exposed but not resolved, or where attitudes of superiority imply the inferiority of others, this is unlikely.

Honouring Pacific wisdom and cultural reference in contexts which are by nature Western-derived can inspire a contextually justified, relationally-orientated and dialogically structured methodology. In Pasifika education this has the potential to catalyse positive change where those involved are willing to take risks and edge-walk in their desire to create understanding and intensify relationships. However, in a context such as Pasifika education where power is unequal, the enactment of methodology must also pay attention to the redirection of power.

# **Mediating methods**

A dialogic relational methodology offers a revision of the study of Pasifika education in a way which can teu le va both directly and indirectly. Where research has generally asked students to describe, to 'talk about', a dialogic orientation suggests that there is value in 'talking to.' Although the literature has focused on what Pasifika students see as good teachers and effective teaching, a few studies have also attempted to situate Pasifika student voice in a dialogical context (e.g., Nakhid, 2003; Spiller, 2013), recognising the catalytic relational potential of voice in a way which resonates with teu le va.

Nakhid (2003), for instance, designed an innovative method to facilitate dialogue between Pasifika students and teachers using a mediator because "it was thought that the students would be less confident in speaking directly with their teachers" (Nakhid, Pilisi, Senio, Taylor, & Thomas, 2007, p. 118). This acknowledges the way power flows in educational contexts. Across several phases, Nakhid noted and

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then shared groups of participants' views of each other. Groups then reacted to what had been said about them. In this case, the dialogue was constructed across time between teachers and students from different institutions. A cross-institutional approach is understandable from the point of view of standard university ethics and in research where uncovering knowledge is the primary aim. However, mediated dialogue conducted in this way may lose some ability to reduce relational distance. This is because the potentially catalytic effect of closeness, such as teachers hearing from their own students, is not present. This is problematic if intensifying relationality between students and teachers to teu le va is the main research goal. Nakhid's ethical concerns suggest that in her context, the relational space between Pasifika students and their teachers was not well-nurtured or tidy, thinking supported by her results. However, in circumstances where the configuration of the relational space between Pasifika students, parents and teachers is more positive, another approach may be possible.

In developing methods for my PhD, two key considerations emerged when negotiating the relational space between the ethics of power management and the ethics of teu le va. The first concerns attention paid to the configuration of the dialogue under construction. The second, the resultant role of researcher as mediator. Following a relational methodology, I invited dialogue by asking participants to describe themselves to specified groups of others, to say what they would like these others to know about them and/or to offer what they would like to say vicariously to them. This approach integrated several methods. For instance, video mihi (a video of greeting) provided an opportunity for students to describe themselves to prospective, unknown future teachers as the first element in an ongoing dialogue. This method is discussed in more detail in Author (2017) where a contextual account of its possibilities and limitations is given. Similarly, talanoa provided a space where parents could talk about what they would like teachers to know about a range of topics, including their Pasifika students. Parents addressed teachers in absentia through lines of enquiry such as 'one thing I would like to say to my son's teachers'. In the same vein, interviews with students included prompts to elicit information dialogically designed for their teachers. Although the ethics of anonymity meant that specifics including identity remained undisclosed, participants understood that ideas and information provided would be delivered to members of the group to whom it was directly, if vicariously, addressed. A one-to-one correspondence between student/parent and teacher could not be guaranteed, although in some cases this occurred. However, in giving information, participants were assured that delivery within the institution would occur. The framing of a single-site case-study ensured that, as far as possible, a local, useful meaning for 'Pasifika' was in play.

## The edge-walking researcher

At this point, the role of the researcher as mediator and edge-walker becomes significant. Some dialogical studies (e.g., Nakhid, 2003; Spiller, 2012) feature the researcher as the pivot of discussion. This means taking information from one group of participants to another. Appropriately in Pasifika educational research, this is generally from Pasifika students to teachers. The role of the researcher is to structure a dialogue across time involving different parties. However, where the dialogue implied by the method of data collection is researcher-focused, the key relationship can be between participants and researcher. Being a researcher here may involve translation because, while the Pasifika voice involved is passed to those to whom it is relevant, the dialogue has not been configured to be 'to' but 'about'. All voice-based information has potential to teu le va where, for instance, inter-cultural understanding is increased. However, potential to nurture relational intensity (Poltorak, 2007) can be enhanced where messages are more directly addressed, where the 'audience' is explicitly 'present' in the dialogue despite being absent from the space in which utterances occur.

The role of the researcher as a mediator is more space-than dialogue-orientated where the method is focused on speaking 'to' not 'about'. The researcher travels with each phase of the dialogue across the intercultural and role-defined edges of the context, acting to teu le va between parties. This can be achieved by working to see that what has been said is accurately delivered to those to whom it was addressed, and received in a space where it can be honoured. Mediating a dialogue addressed to, not about, others confines and defines the researcher's role tightly. The catalytic role of the researcher in

passing information is not that of converting information from one audience to another. Researcher interpretation is kept at a minimum, and the responsibility of listeners to interpret in their own context what has been directed to them is maximised. The engagement which results from taking seriously such responsibilities has catalytic potential. Mediated dialogue was used in three phases of my PhD. In chronological sequence, these involved student video mihi given to teachers, data from talanoa given to teachers and video mihi whakamutunga (greetings of closure) (Author, 2017) made by staff for parents as a dialogic reply in the form of an account of their learning.

# The search for harmony

Given the contestation concerning the term Pasifika and its potential use as an imposition of colonial aggregation, it is important that the term is only embraced where it is helpful to those involved. Under these circumstances, research into Pasifika education should be distinct. It should not only concern people of Pacific origin but also honour their collective journeys by paying attention to the past as well as the present and future. This means looking to ideas of Pacific origin as sources of strength in research and taking steps to avoid uncritical linguistic and conceptual equivalences (Ferris-Leary, 2013). These can diminish, limit or re-define experience and understanding. It also means looking for local meanings for the Pasifika umbrella (Samu, 2006) so that a contextual purchase on the improvement of Pasifika students' educational experiences can be found.

Those who wish to develop research to achieve this goal might consider Pasifika educational research as an edge-walk and respond to the demands of the situation by seeking to work across the inherent inter-cultural and positional edges. This is especially important if relationality is understood as central to a Pacific way of being. Seeing edge-walking as a Pasifika methodology may be to see it as "personal and emotional" (Krebs, 1999, p.13) but also relational, demanding a commitment from the researcher to care for the various va between research participants, the researcher and education itself. While all research that builds mutual understanding has potential to teu le va, the ideal of harmonious relational spaces suggests that closeness is at a premium. Research which provides new and helpful information but also acts directly to positively configure relational spaces is research where the form, content and purpose (Ferris-Leary, 2013) are aligned in harmony. The challenge for a Palagi researcher is to avoid the "scientific dissociation" (Devine, 2013, p. 61) of which Mead was accused, and to embrace research as an edge-walk where learning 'how' is of as much importance as leaning 'about'. My journey of beginning to understand aspects of va is an opportunity to grapple with the various kinds of connection required to research honourably. This is a journey where the risks match the benefits but in which one is never alone.

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